

POLITICAL
BEHAVIOR

Studies in Election Statistics

HERBERT TINGSTEN



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STUDIES IN ELECTION
STATISTICS

BY

HERBERT TINGSTEN

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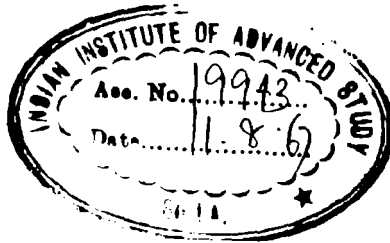
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INTRODUCTION.

The election statistics from various countries have only to a very small extent been made use of for comparative political studies. I know of no other work on a somewhat larger scale in this field than Gosnell's 'Why Europe Votes' (1930), in which will be found an instructive survey of popular participation in elections in a number of European states.

The present work is intended in the first place to throw light on certain problems which to my knowledge have not so far been investigated from a comparative point of view, in any case not in any degree of detail. Thus, the first chapter will treat the electoral behaviour and party attitude of women, the second chapter electoral participation and political preferences within various age groups, the third chapter electoral participation within different social groups. The material bearing on these questions obtainable from various states, is very uneven both in quantity and quality. My endeavour has been to get the most out of the available material in order to distinguish certain general tendencies. — Further, one chapter (IV) has been devoted to the effects — already frequently discussed — of compulsory voting. Finally, in a fifth chapter some special problems, partly treated by other authors, have been summarily treated.

To certain problems I hope to have an opportunity to return in a later work, above all to the fundamental question of the relation between political attitude and social position. This matter has been treated only in passing in Chapter III, on some points where the election statistics directly point to conclusions of some interest. For a thorough discussion of this question material of another nature and methods other than those here employed, would be neces-

sary. And evidently a work of that kind cannot be given a general comparative character as inquiries in this direction meet with extraordinary difficulties. I do not know of any detailed special studies of this kind, except from the United States and France (Siegfried 1913). My own intention would be to limit an inquiry on this point to the northern countries. Further I have under preparation a study of the effects of different electoral systems.

Certain sources of error in regard to popular participation in elections ought to be pointed out in this connection. Everywhere it is likely to happen that a certain number of persons are wrongly entered in the electoral lists — having died or migrated in the interval between the drawing up of the lists and the election itself — so that to a certain extent the figures for popular participation become misleading. It has not been possible to determine the importance of this circumstance in different countries as only very few inquiries of limited value exist on this point. Nor has it been possible to give any guidance regarding the practical consequences of different regulations as to voting facilities (number of election booths, right to vote outside one's electoral district and so forth). In any case it is not probable that the soundness of my general conclusions will be affected by these deficiencies in the material.

Financially this inquiry has been made possible by a grant from the Karl Staaff foundation. A certain amount of research in foreign libraries and institutes has been undertaken during my travels as holder of a special fellowship of the Rockefeller Foundation. Besides the Rockefeller Foundation has financed the publication of my work as it has previously supported other investigations carried out under the auspices of the Institute for Social Sciences of the University of Stockholm.

I have received information and advice on various points from Professor Gunnar Dahlberg of Upsala, Dr. K. A. Edin of the Statistical Central Bureau of Stockholm, Dr. Gösta Wahlund, chief of the statistical office of the City of Stockholm, and Mr. Herman Wold of the University of Stockholm. None of these gentlemen is responsible for

any statement or expression of opinion in my book. Professor Harold Gosnell, of the University of Chicago, has been kind enough to give me information about several American publications. Most of the tables in the first chapter have been drawn up under the supervision of Mr. Karl Lindman of the Statistical Central Bureau. The translation has been carried out by Mr. Vilgot Hammarling, Stockholm.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF WOMEN.

From the great majority of the countries where woman suffrage has been introduced, more or less complete data are to be found regarding the electoral participation of both sexes. Data elucidating the differences in the political attitude of the sexes, on the other hand, are available only from a small number of states. To begin with the first question will be dealt with below; an account will also be given of the behaviour of the sexes at isolated referendums in certain countries where the male and female votes have been counted separately. Later an account will be given of the political consequences of woman suffrage in the states where information on this point is obtainable.

In 1921 universal suffrage for men and women was introduced in *Sweden* at elections to the second (lower) chamber of the riksdag; a person is qualified to vote during the year following the one in which he has reached the age of 23. Previously only males who had payed certain taxes were qualified to vote, and the qualifying age was one year higher. The electoral participation among men and women in the whole country, in the towns, and in the rural districts appears from the following table.¹

Participation of men and women in the elections to the second chamber in Sweden, 1921—1932.

Election	Whole country			Rural districts			Towns		
	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence
1921 . .	62.0	47.2	14.8	61.9	45.5	16.4	62.2	50.5	11.7
1924 . .	60.0	46.7	13.3	58.2	43.7	14.5	64.3	52.3	12.0
1928 . .	72.6	62.7	9.9	71.8	60.4	11.4	74.1	66.7	7.4
1932 . .	73.1	62.5	10.6	72.7	60.6	12.1	74.0	65.6	8.4

On an average the electoral participation of the women thus was somewhat more than 12 per cent lower than that of the men. A distinct difference is present at each election between the relative voting frequencies of the sexes in the country and in the towns; in the country the average difference in electoral participation is as high as 13.5 per cent, in the towns not quite 10 per cent. For this short period no clear tendency of change is observable, but it is possible to state that the difference in voting frequency of men and women was greatest at the first election, and that it has then on the whole decreased, although not continuously.

The relatively weak electoral participation has had as a consequence that the women, although in a majority among the registered electors (about 52 per cent), have unvaryingly been in a minority among the voters (45.6—48.5 per cent). In the election of 1932 the number of registered male electors was 1,780,449 and of female 1,918,486; of the voters, 1,301,933 were men and 1,198,836 women.

In the elections to the landsting (county councils) the same tendencies have on the whole been apparent as at the political elections. The participation in these elections from the year 1919 onwards is given below; according to the voting regulations applied that year for the first time, men and women are qualified to vote in the year following on that in which they have reached the age of 27.²

Participation of men and women in the elections to the landsting in Sweden, 1919—1934.

Election	Whole country			Country			Towns		
	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence
1919 . .	68.9	61.8	7.1	69.4	61.7	7.7	66.4	62.1	4.3
1922 . .	45.7	30.2	15.5	44.5	28.9	15.6	51.3	35.4	15.9
1926 . .	56.7	41.6	15.1	55.9	40.3	15.6	60.5	46.7	13.8
1930 . .	64.0	49.9	14.1	63.7	48.9	14.8	65.3	53.4	11.9
1934 . .	69.2	56.5	12.7	68.9	55.7	13.2	70.7	59.5	11.2

It should be emphasized that on the whole the difference in electoral participation between the sexes was smallest when the general electoral participation was high. The

difference was greatest at the election of 1922 which showed an exceptionally low voting frequency.

In the year 1922 a law was passed in Sweden in accordance with a change in the constitution resolved upon at that time stipulating that an advisory referendum was to be held on the question whether general prohibition was to be introduced. In the referendum, which took place on August 27 of the same year, the male and female votes were separated by a stamp affixed to the ballot; the reason for this unusual procedure was the desire to ascertain the attitude of the sexes towards prohibition in order to estimate the possibility of keeping up prohibition if it should be introduced.

The participation in the referendum among men and women appears from the following collocation.^a

Whole country			Country			Towns		
men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence
62.6	48.3	14.3	61.4	46.2	15.2	64.4	52.2	12.2

The difference between the voting frequencies of the sexes consequently was about the same as that obtained in the elections to the second chamber in 1921 and 1924; on the whole the figures differed slightly from the corresponding figures at these elections. The attitude of the sexes towards the question of prohibition appears from the following table.

The prohibition referendum in Sweden in 1922.

	For prohibition			Against prohibition		
	men	women	total	men	women	total
Whole country	40.9	58.5	49.0	59.1	41.5	51.0
Country	48.0	69.3	57.3	52.0	30.7	42.7
Towns	25.6	40.2	33.0	74.4	59.8	67.0

A distinct difference accordingly could be noted in the attitude of the sexes towards this question. Nearly three fifths of the men voted against prohibition, nearly three fifths of the women for prohibition; the total result was a

very narrow majority against prohibition. In the country the sympathies for prohibition were far stronger than in the towns, and in particular this applied to the women in the country; out of the latter, 69.3 per cent were in favour of prohibition as compared to 48 per cent of the men in the country, and 40.2 per cent of the women in the towns.

In *Norway* the right to vote in elections to the storting which in 1898 had become universal for men over 25, was extended in 1907 to women who had reached the age of 25 and payed taxes on an income of at least 300 crowns in the country and 400 crowns in the towns, or else were married to men who payed taxes on such income. The significance of these specific stipulations for women is seen in the elections of 1909 — the first elections held after the adoption of the new regulations — when the number of registered male electors was 485,150 and the number of female electors was only 294,697, although the women made up the majority of all citizens over 25 years of age. Proportionately the number of qualified women in the towns was somewhat larger than in the country (in spite of the higher tax limit); in 1909 the women made up 35 per cent of the registered electors in the country as compared to 44 per cent in the towns. In 1913 the women were enfranchised on the same conditions as the men. In the year 1920 proportional representation was substituted for the system of majority election previously employed, and at about the same date the voting age was lowered to 23 years. After the universalization of the right to vote the women comprise about 53 per cent of the body of electors; in 1933 they made up not quite 51 per cent in the country and close on 57 per cent in the towns. At the last-mentioned election the total number of registered electors amounted to over 1.6 millions. — The electoral participation during the period 1909—1933 appears from the following table.⁴

*Participation of men and women in the elections to the storting
in Norway, 1909—1933.*

Election	Whole country			Country			Towns		
	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence
1909 . .	67.5	55.3	12.2	65.7	46.7	19.0	72.7	73.2	—0.5
1912 . .	68.8	57.7	11.1	67.7	50.0	17.7	72.0	73.8	—1.8
1915 . .	68.4	50.5	17.9	66.9	43.6	23.3	74.7	65.5	9.2
1918 . .	70.1	50.6	19.5	67.7	42.8	24.9	76.5	67.4	9.1
1921 . .	76.4	60.3	16.1	74.6	54.0	20.6	81.3	73.6	7.7
1924 . .	76.4	64.0	12.4	74.2	57.3	16.9	82.6	78.4	4.2
1927 . .	75.3	61.5	13.8	73.7	55.5	18.2	80.0	64.7	15.3
1930 . .	81.4	74.0	7.4	80.8	70.9	9.9	81.8	80.7	1.1
1933 . .	81.8	71.2	10.6	80.8	67.3	13.5	84.6	79.6	5.0

On the whole the electoral participation of the men has been considerably higher than that of the women, above all in the country. On an average the voting frequency of the men exceeded that of the women by 13.4 per cent; in the country the corresponding figure was 18.2, and in the towns 5.5 per cent. A slight tendency to equalization is visible but it is not very marked. Of interest are the marked differences as regards electoral participation observable under different franchise conditions and voting procedures. In the elections of 1909 and 1912, when women without means were mostly disqualified, the women in the towns voted incomparably more frequently than the women in the country; in the country the electoral participation of the men exceeded that of the women by 18—19 per cent, whereas the women in the towns showed a somewhat higher voting frequency than the men. In the elections following the universalization of woman suffrage (1915 and 1918) the participation of the women decreased both in town and country; in the country their voting frequency was about 24 per cent, in the towns 9 per cent lower than that of the men. This development indicates that the poorer women — in all probability the poorer men also — have shown considerably lower participation than the more well-to-do, particularly in the towns. After the introduction of proportional representation electoral participation increases

both for men and women, somewhat more for the latter, particularly in the country. On an average the difference in electoral participation between the sexes has amounted to about 11 per cent in recent years. On the whole this difference has been relatively small in cases of high absolute participation, that is to say, the women vote relatively frequently as compared to the men when these poll most extensively.

In 1898 the women got municipal franchise on the same specific conditions as were decreed in 1907 for the political elections; in the elections of 1901, the first to be held after this reform, 423,000 men and 233,000 women were qualified to vote. In the year 1910 the suffrage was made universal for women as well. The difference in electoral participation between the sexes appears from the following table.⁵

Participation of men and women in the municipal elections in Norway, 1901—1934.

Election	Whole country			Country			Towns		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
1901 . .	45.0	20.9	24.1	41.2	9.5	31.7	56.9	48.0	8.9
1907 . .	54.5	33.7	20.8	48.9	19.1	29.8	70.8	62.5	8.3
1910 . .	59.8	36.9	22.9	55.1	26.2	28.9	73.3	61.6	11.7
1913 . .	62.3	40.9	21.4	57.9	30.2	27.7	74.6	64.8	9.8
1916 . .	58.5	40.3	18.2	54.8	30.6	24.2	68.0	60.6	7.2
1919 . .	62.1	44.1	18.0	59.7	37.3	22.4	68.4	58.3	10.1
1922 . .	66.2	49.5	16.7	62.7	40.6	22.1	75.1	67.7	7.4
1925 . .	69.9	56.2	13.7	65.6	46.8	18.8	80.7	75.2	5.5
1928 . .	72.0	59.7	12.3	68.2	50.9	17.3	81.9	77.8	4.1
1931 . .	73.0	59.6	13.4	70.1	52.3	17.8	80.5	74.3	6.2
1934 . .	76.8	65.0	11.8	74.6	58.7	15.9	82.3	77.8	4.5

As will be seen, the men have shown considerably higher participation than the women in every election, especially in the country, but the tendency towards equalization is unmistakable. Noteworthy is the fact that the increasing voting frequency of the women as compared to that of the men is accompanied by a steadily growing electoral participation among the latter. The introduction of universal woman suffrage does not seem to have affected electoral

participation in the same manner as the corresponding reform in regard to the political franchise.

On two occasions, in 1919 and 1926, advisory referendums were held on the question of prohibition; in 1919, 70 per cent of the voters were in favour of the introduction of prohibition, in 1926 60 per cent were in favour of the abrogation of prohibition. Contrary to what was done in Sweden in 1922, no separation of the votes was carried out. The voting frequency among men and women was as follows:⁸

Election	Whole country			Country			Towns		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
1919 . .	72.6	61.2	11.4	70.9	58.1	12.8	76.7	67.5	9.2
1926 . .	71.6	58.8	12.8	69.6	54.7	14.9	76.4	66.8	9.6

An investigation published in the official statistical report shows that both in 1919 and in 1926 the difference in electoral participation between the sexes was most marked in the districts where the anti-prohibitionists were in a majority, and considerably smaller in the districts where the prohibitionists had a clear majority. It is also pointed out that in 1926, the women in the districts in favour of prohibition showed a considerably higher participation as compared to the men than in the municipal elections held a short time before, whereas an opposite tendency asserted itself in the districts where the opposition to prohibition predominated. "This state of affairs", it is pointed out, "seems to indicate that the women have throughout been more favourable to prohibition than the men."

By the constitutional reform of 1915 in *Denmark*, political franchise was granted to women on the same conditions as to men. At the same time the voting age was lowered from 30 to 25 in elections to the folketing; this reform, however, was to be carried into effect gradually, so that the voting age, which was immediately lowered to 29 years, later on was to be lowered with one year for every four-year period. As soon as 1920, however, a regulation

was introduced to the effect that the voting age was to be lowered to 25 years.

As regards the participation of the sexes in the elections to the folketing, complete data are available only from the elections of 1918, and of September, 1920. In the last-mentioned election about 755,000 men and 821,000 women were qualified to vote.⁷

*Participation in the elections to the folketing in Denmark
in 1918 and in September, 1920.*

	1918			1920		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
Copenhagen . . .	84.0	71.5	12.5	79.2	70.2	9.0
Islands	84.0	65.1	18.9	83.5	72.7	10.8
Jutland	83.9	67.5	16.4	83.3	74.3	9.0
South Jutland (Sønderjylland) .	—	—	—	76.6	63.1	13.5
Total	84.0	67.6	16.4	82.2	72.2	10.0

It should be emphasized that the difference in electoral participation between the sexes is somewhat smaller in the capital than in the remaining parts of the country, and that this difference generally was smaller in 1920 than in 1918.

An investigation has further been made into the participation of the sexes in the elections to the folketing in Copenhagen in 1932; some electoral districts are lacking, however.^{7a} In the examined districts the voting frequency of the men was 85.8 per cent and that of the women, 77.5 per cent; the difference accordingly was approximately the same as in the elections of 1918.

Woman suffrage in municipal elections was introduced in Denmark as in many other countries several years before the women were granted political suffrage. A law of 1908 which in the main has remained unchanged, decreed with certain limitations that men and women who had reached the age of 25 and payed their income tax would obtain municipal franchise; married women whose husbands had the right to vote, were also enfranchised. In the first election after the new regulations (1909), 456,281 men and 422,999 women were qualified; the corresponding figures for the elections of 1933 were 716,767 and 798,690. The figures on

Participation of men and women in the municipal elections in Denmark, 1909—1933.

Election	Whole country			Country			Copenhagen			Frederiksberg			Other Towns		
	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.
1909	76.5	50.0	26.5	72.9	38.3	34.6	80.5	69.4	11.1	80.2	69.9	10.3	84.5	66.7	17.8
1913	77.9	55.7	22.2	73.2	43.9	29.3	84.8	74.1	10.7	84.3	76.1	8.2	86.5	71.4	15.1
1917	74.2	53.2	21.0	69.7	43.0	26.7	79.1	65.8	13.3	79.8	67.5	12.3	82.5	67.4	15.1
1921	83.9	71.9	12.0	83.3	68.7	14.6	81.5	71.3	10.2	80.6	71.8	8.8	88.5	80.0	8.5
1925	83.2	70.0	13.2	81.4	66.5	14.9	81.8	68.4	13.4	82.7	73.3	9.4	89.5	78.6	10.9
1929	84.9	73.5	11.4	83.3	70.4	12.9	84.5	74.7	9.8	83.9	74.2	9.7	89.8	79.4	10.4
1933	85.7	75.5	10.2	84.5	74.2	10.3	83.0	73.3	9.7	87.4	78.3	9.1	89.8	79.6	10.2

the previous side represent the participation in the different elections within different districts; the communes where the election was uncontested are excluded.⁸

On an average the difference in electoral participation between men and women was 15.8 per cent; in the country the corresponding figure was 20.5, in Copenhagen 11.2, and in the towns exclusive of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, 12.6 per cent. On the whole the difference has steadily decreased; on an average it was 23.2 per cent in the first three elections, but not more than 11.7 in the four latest elections. The strong rise of electoral participation of the women in the country is particularly striking; in the first three elections the difference here was more than 20 per cent, and later has varied between 10.3 and 14.9 per cent. It seems probable that the introduction of political woman suffrage has stimulated the women's electoral interest in general; in 1918 the women took part in the elections to the folketing for the first time, and in the later municipal elections their voting frequency has been decidedly higher than previously. On the whole the difference in electoral participation between the sexes has decreased with increasing total voting frequency. However, this difference has on the whole been somewhat smaller in Copenhagen than in "other towns", though the latter throughout have shown the highest total voting frequency.

In *Iceland* the suffrage was extended to women by the reform of the constitution of 1915. Certain remaining voting restrictions were abolished, for men as well as for women, in 1920; according to stipulations then sanctioned, men and women who have reached the age of 25, are qualified to vote in those elections to the *allting* which are held in specific electoral districts. In these elections comprising 36 mandates, as a rule majority voting is practised, but in Reykjavik the mode of election is proportional. Further, 6 members of the *allting* are elected by the whole country by proportional vote; in these elections only men and women who have reached the age of 35 years are qualified to vote. Below are given the data available concerning the partic-

ipation of men and women in these elections. Regarding the district elections it should be noted that the data only refer to the contested districts, that is to say the districts where proper elections have been held; in the elections of 1916, 1919, and 1923 the electoral participation will, therefore, appear not inconsiderably higher than if all the districts had been included. No difference is made here between the only proper urban community, Reykjavik, and the country at large, as different electoral systems have been practised. As regards the elections for the whole country, however, the electoral participation in Reykjavik will be given separately. The number of registered electors in the district elections has increased from 28,529 in 1916 up to 52,465 in 1933; the corresponding figures for the elections for the whole country were 24,189 in 1916, and 34,467 in 1930.⁹

*Electoral participation of men and women in Iceland,
1916—1933.*

District elections.

Election	men	women	difference
1916	69.1	30.2	38.9
1919	74.1	39.3	34.8
1923	83.7	68.4	15.3
1927	81.5	62.5	19.0
1931	85.0	72.1	12.9
1933	80.4	63.2	17.2

Elections for the whole country.

Election	Whole country			Reykjavik		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
1916	38.1	10.3	27.8	37.5	10.3	27.2
1922	52.7	32.2	20.5	66.1	48.1	18.0
July 1926	59.4	34.3	25.1	74.5	51.7	22.8
Oct. 1926	64.7	37.5	27.2	78.5	66.0	12.5
1930	82.0	60.7	21.3	88.2	69.3	18.9

The difference in electoral participation between men and women appears to be greater in Iceland than in most other countries; on an average the men's percentage of participation exceeded that of the women by 23 in the district elections and by 24.4 in the elections for the whole country. No tendency to a decrease of this difference is visible, if the

first two district elections are disregarded, when the women's electoral participation was exceptionally low.¹⁰ In the capital, Reykjavik, the participation in the general elections — except for the first election — has been considerably higher than in other parts of the country, and the women's voting frequency has also been higher here than elsewhere as compared to that of the men. In the district elections the difference between the voting frequencies of the sexes on the whole runs in inverse proportion to the height of the absolute electoral participation; the more the men have participated, the more frequently the women have voted as compared to the men.¹⁰

In 1933 a popular referendum took place on the question of the abrogation of the prohibition introduced in 1912. The men's and women's votes were not separated. The electoral participation among the men was 59.5 per cent, among the women 31.6 per cent; the participation in the referendum accordingly was considerably lower than the participation in the elections of later years, and the difference between the voting frequencies of men and women was unusually high (27.9 per cent).

Finland introduced universal suffrage in 1906 for elections to the *lantdag* (later, *riksdag*) for men and women who had reached the age of 24 prior to the year of election; Finland thus was the first European state to give political suffrage to women. The same voting stipulations apply, by the constitution of Finland as an independent state, to the elections of the representatives who are to elect the president of the republic. Below is given the participation of both sexes both in the elections to the *riksdag* (*lantdag*) during the period 1908—1930, and in the presidential elections of 1925 and 1931.¹¹

On an average the men's electoral participation is 8 per cent higher than that of the women. In the country the difference is 8.5 per cent as compared to 5 per cent only in the towns; in one election (1919) the women in the towns showed higher electoral participation than the men. A faint tendency to a decrease of the difference in voting

*Participation of men and women in the political elections in
Finland, 1908—1931.*

Election	Whole country			Country			Towns		
	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence	men	women	differ- ence
1908 . . .	68.9	60.3	8.5	69.3	60.6	8.7	66.1	59.2	6.9
1909 . . .	70.5	60.6	9.9	71.4	60.8	10.6	64.4	59.4	5.0
1910 . . .	64.9	55.8	9.1	65.1	55.4	9.7	63.7	57.7	6.0
1911 . . .	65.3	54.8	10.5	65.9	55.3	10.6	60.4	52.4	8.0
1913 . . .	55.9	46.7	9.2	56.1	47.0	9.1	54.4	45.2	9.2
1916 . . .	60.1	51.4	8.7	61.0	52.7	8.3	54.5	45.0	9.5
1917 . . .	73.1	65.7	7.4	73.6	65.6	8.0	69.9	66.6	3.3
1919 . . .	69.5	65.1	4.4	70.3	64.0	6.3	64.8	70.0	5.2
1922 . . .	63.0	54.5	8.5	62.5	53.5	9.0	65.8	59.0	6.8
1924 . . .	61.7	53.7	8.0	61.7	52.6	9.1	62.0	57.9	4.1
1925 (pres.- el.) . . .	43.8	36.2	7.6	42.8	34.1	8.7	48.9	44.4	4.5
1927 . . .	59.7	52.4	7.3	59.2	51.9	7.3	62.0	54.4	7.6
1929 . . .	59.6	52.1	7.5	60.0	52.4	7.6	57.3	50.9	6.4
1930 . . .	68.6	63.6	5.3	68.6	62.8	5.8	68.5	66.6	1.9
1931 (pres.- el.) . . .	51.4	43.7	7.7	49.6	40.2	9.4	60.2	56.2	4.0

frequency is observable; in the first seven elections the average difference was 9 per cent, in the last seven elections it was 7.4 per cent (we disregard the election of 1919 the results of which strongly differ from the normal). Among the registered electors at all elections the women have been in a clear majority (1,145 women as against 1,000 men in 1930) but with the exception of the elections of 1919, 1927, 1929, and 1930, the men have made up the majority of the voters. In the towns the preponderance of women among the registered electors has been exceedingly great; in 1930 the electors in the towns comprised 92,345 men and 130,519 women, in the country 458,588 men and 454,093 women.

