

Pre-Analysis/ Data Collection-Plan: Electoral Malfeasance, the Secret Ballot, and Political Mobilization by the Social Democratic Party of Germany between 1890 and 1914

Between the end of the anti-socialist laws in 1890 and the beginning of WWI., the SPD turned from a fairly weakly organized party whose public activities had been repressed under Bismarck (1878-1890) and won only 8.8% of the seats in the 1890 federal elections into a professionalized, decentralized party apparatus that contested more districts and won more seats than any other party in the federal elections in 1912. In this project, I will examine how incidences of district-level electoral malfeasance and variation in the timing of the adoption of the secret ballot between German states are related to the geographic patterns of financial contributions to the SPD. This question is interesting because in the absence of access to state resources, the SPD was highly dependent on monetary contributions by their supporters to finance the institutionalization and professionalization of the party, the proliferation of party newspapers, and crucial mobilizational activities on the ground. In addition, there is an ongoing debate about the mobilizational effects of low-intensity repression such as attempts at skewing the electoral playing field in which it is still unclear whether individuals are more willing or less willing to support a party after observing that this party has been the subject of electoral malfeasance. Furthermore, I have access to monthly district-level data on the size of monetary contributions to the national party for the period between 1890 and 1914 taken from the digitalized records of the yearly national party meetings – data which to this point does not seem to have been used in a peer-reviewed Political Science article. For my independent variables of electoral malfeasance and the secret ballot, I can draw on data collected by Ziblatt who measured which (Prussian) districts witnessed a complaint about electoral malfeasance by one of the contesting parties and also gives information on variation in the secrecy of the ballot on the state level (for instance, introduction of the secret ballot in Baden 1904, Württemberg 1906, Bavaria 1906; opposite developments in Saxony in 1896, Lübeck 1902, and so on). The malfeasance data seems to be restricted to Prussia which contained about 2/3s of the population of Germany in this period of time – but it seems to be the case that archival material is available for other states as well. In terms of covariates, I have access to district level data for the percent of Catholics, rural inequality, percent of non-agricultural employment and the ratio of skilled to unskilled workers at least for the two census years of 1895 and 1905 (Mares 2014). I can also draw on a number of political variables – such as the districts contested by the SPD per federal election, vote share obtained, seats obtained, as well as the number of party members – the latter only for selected years. One other interesting variable is the number and percentage of female party members in 1912 – for which I have district level data and which may allow me to examine whether states that introduced the secret ballot earlier and experienced less electoral malfeasance are associated with a larger share of female members of the SPD in 1912.

My previous idea to analyze how the SPD allocated funds between districts “is still on the table”, but a district level breakdown of party expenditure is only available for 1913 and the aggregated national party expenditure data for earlier years suggests that direct payments to citizens were only made to those whose partners or relatives were imprisoned or hurt while mobilizing for the SPD. Beneath the national party level, there are also the regional and district levels of the party organization but it would require archival research in Germany to see whether they documented how they were allocating funds over the years. Another line of research would look more closely at how the major unions – that established an official institutional cooperation with the SPD in 1906 – allocated funds directed at political mobilization between districts.

