

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	page viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
Part 1: The parties	33
1 The Social Democrats	35
2 The minority parties	75
3 The “national” parties	108
Part 2: The elections	155
4 The Bismarckian elections	157
5 The Wilhelmine elections	203
6 A century of democratic elections	265
Technical appendix	331
<i>Bibliography</i>	368
<i>Index</i>	383

Figures

1.1	Social Democratic vote, 1871–1912	<i>page</i> 38
1.2	Social Democratic vote by confession	56
2.1	Support for the minority parties	79
2.2	Catholic support for the center	83
2.3	Catholic center voters by region	84
2.4	Regional/national minority vote	85
3.1	The conservative and liberal vote	112
3.2	The National Liberal and progressive vote	113
3.3	Liberal and conservative candidacies	114
3.4	Conservatives, liberals, and the voters	115
3.5	National Liberal and progressive candidacies	116
3.6	National Liberals, progressives, and the voters	118
3.7	Liberal–conservative vote-switching	127
3.8a	The conservative vote by confession	141
3.8b	The liberal vote by confession	142
6.1	Turnout by confession, 1871–1912	273
6.2	German parties in the twentieth century	297

Tables

1.1	Previous voting of Social Democratic voters	<i>page 40</i>
1.2	The Social Democratic vote in three breakthrough elections	42
1.3	Subsequent votes of Social Democratic voters	42
1.4	Voter swings and the Social Democratic electorate, 1871/74–1907/12	44
1.5	Voter swings in three SPD election victories	45
1.6	Confessional composition of the Social Democratic electorate	57
1.7	Support for the Social Democrats by region and confession	61
1.8	The German electorate according to the censuses of 1895 and 1907	63
1.9	Support for the SPD in the 1912 elections, by class and confession	64
1.10	Support for the SPD in Wilhelmine elections, by class and confession	68
2.1	Subsequent votes of minority party voters	87
2.2	Previous votes of minority party voters	89
2.3	Voter swings and the minority party electorate, 1871/74–1907/12	89
2.4	Support for the regional and national minority parties, by confession	91
2.5a	Catholic vote in constituencies with Center Party candidates	92
2.5b	Catholic vote in constituencies without Center Party candidates	93
2.6	Catholic vote in Wilhelmine Germany by social class	103
3.1a	Previous voting of liberal voters	120
3.1b	Previous voting of conservative voters	120
3.2a	Subsequent votes of liberal voters	122
3.2b	Subsequent votes of conservative voters	122
3.3a	Voter swings and the liberal electorate, 1871/74–1907/12	124

3.3b	Voter swings and the conservative electorate, 1871/74–1907/12	124
3.4a	Support for the liberal parties by region and confession	144
3.4b	Support for the conservative parties by region and confession	144
3.5	Support for the different liberal parties by confession	144
3.6a	Support for the liberal parties in Wilhelmine elections, by class and confession	147
3.6b	Support for the conservative parties in Wilhelmine elections, by class and confession	147
3.7	The composition of the liberal electorate in Wilhelmine Germany	150
4.1	The Catholic vote in the 1871 elections	163
4.2	Composition of the minority party electorate of 1874	167
4.3	The Catholic vote in the 1874 elections	168
4.4	Choices of 1877 non-voters in the 1878 elections	177
4.5	Liberal and conservative voters in the 1878 and 1881 elections	185
4.6	The 1884 voters in the Kartell elections of 1887	199
5.1	The 1887 voters in the elections of 1890	207
5.2	The 1890 voters in the elections of 1893	218
5.3	The Protestant vote in 1890 and 1893 by social group	220
5.4	The 1893 voters in the elections of 1898	225
5.5	The Catholic vote in non-Prussian Germany during the 1890s	228
5.6	The 1898 voters in the elections of 1903	235
5.7a	The Protestant vote in 1898 and 1903 by social group	237
5.7b	The Catholic vote in 1898 and 1903 by social group	237
5.8	The 1903 voters in the elections of 1907	250
5.9	The vote in 1907 by confession and social group	251
5.10	The 1907 voters in the elections of 1912	259
5.11	The vote in 1912 by confession and social group	261
6.1	The German electorate, 1871/74–1907/12	266
6.2	Mobilizing and post-mobilization elections in Imperial Germany	268
6.3a	The Protestant vote in 1887 and 1890 by social group	278
6.3b	The Catholic vote in 1887 and 1890 by social group	278
6.4a	The Protestant electorate, 1903–1987	299
6.4b	The Catholic electorate, 1903–1987	300
6.5a	The vote of Protestant workers, 1903–1987	303
6.5b	The vote of Catholic workers, 1903–1987	304
6.6a	The vote of the Protestant middle class, 1903–1987	306

6.6b	The vote of the Catholic middle class, 1903–1987	307
6.7a	The vote of Protestant farmers, 1903–1976	308
6.7b	The vote of Catholic farmers, 1903–1976	308
6.8	Stability and change in the twentieth-century German electorate	314
6.9	Voter transitions in the American electorate	322
6.10a	Voter transitions in twentieth-century Scandinavian elections: Sweden	324
6.10b	Voter transitions in twentieth-century Scandinavian elections: Denmark	325
6.11	Working-class voters and labor parties in twentieth-century Europe and North America	327
A.1a	Voter transitions between 1907 and 1912 calculated using linear regressions	347
A.1b	Voter transitions between 1907 and 1912 calculated using logistic linear regressions	347
A.2a	Voter transitions between 1907 and 1912 calculated with linear regressions, after fitting	349
A.2b	Voter transitions between 1907 and 1912 calculated with logistic regressions, after fitting	350
A.3	Voter transition probabilities, 1871–1874	355
A.4	Voter transition probabilities, 1874–1877	355
A.5	Voter transition probabilities, 1877–1878	356
A.6	Voter transition probabilities, 1878–1881	356
A.7	Voter transition probabilities, 1881–1884	357
A.8	Voter transition probabilities, 1884–1887	357
A.9	Voter transition probabilities, 1887–1890	358
A.10	Voter transition probabilities, 1890–1893	358
A.11	Voter transition probabilities, 1893–1898	359
A.12	Voter transition probabilities, 1898–1903	359
A.13	Voter transition probabilities, 1903–1907	360
A.14	Voter transition probabilities, 1907–1912	360
A.15	The vote by confession, 1871	361
A.16	The vote by confession, 1874	361
A.17	The vote by confession, 1877	361
A.18	The vote by confession, 1878	361
A.19	The vote by confession, 1881	362
A.20	The vote by confession, 1884	362
A.21	The vote by confession, 1887	362
A.22	The vote by confession, 1890	362
A.23	The vote by confession, 1893	363

A.24	The vote by confession, 1898	363
A.25	The vote by confession, 1903	363
A.26	The vote by confession, 1907	363
A.27	The vote by confession, 1912	364
A.28	The vote by confession and social group, 1887	364
A.29	The vote by confession and social group, 1890	365
A.30	The vote by confession and social group, 1893	365
A.31	The vote by confession and social group, 1898	366
A.32	The vote by confession and social group, 1903	366
A.33	The vote by confession and social group, 1907	367
A.34	The vote by confession and social group, 1912	367