Regarding the municipal elections complete data exist for the period 1921—1928. The voting age is lower in these elections than in the political elections; at the election of 1925 it was 20 years, and later it has been 21 years. Figures for the electoral participation of men and women are given below. Only those communes are included where election has taken place by voting.¹²

*Participation of men and women in the municipal elections
in Finland, 1921—1928.*

Election	Whole country			Country			Towns		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
1921 . . .	40.4	32.2	8.2	38.0	28.0	10.0	56.4	51.6	4.8
1922 . . .	36.6	28.6	8.0	34.3	24.6	9.7	50.7	46.2	4.5
1923 . . .	33.4	26.5	6.9	31.1	22.7	8.4	47.6	43.7	3.9
1924 . . .	31.6	24.4	7.2	29.4	20.4	9.0	45.5	41.2	4.3
1925 . . .	42.5	34.6	7.9	40.7	31.3	9.4	53.0	47.8	5.2
1928 . . .	46.9	38.7	8.2	45.2	35.3	9.9	55.2	50.9	4.3

As will be seen, the participation on the whole is considerably lower in the municipal elections than in the political elections, but the average difference between the voting frequencies of men and women is about the same (7.7 per cent). As in the political elections this difference is considerably greater in the country than in the towns; the averages are 9.4 and 4.5 per cent respectively. In the municipal elections in the country where the voting frequency is exceptionally low, the difference of the interest in politics of the sexes is thus extremely marked.

In December, 1931, a popular referendum of an advisory nature was held in Finland on the principles of liquor legislation.¹³ Previously total prohibition was in force. According to the referendum law three questions were put before the electors: 1) whether prohibition was to be maintained; 2) whether the prohibition law should be altered so as to permit controlled sale of weak alcoholic liquors; 3) whether the prohibition law should be abolished and another law enacted permitting also the sale of other than weak alcoholic liquors. The law stipulated that men and women were to use voting tickets of different colour at the referendum, as it was considered important — as in Sweden in the corresponding referendum — to ascertain the possible differences in the attitudes of the sexes.

Participation in the referendum was weaker than what is usual at riksdag elections, and the women in particular

were very slack in voting. The voting frequency for the whole country was 52.6 per cent for the men, and 37.2 per cent for the women; the corresponding figures for the towns were 61.2 and 49.6 per cent, for the country 50.8 and 33.7 per cent. The difference in electoral participation between men and women thus was 15.4 per cent, in the country 17.1 per cent. A majority of the men as well as of the women voted in favour of the third of the alternatives presented at the referendum, but among the women — and particularly among the women in the country — considerably greater sympathies were revealed for the first alternative than among the men. This appears from the following collocation.

Prohibition referendum in Finland in 1931.

Number of votes in favour of the different alternatives in per cent of valid votes

	I			II			III		
	men	women	total	men	women	total	men	women	total
Whole									
country	23.8	33.3	28.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	74.8	65.3	70.6
Country	24.9	37.4	30.2	1.6	1.6	1.6	73.5	61.0	68.2
Towns	19.2	23.3	21.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	80.0	75.6	77.6

By the *Estonian* constitutional law of 1920, men and women are enfranchised on reaching the age of twenty. Statistical reports on the elections during the period 1923—1932 exist, establishing the electoral participation of men and women in towns, boroughs and rural districts. The majority of the registered electors belong to the rural districts while the boroughs occupy a modest place; at the elections of 1932, 217,084 out of 721,670 registered electors belonged to the towns, 17,625 to the boroughs, and 486,961 to the rural districts. In regard to the following tabulation of the most important electoral-statistical data it should be noted that the average figure for the men's electoral participation in the whole country is increased by the votes of the conscripts being added as a specific group — not noted in our table.¹⁴

Participation of men and women in the parliamentary elections in Estonia, 1923—1932.

Election	Whole country			Country			Boroughs			Towns		
	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.
1923	75.8	63.0	12.8	74.8	63.0	11.8	69.3	64.8	4.5	66.5	62.6	3.9
1926	77.7	70.3	7.4	78.5	69.3	9.2	72.7	73.5	-0.8	74.4	72.2	2.2
1929	74.7	65.1	9.6	74.8	64.8	10.0	76.3	71.6	4.7	71.6	65.5	6.1
1932	73.0	62.9	9.1	72.6	60.6	12.0	75.8	70.7	5.1	72.0	66.8	5.2

In these four elections the men's electoral participation exceeds that of the women by an average of 9.5 per cent. In the country the difference is somewhat greater, 10.8 per cent, whereas in boroughs and towns it is considerably smaller, 3.4 and 4.4 per cent respectively. It is particularly noteworthy that — apart from the boroughs — the men throughout show stronger electoral participation in the country than in the towns, whereas among the women the tendency is the exact opposite; in the elections of 1926, 1929, and 1932 the women voted more frequently in the towns than in the country. The statistical reports offer no hint of an explanation of this very peculiar state of affairs.

Four referendums have been held in Estonia: one in 1923 — prompted by a popular initiative — on the introduction of religious instruction in the schools, one in 1932 on a proposal for reform of the constitution, involving a considerable extension of the executive power, and two in 1933 on proposals for changes in the constitutional law.¹⁵ Data exist showing the electoral participation of men and women in these referendums; no investigation into the attitude of the two sexes was carried out, however. The following table is incomplete on one point, in so far as the votes of the conscripts in the first referendum are not included.

*Participation of men and women in the referendums
in Estonia.*

Referendum	Whole country			Country			Boroughs			Towns		
	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.	men	women	diff.
1923	68.4	64.8	3.6	71.1	62.2	9.9	67.9	70.1	-2.2	60.8	64.0	-3.2
1932	91.7	89.5	2.2	94.1	92.4	1.7	88.5	88.5	0	86.2	83.8	2.4
1933 ¹	72.0	62.0	10.0	70.2	58.2	12.0	77.8	71.7	6.1	74.6	68.6	6.0
1933 ²	82.9	73.9	9.0	79.8	68.5	11.3	83.9	81.5	2.4	89.5	84.3	5.2

The above data give cause for certain observations. At the referendum on religious instruction in the schools the participation of the women was higher in the boroughs and in the towns than that of the men; in the country, on the other hand, the men kept their usual preponderance. The referendum on a constitutional reform of a far-reaching nature in 1932 shows extremely high electoral participation and an exceptionally slight difference between the men's and the women's voting frequencies; in the country the women's poll was almost as high as the men's. The two latest referendums are remarkable in so far as the men showed stronger electoral participation in the towns than in the country; on this point the sexes now revealed the same tendency — contrary to what had been the case in all the elections.

As regards electoral participation, *British* election statistics do not distinguish between men and women. Neither, so far as known, has the question of the political activity of the sexes been made the object of specific investigation. According to one statement, however, the voting frequency among the women was about 10 per cent lower than among the men in certain "typical" electoral districts at the election of 1924.¹⁶

According to a *Polish* investigation embracing the elections to the chamber of deputies in a number of towns as well as in certain rural districts in 1928, the average voting frequency of the men was about ten per cent higher than that of the women.¹⁷

Although the *German* statistics, which will be dealt with below in greater detail, contain certain data regarding the political attitude of the sexes, it does not in general give information on the electoral participation of men and women. A large number of reports on the electoral participation of the sexes within limited areas have been published, however. As an account of most of these reports has been given in the investigations published by Hartwig, and as, in the following account of the electoral participation at different ages, we are to have an opportunity of discussing this question, here we confine ourselves to some summary remarks.¹⁸

Before the elections to the constituent national assembly the women were granted suffrage on the same conditions as the men, that is to say on reaching the age of 20; corresponding regulations were included in the constitution of 1919. At the elections to the national assembly in the Reich and at the corresponding elections in some states, according to statements in different accounts, the women voted as frequently as the men, or even more frequently. For instance, the men's electoral participation at Hamburg was 90.2 per cent, and the women's participation was 90.4 per cent; the corresponding figures for Bremen were 79.8 and 87.7 per cent, for Cologne 67.2 and 73.0 per cent, for Nuremberg 85.9 and 88.6 per cent. It has been shown in various investigations that this was due, above all, to the voting frequency being abnormally low among the men of the youngest age groups. The electoral participation at Nuremberg, for instance, was 67.3 per cent among the 20-year-old males and 95.7 per cent among the women of 20; the corresponding figures for the age group of 21—25 years were 71.9 and 87.0 per cent. Several authors have pointed out that in point of fact the low electoral participation of the younger men was only apparent; it is explained by the fact that "at that time many still were under arms and far from their homes, or kept prisoners, or missing or emigrated".¹⁹ Even in the older age groups, however, the women's electoral participation in 1919 was almost as strong as that of the men. This is often said to have been due to the "charm of

novelty" to the women of having a vote to cast, but the explanation appears improbable among other things because in other countries the women rather have shown particularly low participation in the first election at which they were enfranchised. It seems more probable that even out of the men over 25 a large number were prevented from casting their votes for the same reasons as were suggested in the case of the youngest age classes. This hypothesis is confirmed by a detailed account of the electoral participation within different age groups in the election to the national assembly at Mannheim; this account will be dealt with in another chapter.

In the subsequent elections the women throughout have shown lower voting frequency than the men; the difference in the political activity of the sexes has been greater in the country than in the towns, as has often been the case elsewhere. For the period 1920—1930 Hartwig gives comprehensive data. In the following table we present some of these, together with certain items from later years. All the figures refer to elections to the German Reichstag.

*Electoral participation of men and women in certain districts
in Germany, 1920—1933.*

Election	Electoral participation	
	men	women
<i>Certain parts of Bavaria.</i>		
1920	81.1	71.2
1924 a)	74.0	61.7
1924 b)	83.9	75.4
1928	79.9	69.2
1930	83.5	74.6
<i>Berlin.</i>		
1928	83.5	75.1
1930	84.2	79.1
<i>Frankfurt-on-Main.</i>		
1928	78.1	65.9
1930	85.2	75.9
<i>Leipzig.⁵⁰</i>		
1928	85.6	80.0
1930	88.3	85.1
1933	95.5	91.0

Election	Electoral participation	
	men	women
<i>Cologne.</i> ²¹		
1920	63.3	51.2
1924 a)	66.8	52.6
1924 b)	67.2	52.7
1928	68.5	53.3
1930	79.6	69.0
1932 a)	83.2	71.3
1932 b)	76.2	62.1
1933	85.7	76.0
<i>Magdeburg.</i> ²²		
1928	86.5	81.6
1930	90.6	87.6
1932 a)	89.4	83.9
1932 b)	86.6	80.4
1933	92.1	87.4
<i>Regensburg.</i> ²³		
1930	81.7	78.7
1932 a)	88.7	80.8
1932 b)	85.3	76.8
1933	92.7	87.5
<i>Wiesbaden.</i> ²⁴		
1930	84.8	76.6
1932 a)	88.2	75.8
1932 b)	78.1	79.8
1933	92.5	84.1

On an average the men's voting frequency has exceeded that of the women by about 10 per cent. The difference seems to be relatively great in the Catholic districts; owing to the incompleteness of the material, however, this conclusion is uncertain. No definite tendency to equalization is observable. The difference in electoral participation between the sexes as a rule seems to have decreased with high general participation in the elections.

In *Austria* woman suffrage was introduced at the elections to the constituent national assembly in 1919; the voting age was put at 20 years. In accordance with the federal constitution of 1920 the same voting regulations applied at elections to the Nationalrat. By the constitutional reform of 1929 the voting age was raised to 21 years. Below, figures are given for the participation in the five elections

which were held under the democratic régime, both for the country at large and for Vienna.²⁵ In 1930, 1,282,622 out of the 4,121,282 registered electors belonged to Vienna.

Participation of men and women in elections to the constituent national assembly in 1919, and to the Nationalrat, 1920—1930.

Election	Whole country			Vienna		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
1919	87.0	82.1	4.9	87.4	81.8	5.6
1920	83.8	77.7	6.1	86.9	80.6	6.3
1923	88.9	85.2	3.7	92.6	90.0	2.6
1927	90.8	87.5	3.3	93.6	92.1	1.5
1930	91.2	88.8	2.4	93.8	93.0	0.8

At a very high electoral participation throughout, the difference between the voting frequencies of men and women has been very slight, or on an average 4 per cent; the higher the male poll, the more frequently have the women voted in proportion to the men. At the three later elections the difference between the sexes was smaller in Vienna with its exceptionally high electoral participation, than in the country at large.

As regards electoral participation in the *United States* there exists no wholly complete and reliable material. No election statistics for the union are published. A number of separate states publish data on the elections, but these do not always permit of safe conclusions in regard to electoral participation, above all on the ground that as a rule it is up to the individual citizens to register as electors. A comparison between the number of voters and the number of persons entered on the voting lists consequently will throw no light on the electoral participation in its proper sense; according to the regulations in force many persons are qualified to vote who, on account of their omission to report to the electoral authorities, are not included among the registered electors. As regards the electoral participation of men and women data exist, so far as known, only with reference to certain elections in the state of Illinois (1913—1920). Several investigators, however, have attempted to throw light on this question.

Rice and Willey, for instance, have tried to ascertain the women's poll in the presidential election of 1920 on the basis of data from 21 of the northern states.²⁶ The manner of proceeding was as follows. First, the approximate number of qualified electors (not only those entered on the voting lists) at the presidential elections of 1880, 1900, and 1920 were calculated according to methods which cannot be here discussed. The participation in the three elections was established on the basis of these figures and official information regarding the number of voters; the percentages arrived at were 87.2, 82.2, and 56.3. As the women were not qualified to vote in 1880 and 1900 but in 1920 in the states included in the investigation, it would *a priori* seem probable that the women, by their neglect to vote, have strongly contributed to the low voting frequency in 1920. The question then arose to what degree this had been the case. As the most reasonable postulate it was assumed that the men's voting frequency had decreased to an equal degree between 1900 and 1920 and between 1880 and 1900, that is to say, by 5.7 per cent. 77.5 per cent out of the qualified men, estimated at 16.6 millions — that is, nearly 12.9 millions — would then have cast their votes in 1920. The number of voters amounting to 18.5 millions, the women voters then would have been about 5.6 millions — only 34.7 per cent of the calculated number of qualified women. But the established electoral participation among the women in Illinois was 46.5 per cent; the authors therefore assume that the women's voting frequency in the states examined on an average lies somewhere between 34.7 and 46.5 per cent.

Indisputably it has been made probable by this investigation that the women have voted considerably less than the men in the presidential election of 1920. But the calculations and assumptions on which the investigation is based, are extremely vague, as the authors themselves admit. This is true not only of the data for the number of qualified electors in the different elections, but above all of the assumptions made on the basis of the data from the

elections of 1880 and 1900 concerning the election of 1920.

Other available data, however, also indicate that the difference in participation between men and women, is considerably larger in the United States than in most other countries. As already mentioned, the official statistics of Illinois give the number of registered electors and the number of men and women voters in certain elections. For the presidential election of 1920 and the mayoral election in Chicago in 1923, Merriam and Gosnell have further, on the basis of the census figures, calculated the number of qualified electors according to the regulations in force, thereby establishing the actual electoral participation.²⁷ We reproduce below a collocation made by these authors.

*Electoral participation of men and women in Chicago,
in 1920 and 1923.*

	Per cent of adult citizens registered		Per cent of reg- istered vote cast		Per cent of adult citizens voting	
	men	women	men	women	men	women
1920	80	49	94	92	75	46
1923	77	46	82	77	63	35

At the election of 1920 the difference in electoral participation accordingly would be 29 per cent, and at the election of 1923, 28 per cent; so large a difference has only been established in a few exceptional cases in other parts.

An investigation carried out by Arnesen on the participation in the community of Delaware in Ohio at the presidential election of 1924, showed an electoral participation of 72.9 per cent for the men, and 57.1 per cent for the women; the difference thus was 15.8 per cent, which is considerably less than what was found in the elections examined at Chicago.²⁸ But the investigation only comprised about 4,400 individuals, and therefore cannot be made the basis of general conclusions.

In the *Australian Federation* men and women of full age were enfranchised by the constitutional law of 1901. Below are given data on the participation up to and including the

elections of 1922, contested constituencies only being included; in the year 1924 compulsory voting was introduced and ever since that date the difference between the voting frequencies of the two sexes has been extremely slight.²⁹

*Electoral participation of men and women in Australia,
1903—1922.*

Election	Senate			House of Representatives		
	men	women	difference	men	women	difference
1903	53.1	40.0	13.1	56.5	43.5	13.0
1906	56.4	43.3	13.1	57.4	44.8	12.6
1910	67.6	56.2	11.4	68.1	56.9	11.2
1913	77.2	69.7	7.5	77.0	69.6	7.4
1914	77.1	67.7	9.4	77.9	68.8	9.1
1917	82.0	73.2	8.8	82.5	73.9	8.6
1919	76.0	65.5	10.5	76.2	66.9	9.3
1922	64.7	51.2	13.5	65.9	52.7	13.2

The men's voting frequency exceeds that of the women by an average percentage of 10.9 in elections to the senate, and of 10.5 in elections to the house of representatives; in the lastmentioned elections the participation on the whole is somewhat higher. The difference between the voting frequencies of the sexes throughout is inversely proportional to the height of the total electoral participation. No general tendency to a decrease of this difference is observable. — In seven popular referendums held during the period 1906—1919, the men's poll was on an average 11 per cent higher than that of the women.

In the separate Australian states also woman suffrage was introduced at an early date: in New South Wales in 1902, in Victoria in 1908, in Queensland in 1905, in South Australia in 1894, in Western Australia in 1899, in Tasmania in 1903. In the main the same tendencies have asserted themselves as those established in the federation, in so far as the suffrage has not been combined with compulsory voting.³⁰ The women's poll as a rule has been 5—10 per cent lower than that of the men. On isolated occasions the case has been reversed. In Western Australia 56 per cent of the women voted in 1901 as compared to a mere 44 per cent of the men, and in certain of the subsequent elections

also the women voted more numerously than the men. This was probably a consequence of the abnormal population conditions long prevailing in this state in so far as the number of men was incomparably larger than that of the women; in 1908, 74,874 out of the registered electors were men, and 16,648 were women, and in 1918 the corresponding figures were 83,060 and 52,919. In all probability the unmarried men — to which category an unproportionally large portion of the pioneers and gold-diggers resident in distant parts may be presumed to belong — voted incomparably less frequently than the married men and the married women. In recent years when the number of women has about equalled the number of men, the men's voting frequency has throughout been higher than that of the women.

In New Zealand women of full age were enfranchised as early as 1893, that is to say earlier than in any other state with the exception of certain American states. Data on the electoral participation among men and women exist from the election of 1896 and onwards. Up to and including the election of 1914 the statistics give both the percentage of persons of full age who have registered as qualified electors and the percentage of those who have actually cast their votes; in order to establish the electoral participation in its proper sense — that is to say the number of voters out of the electors qualified according to the regulations, irrespective of their having registered or not — the two figures (in hundredths) obviously have to be multiplied by each other. From the election of 1919 and onwards it has been assumed that practically all the qualified electors are entered on the voting lists, and consequently only the percentage of voters out of the electors on the voting lists, is given. In regard to the table presented below it must be remembered that New Zealand as well as the Australian states practises majority voting and that the data only refer to the contested constituencies and not to those where no voting has taken place.²¹

*Electoral participation of men and women in New Zealand,
1896—1931.*

Election	Men	Women	Difference
1896	75.9	68.1	7.8
1899	77.5	72.1	5.4
1902	77.1	70.8	6.3
1905	81.2	76.1	5.1
1908	80.7	78.3	2.4
1911	84.6	81.4	3.2
1914	83.2	78.9	4.3
1919	81.5	79.5	2.0
1922	89.4	87.9	1.5
1925	92.1	89.7	2.4
1928	89.0	87.0	2.0
1931	84.5	82.0	2.5

The difference in electoral participation between men and women is unusually small, on an average less than 4 per cent. The tendency to a decrease of the difference is clearly visible; in the first six elections the difference was 5 per cent, in the later six elections it was 2.5 per cent. In no other state with the exception of Australia, the women have shown such strong interest in politics. As was the case in Austria, the strong electoral participation of the women is combined with an exceptionally high absolute voting frequency.

In this discussion finally certain investigations should be mentioned in which particular light has been thrown on the electoral participation of married couples. These investigations show both that the couples as a rule behave in the same manner — that is to say, either both cast their votes or both abstain — and that it is incomparably more common for the husband to vote and the wife to abstain than the other way round. At the elections to the Landtag in Leipzig in 1922 the electoral participation among 2,537 married couples was established; in 81.3 per cent of the cases both parties cast their votes, in 7.9 per cent none did, in 7.2 per cent the husband only, in 3.6 per cent the wife only.³⁸ The corresponding percentages among 3,433 married couples in the country at the same election were 57.5, 13.7, 26.3, and 2.4. The same tendency was observed in the elections to the Reich national assembly at Mannheim in 1919.³⁹ In the Reichstag election at Nuremberg in 1930, 95 per cent

of the wives cast their votes in the families where the husband took part in the election; in the cases where the husband omitted to vote, only about 30 per cent of the wives cast their votes.³⁴ In the elections to the town council in Copenhagen in 1909, both parties cast their votes in 66.1 per cent of the cases, both parties omitted to vote in 15 per cent of the cases, the husband alone cast his vote in 15.9 per cent, and the wife alone in 3 per cent of the cases.³⁵ According to certain data from the election to the second chamber in Sweden in 1928, it was 6—7 times more common for the husband alone to cast his vote than for the wife alone to take part in the election.³⁶

* * *

For certain countries detailed data on the party attitude of the women are available, the male and female votes having been booked separately. In exceptional cases, the effects of woman suffrage are ascertainable by other methods.

In *Sweden* a separation of the votes has been carried out only in the prohibition referendum of 1922 mentioned above. But it may be confidently stated that woman suffrage has acted in favour of the non-socialist parties. The official statistics showing the electoral participation within different social classes — which will be discussed in the next chapter — make it clear that the voting frequency among the women increases with the social standard to a higher degree than among the men, that is to say the women of the lower social groups, above all the working classes, show relatively low electoral participation as compared to the men. A strong correlation being present between social position and conservatism, it follows as a matter of course that woman suffrage becomes an asset to the parties on the conservative wing.

The consequences of this cannot be illustrated in detail. For Stockholm, however, statistical proof of the tendency as such may be given. In Stockholm it is possible to collo-

cate complete data for certain elections in regard to sex and occupational distribution of the voters in all the electoral districts. In order to throw some light on these and certain other questions I have tabulated the data in point from the election to the second chamber of 1932 for 55 out of some 400 electoral districts in all; the districts have been chosen so as to establish a fairly representative selection.³⁷ If a simple correlation is calculated between socialists in per cent of valid votes, and women voters in per cent of valid votes the outcome is strongly negative, or -0.90 . This correlation, however, is misleading as it is due simply to the fact that the number of women, in relation to the number of men, is largest in the well-to-do districts; in these districts the women comprise 60—68 per cent of the voters, as compared to 50—55 per cent in the proletarian districts. A partial correlation therefore has been calculated according to the formula

$$r_{xy,z} = \frac{r_{xy} - r_{x,z} \cdot r_{y,z}}{\sqrt{1 - r_{x,z}^2} \sqrt{1 - r_{y,z}^2}}$$

x = socialists in per cent of valid votes. y = women voters in per cent of valid votes. z = registered electors in social class III in per cent of the total number of registered electors. The result is -0.16 , that is to say a negative correlation is indicated between socialism and the woman's vote.^{37a}

At the elections to the constituent national assembly in *Germany* regulations were issued making possible a separation of men and women voters.³⁸ According to the electoral regulations for the assembly of November 30th, 1918, separate voting lists for men and women could be used if the authorities in question so resolved. A decree of December 19th, 1918, says: "In grossen Stimmbezirken ist es zulässig, dass die Wahlen gleichzeitig in zwei verschiedenen Räumen desselben Gebäudes vorgenommen werden, sofern die Wählerlisten nach Geschlechtern getrennt angelegt sind oder sonst geteilt werden können". A regulation to the same effect was included in the "Reichsstimmord-

nung" valid for the elections to the Reichstag, § 41: "In large electoral districts and in the districts where the voting lists or voting card registers are kept separately for the sexes or otherwise can be separated, the voting may take place simultaneously in different rooms of the same building or in different buildings or at different tables in the same room."