Bibliography

- Anderson, M. L. (1993). Voter, junker, landrat, priest: The old authorities and the new franchise in imperial Germany. *The American Historical Review*, 98, 1448-1474.
- Arsenschek, Robert. 2003. *Der Kampf um die Wahlfreiheit im Kaiserreich: zur parlamentarischen Wahlprüfung und politischen Realität der Reichstagswahlen 1871–1914*. [The Fight for Free Elections in Imperial Germany] Düsseldorf: Droste.
- Bernstein, E. ed., 1907. *Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiterbewegung: t. Vom Jahre 1848 bis zum Erlass des Sozialistengesetzes (Vol. 1)*. Buchhandlung Vorwärts (H. Weber).
- Blackbourn, David. 1980. *Class, Religion, and Local Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Boch, R., 2004. *Staat und Wirtschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*. Oldenbourg Verlag.
- Brandis, K., 1975. *Der Anfang vom Ende der Sozialdemokratie: die SPD bis z. Fall d. Sozialistengesetzes (Vol. 133)*. Rotbuch-Verlag.
- Caramani, Daniele. 2000. *Elections in Western Europe since 1815: electoral results by constituencies*. New York: Macmillan Reference.
- Eisenberg, C., 1989. The Comparative View in Labour History: old and new interpretations of the English and German labour movements before 1914. *International Review of Social History*, 34(3), pp.403-432.
- Fairbairn, B., 1990. Authority vs. democracy: Prussian officials in the German elections of 1898 and 1903. *The Historical Journal*, 33(4), pp.811-838.
- Fairbairn, Brett. 1997. *Democracy in the Undemocratic State: The German Reichstag Elections of 1898 and 1903*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fricke, Dieter (Hg.): *Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung 1869-1917*, 2 Bde., Berlin/DDR 1987
- Garst, W.D., 1998. From factor endowments to class struggle: pre-World War I Germany and Rogowski's theory of trade and political cleavages. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(1), pp.22-44.
- Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1948. *Bread and Democracy in Germany*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grebing, Helga: *Arbeiterbewegung. Sozialer Protest und kollektive Interessenvertretung bis 1914*, München 1985
- Heidenheimer, A.J., 1969. Trade Unions, Benefit Systems, and Party Mobilization Styles: "Horizontal" Influences on the British Labour and German Social Democratic Parties. *Comparative Politics*, 1(3), pp.313-342.
- Hoffrogge, R., 2011. *Sozialismus und Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland: von den Anfängen bis 1914*. Schmetterling-Verlag.
- Kühne, Thomas. 1994. *Dreiklassenwahlrecht und Wahlkultur in Preussen, 1867–1914* [Three-Class Voting System and Electoral Culture in Prussia, 1867–1914] Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag.
- Kaack, H., 2013. *Geschichte und Struktur des deutschen Parteiensystems*. Springer-Verlag.
- Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt. (1898). *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* [Statistic of the German Empire] (pp. 351-413). Berlin: Verlag des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus.
- Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt. 1885. *Landwirtschaftliche Betriebsstatistik nach der allgemeinen Berufszählung vom 5 Juni 1882* [Agricultural Statistics Based on General Census of June 5, 1882]. Bd. 5. Berlin: Verlag des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus.

- Kasara, K. and Mares, I., 2017. Unfinished business: The democratization of electoral practices in Britain and Germany. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(5), pp.636-664.
- Klug, A., 2001. Why Chamberlain failed and Bismarck succeeded: The political economy of tariffs in British and German elections. *European Review of Economic History*, 5(2), pp.219-250.
- Kocka, J., 1983. *Lohnarbeit und Klassenbildung: Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland 1800-1875*. Berlin; Bonn: Verlag JWH Dietz Nachf..
- Kocka, J., 1988. Bürgertum und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: europäische Entwicklungen und deutsche Eigenarten. In *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*. Band 1 (pp. 11-76). München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Kocka, Jürgen (1990): *Arbeitsverhältnisse und Arbeiterexistenzen – Grundlagen der Klassenbildung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bonn.
- Kreuzer, M., 1998. Electoral institutions, political organization, and party development: French and German Socialists and mass politics. *Comparative Politics*, pp.273-292.
- Kreuzer, M., 2001. *Institutions and Innovation: Voters, Parties, and Interest Groups in the Consolidation of Democracy--France and Germany, 1870-1939*. University of Michigan Press.
- Kreuzer, M., 2003. *Parliamentarization and the Question of German Exceptionalism: 1867–1918*. *Central European History*, 36(3), pp.327-357.
- Kuo, A. and Jusko, K., 2012. *Electoral Opportunity: The SPD and the “Agricultural Proletariat”*. Working paper. Department of Political Science, Stanford University.
- Lässig, Simone. 1998. “Wahlrechtsreformen in den deutschen Einzelstaaten.” In *Modernisierung und Region im wilhelmschen Deutschland*, [Suffrage Reform in Germany’s States] ed. Simone Lässig, Karl Heinrich Pohl, and James Retallack. Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte.
- Lehmann-Hasemeyer, S., Hauber, P. and Opitz, A., 2014. The Political Stock Market in the German Kaiserreich—Do Markets Punish the Extension of the Suffrage to the Benefit of the Working Class? Evidence from Saxony. *The Journal of Economic History*, 74(4), pp.1140-1167.
- Levy, C. ed., 2016. *Socialism and the Intelligentsia 1880-1914*. Routledge.
- Lidtke, V.L., 1964. German social democracy and German state socialism, 1876–1884. *International Review of Social History*, 9(2), pp.202-225.
- Lindert, P.H., 2004. *Growing public: Volume 1, the story: Social spending and economic growth since the eighteenth century* (Vol. 1). Cambridge University Press.
- Linse, Ulrich (1969): *Organisierter Anarchismus im deutschen Kaiserreich von 1871*, Berlin.
- Maehl, W.H., 1980. German Social Democratic Agrarian Policy, 1890–1895 Reconsidered. *Central European History*, 13(2), pp.121-157.
- Mares, I., 2015. *From open secrets to secret voting: Democratic electoral reforms and voter autonomy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, T., Miller, S. and Rohlfes, J., 1984. *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Darstellung-Chronologie-Dokumente*, Bonn.
- Michels, R., 1915. *Political parties: A sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracy*. Hearst's International Library Company.
- Nettl, P., 1965. The german social democratic party 1890-1914 as a political model. *Past & Present*, (30), pp.65-95.
- Nipperdey, Thomas. 1961. *Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien vor 1918*. Düsseldorf: Droste.