Consequently it was up to the local authorities in charge of the voting procedure to decide whether a separation of the male and female votes was to take place. Regarding the treatment of the data obtained in this way no general decree was issued. — At the state and local elections the authorities in many cases were free to decide on the separation of the votes.

The separation of the votes has not always been made in the manner anticipated in the regulations quoted. Frequently another method has been employed: voting envelopes of different colours have been distributed to the male and female voters whereupon it has been possible to count the male and female votes separately.³⁹ At Hamburg the same result has been obtained by applying a W to the voting tickets intended for women.⁴⁰

It is not possible to ascertain the full extent to which the separation of the votes has been carried out without applying to the various communities. An investigation so expensive and lengthy has been out of the question. The following account in the main is based on data published in different official reports; to these are added some items not previously published which have been obtained from the statistical authorities in question. In any case the material before us seems to be sufficiently large and representative to give a fairly complete picture of the effects of woman suffrage.

During the first years of the Weimar régime separation of male and female votes was practised only to a small extent, to judge from available publications and from data otherwise obtained. For the election to the national assembly in 1919, data on this question are to be had only from Cologne and a few smaller towns. At the elections to the

Reichstag in 1920 separation was carried out in districts comprising in all about 850,000 registered electors.⁴¹ At the four subsequent elections to the Reichstag separation was practised to a much greater extent, and the results were published in the Reich statistics. At the election of May, 1924, the separation comprised districts in various parts of the country with 2,632,535 registered electors; the corresponding number at the election of December was 2,242,127, at the election of 1928, 8,509,727, and at the election of 1930, 7,211,249. By way of comparison it may be mentioned that the total number of registered electors was about 40 millions. As regards the Reichstag elections no account on this question has been given in the Reich statistics after 1930. At this date the procedure of separating the votes was as a matter of fact stopped in many parts; at least in some places this was done for financial reasons. For instance, separation was applied in Berlin 1928—1930 and in most parts of Thuringia 1924—1930, but not at the Reichstag elections after 1930. — For the districts in which a separation was carried out in the elections to the Reichstag in 1932 and in 1933, no complete data have been obtainable. In Reichsstatistisches Amt in Berlin data are available only for one of these elections — November of 1932 — and these are not complete; for the elections of July, 1932, and of March, 1933, no data are found on this point in the archives of the above-mentioned office. Some isolated data on the elections in question are to be found, however, in the statistical publications of various towns or states (Bremen, Cologne, Magdeburg, Wiesbaden, certain parts of Bavaria) or have been obtainable from the proper authorities (Leipzig, Regensburg). At the elections after March, 1933, no separation has been made.

Among other elections from which data on the political attitude of the sexes are to a certain extent obtainable, in the first place the presidential elections of 1925 and of 1932 should be mentioned; in districts embracing somewhat more than one million, and 2,370,000, registered electors respectively, a separation was made at these elections and reported in the Reich statistics. Further, in a series

of publications issued by state or municipal authorities information is given on the results of the separation carried out at the elections in separate states or communities. These local elections will not be discussed here, as an account would offer nothing of interest beyond what is given by the account of the Reich elections.

On the basis of the results arrived at in the separation of the sexes, some scientific investigations into the political attitude of the women have been carried out. Above all the essays already mentioned, published by Hartwig in *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv* in 1927 and 1931 and a work published by Beyer, "Die Frau in der politischen Entscheidung", in 1932, are to be noted. These authors whose accounts refer to the time up to and including the Reichstag election of 1930, have not, however, or anyway have not completely, made use of important parts of the material, above all, the reports given in the Reich statistics. So far as known, no investigation on the Reichstag elections of 1932 and 1933 has been published.

Different methods may be used for a comparison between the party attitude of men and women, or their attitude to different candidates. In the reports and investigations available concerning the German elections, one of the following methods as a rule has been employed. Either the investigator has calculated the number of men and women among a hundred voters supporting a certain party. Or else, a calculation has been made of the number of women voters to each hundred of men voters supporting a certain party. These methods, however, suffer from the drawback that the figures are dependent on the relation between the numbers of male and female voters; no direct expression of the women's party attitude as compared to that of the men is obtained. We have therefore chosen another procedure where this has been possible (a procedure used in the statistics from Cologne). It has been calculated how many per cent of the men and of the women have voted in favour of a certain party; then it has been calculated how many per cent of the male percentage figure the female percentage is. The tables give all three percentage figures

obtained in this manner. By this procedure accordingly both the support given to a certain party by men and women respectively, and the attitude of the women relative to a certain party as compared with the men, is shown, irrespective of the number of men and women electors.

To begin with a general survey of the voting of the sexes in the elections to the national representative body during the period 1919—1930, will be given.

As mentioned above, a separation of the votes was carried out only in a small number of districts at the election to the national assembly in 1919. It does not seem necessary to enter into details of the results obtained in these districts; the main thing is to establish that on the whole the same tendencies have manifested themselves in this election as have been observable in the subsequent elections. As regards one or two districts we shall have occasion to quote the figures from 1919 in another connection.

Regarding the Reichstag election of 1920 data are found from a fair number of districts. But we do not possess the complete data necessary to the employment of the method of comparison recommended above, so that only the number of men and women respectively, out of 100 voters of each party, can be given. Data are also given showing the sex proportion among the registered electors as well as among the voters within the districts in question.

	Percentage of men	Percentage of women
Registered electors	47	53
Voters	51	49
German national party	44	56
German people's party	49	51
Centre	41	59
Democrats	53	47
Social democrats	57	43
Independent socialists	59	41
Communists	63	37
Other parties	45	55

The German national party, the German people's party and the Centre — the large parties favoured by the women — together received 42.5 per cent of the votes in the examined districts; out of their supporters, 56 per cent were

women. The three socialist parties obtained 43.3 per cent of the votes; out of their supporters 42 per cent were women.

The following table illustrates the attitude of the sexes adopted in the elections to the Reichstag 1924—1930. In the tables data are included referring both to the largest parties and those of special interest from other points of view, and also to certain main groupings, namely the socialists (social democrats, certain smaller socialist parties, and communists), the non-socialist parties (to which group the national socialists are taken to belong), and the "bourgeois" parties (among which the national socialists are not counted). The item under the heading a) refers to the percentage of male voters which has supported a certain party; the item under b) refers to the same figure for the women voters; the item under c) gives b) in per cent of a), that is to say, the attitude of the women as compared to that of the men. In order to make comparisons possible, information is also given regarding the position held by the parties in the body of voters at all the elections to the Reichstag held during the period 1924—1933.⁴³

The data given above obviously afford no sure basis for comparisons between different elections; it will be seen that the material on which the percentage figures are based, is highly varying. As regards the general attitude of the sexes to different parties and movements the data are, however, representative; all investigations point in the same direction. A general characterization of this attitude — or, in other words, the characterization of the women's attitude as compared to that of the men — however meets with certain difficulties; it becomes necessary in a concentrated form to indicate the characteristics of the different parties, and in doing so a certain arbitrariness is unavoidable. With this general reservation, the tendencies observable in the data presented, may be summed up as follows.

The parties basing on church and religion have above all been favoured by the women. The two Catholic parties — the centre and the Bavarian people's party — in the examined elections showed an average sex index or sex voting index (that is the figure given under c)) of more than 150,

The party attitude of the sexes in the Reichstag elections, 1924—1930.

	May 4, 1924			Dec. 7, 1924			May 28, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	—	—	—	4.4 ¹	3.7 ⁶	85.3	2.6 ⁰	1.8 ⁴	70.8	17.4	15.3	87.9
German popular party (Deutsch-Völkische Freiheitspartei)	13.5	13.0	96.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German national party	8.35	9.64	115.4	9.73	11.50	118.2	10.1	13.3	131.7	6.53	9.13	139.8
Christian-social people's service	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.85	1.73	203.5
German People's party	7.66	8.59	112.1	12.0	13.8	115.0	8.88	9.82	110.6	5.22	6.51	124.7
Democrats	4.26	4.07	95.5	6.41	6.20	96.7	6.69	6.66	99.6	4.65	4.64	99.8
Centre + Bavarian people's party	11.0	17.0	154.5	10.2	15.1	148.0	6.63	10.22	154.1	5.24	8.31	158.6
Social democrats	22.0	20.8	94.5	29.6	26.7	90.2	32.9	31.5	95.7	28.1	28.0	99.6
Communists	18.9	13.1	69.3	14.05	9.5 ⁸	68.2	20.3	15.5	76.4	24.0	18.1	75.4
Socialists	42.0	34.8	82.9	43.9	36.4	82.9	53.2	47.0	88.3	52.1	46.1	88.5
Anti-socialists	58.0	65.2	112.4	56.1	63.6	113.4	46.8	53.0	113.2	47.9	53.9	112.5
Bourgeois parties	58.0	65.2	112.4	51.7	59.8	115.9	44.2	51.1	115.6	30.5	38.6	126.6

	Registered electors	Voters	Electoral participation
May 4, 1924	2 632 535	1 963 430	74.6
Dec. 7, 1924	2 242 127	1 716 551	76.6
May 20, 1928	8 509 727	6 397 262	75.2
Sept. 14, 1930	7 211 249	5 938 845	82.4

The total strength of the parties in Germany at the elections of 1924—1933.

	May 4, 1924		Dec. 7, 1924		May 20, 1928		Sept. 14, 1930		July 31, 1932		Nov. 6, 1932		March 5, 1933	
	absolute numbers	per cent of voters	absolute numbers	per cent of voters	absolute numbers	per cent of voters	absolute numbers	per cent of voters	absolute numbers	per cent of voters	absolute numbers	per cent of voters	absolute numbers	per cent of voters
National socialists . . .	—	—	906 946	3.0	809 939	2.6	6 406 924	18.3	13 779 017	37.4	11 737 395	33.1	17 277 328	43.9
German national party . .	5 696 368	19.5	6 205 324	20.5	4 380 196	14.3	2 457 572	7.0	2 186 051	5.9	3 019 115	8.5	3 136 979	8.0
Christ.-social people's service	—	—	—	—	—	—	869 766	2.5	364 543	1.0	403 666	1.2	383 970	1.0
German people's party . .	2 694 317	9.2	3 049 215	10.1	2 678 532	8.7	1 577 411	4.5	436 002	1.2	660 889	1.9	432 255	1.1
Democrats	1 665 049	5.7	1 917 764	6.3	1 504 721	4.9	1 322 028	3.8	371 800	1.0	336 447	1.0	334 315	0.9
Centre	3 914 379	13.4	4 118 190	13.6	3 710 747	12.1	4 127 005	11.8	4 589 430	12.5	4 230 545	11.9	4 425 000	11.2
Bavarian people's party .	946 648	3.2	1 131 979	3.8	945 306	3.1	1 058 711	3.0	1 192 684	3.2	1 095 938	3.1	1 073 551	2.7
Social democrats	6 008 713	20.5	7 880 963	26.0	9 150 533	29.8	8 575 699	24.5	7 959 712	21.6	7 247 901	20.4	7 181 273	18.3
Communists	3 693 139	12.6	2 708 345	9.0	3 262 876	10.6	4 590 453	13.1	5 282 636	14.3	5 980 239	16.9	4 847 939	12.3
E l e c t o r a l p a r t i c i p a t i o n														
Registered electors . . .	38 377 490		38 952 645		41 224 678		42 957 762		44 211 216		44 374 085		44 664 825	
Voters	29 708 765		30 688 766		31 167 245		35 226 657		37 162 081		35 758 259		39 658 310	
Electoral participation . .		77.4		78.8		75.6		82.0		84.1		80.6		88.8

that is to say, the women gave their votes to these parties to an extent exceeding that of the men by more than 50 per cent. The Christian people's service which appeared at the election of 1930 and above all represented Protestant church interests, also obtained extremely strong support among the women; its sex index was the highest reached by any party in the period under consideration. The German national party with its clearly national, conservative and monarchical outlook and its strong attachment to the Protestant church received the strongest support among the women voters next to the parties with a definitely religious orientation. The moderate-conservative German people's party also got a considerable surplus of female votes. On the whole the sex index decreases as we pass to the left. The democratic party has weaker support among the women than among the men, although the difference here is inconsiderable. In the recruitment of the social democrat party the same tendency appears more strongly accentuated. The communist party shows the strongest male preponderance, its sex index on an average being only a little over 70.

Difficulties arise in characterizing the women's attitude to the German popular (racialist) party and the national socialists on the basis of the general tendencies established above. As regards the German popular party which mainly appeared in the spring election of 1924, it should be remembered that it arose from a temporary coalition between the national socialists and a group of extreme nationalist character disconnected from the German national party; its sex index was considerably lower than that of the German national party but higher than that reached by the national socialists in later elections. The national socialists, at the elections of December 1924, 1928, and 1930, showed very low sex indices, lower than any other party with the exception of the communists; as will be shown in the following discussion, the sex index is particularly low in the Catholic districts. This has frequently been ascribed to the radicalism of the programme of this party, its "socialism"; the women's weak support of national socialism has been interpreted as a further proof of the conservative effect of

woman suffrage. But it should be emphasized in this connection that, at least in the elections of 1928 and 1930, national socialism was hardly looked upon as socialistic, even though its programme included certain socialist claims; the party was recruited almost exclusively from groups generally supporting the anti-socialist parties and did not to any considerable extent encroach on the clientèle of the social democrat and communist parties.⁴³ However, this does not exclude the possibility that the comparative radicalism of the party has been a contributory cause of its lack of success among the women.

If we compare, as has been done in the table, the attitude of the sexes to the bourgeois and socialist parties in general — the national socialists not being included — the value of woman suffrage to the bourgeois groups is evident. On an average the sex index is 117.6 for the bourgeois parties and 85.6 for the socialists; if the women's support of socialism is put at 100, the figure denoting their support of the bourgeois parties becomes 138.

It should be pointed out in this connection that the women have not particularly favoured the parties which have worked for their constitutional and legal equality with the men and which to a large extent have chosen women candidates,⁴⁴ and put forward the specific claims of the women. The opposite might rather be asserted, in view of the weak support of the left parties among the women. The conclusion to be drawn on this point, however, is that other factors than sympathy with the specific claims of women's rights have dominated the political choice of the women.

To enter in detail on the influence which woman suffrage may be assumed to have had on the political development in Germany during the period under consideration, from the point of view of tendencies here discussed, would take us beyond the scope of this investigation. Only a few observations, which may serve to indicate the nature of this influence will be made. It has been calculated that if only the men had been qualified to vote in the elections of 1919 and if the difference in the attitude of the sexes observed in certain areas had been present over the whole country,

the social democrats and independent socialists together would have obtained a clear majority in the national assembly.⁴⁵ As it was, the two parties obtained 45.5 per cent of all the votes cast; among the men they might be assumed to have obtained about 55 per cent. The key position in German politics held by the Catholic parties — above all, by the centre — during the period 1919—1932, was due to the support of the women; without it the Catholic parties would have been too weak to make their intermediate position one of predominance. At the elections of 1930, about 25 seats which now mostly went to parties of a confessional character and supporting the ruling régime, would have been won by the “revolutionary parties”, the communists and national socialists.⁴⁶ Considering the division figures in the Reichstag between the September election of 1930 and the formation of the Papen cabinet in 1932 it may be said that the “democratic dictatorship” of Brüning was based on the female votes. On the whole it may be said that during the period under discussion the women served as a safeguard of the moderation, the policy of compromise that characterized the Weimar régime; woman suffrage set a limit to the parliamentary possibilities of the national and proletarian dictatorship parties. But in particular it was an asset to the bourgeois régime in its fight against socialism.

The fact that the extreme parties were of a definitely “masculine” character is of importance from another point of view. These parties no doubt played a greater part in the political discussion and in their extra-parliamentary activity than warranted by their parliamentary strength. They possessed a greater force of action, and were a greater danger to the continued existence of the régime, than immediately indicated by the election figures. In the carrying through of a revolution and the maintaining of a dictatorship, the men are of prime importance. It may therefore be said that the precarious position of the democratic régime in Germany, particularly after the successes of the national socialists and the communists in the elections of 1930, to a certain extent was camouflaged by woman suffrage.

As already mentioned, the Reich statistics also give figures for the attitude of the sexes in certain districts in the presidential elections of 1925 and 1932. Below figures from the presidential elections corresponding to those given in the tables from the Reichstag elections will be found.⁴⁷

Voting of the sexes in the presidential elections of 1925 and 1932.

1 9 2 5

	March 29, 1925			April 26, 1925		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
v. Hindenburg	—	—	—	54.14	57.93	107.0
Jarres	47.77	52.04	108.9	—	—	—
Held	0.23	0.22	95.7	—	—	—
Ludendorff	1.79	1.31	73.2	—	—	—
Braun	33.02	32.12	97.3	—	—	—
Marx	1.34	1.46	109.0	34.44	33.44	97.1
Hellpach	4.20	3.90	92.9	—	—	—
Thälmann	11.50	8.92	77.6	11.33	8.61	76.0
Others	0.15	0.03	20.0	0.09	0.02	22.2

	Registered electors	Voters	Electoral participation
March 29, 1925	1 012 662	746 755	73.7
April 26, 1925	1 020 455	822 650	80.6

1 9 3 2

	March 13, 1932			April 10, 1932		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
Duesterberg	7.49	7.60	101.5	—	—	—
von Hindenburg	44.2	51.6	116.7	48.7	56.0	115.0
Hitler	28.3	26.5	93.6	35.9	33.6	93.6
Thälmann	19.7	14.0	71.1	15.4	10.4	67.5
Winter	0.31	0.25	80.6	—	—	—

	Registered electors	Voters	Electoral participation
March 13, 1932	2 370 981	2 051 603	86.5
April 10, 1932	2 369 067	1 948 766	82.3

In the first round of the election of 1925 consequently the strongest support among the women was won by the Centre candidate, Marx, and by Jarres, who was put forward by the German national and the German people's party. Then came Braun, the socialdemocrat, Held, the leader of the Bavarian people's party, and Hellpach, the democrat; Thälmann, the communist, and Ludendorff, the candidate of the national socialist party, had extremely weak support among the women. On the whole the same tendencies appear as in the Reichstag elections. But certain differences are observable (in particular the low sex index for Held), and certain tendencies do not assert themselves with the same force as in the Reichstag elections (for instance the women's predilection for the centre). These phenomena may be due to various causes. To a certain extent purely accidental factors may have played their part; the centre and the Bavarian people's party, for instance, were so weakly represented in the districts here in question that their sex indices cannot be said to be representative. It should also be noticed that several small parties did not put up candidates of their own, their votes consequently being distributed on the different principal candidates. Finally, the personalities of the various candidates probably were of a certain importance.

These points of view may be applied to the other elections as well. In the second round of 1925 only Hindenburg presented a sex voting index above the average; no doubt he obtained votes from a large number of voters who normally voted in favour of the parties supporting his principal opponent. The latter, the centre candidate Marx, gained comparatively weak support among the women, which is explained partly by Hindenburg's popularity with the women, partly by the fact that Marx was supported not only by the centre, but also by the democrats and social democrats. In the whole country Hindenburg obtained 14.65, and Marx 13.75, million votes; having regard to the sex indices it may be considered as certain that Marx represented the greatest number of male votes.

In the elections of 1932, Hindenburg in both rounds

showed a high sex voting index; he was supported by the Catholic parties, the bourgeois middle parties, and the social democrats. The German-national Duesterberg, who stood in the first round, also gained relatively strong support among the women; the majority of the supporters of Duesterberg probably went over to Hindenburg in the second round. Hitler's sex voting index was lower than that of Hindenburg, but considerably higher than that of Thälmann, the communist.

In order further to illustrate the effects of woman suffrage — in particular its effect on the political developments after the election of 1930 — sex voting indices for different parties in various elections within certain districts, are given below. In the tables have been included in the first place all the districts for which data on the voting of the sexes in the election of 1933 have been obtainable, viz. the cities of Bremen, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Cologne, Wiesbaden, Augsburg, and Regensburg, certain parts of Bavaria, and a group of small districts, mainly Catholic, in the south of Germany; as regards Bavaria, sex indices are given for all the elections held during the period 1924—1933, but it should be noted that the division of the sexes did not refer to the same districts in all these elections. Further, sex indices from Thuringia in 1924 and in 1928 are given; here the votes of the sexes were separated at these elections in practically all the districts, which has not been the case in any other election in any other state with a mixed urban and rural population. Finally, data are quoted for Berlin where a complete separation was carried out in the elections of 1928 and of 1930.⁴⁸

As regards the time up to and including the election of 1930, these data confirm the conclusions about the political effects of woman suffrage drawn from the figures published in the Reich statistics. But they also show that national socialism during its expansion in the years 1930—1933 to an ever increasing extent gained support among the women. This tendency appears with extraordinary force after the formation of the cabinet dominated by national socialists, i. e. in the elections of March, 1933. At Bremen, the sex

Elections in Thuringia in 1924 and 1928.

	December 7, 1924									May 20, 1928								
	Towns			Country			Total			Towns			Country			Total		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	6.39	5.75	90.0	5.59	4.64	83.0	5.80	4.97	85.7	4.31	3.19	74.0	4.16	3.21	77.2	4.20	3.20	76.2
German-national	9.76	12.57	128.8	7.05	8.50	120.6	7.77	9.72	125.1	6.49	8.99	138.5	3.84	5.19	135.2	4.54	6.34	139.6
German people's party	21.9	25.6	116.9	9.47	10.80	114.0	12.8	15.2	118.8	17.2	21.3	123.8	7.16	8.81	123.0	9.80	12.62	128.8
Democrats	7.74	7.45	96.3	4.46	4.19	93.9	5.33	5.16	96.8	5.71	5.55	97.2	3.16	3.08	97.5	3.83	3.84	100.3
Centre	1.08	1.30	120.4	1.09	1.38	126.6	1.08	1.35	125.0	0.99	1.29	130.3	0.83	1.20	144.6	0.87	1.22	140.2
Social democrats	33.4	31.3	93.7	30.0	29.6	98.7	30.9	30.1	97.4	37.9	35.8	94.5	34.3	33.9	98.8	35.2	34.5	98.0
Communists	14.9	11.4	76.5	14.0	11.6	82.9	14.2	11.5	81.0	14.6	10.9	74.7	14.4	11.7	81.3	14.4	11.5	79.9
Socialists	48.3	42.7	88.4	44.0	41.1	93.4	45.1	41.6	92.2	52.8	46.9	88.8	49.2	45.9	93.3	50.1	46.2	92.2
Anti-socialists	51.7	57.3	110.8	56.0	58.9	105.2	54.9	58.4	106.4	47.2	53.1	112.5	50.8	54.1	106.5	49.9	53.8	107.8
Bourgeois	45.4	51.6	113.7	50.4	54.2	107.5	49.1	53.4	108.8	42.9	49.9	116.3	46.7	50.9	109.0	45.7	50.6	110.7

Number of valid votes: 1924 831 620, 1928 824 537.

Elections in Berlin in 1928 and 1930.

	May 20, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	1.83	1.34	73.2	15.2	14.1	92.8
German-national	15.5	19.7	127.1	10.8	14.9	138.0
Christ. soc. people's service	—	—	—	0.65	1.34	206.2
German people's party	6.19	6.70	108.2	3.22	4.04	125.5
Democrats	7.85	7.88	100.4	5.38	5.34	99.3
Centre	2.59	3.92	151.4	2.82	4.31	152.8
Social democrats	33.0	33.4	101.2	26.8	27.6	103.0
Communists	27.4	21.7	79.2	31.0	24.0	77.4
Socialists	60.4	55.0	91.1	57.8	51.7	89.4
Anti-socialists	39.6	45.0	113.6	42.2	48.3	114.5
Bourgeois	37.7	43.6	115.6	27.0	34.2	126.7

Elections at Bremen, 1930—1933.

	Sept. 14, 1930			July 31, 1932			Nov. 6, 1932			March 5, 1933		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	12.9	11.1	86.1	29.9	30.9	103.3	20.8	20.9	100.5	30.8	34.4	111.7
German-national	5.95	8.11	136.3	10.8	14.3	132.4	15.6	19.2	123.1	13.3	15.6	117.3
German people's party	14.2	18.8	132.4	3.81	4.63	121.5	7.12	9.59	134.7	4.80	5.89	122.7
Centre	2.09	2.77	132.5	2.22	3.14	141.4	2.02	2.84	140.6	1.96	2.60	132.7
Social democrats	35.1	32.5	92.6	34.8	33.8	97.1	31.5	30.9	98.1	31.4	29.3	93.3
Communists	14.60	9.25	63.4	16.0	10.6	66.3	20.4	13.3	65.2	16.1	10.4	64.6
Socialists	49.7	41.8	84.1	50.9	44.5	87.4	51.9	44.3	85.4	47.6	39.7	83.4
Anti-socialists	50.3	58.2	115.7	49.1	55.5	113.0	48.1	55.7	115.8	52.4	60.3	115.1
Bourgeois	37.4	47.1	125.9	19.2	24.6	128.1	27.3	34.8	127.5	21.6	25.9	119.9

Elections at Magdeburg, 1928—1933.

	May 20, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930			July 31, 1932			Nov. 6, 1932			March 5, 1933		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	1.90	1.40	73.7	19.8	18.7	94.4	36.3	38.9	107.2	31.1	34.0	109.3	38.1	43.3	113.6
German-national	8.35	10.70	128.1	4.46	6.39	143.3	6.04	6.91	114.4	9.16	10.28	112.2	10.1	10.3	102.0
German people's party	13.9	15.8	113.7	8.26	10.09	122.1	1.77	1.79	101.5	3.17	3.32	104.6	1.94	1.87	96.4
Democrats	8.37	7.98	95.3	4.96	4.81	97.0	1.61	1.37	85.1	1.32	1.06	80.3	1.20	0.94	78.3
Centre	1.52	2.07	136.2	1.76	2.28	129.5	2.11	2.70	128.0	2.01	2.61	129.9	2.00	2.48	124.0
Social democrats	45.2	44.5	98.9	37.8	38.2	101.1	36.1	36.6	101.4	34.0	34.6	101.8	31.5	30.6	97.1
Communists	12.10	8.77	72.5	15.0	10.5	70.0	14.8	10.3	69.6	17.9	12.4	69.3	14.8	10.0	67.6
Socialists	57.5	53.4	92.9	52.8	48.7	92.2	51.0	46.9	92.0	51.9	47.1	90.8	46.3	40.6	87.7
Anti-socialists	42.5	46.6	109.6	47.2	51.3	108.7	49.0	53.1	108.4	48.1	52.9	110.0	53.7	59.4	110.6
Bourgeois	40.6	45.3	111.3	27.4	32.6	119.0	12.7	14.1	111.0	17.0	18.9	111.2	15.6	16.1	103.2

Elections at Leipzig, 1928, 1930 and 1933.

	May 20, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930			March 5, 1933		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	2.95	2.33	79.0	14.6	13.1	89.7	34.1	38.8	113.8
German-national	6.40	8.30	129.7	3.04	4.24	139.5	5.72	5.72	100.0
German people's party	15.5	17.5	112.9	11.4	14.4	126.3	2.32	2.47	106.5
Centre	0.66	0.84	127.3	0.71	0.93	131.0	1.12	1.33	118.8
Social democrats	37.5	37.9	101.1	34.5	35.3	102.3	31.6	31.9	100.9
Communists	19.7	14.8	75.1	21.7	15.7	72.4	21.7	16.2	74.7
Socialists	57.2	52.7	92.1	56.2	51.0	90.7	53.4	48.1	90.1
Anti-socialists	42.8	47.3	110.5	43.8	49.0	111.9	46.6	51.9	111.4
Bourgeois	39.8	45.0	113.1	29.2	35.9	122.9	12.5	13.1	104.8

Elections at Wiesbaden, 1930—1933.

	Sept. 14, 1930			July 31, 1932			Nov. 6, 1932			March 5, 1933		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	29.1	26.0	89.3	43.0	43.7	101.6	36.1	36.8	101.9	44.9	47.3	105.3
German-national	2.47	3.33	134.8	3.59	4.19	116.7	6.15	7.54	122.6	7.77	8.27	106.4
Christ. social people's service	1.08	2.85	263.9	0.82	1.53	186.6	0.97	1.86	191.8	0.87	1.45	166.7
German people's party	9.26	11.76	127.0	2.81	3.15	112.1	5.38	6.15	114.3	2.53	2.57	101.6
Democrats	4.24	4.37	103.1	1.30	1.25	96.2	2.20	2.25	102.3	2.24	2.26	100.9
Centre	6.84	12.62	184.5	8.84	15.01	169.8	7.47	13.41	179.5	7.39	12.42	168.1
Social democrats	24.3	21.2	87.2	23.0	20.4	88.7	21.0	18.5	88.1	19.3	16.3	84.5
Communists	15.6	10.2	65.4	15.41	9.72	63.1	19.6	12.3	62.8	14.93	9.41	63.0
Socialists	39.9	31.4	78.7	38.5	30.1	78.2	40.6	30.9	76.1	34.3	25.7	74.9
Anti-socialists	60.1	68.6	114.1	61.5	69.9	113.7	59.4	69.1	116.3	65.7	74.3	113.1
Bourgeois	31.0	42.6	137.4	18.5	26.2	141.6	23.3	32.3	138.6	20.8	27.0	129.8

Elections in certain parts of Bavaria, 1924—1933.

	M a y 4, 1 9 2 4									M a y 2 0, 1 9 2 8								
	Towns			Country			Total			Towns			Country			Total		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8.68	6.02	69.4	7.15	4.99	69.8	8.37	5.83	69.7
German-popular	26.1	26.8	102.7	16.0	13.7	85.6	25.7	26.3	102.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German national	9.58	10.47	109.3	4.23	4.86	114.9	9.38	10.29	109.7	6.54	7.87	120.3	5.46	6.43	117.8	6.32	7.60	120.3
German people's party	0.86	0.79	91.9	0.65	0.83	126.7	0.85	0.79	92.9	3.58	3.53	98.6	3.82	3.72	97.4	3.63	3.57	98.3
Democrats	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.48	4.59	83.8	3.37	3.00	89.0	5.05	4.30	85.1
Catholics	14.4	21.3	147.9	23.2	36.4	156.9	14.7	21.8	148.3	25.1	39.4	157.0	19.5	31.9	163.6	23.9	38.1	159.4
Social democrats	24.2	22.1	91.3	28.8	24.1	83.7	24.4	22.2	91.0	35.4	27.0	76.3	40.5	34.8	85.9	36.5	28.4	77.8
Communists	17.1	11.2	65.5	17.0	11.2	65.9	17.1	11.2	65.5	6.11	3.24	53.0	4.67	2.43	52.0	5.81	3.09	53.2
Socialists	41.8	33.8	80.9	46.6	35.8	76.8	42.1	33.9	80.5	41.6	30.2	72.6	45.3	37.3	82.3	42.4	31.5	74.3
Anti-socialists	58.2	66.2	113.7	53.4	64.2	120.2	57.9	66.1	114.2	58.4	69.8	119.5	54.7	62.7	114.6	57.6	68.5	118.9
Bourgeois	58.2	66.2	113.7	53.4	64.2	120.2	57.9	66.1	114.2	49.7	63.8	128.4	47.6	57.7	121.2	49.2	62.7	127.4
	S e p t. 1 4, 1 9 3 0									J u l y 3 1, 1 9 3 2								
National socialists	18.6	14.0	75.3	21.3	16.0	75.1	18.9	14.2	75.1	29.1	25.6	88.0	29.7	25.6	86.2	29.2	25.6	87.7
German-national	2.47	3.09	125.1	1.72	2.34	136.0	2.38	3.00	126.1	2.93	3.15	107.5	3.07	3.36	109.4	2.95	3.17	107.5
Christ. social people's service	1.43	3.14	219.6	0.92	1.95	212.0	1.37	3.00	219.0	0.71	1.27	178.9	0.50	0.92	184.0	0.69	1.23	178.3
German people's party	2.81	2.99	106.4	2.09	2.34	112.0	2.71	2.91	107.4	0.94	1.14	121.3	0.83	1.17	141.0	0.93	1.12	120.4
Democrats	3.99	3.61	90.5	2.14	1.98	92.5	3.75	3.42	91.2	0.83	0.71	85.5	0.72	0.60	83.3	0.82	0.69	84.1
Catholics	22.0	36.0	163.6	19.9	33.9	170.4	21.8	35.8	164.2	22.9	35.9	156.8	21.1	34.3	162.6	22.6	35.7	158.0
Social democrats	29.0	23.5	81.0	29.4	26.0	88.4	29.0	23.8	82.1	26.2	22.2	84.7	24.5	21.6	88.2	26.0	22.1	85.0
Communists	12.72	7.48	58.8	10.92	5.66	51.8	12.49	7.27	58.2	15.14	9.00	59.4	15.75	9.94	63.1	15.22	9.10	59.8
Socialists	41.7	31.0	74.3	40.3	31.7	78.7	41.5	31.1	74.9	41.5	31.3	75.4	40.5	31.7	78.3	41.3	31.3	75.8
Anti-socialists	58.3	69.0	118.4	59.7	68.3	114.4	58.5	68.9	117.8	58.5	68.7	117.4	59.5	68.3	114.8	58.7	68.7	117.0
Bourgeois	39.7	55.0	138.5	38.4	52.3	136.2	39.6	54.7	138.1	29.3	43.0	146.8	29.7	42.6	143.4	29.4	43.0	146.3

Elections at Cologne, 1919—1933.

	Jan. 19, 1919			June 6, 1920			May 4, 1924			Dec. 7, 1924		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
German-national	2.2	3.3	150.1	2.7	3.0	109.3	6.5	6.7	103.2	7.3	7.1	97.7
German people's party	5.3	5.5	103.9	14.7	14.3	97.0	10.6	10.5	99.2	12.0	11.8	98.6
Democrats	11.5	10.5	91.8	5.6	4.2	75.2	3.6	3.2	89.3	5.0	4.4	87.6
Centre	32.9	47.6	145.6	27.8	44.7	160.8	24.8	41.5	167.2	27.3	44.0	160.9
Social democrats	46.1	32.2	70.3	30.4	—	21.9	72.0	14.5	10.4	71.4	23.4	16.3
Communists	—	—	—	—	—	—	21.8	11.9	54.6	15.0	7.7	51.5

	May 20, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930			July 31, 1932			Nov. 6, 1932			March 5, 1933		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	1.98	1.24	62.6	19.8	15.5	78.3	26.4	22.8	86.4	21.8	19.2	88.1	33.9	32.9	97.1
German-national	5.70	5.32	93.3	1.57	1.74	110.8	3.00	3.11	103.7	5.61	5.49	97.9	6.07	5.33	87.8
German people's party	11.9	12.1	101.7	6.18	7.25	117.3	1.38	1.40	101.4	2.79	2.78	99.6	1.61	1.63	101.2
Democrats	4.49	3.91	87.1	4.53	4.29	94.7	0.38	0.29	76.3	0.42	0.40	95.2	0.44	0.35	79.5
Centre	21.5	37.8	175.8	18.1	31.8	175.7	21.2	34.6	163.2	20.1	34.0	169.2	19.3	30.9	160.1
Social democrats	28.0	21.2	75.7	20.8	17.9	86.1	19.8	17.2	86.9	18.6	16.4	88.2	16.5	13.5	81.8
Communists	17.5	10.8	61.7	20.7	13.2	63.8	25.7	18.7	72.8	29.0	20.0	69.0	21.7	14.8	68.2
Socialists	46.2	32.3	69.9	41.6	31.2	75.0	45.7	36.0	78.8	47.8	36.6	76.6	38.2	28.3	74.1
Anti-socialists	53.8	67.7	125.8	58.4	68.8	117.8	54.3	64.0	117.9	52.2	63.4	121.5	61.8	71.7	116.0
Bourgeois	51.8	66.5	128.4	38.6	53.3	138.1	27.9	41.2	147.7	30.4	44.2	145.4	27.8	38.7	139.2

Elections at Augsburg, 1928—1933.

	May 20, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930			July 31, 1932			Nov. 6, 1932			March 5, 1933.		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	8.39	5.76	68.7	14.9	10.4	69.8	25.2	21.1	83.7	24.5	21.6	88.2	33.4	31.4	94.0
German-national	6.47	7.93	122.6	3.62	4.29	118.5	4.01	4.46	111.2	6.07	6.43	105.9	5.67	5.62	99.1
Christ. social people's service	—	—	—	1.41	2.88	204.3	0.55	0.94	170.9	0.51	1.00	196.1	0.65	1.08	166.2
German people's party	2.83	2.76	97.5	0.96	1.08	112.5	0.39	0.63	161.5	0.43	0.61	141.9	0.30	0.36	120.0
Democrats	3.43	2.96	86.3	3.83	3.29	85.9	0.54	0.41	75.9	0.59	0.44	74.6	0.55	0.39	70.9
Catholics	22.9	35.7	155.9	24.8	39.0	157.3	23.2	36.7	158.2	21.1	34.8	164.9	20.5	32.8	160.0
Social democrats	41.2	33.3	80.8	29.7	24.6	82.8	28.9	24.7	85.5	27.1	23.0	84.9	25.9	20.6	79.5
Communists	7.18	4.35	60.6	14.48	9.05	62.5	16.08	9.98	62.1	18.5	11.0	59.5	13.01	7.75	59.6
Socialists	48.4	37.6	77.7	44.2	33.6	76.0	45.0	34.7	77.1	45.7	34.0	74.4	38.9	28.4	73.0
Anti-socialists	51.6	62.4	120.9	55.8	66.4	119.0	55.0	65.3	118.7	54.3	66.0	121.5	61.1	71.6	117.2
Bourgeois	43.2	56.6	131.0	40.9	56.0	136.9	29.7	44.1	148.5	29.8	44.4	149.0	27.7	40.3	145.5

Elections at Regensburg, 1928—1933.

	May 20, 1928			Sept. 14, 1930			July 31, 1932			Nov. 6, 1932			March 5, 1933.		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	5.28	3.03	42.6	19.7	13.1	66.5	23.3	17.3	74.2	20.0	14.9	74.5	33.1	28.9	87.3
German-national	5.68	6.23	109.7	2.11	2.85	135.1	2.13	2.02	94.8	3.95	3.94	99.7	3.62	3.20	88.4
Christ. social people's service	—	—	—	0.35	0.79	225.7	0.43	0.64	148.8	0.44	0.74	168.2	0.26	0.41	157.7
German people's party	2.53	2.02	79.8	0.87	0.96	110.3	0.41	0.74	180.5	0.56	0.88	157.1	0.26	0.36	138.5
Democrats	9.90	7.73	78.1	6.30	5.72	90.8	1.88	1.44	76.6	1.83	1.44	78.7	1.43	0.93	65.0
Bavarian people's party	34.7	53.8	155.0	29.8	49.3	165.4	35.1	53.1	151.3	36.2	54.1	149.4	31.1	46.9	150.8
Social democrats	30.5	20.2	66.2	27.0	19.1	70.7	22.7	17.7	78.0	23.0	17.4	75.7	21.6	15.6	72.2
Communists	4.39	1.82	41.5	8.66	4.13	47.7	12.89	6.17	47.9	13.16	5.82	44.2	8.56	3.69	43.1
Socialists	34.9	22.0	63.0	35.7	23.2	65.0	35.6	23.9	67.1	36.2	23.2	64.1	30.2	19.3	63.9
Anti-socialists	65.1	78.0	119.8	64.3	76.8	119.4	64.4	76.1	118.2	63.8	76.8	120.4	69.8	80.7	115.6
Bourgeois	59.8	74.9	125.3	44.5	63.7	143.1	41.1	58.8	143.1	43.8	61.9	141.3	36.7	51.8	141.1

Elections in 9 small catholic districts, 1928—1932.

	May 1928			Sept. 1930			Nov. 1932		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
National socialists	3.92	3.39	86.5	19.8	10.9	55.1	29.7	23.6	79.5
German-national	6.62	5.50	83.1	4.02	2.99	74.4	4.28	3.27	76.4
Catholics	32.7	56.5	172.8	27.7	50.6	182.7	28.0	50.2	179.3
Social democrats	26.1	15.3	58.6	17.3	13.0	75.1	13.3	10.6	79.7
Communists	6.71	2.50	37.3	13.76	5.99	43.5	21.73	9.51	43.8

Number of valid votes: 1928 14 111, 1930 16 378, 1932 17 257.

Westfalen Nord, district 17: Recklinghausen: Gem. Waltrup; Gem. Henrickenburg.

Franken, • 26: Stadt Dinkelsbühl.

Baden, • 32: Bez. Bruchsal: Gem. Kirrlach, Gem. Wiesenthal, Gem. Östringen; Amtsbez. Offenburg: Gem. Urloffen; Bez. Offenburg: Gem. Schütterwald; Bez. Karlsruhe: Gem. Forchheim.

voting index for the national socialists was 86.1 in the Reichstag election of 1930, rose to 103.3 at the great success in July, 1932, decreased somewhat at the decline in November of the same year, and went up to 111.7 in the decisive election of 1933. At Leipzig the corresponding figures in 1928, 1930, and 1933 were 79.0, 89.7, and 113.8 respectively. At Magdeburg the sex index rose continuously in the five elections of the years 1928—1933; the figures are 73.7, 94.4, 107.2, 109.3 and 113.6; it will be seen that the women's support of the Nazi movement has grown enormously. At Wiesbaden the sex index rose from 89.3 in 1930 up to 105.3 in 1933. In the districts where the Catholic parties were predominant, the sex index for national socialism was extremely low prior to the great successes, and even then did not rise to the same height as in other districts, although the tendency is very marked. In the Bavarian districts the sex index was 69.7 in 1928, 87.7 in July, 1932, 90.1 in November of the same year, and 95.0 in 1933. At Cologne the index rose steadily from 62.6 in 1928 up to 97.1 in 1933. At Regensburg the index figure was doubled in the same time. It was 42.6 in 1928 and 87.3 in 1933; particularly striking is the increase from 42.6 to 66.5 in the election of 1930, and from 74.5 to 87.3 in the election of 1933. Considering the high sex voting index for the Nazi movement in 1933 it may be regarded as probable that the so-called national coalition (Nazi and German-national party) did not gain a majority among the men, their bare Reichstag majority (55 per cent) being due to the strong support of the women voters.

In part, of course, this development may be explained simply by the fact that the majority of the bourgeois parties — except the Catholics — were absorbed by the national socialist party in the period 1930—1933, the women, who all the time had been supporting the bourgeois parties to a relatively great extent conforming to this movement. A closer study of the figures, however, shows that this explanation is not sufficient. Simultaneously with the growth of the sex voting index for the national socialists, the index sank for the bourgeois par-

ties (for instance the German-national party, the German people's party, and the democrats). At the election of 1933 in particular, a tendency appears to a decrease of the sex index for all the parties, with the exception of the national socialists. We shall return to the question of the reasons of this development.

As regards other tendencies of woman suffrage it is difficult to draw definite general conclusions on the basis of the material at hand. But it should be observed that the Catholic parties show the highest sex voting indices in the Catholic districts (Bavaria, Cologne, Augsburg, Regensburg), while the socialist parties here present particularly low indices; this shows that to a comparatively great extent the Catholic women of the working classes have been determined by their religious views. In the chiefly Protestant districts (Thuringia, Berlin, Bremen, Magdeburg, Leipzig) the sex index for the socialist parties is relatively high. The parties with Protestant colouring have not exerted the same attraction on the working women as the Catholic movements. This may be due to several factors: Catholicism may in itself have had a greater power over its female clientèle, or the Catholic parties had a more marked confessional character than any one of the larger Protestant parties, and, finally, the Protestant parties (above all the German-national party) were far more conservative than the Catholic parties, especially the centre. The German-national party on the whole has shown higher sex indices in Protestant than in Catholic districts.

Certain data indicate that more of the women of the working classes have joined the socialist parties in districts where these parties had a strong position, than in districts of a more bourgeois character. The following table shows that at the elections in Thuringia in 1924 and in 1928, on the whole the sex index for the social democrats rose with the strength of the party within the electoral district in question, that is to say, the larger the number of men who voted in favour of the social democrats, the larger was the proportion of women among the social democrat voters; similar tendencies are observable in certain towns, as for instance Bremen and Cologne.

*Sex voting indices for the social democrats at the elections in
Thuringia in 1924 and 1928.*

	1924			1928		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
Towns:						
Altenburg	49.5	45.9	92.7	54.0	49.7	92.0
Gera	43.5	42.5	97.7	49.7	49.0	98.6
Greiz	37.3	34.8	93.3	40.2	37.9	94.3
Eisenach	35.9	32.3	90.0	38.0	33.0	86.8
Arnstadt	32.6	31.3	96.0	36.2	34.5	95.3
Apolda	29.1	29.7	102.1	35.4	34.7	98.0
Jena	28.7	26.6	92.7	33.7	32.6	96.7
Weimar	27.5	21.2	77.1	30.6	25.2	82.4
Zella-Mehlis	14.9	11.9	79.9	24.2	21.5	88.8
Gotha	10.10	7.60	75.2	14.0	10.7	76.4
Country:						
Altenburg	45.9	45.7	99.6	51.3	51.5	100.4
Sonneberg	42.3	44.2	104.5	40.0	42.2	105.5
Saalfeld	38.3	38.6	100.8	43.3	43.3	100.0
Landkreis Rudolstadt	36.4	37.5	103.0	35.7	35.2	98.6
Gera	35.8	35.7	99.7	41.2	41.3	100.2
Eisenach	34.0	31.3	92.1	35.9	33.4	93.0
Greiz	33.0	33.1	100.3	38.0	39.4	103.7
Arnstadt	31.7	31.7	100.0	34.0	34.0	100.0
Schleiz	30.4	29.3	96.4	29.8	28.9	97.0
Meiningen	29.6	28.0	94.6	38.2	35.8	93.7
Roda	29.3	29.4	100.3	32.9	32.6	99.1
Sondershausen	24.5	23.4	95.5	33.1	31.7	95.8
Weimar	17.2	15.2	88.4	22.0	19.4	88.2
Kreisabt. Camburg	15.5	12.9	83.2	20.8	18.4	88.5
Hildburghausen	14.6	12.6	86.3	26.4	22.6	85.6
Gotha	10.48	8.13	77.6	13.0	10.2	78.5
Thuringia	30.9	30.1	97.4	35.2	34.5	98.0

On the basis of certain figures conclusions have not infrequently been drawn concerning the political attitude of the women which on closer scrutiny have proved untenable. For instance, Beyer lays down the following rule: "the women are the less labile element, true to their party, and therefore less inclined to change their vote." No doubt certain figures can be quoted in support of this statement, that is to say, to show rising sex voting indices for a declining party; among other things Beyer points to the women's support of the centre in the elections to the national as-

sembly and the Reichstag at Cologne, 1919—1930. No "rule" can be given on this point, however. It is equally possible to point to a series of cases where the sex indices have decreased with the decline of a certain party; for instance this was the case with the majority of the bourgeois (non-nazi) parties in the period 1930—1933.

In order to elucidate in detail the causes of the tendencies discussed above, information of different kinds which is not available, would be needed. In the first place detailed analyses of the occupational statistics in different electoral districts would be necessary; as far as known an analysis of this kind does not exist. On certain points, however, fairly definite assumptions can be made in order to explain the evidence of the election statistics.