- Prengel, T. 1892. "Beiträge zur Wahlprüfungssstatistik des deutschen Reichstages, 1871–1890." *Annalen des Deutschen Reiches* [Contribution to Election Dispute Statistics in the German Reichstag, 1871–1890]: 25–90.
- Raschke, J., 1988. *Soziale Bewegungen-Ein historisch-systematischer Grundriß*.
- Reibel, Carl-Wilhelm. (2007). *Handbuch der Reichstagswahlen 1890-1918. Bündnisse, Ergebnisse, Kandidaten* [Handbook for elections to the Reichstag 1890-1918. Coalitions, results, candidates]. Dusseldorf, Germany: Droste.
- Retallack, J. ed., 2008. *Imperial Germany 1871-1918*. Oxford University Press.
- Ritter, G.A., 2013. *Soziale Frage und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland seit Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Springer-Verlag.
- Ritter, Gerhard A. u. Klaus Tenfelde: *Arbeiter im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1914*, Bonn 1992 (Geschichte der Arbeiter und der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland, Bd. 5)
- Schmüdeke, Jürgen. 1995. *Wählerbewegung im Wilhelmschen Deutschland: die Reichstagswahlen von 1890 bis 1912*. [Voter Movements in Wilhelmine Germany]. Vol. 2. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Smith, H.W., 2011. *Authoritarian State, Dynamic Society, Failed Imperialist Power, 1878–1914*. ders.(Hg.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, Oxford, pp.307-335.
- Steinbach, P., 1990. Nationalisierung, soziale Differenzierung und Urbanisierung als Bedingungsfaktoren des Wahlverhaltens im Kaiserreich. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, pp.63-82.
- Suval, Stanley. 1985. *Electoral Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tennstedt, Florian: *Vom Proleten zum Industriearbeiter. Arbeiterbewegung und Sozialpolitik in Deutschland 1800 bis 1914*, Köln 1983
- Thomson, H., 2015. Landholding Inequality, Political Strategy, and Authoritarian Repression: Structure and Agency in Bismarck's "Second Founding" of the German Empire. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 50(1), pp.73-97.
- Tirrell, S.R. 1968. *German agrarian politics after Bismarck's fall: the formation of the Farmers' League*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ullmann, H.P., 1999. *Politik im deutschen Kaiserreich 1871-1918*. R. Oldenbourg.
- Wachenheim, Hedwig (1971): *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1844 bis 1914*, 2. Auflage Opladen.
- Walter, F., 2002. *Die SPD. Vom Proletariat zur Neuen Mitte*, Berlin.
- Wehler, Hans-Ulrich. 1983. *Das deutsche Kaiserreich, 1871–1918*. [The German Empire, 1871–1918] Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Weitz, E.D., 1990. State Power, Class Fragmentation, and the Shaping of German Communist Politics, 1890-1933. *The Journal of Modern History*, 62(2), pp.253-297.
- Weitz, E.D., 1997. *Creating German Communism, 1890-1990: From Popular Protests to Socialist State*. Princeton University Press.
- Winkler, J.R., 2013. *Sozialstruktur, politische Traditionen und Liberalismus: Eine empirische Längsschnittstudie zur Wahlentwicklung in Deutschland 1871–1933*. Springer-Verlag.
- Ziblatt, D. (2008). Does landholding inequality block democratization? A test of the "bread and democracy" thesis and the case of Prussia. *World Politics*, 60, 610-641.
- Ziblatt, D., 2009. Shaping democratic practice and the causes of electoral fraud: the case of nineteenth-century Germany. *American Political Science Review*, 103(1), pp.1-21.

Links:

<http://library.fes.de/fulltext/bibliothek/chronik/>

<http://library.fes.de/nz/nz-1885.html>

<http://library.fes.de/partitage/index-pt-1890.html>

http://193.175.238.65/biorabkr_db/biorabkr_db.php

<https://socialhistoryportal.org/browse-collections?qCollections=%2A%3A%2A&facets=language%3Adeu%3B>

https://socialhistoryportal.org/search-collections?qCollections=*&facets=repositoryid:FESTrade_UmVwb3NpdG9yeVNlcnZpY2VSZXNvdXJjZXMvUmVwb3NpdG9yeVNlcnZpY2VSZXNvdXJjZVR5cGU%3D

<http://library.fes.de/prodok/orgind/orgindex.htm>

https://www.fes.de/archiv/adsd_neu/inhalt/recherche/linkliste_arbeiterbewegung.htm