Regarding the voting frequency among men and women within different social groups, German data are, by no means, so detailed as the Swedish (cf the next chapter). However, various investigations indicate that here also the difference in electoral participation between different social classes has been considerably larger among the women than among the men. To some extent this explains why the more conservative movements have been favoured by woman suffrage; the women in the social groups chiefly supporting the radical parties, have shown a comparatively poor interest in politics. And, no doubt, the lack of interest in politics has been greatest among the female lower class groups which to a relatively great extent are resident in upper-class districts, above all among the domestic servants and shop assistants. This might explain why the sex indices for the socialists have shown a tendency to sink with the strength of socialism within the body of electors; in the proletarian districts the women have voted to about the same extent as the men, which has not been the case with the proletarian women in the bourgeois districts. It may also be presumed, however, that the occupational female groups mentioned above, the members of which are in close contact with their employers, in many cases have been politically influenced by them and accordingly voted with the bourge-

ois parties.⁴⁹ This might partly explain the high sex indices of the national socialists in the elections of 1932 and, above all, in 1933. In the last-mentioned election in particular, electoral participation was so high that even the women groups otherwise uninterested in politics, may be assumed to have cast their votes in practically full numbers; it may be supposed that the colossal pressure and propaganda was particularly efficient in regard to these women groups who in all likelihood are politically rather labile.

Possibly the differences in the political attitude of the sexes on other points also may be directly correlated with differences in social position. For instance, it is probable that the communist party to a considerable extent was recruited from the unemployed, and it is possible that the unmarried young men were comparatively numerous among these.

However, it can be regarded as certain that among men and women in the same social position (as for instance married couples) the women to some extent have supported the parties of a confessional character, though the men have voted with other parties. That religion has a stronger hold on women than on men is not to be doubted; we cannot here even give an indication of the sociological explanations suggested on this point. The women, and above all the country women, have been particularly susceptible to the influence of the Catholic church, and consequently have voted for the centre and the Bavarian people's party; practically all through the Catholic parties show the highest sex index, and the index is considerably higher in the country than in the towns. In order to give a further illustration of the tendency here discussed we give below the absolute number of votes polled by the largest parties among the men and women in certain small Catholic districts at the elections of November, 1932.⁵⁰

Those authors who have discussed the causes of the specific effects of woman suffrage frequently have been inclined to psychological generalizations of the well-known type; not infrequently they have written about "woman" and "man", and how they think and feel, as if there were only one woman and one man, displaying quite different poli-

	Östringen (Baden)		Kirrlach (Baden)		Schussen- ried (Württem- berg)		Forch- heim (Baden)		Schütten- wald (Baden)		Hörsch (Baden)	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
National socialists . . .	208	79	142	60	142	71	104	49	266	175	133	56
Social demo- crats . . .	103	68	29	13	70	35	184	122	30	13	185	76
Communists . . .	136	30	342	84	70	17	183	84	172	52	359	163
Centre . . .	288	565	236	469	308	515	190	328	299	488	179	356

tical reactions. In this connection we shall only deal with a few "interpretations" given by German authors.

In an essay published in 1928 an author maintained that the weak support given by the women to the extremist parties, was due to the circumstance that these parties above all attracted the youthful voters, and that women began to take an interest in politics at a later time of life than men.⁶¹ Even if the extremist parties have gained strong support among the young — which cannot be statistically proved as regards Germany — this explanation does not hold water. A series of investigations which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter tend to show that the younger women's interest in politics is not particularly poor; on the contrary, the younger women — as compared to the men — participate in the elections to a relatively greater extent than the older women.

The same author maintains that certain phenomena, as for instance the women's strong support of the centre party, is due to the women being more susceptible to the social atmosphere, the current political tone in a certain area, and accordingly are apt to vote in favour of the movement which is strongest in that particular district. Under no circumstances can any great importance be attached to this interpretation; women have voted in favour of small as well as of large parties (within a certain area). The fact that the women have given particularly strong support to socialism in the districts where this movement

has been in a strong position, can, as remarked above, be explained in another way. That the women have given proportionately stronger support to the Catholic parties in the Catholic districts than in the Protestant districts, may also be due to a difference in the social structure of the groups of female electors in question. That certain women groups are particularly liable to support a dominant movement is possible, but can hardly be proved; at any rate this fact cannot be supposed to have been of strong significance.

In his work on the political effects of woman suffrage mentioned before, Beyer draws far-reaching conclusions from the experiences gained in Germany at the elections up to and including 1930.⁶¹ It is maintained that the women's behaviour is conditioned by a "meta-political" attitude. According to Beyer, women to a less degree than men are influenced in their voting by concrete political problems of more or less immediate interest; they are said to be determined by points of view, "connected with the foundations of the state system," their decision is said to be due to "the instinctive judgment of the principles of the policy of the period." From this Beyer draws the conclusion that woman suffrage ought to be abolished if the centre of the political activity is to lie in parliament; on the other hand, woman suffrage is all right, if parliament is looked upon only as "a controlling body, furthering the actual work of the authorities by criticism, cooperation, and observation." — Obviously it is absurd both to build up such generalizations on the tendencies of woman suffrage observed, and on the basis of these generalizations to arrive at a conception of the value of woman suffrage from different constitutional-political points of view.

In *Austria* a separation of the votes of the sexes was made at all the elections to the Nationalrat during the period 1920—1930. The separation was compulsory according to the decrees issued by the federal authorities in question. In the decree concerning the elections to the Nationalrat issued on July 30th, 1920, in conjunction with the electoral

law, it was stipulated in § 59: "The ballot envelope is to be made of light gray paper for men, of blue-grey for women." This decree was applied at the election of 1920. In the new election law of July 11th, 1923, which was sanctioned before the election of 1923, it was decreed in § 64: "Different ballot envelopes are to be used for men and women"; it was up to the electoral authorities to issue further particulars in regard to the envelopes.

However, data on the results of the separation exist only for three elections, those of 1920, 1927, and 1930; no account is given in the statistics of the election of 1923, and no information on the behaviour of the women in this election has been obtainable from other quarters.

For the election of 1920 data only exist with regard to certain districts: Vienna, Lower and Higher Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg, and some parts of other provinces. The data available from these parts of the country are not sufficiently complete to allow of a calculation of the sex indices in the ordinary way; the statistics only state the number of valid women votes cast for each party against 1,000 male votes. The figures for the most important of the parties were as follows in the districts indicated:⁵³

	Christian-social	Great-German party	Social-democrats	Communists	National socialists
Vienna	1 502	1 051	987	567	863
Lower Austria	1 163	920	853	622	800
High Austria	1 295	814	718	497	—
Salzburg	1 362	868	704	482	—
Vorarlberg	1 427	869	710	—	—
All districts	1 315	945	888	571	815

Note. Out of 160 seats the Christian-social party obtained 79, the social democrats 62, the Great-German party 18, and an agrarian party 1 seat; communists and national socialists were not represented.

The conservative parties and above all the clerical Christian-social party (closely corresponding to the centre in Germany) consequently profited strongly by woman suffrage, whereas the socialist parties, above all, the small communist party, lost by it; the National socialists who worked along the same lines as the corresponding move-

ment in Germany, obtained the main part of their votes from the men. That the figures in question are on the whole higher for Vienna than for other districts is accounted for by the number of women voters being higher in Vienna than in other parts relative to the total number of voters.

At the election of 1927, all the bourgeois movements of importance joined forces (excepting the agrarian party, "Landbund") in a so-called unity list; at the election of 1930 three large bourgeois parties, the Christian-social party, "Nationaler Wirtschaftsblock und Landbund" (Great-Germans and Landbund) and the half fascist "Heimatblock", put forward candidates. Below are, to begin with, given the sex indices from these elections for the two socialist parties taken together, and for all the bourgeois parties. The table includes all the 25 electoral districts.⁵⁴

Elections in Austria in 1927 and 1930.

		Sex index of socialists		Sex index of other parties.	
		1927	1930	1927	1930
1	Wien-Innen-Ost	90.3	92.9	109.1	106.5
2	• -Innen-West	92.9	94.5	106.2	104.6
3	• -Nordwest	92.5	93.9	108.6	106.7
4	• -Nordost	95.8	96.4	109.3	108.2
5	• -Südost	93.1	93.3	117.9	115.9
6	• -Südwest	91.8	92.4	114.9	113.7
7	• -West	94.4	94.3	113.8	113.2
8	Viertel ober dem Wienerwald	84.9	86.8	109.1	107.3
9	• unter •	89.4	90.9	114.4	110.6
10	• ober • Manhartsberg	83.8	87.6	105.9	104.1
11	• unter •	83.1	86.0	106.5	104.8
12	Linz und Umgebung	82.7	84.1	118.3	114.9
13	Innviertel	71.4	73.4	107.3	106.0
14	Hansruckviertel	76.1	78.2	110.1	108.3
15	Traunviertel	76.8	80.6	117.9	113.6
16	Mühlviertel	64.0	68.0	109.2	107.8
17	Salzburg	75.3	77.2	114.7	112.1
18	Tirol	72.5	75.6	109.8	108.3
19	Vorarlberg	68.2	68.1	111.6	110.9
20	Graz und Umgebung	81.4	84.3	119.4	115.1
21	Mittel- und Untersteier	78.2	80.4	109.1	107.8
22	Oststeier	66.0	70.1	105.7	105.0
23	Obersteier	85.0	88.3	118.1	110.7
24	Kärnten	85.1	87.4	110.3	109.2
25	Burgenland	92.0	91.2	105.9	105.8
1—25	Austria	88.8	90.7	109.3	107.3

Election in Austria

1	2	3	4 5 6			7 8 9		
			Soc. dem.			Communists		
			a	b	c	a	b	c
	Electoral districts, provinces	Valid votes						
1	Wien-Innen-Ost	149 822	47.6	44.4	93.3	0.43	0.22	51.2
2	" -Innen-West	102 241	45.4	43.0	94.7	0.29	0.20	69.0
3	" -Nordwest	146 621	51.6	48.6	94.2	0.48	0.29	60.4
4	" -Nordost	205 276	68.2	66.2	97.1	1.23	0.74	60.2
5	" -Südost	186 161	69.1	65.0	94.1	1.35	0.80	59.3
6	" -Südwest	195 169	63.1	58.7	93.0	1.17	0.69	59.0
7	" -West	207 382	67.3	64.3	95.5	2.30	1.33	57.8
8	Viertel ober den Wienerwald	202 154	35.2	30.7	87.2	0.54	0.36	66.7
9	" unter " " " " " "	298 960	52.7	48.1	91.3	1.14	0.81	71.1
10	" ober " Manhartsberg	140 836	24.8	21.8	87.9	0.06	0.03	50.0
11	" unter " " " " " "	176 352	25.5	22.0	86.3	0.19	0.12	63.2
12	Linz und Umgebung	91 461	47.6	40.3	84.7	0.65	0.30	46.2
13	Innviertel	80 001	18.4	13.5	73.4	0.04	0.02	50.0
14	Hansruckviertel	112 589	27.2	21.3	78.3	0.28	0.20	71.4
15	Traunviertel	117 489	40.8	33.0	80.9	0.47	0.31	66.0
16	Mühlviertel	77 745	19.7	13.4	68.0	—	—	—
20	Graz und Umgebung	144 977	48.2	40.9	84.9	0.63	0.31	49.2
21	Mittel- und Untersteier	94 574	28.1	22.7	80.8	0.49	0.28	57.1
22	Oststeier	103 336	14.4	10.1	70.1	—	—	—
23	Obersteier	167 277	47.2	41.9	88.8	0.72	0.41	56.9
1—7	Wien	1 192 672	61.1	57.3	93.8	1.17	0.67	57.3
8—11	Niederösterreich	818 302	37.6	33.8	89.9	0.59	0.42	71.2
12—16	Oberösterreich	479 285	31.6	25.3	80.1	0.31	0.18	58.1
17	Salzburg	123 152	33.7	26.4	78.3	0.87	0.36	41.4
18	Tirol	176 843	25.1	19.1	76.1	0.24	0.12	50.0
19	Vorarlberg	77 516	25.1	17.1	68.1	0.30	0.14	46.7
20—23	Steiermark	510 164	37.3	31.6	84.7	0.51	0.27	52.9
24	Kärnten	175 640	41.3	36.3	87.9	0.84	0.50	59.5
25	Burgenland	134 494	39.4	36.1	91.6	0.58	0.36	62.1
1—25	Austria	3 688 068	43.2	39.4	91.2	0.72	0.43	59.7

At both elections, consequently, the bourgeois parties were considerably favoured by woman suffrage. It is of interest to observe that throughout the sex indices of the socialists rose in the election of 1930; the position of socialism within the body of electors remained practically unchanged.

Above are given more detailed data showing the support given by men and women to different parties in the election of 1930, both within different electoral districts and in different provinces.

in 1930.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Socialists			Christian social			Other bourgeois parties			National socialists			Antisocialists		
a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
48.0	44.6	92.9	26.3	33.0	125.5	22.1	20.1	91.0	3.54	2.28	64.4	52.0	55.4	106.5
45.7	43.2	94.5	28.8	34.0	118.1	21.5	20.2	94.0	3.97	2.61	65.7	54.3	56.8	104.6
52.1	48.9	93.9	23.9	29.7	124.3	19.6	18.4	93.9	4.43	2.95	66.6	47.9	51.1	106.7
69.4	66.9	96.4	17.4	21.1	121.3	10.7	10.1	94.4	2.43	1.88	77.4	30.6	33.1	108.2
70.5	65.8	93.3	17.0	22.1	130.0	10.7	10.7	100.0	1.80	1.37	76.1	29.5	34.2	115.9
64.3	59.4	92.4	20.5	25.7	125.4	12.9	13.2	102.3	2.29	1.69	73.8	35.7	40.6	113.7
69.6	65.6	94.3	18.1	22.7	125.4	10.3	10.2	99.0	2.02	1.50	74.3	30.4	34.4	113.2
35.7	31.0	86.8	44.1	51.5	116.8	17.0	15.1	88.8	3.13	2.35	75.1	64.3	69.0	107.3
53.8	48.9	90.9	27.0	33.2	123.0	15.6	15.1	96.8	3.60	2.79	77.5	46.2	51.1	110.6
24.9	21.8	87.6	46.8	55.3	118.2	17.3	14.9	86.1	11.02	8.00	72.6	75.1	78.2	104.1
25.7	22.1	86.0	54.3	61.1	112.5	16.0	13.9	86.9	3.96	2.84	71.7	74.3	77.9	104.8
48.3	40.6	84.1	21.2	30.4	143.4	26.1	25.9	99.2	4.44	3.12	70.3	51.7	59.4	114.9
18.4	13.5	73.4	46.6	62.4	133.9	33.2	23.0	69.3	1.82	1.10	60.4	81.6	86.5	106.0
27.5	21.5	78.2	41.4	55.0	132.9	27.8	21.4	77.0	3.31	2.05	61.9	72.5	78.5	108.3
41.3	33.3	80.6	31.9	45.0	141.1	23.7	19.6	82.7	3.10	2.10	67.7	58.7	66.7	113.6
19.7	13.4	68.0	57.1	71.3	124.9	21.5	14.4	67.0	1.69	0.91	53.8	80.3	86.6	107.8
48.9	41.2	84.3	18.5	28.2	152.4	28.4	27.6	97.2	4.20	2.98	71.0	51.1	58.8	115.1
28.6	23.0	80.4	34.0	46.9	137.9	35.0	28.2	80.6	2.39	1.86	77.8	71.4	77.0	107.8
14.4	10.1	70.1	49.5	64.8	130.9	35.1	24.5	69.8	1.01	0.57	56.4	85.6	89.9	105.0
47.9	42.3	88.3	15.9	24.9	156.6	29.8	27.7	93.0	6.44	5.15	80.0	52.1	57.7	110.7
62.3	58.0	93.1	20.7	26.1	126.1	14.3	13.9	97.2	2.73	1.96	71.8	37.7	42.0	111.4
38.2	34.2	89.5	40.7	47.4	116.5	16.3	14.8	90.8	4.85	3.58	73.8	61.8	65.8	106.5
31.9	25.5	79.9	38.8	51.6	133.0	26.3	21.0	79.8	2.95	1.93	65.4	68.1	74.5	109.4
34.6	26.7	77.2	35.4	47.4	133.9	25.5	23.0	90.2	4.55	2.95	64.8	65.4	73.3	112.1
25.4	19.2	75.6	50.0	59.6	119.2	23.0	20.3	88.3	1.57	0.94	59.9	74.6	80.8	108.3
25.4	17.3	68.1	49.6	61.3	127.6	23.5	18.6	79.1	1.46	0.84	57.5	74.6	82.7	110.9
37.8	31.9	84.4	26.7	38.0	142.3	31.5	27.1	86.0	3.99	2.96	74.2	62.2	68.1	109.5
42.1	36.8	87.4	18.0	26.9	149.4	32.1	30.2	94.1	7.77	6.06	78.0	57.9	63.2	109.2
40.0	36.5	91.2	37.7	44.7	118.6	21.4	18.2	85.0	0.92	0.59	64.1	60.0	63.5	105.8
43.9	39.8	90.7	31.6	39.3	124.4	20.9	18.4	88.0	3.58	2.54	70.9	56.1	60.2	107.3

The Christian-social party alone possessed a sex index exceeding 100; as in 1920, the sex index of the national socialists was remarkably low. The communists presented the lowest sex index; this party showed much less capacity of gaining the women's votes than the social democratic party. It is noteworthy that the socialists gained a relatively large number of female votes in their strongest fortress, Vienna, but showed a very low sex index in a number of country districts, as for instance the Tyrol and Vorarlberg.⁶⁵ In order further to illustrate the tendency

on this point we give below the sex indices for the socialist and the bourgeois parties at the elections of 1927 and 1930 in Vienna, the towns exclusive of Vienna, and in the country.

	1927						1930					
	Socialists			Bourgeois parties			Socialists			Bourgeois parties		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
Vienna	62.9	58.1	92.4	37.1	41.9	112.9	62.3	58.0	93.1	37.7	42.0	111.4
Towns exclusive of Vienna	56.3	45.2	80.3	43.7	54.8	125.4	51.7	42.9	83.0	48.3	57.1	118.2
Country	35.7	29.3	82.1	64.3	70.7	110.0	33.8	28.6	84.6	66.2	71.4	107.9

The sex index for the socialists thus is lowest in the towns exclusive of Vienna; surprisingly enough it is not lowest in the country. An examination of the sex indices within communities of different groups shows, however, that in the purely rural communities (under 2,000 inhabitants), the sex index for socialism is lowest of all; it is relatively high in the somewhat larger communities, holding between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants. The sex indices in communities of different size appear from the following table.

Communities according to number of inhabitants	1927			1930		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
Under 2000	29	23	79.3	25	20	80.0
2001—5000	53	46	86.8	45	39	86.7
5001—20000	58	48	82.8	52	44	84.6
Over 20000 (exclusive of Vienna)	56	45	80.4	52	43	82.7
Vienna	63	58	92.1	62	58	93.5

The tendencies indicated have been of considerable importance for the composition of the Nationalrat. Below is given, according to the official statistics, the number of seats won by the parties in question, as well as the number of seats which would have been occupied by each party if the men only had been qualified to vote.

P a r t i e s	Actual result of election	Result of manhood suffrage only
1 9 2 7		
Unity list	85	78
Social democrats	71	76
Landbund	9	11
1 9 3 0		
Christian-social party	66	58
Social democrats	72	78
Nationaler Wirtschaftsblock und Landbund	19	19
Heimatblock	8	10

After the year 1930 no election to the Nationalrat took place. For the municipal election of 1932 in Vienna data exist, however, showing the behaviour of the sexes. Below are given the figures of comparison for the larger parties in this election.⁵⁶

	a	b	c
Christian-social party	16.4	23.2	141.4
Social democrats	60.8	57.6	94.7
Communists	2.5	1.4	56.4
National socialists	13.8	16.2	86.1

In this election a very great portion of the bourgeois voters went over to the national socialist party which at this time grew in numbers throughout Austria, simultaneously with the advance of the corresponding German Reich party. The sex index for the national socialists also rose quite considerably, from 71.8 in 1930 up to 86.1 in 1932. But at the same time the sex index for the Christian-social party also rose, a comparatively large number of women sticking to this party.

Regarding the causes of the tendencies indicated it should be emphasized that judging by appearances the religious motive has been of the greatest importance for the difference in the behaviour of the sexes. This is proved by the fact that only the Christian-social party with its clerical basis showed a high sex index; this party in particular had the support of the women in the non-proletarian districts, above all in the country. The difference in electoral participation as between women of different social classes,

on the other hand, probably played an insignificant part, since the electoral participation on the whole was extremely high.

In the *United States* a separation of the votes has been carried out only at a few elections in Chicago and Illinois. Complete data on these elections have not been obtainable, but the data available reveal a difference in the attitude of men and women of the same type as observed elsewhere. At a referendum on the banning of "saloons" in Chicago the women voted in favour of such a prohibition to a considerably greater extent than the men; while out of the men, 67,707 voted in favour of the project, and 266,529 against it, the corresponding figures for the women were 76,325 and 124,731.⁵⁷ A study of the election statistics in other states shows that in general women have favoured prohibition to a greater extent than the men.⁵⁸ In the presidential election of 1920, 71.4 per cent of the men supporting the candidates of the two main parties, voted in favour of the republican candidate, Harding, whereas the corresponding figure for the women was 74.6 per cent; it is noteworthy that stronger support of Harding among the women was observed in all the 103 counties of Illinois except two.⁵⁹ Harding was regarded as both more conservative and more favourable to prohibition than the democratic candidate, Cox. In the presidential election of 1916, men and women supported the various candidates to the extent indicated in the following table.⁶⁰

Parties	a	b	c
Democratic	43.1	43.7	101.4
Republican	52.7	52.4	99.4
Socialist	3.36	1.96	58.3
Socialist Labor	0.13	0.09	69.2
Prohibition	0.75	1.85	246.7

The women accordingly voted in favour of the prohibition party to an incomparably greater extent than the men, but to a very small degree supported the two socialist parties; in this election the democrats showed somewhat higher sex indices than the republicans. Finally it should

be mentioned that in an investigation on the municipal elections in Chicago in 1915, an author finds herself able to state that the women to a greater extent than the men supported the candidates who particularly had worked for "purity" in politics.⁶¹

An interesting investigation, both as regards methods and results, has been carried out by Ogburn and Goltra concerning the state referendums in 1914 in Portland, Oregon.⁶² The women were enfranchised on the same conditions as the men by a constitutional amendment carried through in 1912. The authors tried to establish the difference in the voting of men and women by calculating whether a correlation was present between the number of women voters (as compared to the number of men voters) in the separate electoral districts and the result of the referendums in these districts. They started from the assumption that the results of a correlation calculation of this type might be misleading in themselves, on account of the fact that the women were expected to be comparatively numerous relative to the men in the more conservative districts, that is to say in the districts where owing to social conditions in general the conservative views were strongly represented. In order to eliminate this source of error an examination was made of the general political behaviour of the different districts. The voting figures from the referendums referring to certain typical radical and conservative proposals — as for instance a proposal for the introduction of an eight-hour day in public works, and for a limitation of popular referendums — in the election of 1912, when the women had not got the vote, served as a basis of this examination; it was found that the women were comparatively numerous in relation to the men in the more conservative districts. These preliminary calculations made it possible in the final calculation of correlation to treat the general political behaviour of the districts as constant, and to establish the women's attitude as compared to that of the men. According to the mode of calculation adopted the correlation coefficient is positive when the women vote for a certain proposal to a greater extent than the men.

On the whole the results of the examination show that the women's attitude was more conservative than that of the men; "conservative" in this connection naturally is not used of any political party but, in conformance with current American usage, to denote a negative attitude towards constitutional and social reforms of a "radical" character. Here it is possible only to deal with a few out of the 26 popular referendums comprised by the investigation. A proposal for the introduction of proportional representation initiated by the "People's Power League", a radical organisation which has played a great part in the popular referendums in Oregon⁶³, gained less support by the women than by the men; the coefficient of correlation was -0.35 . The same was true with regard to a proposal for the abolition of the state senate advanced by the People's Power League, the State Federation of Labor, and the State Grange (a peasant organisation of rather radical character), and as regards a proposal for the establishment of an employment bureau, made by the socialist party; the coefficients of correlation in these cases were -0.25 and -0.40 . It is more remarkable that the women definitely opposed both a general proposal for an eight-hour day and a proposal for the introduction of such a working day for women; the coefficients of correlation were -0.47 and -0.30 . The women to a great extent voted in favour of the limitation of the suffrage to American citizens (correlation coefficient $+0.47$) and the introduction of prohibition ($+0.49$). In total, the coefficient of correlation was positive only in eight cases out of twenty-six.

In the investigation it is also established that at the presidential election of 1916 the women voted somewhat more numerously in favour of Hughes than of Wilson, as compared to the men. The correlation between the percentage of women voters and the percentage of votes for Wilson was -0.27 . Hughes, no doubt, appeared as the more conservative candidate, but it has been generally assumed that the women particularly supported Wilson, for one thing on account of his energetic assertion of pacifist views.

On the basis of the presidential election in Chicago in

1932 — when no separation of the votes was carried out — Gosnell and Gill employing similar methods have examined the women's attitude as compared to that of the men. The authors are of opinion that a slight conservative tendency may be observed among the women.⁶⁴

In the city of *Amsterdam* where on some occasions detailed electoral-statistical investigations have been made, an attempt has been made to throw light on the political attitude of the sexes at two elections (the election to the municipal council in 1921 and the election to the second chamber in 1925) — although the votes of men and women were not separated. We discuss here only the more detailed investigation of 1925, from which it has been attempted to draw more definite conclusions.⁶⁵ The starting-point of this investigation was a division of the town into 59 districts (not always wholly corresponding to the electoral districts). In each district it was established what portion of all votes cast was obtained by the radical parties (social democrats, communists, and another small socialist party) and by the conservative parties (the Christian-historical party, the league of freedom, and two other parties) and the parties of a confessional character (above all Catholics and anti-revolutionaries). Further, for each district, the percentage of women among the total number of voters in the district was calculated. Calculations were then made of the correlation between the percentage of women voters in the district and the percentage of conservative and radical votes. Between women votes and conservatism a correlation was established of $+0.54$, whereas the correlation between women votes and radicalism was negative, -0.40 .

These correlations, however, cannot be looked upon as proving that the women in the elections in question voted more conservatively than the men. The correlations may simply be due to the fact that the number of women is relatively large in the more conservative districts, that is to say in those districts generally where the higher social classes comprise a comparatively large proportion of the

population. *A priori* this may be assumed to be the case, in particular because a large number of female domestic servants is occupied in the households of the upper classes; as previously pointed out, the number of women is comparatively large in the more well-to-do electoral districts in Stockholm.

¹ *Sveriges officiella statistik*, Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1929—1932 d. 39. Cf for the following p. 33 and corresponding facts in earlier reports.

² *Sveriges officiella statistik*, Kommunala valen år 1919, p. 20, Kommunala valen åren 1934 och 1935, p. 17.

³ GRÖNLUND, Folkomröstningen den 27 augusti 1922 angående rusdrycksförbud, Nordisk administrativ tidskrift 1932.

⁴ *Norges officielle statistikk*, Stortingsvalget 1909, pp. V seqq. and corresponding tables in the publications on the elections of 1912, 1915, 1918, 1921, 1924, 1927, 1930 och 1933.

⁵ *Norges officielle statistikk*, Kommunevalge 1931, pp. 6 seqq. och 1934, p. 9.

⁶ *Norges officielle statistikk*, Forbudsavstemningen 18 oktober 1926.

⁷ *Statistiske Meddelelser*, Riksdagsvalgene september—oktober 1920, p. 17.

^{7a} *Statistisk Aarbog for København*, Frederiksberg og Gjentofte Kommune 1932, p. 184.

⁸ *Danmarks Statistik*, Statistiske Meddelelser: *De kommunale Valg i Marts* 1909, p. 87; . . . i Marts 1913 p. 89; . . . i Marts 1917 p. 86 seq.; . . . i Marts 1921, p. 119; . . . i Marts 1925 p. 15; . . . i Marts 1929, p. 14; . . . i Marts 1933, p. 15.

⁹ *Statistique de l'Islande*, nr 14, p. 9, 22; nr 38, p. 8, 21; nr 64, p. 8, 15; nr 72, p. 8, 16; nr 80, p. 8, 17.

¹⁰ From the stronger participation of women after the extension of the suffrage in 1920 exaggerated conclusions have been drawn; cf. BERNHARD, *Die Frauen im politischen Leben*, Zeitschrift für Politik, Bd 19, p. 143.

¹¹ *Finlands officiella statistik*, Riksdagsvalen år 1930, pp. 10 seqq. and Valet av elektoror för val av republikens president år 1931, pp. 8 seqq.

¹² *Finlands officiella statistik*, Kommunala val åren 1921—1928, pp. 2 seqq.

¹³ *Finlands officiella statistik*, Förbudsomröstningen år 1931, particularly pp. 6 seqq.

¹⁴ *Riigihogu valimised*: Elections à parlement en mai 1923, pp. 2 seqq.; Elections . . . de 15—17 mai 1926, pp. 8 seqq., 26 seqq.; Elections . . . de 11—13 mai 1929, pp. 8 seqq., 28 seqq.; Elections . . . de 21—23 mai 1932, pp. 8 seqq., 20 seqq.

¹⁵ *Eesti statistika* 1923, nr 14, pp. 59 seqq., 1933, nr 145, pp. 605 seqq.

¹⁶ GOSNELL, *Why Europe votes*, 1930, p. 18.

¹⁷ *Annuaire statistique de la Pologne*, 1930, p. 147.

¹⁸ Cf. HARTWIG, *Wie die Frauen im Deutschen Reich von ihrem Wahlrecht Gebrauch machen*, and *Das Frauenwahlrecht in der Statistik*, *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv* 1928 and 1931.

¹⁹ HARTWIG in the first article cited above, p. 502; cf. BAUER, *Wahlbeteiligung*, pp. 71 seqq., KUCZYNSKI, *Zur Wahlbeteiligung der Frauen*, *Kommunale Praxis* 1919, MEYER in *Beilage zu den statistischen Nachrichten der Stadt Nürnberg* 1919.

²⁰ *Stadt Leipzig*, *Monatsberichte des statistischen Amtes* Januar-März 1932, p. 8 and information received in the statistical bureau of Leipzig.

¹¹ Cf. *Monatsbericht des Statistischen und Wahlamtes der Stadt Köln*, November 1932, März 1933.

¹² Cf. *Magdeburger Amtsblatt* 11 März 1933.

¹³ According to information received in the statistical bureau of Regensburg.

¹⁴ *Monatsbericht des statistischen Büros der Stadt Wiesbaden* Juli 1932, Nov. 1932, Jan. 1933.

¹⁵ *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*, I Jahrgang, p. 2; II Jahrgang, p. 2; IV Jahrgang, p. 140; *Statistische Nachrichten*, Nationalratswahlen vom 24 April 1927, pp. 5 seq.; Die Nationalratswahlen vom 9. November 1930, pp. 4 seqq.

¹⁶ *Quantitative methods in politics*, 1928 pp. 24 seqq.

¹⁷ *Non-voting*, 1927, p. 26.

¹⁸ *Non-voting in a typical Ohio Community*, *American political science review* 1925, p. 818.

¹⁹ *Commonwealth of Australia*, Statistical returns in relation to the senate elections, 1934 . . . together with summaries of elections and referendums 1903—1934 (1935).

²⁰ *Official yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia* nr 14, pp. 862 seqq.

²¹ *The New Zealand official yearbook* 1915, pp. 336 seq., 1920, p. 102, 1924, p. 682, 1927, p. 927, 1930, p. 977, 1933, p. 651.

²² BAUER, *Wahlbeteiligung*, 1926, (unprinted Leipzig dissertation) pp. 109 seq.

²³ *Beiträge zur Statistik der Stadt Mannheim*, 6. Sondernummer, pp. 29 seqq.

²⁴ MEYER, *Der Nichtwähler*, *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv* 1931, pp. 522 seqq.

²⁵ *Borgerrepræsentantvalgene i København den 11. Marts 1909*, p. 25.

²⁶ *Sveriges officiella statistik*, Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1925—1928, p. 76.

²⁷ These data are not published but have been placed to my disposal by the Stockholm Statistical bureau. For help with this I have to thank mr E. Sjölander of this bureau.

^{27a} I wish to stress, that in the case of time and spatial series all correlation indices are conditioned by the size (delimitation) of the statistical units to which the data are referring. It is, for instance, incorrect to compare directly the coefficients referring to different countries when correlating two social phenomena. This fundamental fact has been pointed out by Mr. H. WOLD in a preliminary note, «On quantitative statistical analysis», *Skandinavisk Aktuarietidskrift* 1936, pp. 281—284.

²⁸ Cf HARTWIG, *Wie die Frauen im Deutschen Reich von ihrem politischen Wahlrecht Gebrauch machen*, pp. 498 seqq.

²⁹ *Statistik des deutschen Reiches*, Band 315, VI, p. 41.

³⁰ *Statistische Mitteilungen über den Hamburgischen Staat* nr 16, p. 79.

³¹ *Wirtschaft und Statistik* 1931, pp. 150 seqq.

³² The data, on which the tables are founded, are given in *Statistik des deutschen Reiches*, Band 315, VI, pp. 43 seqq., Band 372, III, pp. 11 seqq., Band 382, III, pp. 10 seqq. — An observation about the tables is necessary. The lower the figures are, that give the strength of a party among the men and the women (col. a and b), the more detailed must these figures be given, as otherwise the correctness of the sex index (col. c) would suffer. When a party does not reach 10 per cent of the votes of the men, or the women, consequently two decimals have been given.

³³ This fact is immediately made clear at a study of the election figures, but can not be illustrated here. Cf STEPHEN, *Zur Soziologie der Nationalsozialistischen deutschen Arbeiterpartei*, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Band 20; cf also LEYDEN, *Gross-Berlin*, 1933, pp. 108 seqq.

⁴⁴ Proportionately, the greatest numbers of women were chosen by social-democrats and communists; cf. WOYTINSKY, *Die Welt in Zahlen*, Siebentes Buch, p. 38 and BEYER, *Die Frau in der politischen Entscheidung* 1932, pp. 11 seqq.

⁴⁵ BEYER, *Die Frau in der politischen Entscheidung*, pp. 61 seqq.

⁴⁶ Cf. ZURKUHLEN, *Die Frauen an der Urne*, Die Tat 1931.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Statistik des deutschen Reichs*, Band 321, pp. 48 seq., Band 427, pp. 76 seq.

⁴⁸ The tables have been worked out on data given in *Vierteljahrsbericht des Thüringischen Statistischen Landesamtes* 1924, nr 4, 1928, nr 2; *Berliner Wirtschaftsberichte* Dez. 24, 1930; *Bremer Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsberichte* 1930, Heft 8, 1932, Heft 7 and 10, 1933, Heft 3; *Magdeburger Amtsblatt* 11. März 1933; *Monatsberichte des Statistischen Amtes in Leipzig* Januar—März 1932, *Neue Leipziger Zeitung* Oct. 30, 1932; *Zeitschrift des Bayerischen Statistischen Landesamtes* 1928 pp. 474 seqq., 1931 pp. 92 seqq., 1932 pp. 470 seqq., 1933 pp. 102 seqq., 327 seqq. *Köln Verwalt. und Statistik*, 6. Band, 3. Heft (Köln 1928) and *Beilage zum Monatsbericht des Statistischen und Wahlamtes der Stadt Köln* Aug. 1930, July 1932, November 1932, March 1933; *Monatsbericht des Statistischen Büros der Stadt Wiesbaden* Sept. 1930, July 1932, Nov. 1932, March 1933; data have also been given by Reichsstatistisches Amt in Berlin and the Statistical bureaus of Leipzig and Regensburg.

⁴⁹ Cf. ILLGE, *Das Ergebnis der Sächsischen Landtagswahlen*, Die Neue Zeit 1922; DANNEBERG, *Die Nationalratswahlen im Lichte der Zahl, Der Kampf* 1921, p. 165.

⁵⁰ According to information received in Reichsstatistisches Amt in Berlin.

⁵¹ SIEMSEN, *Die Frauenwahlen*, Sozialistische Monatshefte 1928 II, pp. 573 seqq.

⁵² BEYER, *Die Frau in der politischen Entscheidung*, particularly pp. 82 seqq.

⁵³ *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*, II. Jahrgang, p. 5.

⁵⁴ The tables have been worked out on data given in *Statistische Nachrichten*, Nationalratswahlen vom 24. April 1927 and *Die Nationalratswahlen vom 9. November 1930*; some of the percentage figures given in these publications are wrong.

⁵⁵ Cf. DANNEBERG, *Die Nationalratswahlen im Lichte der Zahl, Der Kampf* 1921, p. 165.

⁵⁶ Cf. DANNEBERG, *Die Wiener Gemeinderatswahlen im Lichte der Zahlen, Der Kampf* 1932.

⁵⁷ RICE, *Quantitative methods in politics*, p. 177.

⁵⁸ TINGSTEN, *Folkomröstningsinstitutet i Nordamerikas förenta stater*, 1923, p. 257.

⁵⁹ WILLEY and RICE, *A sex cleavage in the presidential election of 1920*, *Journal of Amer. Statistical association*, 1924, pp. 519 seqq.

⁶⁰ The table is founded on the figures given in *Blue book of the state of Illinois 1917—1918*, p. 584.

⁶¹ ABBOTT, *Are women a force for good government?* *National municipal review* 1915, pp. 437 seqq.

⁶² OGBURN and GOLTRA, *How women vote*, *Political science quarterly* 1919, pp. 413 seqq.

⁶³ Cf. about this organisation TINGSTEN, *Folkomröstningsinstitutet i Nordamerikas förenta stater*, pp. 221 seqq.

⁶⁴ GOSNELL and GILL, *An analysis of the 1932 presidential vote in Chicago*, *American political science review* 1935, p. 984; cf. also GOSNELL and SCHMIDT, *Factorial and correlational analysis of the 1934 vote in Chicago*, *Journal of the American Statistical association* 1936, pp. 507 seqq.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Statistische Mededeelingen uitgegeven door het Bureau van Statistiek der Gemeente Amsterdam*, nr 78, pp. VII seqq.

CHAPTER II.

AGE GROUPS IN POLITICS.

Several inquiries regarding the electoral participation of different age groups have been carried out at various times, as a rule, however, only within very limited areas. Figures illustrating the relation between age and political attitude have been given only in one or two cases. Below these questions will be the main subject of discussion. Further some data regarding the relation between electoral participation and marital status will be reproduced in this connection.

Official statistical authorities and individual investigators have studied the effect of age on the participation in elections within limited areas in Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Holland, the United States, and Sweden. None of these investigations embraces a whole country; nevertheless they are of interest owing to the extraordinary agreement in results reached; in the main the relation between age and electoral participation everywhere seems to be the same. Generally speaking it can be said that the voting frequency is lowest in the youngest age groups, rising successively, and reaching a maximum in the age groups around fifty; with increasing age the political interest once again tends to decrease. In details also the tendencies revealed in different countries and regions are remarkably similar.

In *Switzerland* figures exist for the canton of Basel-Stadt and the town of Zürich. On two occasions the statistical authorities in *Basel-Stadt* have taken measures for the division of the voters into age groups, viz. at the elections to the cantonal representation (Grosser Rat) in 1911 and

1932. In 1911 the number of registered electors was about 21,600, in 1932 more than 42,000; on both occasions men above 20 years of age were qualified. The table below gives the electoral participation in per cent of the different age groups.¹

Electoral participation in Basel, 1911 and 1932, in per cent.

Age groups	1911	1932	Age groups	1911	1932
20—24	60.0	55.4	55—59	74.7	75.9
25—29	62.7	54.6	60—64	69.8	78.0
30—34	69.0	57.9	65—69	68.0	77.1
35—39	72.6	63.6	70—74	62.2	75.5
40—44	74.4	68.4	75—79	53.8	70.5
45—49	73.8	73.5	80 and over	42.1	57.8
50—54	73.4	75.2			
				Average	69.2 65.5

If the very small age groups over 75 years are excluded, the voting frequency in both elections is lowest in the youngest age groups. In 1911 electoral participation in the youngest age group was 9.2 per cent below the average, and 14.7 per cent below the age group with the highest poll. The corresponding figures for 1932 were 11.1 per cent and 22.6 per cent; at this election, however, the youngest age group but one was less active than the youngest group. Basel-Stadt being the only region in which two investigations of this nature have been made with an interval of some length, it is of particular interest to observe the great difference between the two election curves. In 1911, the younger age groups polled comparatively numerously, and the voting frequency rose fairly quickly, to remain practically constant between 25 and 59 years; in the immediately following age group electoral participation is considerably lower, with a further marked decrease in the higher age groups. In 1932 electoral participation was very low in the first three age groups, and then rose up till 60—64 years; in the groups between 45 and 74 years electoral participation on the whole was the same; even the oldest age groups voted more than the youngest group. On the whole, exclusive of the oldest groups, the differences between different age groups were less in 1911 than in 1932; the proportion of voters in the youngest groups was smaller in the

latter than in the former election, but larger in the older age groups. The greater activity of the older groups in 1932 is clearly to be seen in the following comparisons. In 1911 the electoral participation in the group 30—34 years was 11.1 per cent higher than in 1932, whereas the participation in the group of 70—74 years was 13.3 per cent lower. In 1911 the groups below 40 years made up 51 per cent, and in 1932, 52 per cent of all the registered electors; in 1911 the non-voters in these age groups were 50.5 per cent and in 1932 no less than 64 per cent of all the non-voters.

In the statistical report of 1932 the electoral participation at different ages is also illustrated from a social point of view; the voting frequency has been observed for the five different social classes distinguished, in the age groups of 20—29, 30—39, 40—49, 50, 64, and over 64 years. On the whole the election curves of all the social classes prove to follow the total curve. The small deviations which are observable, are not sufficient to allow of any conclusions.

Electoral participation in social classes and age groups in Basel, 1932, in per cent.

Age groups	I Big business men, directors, high office- holders	II Other inde- pendent professional men	III Officials, employees	IV Workers	V Remain- ing
20—29	66.7	60.1	67.7	59.7	63.3
30—39	77.1	65.4	74.5	64.0	62.8
40—49	86.0	74.2	81.5	73.8	71.9
50—64	89.3	80.0	86.4	76.8	78.9
65 and over	89.7	85.2	84.8	77.2	75.8

In the city of *Zürich* an investigation was made into the electoral participation at different ages in the elections to the cantonal representation (Kantonsrat) in 1926 and in the municipal elections of 1933.² Males over 20 years were qualified on both occasions; in 1926 the number of registered electors was 58,000, in 1933 91,000.³ In the statistics of 1933 the electors have been divided into more age groups than in 1928; in the following table the grouping of 1926 has been employed so as to make a comparison possible.

Electoral participation in Zürich, 1926 and 1933, in per cent.

Age groups	1926	1933
20—29	77.6	84.0
30—39	80.5	88.3
40—49	84.3	91.2
50—59	86.9	92.4
60 and over	87.7	93.5
Average	82.1	88.7

The relation between the electoral participation of the different age groups thus was about the same at the elections of 1926 and of 1933. Participation in the youngest age group was about 10 per cent lower than in the oldest group; in both cases participation rose successively from the youngest to the oldest group. On an average participation was 6.6 per cent higher in 1933 than in 1926; the differences between the same age groups in different elections show little variation, only between 5.5 and 8.2 per cent. Both election curves are more suggestive of the Basel election of 1932 than of the Basel election of 1911, in particular as regards the strong participation of the older age groups. In 1933, 40 per cent of all the non-voters were under 30 years of age, and 70 per cent under 40.

In Zürich in 1933, as in Basel in 1932, an investigation into the voting of the age groups within different professions and social classes was made. It appeared that from the point of view under consideration no marked difference between the social classes was to be observed.

At the last-mentioned election a division was also carried out into age groups and marital status. Below figures for electoral participation in per cent among unmarried, married, and widowers and divorced are given.

Age groups	unmarried	married	widowers and divorced
20—24	82.6	81.7	80
25—29	84.2	86.3	83.4
30—39	85.0	89.5	84
40—49	84.1	92.3	86.9
50—59	86.5	93.4	87.8
60—69	87.9	94.5	90.1
70 and over	89.4	94.4	92.0
Average	83.9	91.1	88.0

Throughout, the married show a higher electoral participation than the unmarried; widowers and divorced lie between these two categories. It should be pointed out that the great average difference between married and unmarried cannot claim an independent significance, as it is evidently to a certain extent bound up with the fact that the mean age of the unmarried is considerably lower than that of the married. Neither are the differences in the youngest and the oldest age groups of particular importance, as in the former the married, in the latter the unmarried are too few in number to allow definite conclusions to be drawn from the material. Above all it is remarkable that in the age groups between 25 and 50, the married show a considerably greater participation than the unmarried; for the group of 25—29 years the difference is 2.1 per cent, for the group of 30—39, 4.5 per cent, and for the group of 40—49 no less than 8.2 per cent. Curiously enough in the youngest age group the unmarried showed even stronger participation than the married; the lastmentioned group, however, only embraced 161 persons.

In connection with the investigation on the election of 1933 an attempt was also made to throw light on the extension of "chronic" non-voting. A registration was made of the persons who had failed to vote both in this election and in a federal referendum which was held some months earlier. The results obtained will be discussed in another chapter. It need only be mentioned here that the difference between different age groups turned out to be greater for chronic non-voting than for participation in a given election. Thus, the number of chronic election shirkers in the age groups of 20—24 and of 25—29 years was 47 and 48 per mille respectively of the registered electors, while the corresponding number in the groups of 50—59 and 60—69 years was only 24 and 23 respectively.

The first of the numerous investigations of this kind carried out in *Germany* refers to the indirect elections to the second chamber in *Saxony* in the years 1897, 1899, and 1901.⁴ Owing to the unusual mode of election with the

electors divided into different income classes — and to the extremely low electoral participation resulting from this arrangement — the results are of comparatively little interest. It should only be mentioned that the usual tendency appeared within all classes of electors. A calculation of the average participation in all three elections shows that the youngest age group voted least (33.3 per cent), participation then rising up to the age group of 50—60 years (38.7 per cent), and sinking in the oldest age group comprising electors over 60 years (35.3 per cent).

The other investigations were carried out during the republic. Thus, both men and women over 20 years were qualified to vote. The most extensive investigation was managed by the ministry of the interior, and referred to the *Reichstag election of May 4th, 1924*.⁶ As regards the choice of the regions included in the investigation, the statistical report says: "It was thought advisable . . . to treat as far as possible North, Middle, and South Germany and further to try to include registered electors from town and country districts as well as from the population occupied in farming, industrial enterprises, commerce and so forth." In point of fact, however, a sufficiently differentiated selection was not made, so that more detailed comparisons are not possible. Only four administrative districts were examined: the town district of Nuremberg in Bavaria with 249,532 registered electors, the mostly industrial administrative district of Borna in Saxony with 53,039 electors, the rural district of Hanau in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau with a mixed industrial and agrarian population comprising 38,890 electors, the mostly agrarian district of Lauenburg in Pomerania with 31,200 electors. The reports on the results of the investigation present only these four districts as units; no account of the voting in the separate electoral districts is given, which also limits the usefulness of the material.

In calculating the relation between registered electors and voters the question arises how those individuals are to be treated who have received a so-called *Stimmschein* in order to vote elsewhere, and also those who are resident in

another district but vote with a Stimmschein in the district examined; voting by Stimmschein in another district is permitted in cases of travel, illness, and so forth. In the report here discussed, the number of persons who have received Stimmschein, has been subtracted from the number of registered electors, thus not being included in the calculation at all. This manner of proceeding may be suspected to represent the electoral participation as lower than it actually is, because it is probably quite exceptional for a person to obtain a Stimmschein without then casting his vote. In any case the matter is of little importance as in the investigated districts only 2,694 Stimmscheine in total were issued, that is to say, to less than 0.7 per cent of the registered electors; proportionately, Stimmscheine were used incomparably to the greatest extent in the younger age groups. Persons who had received Stimmschein in other districts and voted in the investigated districts, were naturally not included among the voters at the calculation of the electoral participation.⁶ In certain investigations of which an account is given below, no information is offered as to how the above difficulty has been solved.

No examination of the voting lists for checking purposes was made in the investigation under consideration. It is pointed out in the report that the accuracy of its results might be put in doubt by the assumption that the "names of numerous elderly persons who died before the day of election, by inadvertency were not crossed out in the voting lists, thus being counted as non-voters". This source of error, however, is considered as unimportant. The above assumption "anyway hardly applies to the town of Nuremberg, as the voting registers in the large communes are constantly checked. But also, as regards the Amtshauptmannschaft of Borna the appearance of 'supernumerary' names in the voting register is practically excluded in view of the high electoral participation of men over 55 years of age. In the districts of Lauenburg and Hanau, the registers may possibly be less correct in this respect, but this circumstance should be of small significance". It should be quite safe to maintain that possible inaccuracies in the

voting lists do not change the general picture of the tendencies in different age groups.

Below are given the numbers of men and women voters in per cent of the number of registered electors in different age groups and districts.

*Participation in the German Reichstag election of May 1924,
in per cent.*

Age groups	Nuremberg		Borna		Hanau		Lauenburg		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
20-24 . .	81.2	79.4	82.6	82.6	90.4	85.4	85.4	82.7	82.9	80.8
25-29 . .	83.1	80.2	85.9	86.1	93.4	85.8	91.4	83.1	85.3	81.8
30-34 . .	85.2	81.7	91.6	87.1	94.4	88.1	92.2	84.1	87.7	83.2
35-39 . .	87.8	84.0	89.7	86.5	94.7	88.6	93.8	85.7	89.3	84.9
40-44 . .	89.2	85.4	92.5	87.3	94.4	88.6	93.7	82.8	90.5	85.7
45-49 . .	89.7	84.6	94.3	85.2	94.9	85.2	93.9	83.2	91.0	84.7
50-54 . .	90.3	83.3	94.4	82.6	93.2	84.8	94.2	78.4	91.4	83.0
55-59 . .	89.5	82.8	95.1	80.4	93.6	81.9	91.4	74.1	90.9	81.6
60-64 . .	88	78.7	94.4	77.0	90.1	75.8	90.0	70.9	89.5	77.4
65-69 . .	86.9	74.7	93.0	70.2	86.8	69.2	84.5	64.3	87.9	72.2
70 and over	79.6	63.5	85.1	54.9	74.6	52.5	71.2	45.4	79.0	58.4

The average electoral participation among men and women in the districts investigated was as follows:

	Men	Women	Men and women
Nuremberg	86.4	81.4	83.7
Borna	89.8	81.9	85.7
Hanau	92.2	83.7	87.9
Lauenburg	90.0	78.9	84.2
Average	87.9	81.5	84.5

The women who throughout show lower participation than the men, on the whole present the same election curve as the latter, in that electoral participation rises successively up to a certain age limit, whereupon it again decreases. Essential differences between the voting of the sexes are, however, observable. The difference in participation is relatively small in the younger age groups, but rises continually, and grows very marked in the highest age groups; among the younger women accordingly, there are more voters — relatively to the average within the sexes —

among the older women considerably fewer than among the men. The average difference between the participation of men and women for the different age groups is as follows:

20—24 . . .	2.1 %	40—44 . . .	4.8 %	60—64 . . .	12.1 %
25—29 . . .	3.1 %	45—49 . . .	6.3 %	65—69 . . .	15.7 %
30—34 . . .	4.5 %	50—54 . . .	8.4 %	70— . . .	20.6 %
35—39 . . .	4.4 %	55—59 . . .	9.3 %		

The voting frequency of the women reaches its maximum about ten years before that of the men; on an average the participation is strongest among the women in the group of 40—44 years, among the men in the group of 50—54. The electoral participation of the women lies above the average for women in all age groups between 25 and 60; as regards the men the same applies to the age groups between 35 and 70 (the electoral participation in the group of 65—69 equals the average participation).

A comparison of the different districts which have been investigated shows certain points of interest, in particular as the results on some points closely agree with the results arrived at in a similar Swedish investigation. The differences between the sexes and the different age groups are considerably less in the urban and industrial districts than in the remaining areas. Thus the average difference between the electoral participation of men and women was 5 per cent in the city of Nuremberg, 7.9 per cent in the industrial district of Borna, 8.5 per cent in the "mixed" district of Hanau, and 11.1 per cent in the agrarian territory of Lauenburg. The fluctuations between the male age groups are slight in Nuremberg and Borna; the difference between the group that showed the strongest participation and the one that showed the least active participation, for Nuremberg is 10.9 per cent, for Borna 12.5 per cent. The corresponding figures for Hanau and Lauenburg, on the other hand, are 20.3 per cent and 23 per cent. The low voting figure for the oldest age groups in the more rural areas is striking; the men over 70 showed about 10 per cent less electoral participation in Hanau and Lauenburg than in Nuremberg and Borna, whereas the youngest age groups showed higher participation in the firstmentioned districts

than in the latter. A comparison of the election curves for women on the whole yields the same result. The difference between the group that showed the strongest and the one that showed the weakest participation (throughout the oldest age group) in Nuremberg is 21.9 per cent, in Borna 32.4 per cent, in Hanau 36.1 per cent, and in Lauenburg 40.2 per cent. The more rural the district in question is, the stronger is accentuated the tendency, observed throughout among the women, of strongly decreasing voting frequency in the older age classes. Assumed that the distribution of the population on the age groups was the same in the districts investigated, the voter's average age was considerably higher in the urban and industrial than in the rural districts, and this applies especially to the women voters more than the male.

The tendencies found in this large investigation are confirmed on essential points by a work by Bauer regarding the voting in the election to the diet in *Saxony* on November 5th, 1922.^{6a} Bauer's investigation is based on detailed data from 17 electoral districts in Leipzig and 8 in Dresden — representing different social groups — as well as certain markedly agrarian districts in the Amtshauptmannschaft of Bautzen; in total the investigation comprises about 50,000 registered electors; about one third of these belong to the towns. As regards electoral participation in different age groups the following data are given.

*Electoral participation in the election to the diet of
Saxony 1922, in per cent.*

Age groups	T o w n s		Rural districts	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
20—29 ^a b	78.1	75.6	75.0	65.0
30—39	86.0	82.9	85.4	66.0
40—49	89.3	86.6	84.5	60.4
50—59	90.6	84.5	83.5	54.3
60 and over	87.7	76.2	74.5	43.2
Average	85.6	79.3	79.8	58.1

Among the men in the towns the age group of 50—59 thus shows the highest poll, while the women in the towns show the highest participation in the group of 40—49; in

the country the highest voting frequency for both sexes is to be found in the age group of 30—39. The difference in voting frequency between the sexes is greatest in the older age groups. In the towns this difference is only about three per cent in the youngest three groups, then rises to more than six per cent in the group of 50—59, and reaches 11.5 per cent in the oldest age group; in the country the difference in the youngest group is 10 per cent, whereupon in the next group it increases up to 20 per cent, keeping around 30 per cent in the oldest two groups. The strongly decreasing voting frequency in the older groups in the country is striking for both sexes. The extraordinarily low electoral participation of the older women in the agrarian district here investigated, deserves particular notice.

Several German towns have taken measures for investigation of the electoral participation in different age groups. The first of these investigations, which was carried out in MANNHEIM, referred to the election to the constituent national assembly of the German Reich in 1919.⁷ The number of registered electors was about 127,750, but only one fifth of these were examined; the selection was made according to a method which was considered best suited to guarantee its representative character. The first five yearly age groups were accounted for separately, while the remaining were joined in five-year groups. In the following table showing the voting frequency in per cent the oldest age classes (75—79 and over 80 years) are not included, the number of registered electors in these age groups as stated in the statistical report, being too small to allow of any conclusions.

Electoral participation in Mannheim, 1919, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20	62.1	78.2	45—49	89.2	86.2
21	77.5	80.5	50—54	88.5	82.6
22	73.5	78.2	55—59	90.1	83.4
23	80.8	80.3	60—64	92.8	78.3
24	81.5	78.1	65—69	85.1	73.8
25—29	80.6	81.4	70—74	81.9	63.1
30—34	83.5	83.6			
35—39	87.0	84.7			
40—44	88.9	86.6			
			Average	85.2	81.0

To some of these percentages no significance can be ascribed. As for the younger age groups among the men it is to be noticed that a large number of the registered electors must have been doing military service, thus actually being prevented from casting their votes. As pointed out in the statistical report the exceptionally low percentage of participation for the men of 20, at least to some extent, seems to be due to the material proving to be not fully representative on this point. If these figures are disregarded, approximately the same tendencies are observable as in the districts investigated at the election of 1924. For instance, the highest electoral participation among the women was reached relatively early, in the age group of 40—44 years; the men on the other hand voted most actively in the group of 60—64. In the age groups over 50 the electoral participation of the men was decidedly higher than that of the women, the difference on the whole increasing with every age group.

In the free city of *Danzig* an investigation has been made, embracing the elections to the constituent assembly of 1920 and to the diet of 1927.⁸ The voting age is the same as in the German Reich. The number of registered electors was 219,149 in 1920, 214,641 in 1927; the voting frequency within the age groups, however, was calculated for only one third of the electoral districts. In the statistical report the first five yearly age classes are given separately, but the average electoral participation in the group of 20—24 years also is accounted for. Only the last-mentioned figure is included here; the fluctuations within the first five-year group are extremely small and may be occasioned by chance. At the election of 1920 an additional age group was included as compared to 1927, persons over 80 years being counted separately, whereas in 1927 all the electors over 70 were brought into one group.

Both in 1920 and in 1927 voting frequency among the women was highest in the group of 40—49, among the men in the group of 50—59. The difference in electoral participation between men and women in the younger age groups, is only 4—6 per cent, but rises in the older

Electoral participation in Danzig, 1920 and 1927, in per cent.

Age groups	1920		1927		
	men	women	men	women	
20—24	65.0	60.3	82.4	78.0	
25—29	68.3	64.0	86.1	81.4	
30—39	75.8	71.4	90.5	85.4	
40—49	81.6	76.9	91.9	88.4	
50—59	83.2	73.4	92.2	87.3	
60—69	77.9	65.1	89.7	82.1	
70—79	67.7	56.0	76.3	62.4	
(70 and over in 1927)					
80 and over	48.3	36.4	—	—	
	Average	75.3	68.0	88.3	82.7
		71.3		85.2	

groups. At the election of 1920 when the poll was on the whole relatively low, the difference between different age groups was considerably greater than in 1927 (the oldest two age groups of 1920 and the oldest age group of 1927 being disregarded as not being commensurable). Thus the difference between the youngest age group and the age group showing strongest electoral participation in 1920, was 18.2 per cent among the men and 16.6 per cent among the women; the corresponding figures in 1927 were 9.8 per cent and 10.4 per cent. A similar difference between elections with a high poll and a low one has previously been observed in Basel-Stadt.

At *Mülheim on the Ruhr* the voting in different age groups in the election to the German Reichstag in December, 1924, was investigated.⁹ The number of registered electors was 77,821.

Electoral participation at Mülheim, 1924, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20—24	67.8	62.7	50—54	85.2	71.8
25—29	68.6	63.3	55—59	82.6	70.4
30—34	76.0	67.7	60—64	81.7	66.1
35—39	81.0	71.2	65 and over	79.0	59.1
40—44	83.3	74.6			
45—49	83.7	74.4	Average	77.9	67.2

The maximum participation of the men falls in the age group of 50—54, that of the women in the age group of 40—44. The difference between the participation of men and women rises continuously. In the different age

groups this difference was: 5.1 per cent; 5.3 per cent; 8.3 per cent; 9.8 per cent; 9.3 per cent; 13.4 per cent; 12.2 per cent; 15.6 per cent; 19.9 per cent. In the oldest age group the difference accordingly is nearly four times as large as in the youngest group. The difference between the voting frequency of men and women at different ages is also illustrated in the following collocation, showing the portion of the registered electors and of the non-voters within both sexes under 40 and under 50 respectively.

		Men	Women
Registered electors	under 40	53.2 %	56.3 %
Non-voters	•	64.3 %	59.6 %
Registered electors	• 50	64.2 %	66.2 %
Non-voters	•	72.4 %	67.5 %

The electoral participation was further ascertained for different marital conditions. Of the unmarried men, 61.6 per cent cast their votes, of the married 82.7 per cent; the participation of widowers and divorced was not calculated. Out of the unmarried women 58.1 per cent cast their votes, of the married 69.7 per cent, of the widows 67.3 per cent; for divorced women no information is given. These figures are of little value as no division into age groups has been carried out for the different categories. It is only to be expected that the voting frequency of the unmarried should be less than that of the married, the unmarried being most strongly represented in the younger groups of voters. The difference in participation between unmarried and married men, however, is so large that it is safe to say that the married show stronger participation than the unmarried, even within the same age groups.

At *Königsberg* an investigation was made into the elections to the town council in 1927.¹⁰ The number of registered electors was 196,383.

Electoral participation at Königsberg, 1927, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20—24	54.6	45.4	50—54	72.5	62.7
25—29	56.3	48.5	55—59	74.6	63.0
30—34	60.5	52.6	60—64	72.3	60.4
35—39	65.4	57.9	65 and over	65.5	50.6
40—44	69.6	60.9			
45—49	72.1	62.9	Average	64.8	55.1

The fluctuations in the electoral participation of the different age groups is also illustrated in the following table showing the percentile portion of the age groups out of the registered electors and the voters.

Age groups	Percentage of regis- tered electors	Percentage of voters
20—24	13.4	11.1
25—29	13.2	11.6
30—34	12.4	11.7
35—39	11.9	12.3
40—44	10.2	11.1
45—49	8.8	10.0
50—54	8.2	9.3
55—59	6.4	7.4
60—64	5.6	6.2
65 and over	<u>9.9</u>	<u>9.3</u>
	100	100

In this election, with its low absolute poll, the differences in voting frequency between the different age groups are relatively large, the difference between the youngest group and the group with the highest poll being 20 per cent for the men, 18.8 per cent for the women. The election curves of men and women show less difference than was the case at the elections previously discussed; both sexes reach maximal participation in the age group of 55—59 years. As usual, however, the difference between the voting frequency of the sexes increases in the higher age groups; in the group of 60—64 it is 11.9 per cent and in the group over 65, 14.9 per cent. Taken as a whole, 50.9 per cent of the registered electors and 56.7 per cent of the non-voters were under 40 years of age.

An investigation carried out in the city of *Hanover* on the Reichstag election of 1928, is particularly thorough in one respect.¹¹ According to the lists used at the election, 316,019 persons were qualified to vote. The number of voters was 255,420. From this number was first subtracted those (3,794) who had voted at Hanover with *Stimmschein*, then there was added the number of persons who had received a *Stimmschein* at Hanover (6,924).¹² In this way the figure of 57,469 non-voters was arrived at. Further it

was ascertained that out of the non-voters no less than 7,091 actually had not been qualified, having either been entered in the voting register by mistake or else died or moved from the town after the voting lists had been prepared. Accordingly, the actual number of non-voters was 50,378. The real electoral participation thus was 84.1 per cent; according to the unchecked voting lists it was only 82 per cent. So far as is known, no such correction of the figures of the voting lists has been carried out elsewhere in the course of corresponding investigations; the Hanover result shows that this defect means a not altogether negligible source of error. On another point, however, the investigation made at Hanover is less accurate; the number of persons in each age group etc. was calculated on the basis of the census of 1925. In other investigations the numbers in question as a rule seem to have been ascertained directly.

Electoral participation at Hanover, 1929, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20—24	83.0	74.6	50—54	91.4	83.0
25—29	83.8	78.4	55—59	91.1	83.3
30—34	85.5	80.2	60—64	90.5	80.1
35—39	88.3	82.6	65—69	89.6	75.9
40—44	90.1	83.4	70 and over	82.9	62.2
45—49	90.7	86.4		Average 87.7	79.8

In this election which was characterized by an extremely heavy poll, the difference between different age groups is relatively small — apart from the oldest group of women with its usual, markedly low voting frequency. The difference between the youngest male group and the group with the highest poll, is only 8.4 per cent; the corresponding figure for the women voters is 11.8 per cent. The highest voting frequency among the men is to be found in the group of 50—54 years, among the women in the group of 45—49. The comparatively high poll among the women in the higher middle age is remarkable; only in the oldest two age groups the difference between men and women is considerably greater than the average difference.

At Hanover the men and women electors were grouped also according to marital status. In the different groups, electoral participation was as follows.

	Unmarried	Married	Widowers and widows	Divorced
Men	82.4	89.7	85.3	74.6
Women	73.7	84.2	73.2	67.9

The fact that the poll is higher among the married than among the unmarried probably is due to the fact that on an average the married are older; the difference is sufficiently great, however, to justify the assumption that proportionately more of the married make use of their vote than of the unmarried, even within the same age groups. More remarkable is the fact that widowers and widows vote considerably less frequently than married people; the widows even show lower participation than the unmarried women. The divorced, with their exceptionally low electoral participation, appear as a particularly asocial group.

At *Hamburg* an investigation was made into the electoral participation in the election of 1928 to the representative assembly of the city¹³; the number of registered electors was 823,449.

Electoral participation at Hamburg, 1928, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20—21	69.1	68.6	50—59	88.0	84.4
22—24	68.9	69.0	60—69	89.5	81.2
25—29	71.8	71.3	70 and over	84.7	66.2
30—39	79.0	78.0			
40—49	84.3	83.2	Average	68.7	63.0

At this election with weak participation, the difference between the age groups is considerable; for the men the maximal difference is more than 20 per cent. The men show maximal participation in the age group of 60—69 years, the women in the group of 50—59. In the age groups up to 50 the women vote practically as frequently as the men; only in the oldest age groups the difference between the sexes becomes considerable.

The table shows that the poll in the youngest age class was calculated separately; it turned out somewhat higher than the average for the group of 20—24 years. This circumstance has been noted as it tallies with phenomena at other investigations, as will soon be shown, and may possibly be considered symptomatic.

In the city of *Ludwigshafen* on the Rhine the election to the city council was examined in 1929.¹⁴ The number of registered electors was 62,958.

Electoral participation at Ludwigshafen, 1929, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20—24	66.5	56.5	55—59	82.1	68.5
25—29	65.3	58.5	60—64	80.3	65.7
30—34	71.2	63.3	65—69	78.9	57.5
35—39	75.2	67.1	70—74	76.1	53.6
40—44	77.7	68.8	75—80	57.9	42.0
45—49	81.0	70.5	80 and over	52.5	26.1
50—54	82.9	70.8			
				Average 74.5	63.9

The maximal electoral participation for both men and women thus falls in the age group of 50—54 years. In the following age groups the difference between men and women increases rapidly; the figures for the oldest age group, however, are of slight value owing to the small number of individuals it comprises.

At Ludwigshafen, the voting within each of the year groups 20—29 was also observed. The result is interesting in that the number of voters in the two youngest year groups among the men and the youngest year group among the women, was found to be relatively high. The men of 20 showed an electoral participation of 72.7 per cent, and the men of 21 a participation of 70.9 per cent, whereas the voting frequency in the following year groups up to 29 varied between 63.2 and 66.8 per cent; the 20-year-old men thus showed stronger participation than the age group of 30—34. The electoral participation of the women of 20, was 65 per cent, whereas in the following year groups only 55—56 per cent cast their votes; only in the age group of 35—39 a stronger electoral participation than in the

youngest age group was reached. Below the participation figures for the year groups under 30 are given.

Year groups	Men	Women	Year groups	Men	Women
20	72.7	65.0	25	65.5	55.1
21	70.9	55.8	26	65.2	57.2
22	64.9	55.8	27	65.5	59.3
23	64.8	55.1	28	63.2	60.1
24	65.0	55.1	29	66.8	61.0

The Reichstag election of 1930 at *Nuremberg* was made the object of an examination which has later on served as the basis of a work by a statistical investigator.¹⁵ The number of registered electors was 291,353 — strangely enough, the *Stimmschein* voters in the town seem to have been included in this number.

Electoral participation at Nuremberg, 1930, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Age groups	Men	Women
20	84.2	78.9	50—59	92.0	87.7
21—24	83.6	80.5	60—69	90.5	83.8
25—29	83.4	81.4	70 and over	85.2	69.0
30—39	87.8	86.1			
40—49	92.6	90.4	Average	88.4	84.9

On the whole the election curves of 1930 are very similar to those obtained from *Nuremberg* in the statistical investigation of 1924. A decided if not important difference is present as regards the electoral participation of the youngest men. In 1930 the age group of 21—24 years showed somewhat higher participation than the group of 25—29 years, and the group of 20 — which was not separately examined in 1924 — voted with particular strength. These data taken together with the data from *Hamburg* and *Lugwigshafen*, which point in the same direction, may possibly be interpreted as a confirmation, though not very strong, of the wide-spread view that the heightened political interest manifesting itself in Germany during the break-through of national socialism was especially apparent among the young.

Electoral participation in different age groups in various parts of Germany has been discussed in several other in-

vestigations in addition to those mentioned here.¹⁶ However, these are of a less detailed nature; in some cases, information is limited to the absolute number of non-voters in different age groups, so that comparisons of value are not made possible. It should be emphasized, however, that on the whole these investigations seem to indicate that the general tendencies here ascertained, manifest themselves everywhere.

In *Denmark* investigations have been carried out regarding the voting at different ages in the elections to the city council in *Copenhagen* in 1909 and 1913.^{17 a} It should be brought to mind that according to a law of 1908, men and women of 25 years of age paying taxes on an income of at least 800 crowns, were qualified to vote; tax payed by a married man was considered as payed both by himself and his wife. In 1909 66,461 men and 60,622 women were qualified to vote; in 1913, the corresponding figures were 72,524 and 70,292. The voting frequency of the age groups appears from the following table.

Electoral participation in Copenhagen, 1909 and 1913.

Age groups	1909		1913	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
25—29	77.0	69.0	83.7	74.1
30—39 {	80.7	71.9	84.8	76.0
35—39			85.2	76.5
40—49			81.9	71.6	85.7	75.7
50—59	82.1	68.3	84.7	72.9
60—69	80.4	63.4	84.7	69.5
70 and over	73.1	49.7	79.6	59.5
Together	80.5	69.4	84.8	74.1

On the whole the figures follow the usual curve, although the differences between different age groups are relatively small. In 1909, the men showed strongest participation in the group of 50—59, in 1913 in the group of 40—49; the voting frequency of the women at both elections was highest in the group of 30—39. In the highest two age groups the difference in participation between the sexes was largest; in the group over 70 it was 23.4 per cent in 1909, and 20.1

per cent in 1913. In the year 1913 when electoral participation on the whole was comparatively high, the differences between the age groups with the highest and the lowest frequency, were considerably less than in 1909; the maximal difference was 9 per cent among the men and 22.2 per cent among the women in 1909, as compared to 6.1 and 17 per cent in 1913.

In the reports the voting frequency of the age groups in different social classes is also given. On the whole the differences between different social groups are fairly slight, except in cases, where, owing to the small number of persons comprised by the groups, they may be due to chance; no marked tendencies appearing at both elections, are observable.

In the parliamentary (folketing) election of September 1920, electoral participation was examined in the age group of 25—28 and in the group over 29 years.^{16 b} Participation in the first-mentioned group was 73.9 per cent among the men and 64 per cent among the women, in the last-mentioned group it was 83.4 per cent among the men and 74 per cent among the women. There was no pronounced difference to be observed between Copenhagen and other parts of the country.

In *Holland* no general investigation has been carried out. In the election statistics of *Amsterdam*, however, light has been thrown on the question of electoral participation in different age groups. Data from three different elections have been examined: the elections to the municipal council in 1919 and in 1921, and the election to the lower chamber of the states general in 1925.¹⁷ At the first-mentioned election, only men over 25 years of age were qualified to vote, at the elections of 1921 and of 1925 both men and women were qualified under the same conditions. The number of registered electors was 151,019 in 1919, 336,698 in 1921, and 378,227 in 1925. At all three elections compulsory voting was in force; electoral participation was very strong, and the differences between different age groups relatively small. Below the results of the three investigations are tabulated.

Electoral participation in Amsterdam, 1919, 1921 and 1925, in per cent.

Age groups	1919	1921			1925		
		Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
25—29	80.8	83.6	83.1	84.0	86.7	87.1	86.3
30—34	83.9	86.5	86.0	87.0	87.2	88.0	86.6
35—44	87.3	89.4	89.4	89.5	89.8	90.2	89.5
45—59	89.3	90.1	90.4	89.9	90.9	91.6	90.2
60—69	89.2	86.8	89.8	84.4	88.4	91.5	85.8
70 and over	89.2	72.7	82.7	66.2	74.8	84.8	67.9
Average	86.1	87.0	87.8	86.3	88.1	89.5	86.8

The curves representing the three elections are on the whole similar, and closely correspond to the normal type, previously observed. At all elections and both for men and women electoral participation is maximal in the group of 45—59 years. It should be noticed that in this group have been brought together age groups which have been kept separate at other investigations, one group out of these practically everywhere showing the highest voting frequency. At the election of 1919 the youngest age group showed decidedly lower participation than the oldest, whereas the opposite was the case in 1921 and in 1925. This can only partly be explained by the fact that the voting frequency of the oldest age group was markedly lowered by the weak participation of the older women in the two latter elections; in the oldest male group there were also more abstentions in 1921 and 1925 than in the youngest group, even though the difference was small (0.4 and 2.3 per cent respectively). In most age groups the women polled about equally strongly with the men in 1921 and 1925, a circumstance which in all probability was due to compulsory voting; in 1921 the women of the three youngest age groups even showed a somewhat stronger participation than the men. In the age group of 60—69, however, the activity of the women decreases; their voting frequency in this group is lower than that of the men by 5.4 per cent at the election of 1921, and by 5.7 per cent at the election of

1925. In the oldest age group the difference is very marked, as always: 16.5 per cent in 1921 and 16.9 per cent in 1925.

In the electoral statistical investigations of Amsterdam attempts have also been made to ascertain how different age groups cast their votes. In 1919 and 1921, the 61 electoral districts of the town were made the basis of this investigation; in 1925 a division into 59 districts was made (some newly divided districts were counted as units). In every district that part of all votes cast which belonged to the most radical and the most conservative parties was counted; as already mentioned, the former included social-democrats and communists and, in 1925, another small socialist party; the latter included the Christian-historical party and certain other groups under different party names. Further the proportion of voters in every district under 30 and over 60 was counted; in 1921 and in 1925, the women were counted separately in these groups. By comparing those figures it was attempted to ascertain whether any correlation existed between radicalism and youth, and between conservatism and old age, separate comparisons being made for the women voters. In 1919 and 1921 tables were made giving the percentage figures which were to be compared, but no correlation was calculated. The only correlation which was claimed to be established by this method, was the one between radicalism and youth; on an average the districts including a large number of young voters showed a relatively high vote for the radical parties. In 1925, on the other hand, correlations were calculated on certain points; for instance, the correlation was examined between voters under 30 and radical votes, between women voters under 30 and radical votes, and between voters over 60 and conservative votes. In all these cases a positive correlation was ascertained. As regards youth and radicalism the correlation was definite, if not strong, or $+ 0.38$. As for young women and radicalism the correlation was considerably weaker, or $+ 0.24$; even though this correlation is not important in itself, it is of interest as compared to a calculation discussed in another connection, according to which the correlation between radicalism and women voters

in total proved to be — 0.40. Between the number of voters over 60 and the number of conservative votes a slight correlation was found, + 0.30. — For reasons similar to those given in the chapter on women's voting, these data cannot with certainty be said to prove that different political opinions dominate in different age groups.

From the *United States* of America there is only one investigation of interest in this connection; for different reasons, above all the defective registration of electors, such investigations are very difficult to carry out in that country. In his investigation regarding the city of Delaware in Ohio, Arnesen however, has also discussed the problem of age.¹⁸ The voters were divided into six age classes, men and women not being differentiated; on an average 72.9 per cent of the men and 57.1 per cent of the women voted.

*Electoral participation in a community in Ohio, 1924,
in per cent.*

Age groups	Electoral participation
21—29	59.1
30—39	64.0
40—49	64.9
50—59	69.8
60—69	81.1
70 and over	56.5

Above all it is remarkable that the age group of 60—69 not only shows the strongest electoral participation but also differs with no less than 11.4 per cent and 24.7 per cent from the immediately younger group and the oldest group respectively. On the whole the differences between different age groups are unusually large; the youngest age group votes 22.1 per cent less than the group with maximal participation. In view of the experiences won elsewhere, and considering the marked differences between the average electoral participation of men and women, it may be assumed that the women of the oldest group and of the youngest age groups have shown an extremely low voting frequency.

The question of electoral participation in different ages has also been discussed in the work of Gosnell dealing with

non-voters in *Chicago* at the mayoral election of 1923.¹⁹ The non-voters — their number was over 5,000 — who are the principal object of the investigation, have been compared as to age with about the same number of voters at this election. In a table the percentage made up by different age groups within each category is given.

Age groups	Voters	Non-voters
21—29	28.4	25.6
30—39	27.9	29.4
40—49	20.4	21.0
50—59	14.0	13.5
60 and over	9.3	10.5
	100	100

A division by sex was also made:

Age groups	Voters	Non-voters	Voters	Non-voters
	Men	Men	Women	Women
21—29	27.6	26.9	30.0	25.0
30—39	27.2	29.6	29.3	29.3
40—49	21.0	20.6	19.5	21.3
50—59	13.9	13.5	13.8	13.5
60 and over	10.3	9.4	7.4	10.9
	100	100	100	100

The differences between the proportion of different age groups in the group of voters and non-voters respectively on the whole are small. According to these data, however, the men in the group of 30—39 vote relatively infrequently, the same being true of men and women over 60; the young women on the other hand show strong electoral participation.

It is not possible, however, to attach much value to the data quoted; there is no certainty that they are representative. The age distribution among the voters and the non-voters within certain fixed areas has not been ascertained throughout. To some extent the voters may, so to speak, come from other parts than the non-voters. Further, the selection in the *Chicago* investigation was mainly made on different lines from those to which attention has to be paid in an investigation into electoral participation and age, the inquiry in the first place being intended to ascertain

the causes of non-voting. The authors themselves emphasize the defect of the investigation from the points of view here discussed. For these reasons alone there is every probability that the slight differences observed are of purely accidental nature. To this should be added that some of the figures presented in the investigation in themselves seem doubtful; this is especially true of certain data which have not been discussed here.²⁰ Under such circumstances the Chicago investigation may be disregarded on this point since all the more detailed investigations point in another direction.

The first of the investigations carried out in *Sweden* deals with the election to the second (lower) chamber in *Stockholm* in September 1911.²¹ At this time men were qualified to vote the year after that in which they had reached 24 years of age; those who had not payed their taxes were disqualified, a limitation which was comparatively important. The number of registered electors at this election was 53,999. In the following table the youngest age group is headed 24 years although the group actually embraces those who had reached 24 years of age before January 1st, 1911, that is to say it includes to a great extent men who were 25 years old at the date of the election; corresponding headings are employed for the other age groups.

Electoral participation in Stockholm, 1911, in per cent.

Age groups	Voters	Age groups	Voters	Age groups	Voters
24	52.4	31—35	65.4	66—70	57.1
25	58.5	36—40	68.3	71—75	49.2
26	59.7	41—45	68.1	76—80	45.2
27	61.4	45—50	68.1	81—85	44.3
28	62.1	51—55	68.1	86—90	34.8
29	63.3	56—60	67.6	91—95	11.1
30	64.6	61—65	61.3		
				Average	64.4

Electoral participation is remarkably weak in the youngest age group; it increases successively up to the group of 36—40 years which shows the highest voting frequency, but then remains practically constant in the groups up to and including 60 years; then participation is strongly re-

duced, from the group of 71—75 onwards being lower than in the youngest age group. The figures for the three oldest age groups are of no great importance owing to the small number of electors in these groups.

A private investigator has examined the electoral participation of different age classes in the *election to the second chamber of 1932*.²² The investigation embraces 51,406 registered electors out of about 3.6 millions. The electoral districts examined have been selected so as to illustrate as far as possible the differences between different parts of the country and districts of varying nature — town and country, agrarian and industrial areas in the country, industrial and commercial districts as well as districts inhabited mainly by officials etc. in the towns.²³ The following table gives the total result of the investigation. It should be noted that according to the constitutional changes introduced in 1921, men and women were qualified to vote in the year following that in which they had reached 23 years of age; no limitations of any importance existed. In the table the age groups are headed in the same way as those referring to the election of 1911; thus 23-year-old are persons who before January 1st 1932 had reached the age of 23, and so forth.

Participation in the election of 1932 to the second chamber in Sweden, in per cent.

Age groups	Men	Women	Difference
23—24	67.9	55.7	12.2
25—29	71.7	63.9	8.8
30—34	78.0	70.1	7.9
35—39	81.4	74.4	7.0
40—44	82.8	74.6	8.2
45—49	82.9	75.1	7.8
50—54	81.8	73.7	8.1
55—59	80.1	69.9	10.2
60—64	79.3	67.6	11.7
65—69	73.1	61.5	11.6
70—74	67.9	52.8	15.1
75—79	55.5	39.4	16.1
80 and over	37.2	22.6	14.6
Average	76.9	67.2	9.7

Both men and women vote most frequently in the age group of 45—49 years. The maximum accordingly falls in a considerably older age group than in the election of 1911, but as far as the males are concerned in a younger group than has turned out to be the rule in other countries; it is also remarkable that the maximum for men and women falls in the same age group, as it did in 1911, whereas in other countries the highest voting frequency among the men occurs later than among the women. In the youngest age group the difference between the voting of the two sexes is relatively large; it then decreases and remains fairly constant in the groups between 30 and 55; in the oldest age groups the men show considerably stronger electoral participation than the women. The difference between the youngest age group and the one showing maximal voting frequency is 15 per cent for the men and 19.4 per cent for the women.

Illustrative comparisons are further made between different categories and districts; these will only partly be discussed here, as on most points no material for a comparison is available from other countries. The relation between town and country is of particular interest as a comparison yields approximately the same result as that arrived at in the German investigation on the election of 1924.

Age groups	T O W N		C O U N T R Y	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
23—24	68.5	55.1	67.4	56.7
25—29	71.9	62.3	72.3	66.3
30—34	74.4	69.0	78.7	71.7
35—39	81.0	73.5	81.9	75.5
40—44	81.0	74.3	85.1	75.0
45—49	82.2	76.6	83.8	73.1
50—54	81.0	74.9	82.5	72.1
55—59	80.5	71.7	79.8	68.0
60—64	79.1	71.6	79.1	62.9
65—69	74.3	65.8	72.3	57.2
70—74	73.0	59.1	64.9	47.0
75—79	59.7	47.5	53.4	32.8
80 and over	49.1	31.2	33.4	16.2
Average	77.4	68.2	76.4	65.7

The difference in electoral participation of men and women thus is somewhat greater in the country than in the

towns. Similarly the fluctuations between different age groups are greatest in the country, a thing which is essentially due to the oldest age groups — from 70 years onwards — showing extremely weak electoral participation; on the other hand the age groups between 25 and 55 years among the men and the groups between 23 and 45 years among the women vote more frequently in the country than in the towns. The strong decrease of the women's electoral participation in older age groups is striking. The maximum of participation falls in the group of 45—49 years for men and women in the towns, in the group of 40—44 years for men in the country, and in the group of 35—39 years for women in the country.

In the investigation discussed a definite difference is also established between town districts of "official" and commercial type — where the conservative party has a strong position — and town districts of an industrial type where the social-democrats dominate. In the former category the younger age groups vote relatively infrequently whereas the older groups show very strong electoral participation; both for men and women the maximum is reached in the group of 60—64. In the latter category electoral participation is strong from the start, but shows a heavy decrease in the older age groups; the maximum falls in the group of 35—39 years for the men and in the group of 40—44 for the women. The same tendency, although less marked, is visible in the relation between the agrarian and industrial districts in the country. — Finally it should be mentioned that the differences in electoral participation between the age groups in different parts of the country are slight.

After 1918 — for certain towns after 1921 — there exists in Sweden a possibility of comparing the electoral participation in the youngest age groups with the remaining groups at certain elections. In the elections to the assemblies electing members of the upper chamber — the "landsting" and, in certain large cities, special representatives — qualified electors are those who have reached the age of 27 during the previous year; in the elections of represent-

atives to the municipal assemblies, on the other hand, those who have reached the age of 23 during the calendar year prior to the election are qualified; otherwise the electoral qualifications are the same. To a great extent these elections take place simultaneously (but never at the same time as the elections to the lower chamber) and — according to observations made — there is no doubt that practically all those who participate in one election also take part in the other as far as they are qualified to. Accordingly it becomes possible to ascertain the electoral participation both in the age group of 23—26 years, and in the age group of 27 years and over. Below data from the three largest towns, Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö are given.²⁴

*Participation in the elections of city councillors in
Stockholm, 1921—1935.*

(The number of registered electors in the age group of 23—26 years was 32 522 in 1921, and 44 207 in 1935, in the group of 27 years and over it was 230 153 in 1921, and 327 005 in 1935).

Election	Men			Women			Total		
	23-26	Over 27	Total	23-26	Over 27	Total	23-26	Over 27	Total
1921	30.5	51.5	48.9	20.7	34.2	32.6	24.9	41.3	39.3
1923	29.7	49.6	47.2	25.4	35.8	34.6	27.2	41.5	39.8
1927	47.5	61.2	59.6	38.5	50.4	49.0	42.2	54.9	53.4
1931	63.4	71.4	70.5	52.5	62.5	61.3	57.1	66.3	65.1
1935	66.5	75.2	74.2	61.3	68.6	67.7	63.5	71.4	70.4

*Participation in the elections of city councillors in
Gothenburg, 1922—1934.*

(The number of registered electors in the age group of 23—26 years was 17 005 in 1922, and 19 229 in 1934, in the group of 27 years and over it was 106 102 in 1922, and 133 504 in 1934.)

Election	Men			Women			Total		
	23-26	Over 27	Total	23-26	Over 27	Total	23-26	Over 27	Total
1922	25.8	43.2	40.5	19.8	29.4	28.2	22.6	35.3	33.5
1926	50.7	59.6	58.5	36.1	48.4	46.7	42.0	53.2	51.7
1930	61.6	68.0	67.2	52.2	61.7	60.5	56.3	64.5	63.5
1934	58.3	65.2	64.4	49.1	56.5	55.6	52.9	60.3	59.4

*Participation in the elections of city councillors in
Malmö, 1922—1934.*

(The number of registered electors in the age group of 23—26 years was 7 440 in 1922, and 10 976 in 1934, in the group of 27 years and over it was 54 691 in 1922, and 75 418 in 1934.)

Election	Men			Women			Total		
	23-26	Over 27	Total	23-26	Over 27	Total	23-26	Over 27	Total
1922	29.7	57.0	53.6	32.4	39.0	38.3	31.1	46.9	45.0
1926	45.3	65.3	62.8	46.9	52.0	51.3	46.2	57.8	56.3
1930	38.5	72.4	66.4	39.4	60.7	57.1	39.0	65.8	61.2
1934	58.4	73.2	71.3	63.5	66.3	65.9	61.3	69.3	68.3

*Differences in electoral participation between the group of 23—26
and the group of 27 and over.*

Stockholm

Election	Men	Women	Total
1921	21.0	13.5	16.4
1923	19.9	10.3	14.3
1927	13.7	11.9	12.7
1931	8.0	10.0	9.2
1935	9.7	7.3	7.9

Gothenburg and Malmö

Election	Gothenburg			Malmö		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1922	17.4	9.6	12.7	27.3	6.6	15.8
1926	8.9	12.3	11.2	20.0	5.1	11.6
1930	6.4	9.5	8.2	33.9	21.3	26.8
1934	6.9	7.4	7.4	14.8	2.8	8.0

Throughout, consequently, the voting frequency of the younger age group was considerably lower than that of the older group. On the whole the difference between the age groups has successively decreased simultaneously with an increase of the general participation. At the earlier elections the difference in voting frequency between the younger and the older males was particularly large; for Stockholm and Gothenburg, the difference in voting frequency at the later elections has been approximately the same for the male and the female age groups, whereas in Malmö the difference between the male groups still is remarkably large. That on the whole an equalization has

taken place is due to the enormous increase in the voting frequency of the younger age group. In Stockholm and Gothenburg the men in the age of 23—26 at the two latest elections have shown more than twice as large a voting frequency as at the elections of 1921—1923, whereas the electoral participation of the older men has not increased with more than about 50 per cent; the voting frequency of the young women has been trebled in Stockholm, and increased from 20 to 50 per cent in Gothenburg, while the voting frequency of the older women has been doubled. For Malmö the curve is broken by the election of 1930, when the electoral participation of the younger group was exceptionally weak. — It should perhaps be stressed that the comparisons drawn here naturally have not quite the same value as figures for electoral participation in different age groups at one and the same election; if the interest in the elections to the municipal assemblies — that is to say the elections to the city council in the communities here discussed — is particularly poor, the basis of an adequate comparison is destroyed.

According to the same method as employed above, comparisons can also be made in regard to the party attitude within the two age groups. It is then assumed that the voters at the two elections in question on both occasions give their votes to the same party. Investigations based on this presumption are to be found both in the official statistics of Sweden and in the statistics published by the city of Stockholm. An account will be given of the results of these investigations, and some complementary data added.²⁵

In the first place we present the investigations given in the official statistics of Sweden into the voting of the age groups at different elections to the town councils. The various investigations for different reasons do not embrace quite the same towns, a circumstance which cannot, however, be considered as reducing the importance of the results. For each election the number of voters comprised in the investigation is given and for each party its percentage of the voters in the age of 23—26 and of the voters over 26.

	1919 (129417)	1922 (210152)	1926— 1927 ²⁶ (327161)	1930— 1931 (434026)	1934— 1935 (522701)
<i>Conservatives</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	27.8	30.5	27.3	20.8	17.9
" " " " over	36.0	39.3	37.4	34.8	30.8
<i>Liberals and prohibitionists²⁷</i> <i>(People's Party)</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	23.8	10.6	9.0	8.6	10.6
" " " " over	21.9	9.2	11.8	10.1	12.6
<i>Social-democrats and others</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	48.4	58.9	46.0	58.1	49.5
" " " " over	42.1	51.5	43.9	49.7	45.3
<i>Communists</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	—	—	17.7	12.5	9.9
" " " " over	—	—	6.9	5.4	5.6
<i>Socialists (right communists)</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	—	—	—	—	6.8
" " " " over	—	—	—	—	3.6
<i>National socialists</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	—	—	—	—	5.3
" " " " over	—	—	—	—	2.1

Below corresponding tabulations for Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö are given.²⁸

Stockholm

	1921	1923	1927	1931	1935
<i>Conservatives</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	. . . . . 41.8	39.8	28.9	22.4	20.8
" " " " over	. . . . . 43.9	41.9	39.6	35.8	33.1
<i>Liberals and prohibitionists (People's party)</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	. . . . . 10.1	13.1	8.4	7.3	12.1
" " " " over	. . . . . 10.1	10.3	10.4	9.3	13.5
<i>Social-democrats</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	. . . . . 37.4	10.2	40.8	52.9	42.1
" " " " over	. . . . . 41.5	42.0	40.9	47.4	40.2
<i>Communists (1921 left socialists)</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	. . . . . 10.7	36.9	21.9	2.5	5.3
" " " " over	. . . . . 4.5	5.8	8.7	1.0	3.0
<i>Socialists (right communists)</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	. . . . . —	—	—	13.9	14.9
" " " " over	. . . . . —	—	—	6.5	7.9
<i>National socialists</i>					
percentage in the group under 27	. . . . . —	—	—	1.0	4.8
" " " " over	. . . . . —	—	—	—	2.2

Gothenburg and Malmö

		1922		1926		1930		1934	
		Got.	Mal.	Got.	Mal.	Got.	Mal.	Got.	Mal.
<i>Conservatives</i>									
percentage in the group	under 27	18.5	22.8	22.3	31.2	21.3	17.6	12.9	11.7
" " " "	over	34.0	33.8	32.8	38.4	31.7	33.8	26.6	27.8
<i>Liberals and prohibitionists (People's party)</i>									
percentage in the group	under 27	9.1	7.4	13.2	5.4	11.1	8.2	10.0	8.0
" " " "	over	12.4	4.7	17.0	7.1	14.5	6.1	13.0	7.9
<i>Social-democrats</i>									
percentage in the group	under 27	60.9	73.7	43.0	59.7	58.8	72.5	43.0	75.9
" " " "	over	49.0	59.7	40.6	52.8	48.6	59.3	41.5	61.8
<i>Socialists and communists</i>									
percentage in the group	under 27	11.5	3.9	21.0	3.7	8.8	1.7	24.4	2.1
" " " "	over	4.6	1.8	9.6	1.7	5.2	0.8	14.7	1.4
<i>National socialists</i>									
percentage in the group	under 27	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.7	2.3
" " " "	over	—	—	—	—	—	—	4.2	1.1

As already stated, the figures quoted cannot with certainty be assumed to illustrate in detail the political attitude of the different age groups; the great fluctuations between different elections point to the presence of certain sources of error. It is safe, however, to state that considerable differences exist between the different age groups. Throughout the percentage of the conservative party is greater among the older than among the younger voters; on an average the proportion in the former group seems to have been about 50 per cent greater than in the latter, at times (Malmö 1930, Gothenburg and Malmö 1933) it has been double. The intermediary parties (liberals, people's party) have shown variations, although, particularly in recent years, the older age group to a certain extent predominates. The social-democrats on the whole have had a greater percentage of younger than of older voters, in particular in the elections where the more radical socialist parties were not represented, or in any case were of small importance; at times, however, the younger "socialist" voters have abandoned this party in great numbers in order to give their votes to more radical groups (Stockholm 1923). The parties to the left of the social-democrats have been decidedly youthful parties; their percentage in

the younger age group throughout has been twice to three times the percentage in the older group. The same is true of the national socialist movement, which appeared chiefly in the elections of 1934 and 1935. The data given point to this movement having to a large extent obtained its voters among the young people of conservative colour; on some occasions the percentage of young voters for the conservative party has strongly decreased in proportion as national socialism has gained ground (Gothenburg and Malmö 1934). On the whole the old view is thus confirmed, that young people are prone to join extreme movements.

* * *

In several of the investigations above discussed attempts have been made to ascertain the causes of the tendencies observed in electoral participation. To a great extent the authors argue very loosely on the nature and attitude of the different groups. As an instance of this some of the opinions offered in the investigation on the Reichstag election at Nuremberg in 1930, may be mentioned. The author thinks it quite natural that the older men show strong electoral interest; it is a consequence of their rich experience of life. "I dare say they feel bound to give an expression to the gift they possess to a higher degree than the youngest generations, that is to say, the vista over a long period with its variety of political occurrences; in a way they consider themselves in a patriarchal sense leading and responsible". The fact that both the sexes show strong electoral participation in the age group of 40—50 years is easily understandable since at this age people are in the middle of their self-supporting activity. But it is considered strange that the men at the age of 30—40 vote less frequently than the immediately older age group; as a possible explanation regarding the man at this age it is suggested "that he is so busy in his professional work and so absorbed by it that his interest in politics slackens". The youngest age groups, finally, are said to be slack in voting because their interest is focussed on sport and recreations. In the

Zurich investigation of 1933, the high voting frequency of married people is explained as follows: "the solicitude of married people for the well-being of a whole family in a particular manner induces them to pay greater regard to the welfare of society as well".

There is hardly any need to point out that analyses of this type are of little or no interest. They hardly give more than restatements of the facts already established. Nothing is easier than to make up such "explanations"; the statements in the Nuremberg investigation to the effect that one age group votes with great frequency because it is "in the middle of" its professional work, while another group counts many non-voters because it is being "absorbed" in this professional work, are good examples of this. If young people were found to vote more frequently than the elderly, this might easily be explained by the young being bent on remoulding the community in which they are to live, while the old are indifferent to the community which they will soon have to leave, and so on. These are all very doubtful psychologizing generalizations.

The authors of the investigations discussed have little or no knowledge of similar investigations made in other places. This explains the fact that certain differences are not infrequently regarded as specific to the district examined and interpreted in the light of local conditions, although in point of fact they are present every where. For instance, in the investigation made at Nuremberg quoted above, it is stated that the low electoral participation of the young is an outcome of the fact that unemployment is heaviest among the young. Our survey has shown, however, that the young are slack voters everywhere; in fact, the young age groups at Nuremberg in 1930 showed relatively high electoral participation in comparison with other areas. In the investigation on the Königsberg election in 1927 the same phenomenon is explained thus: "young people of both sexes are not able to make head or tail of the confused mixture of parties . . . which at the latest municipal election presented their electoral programs at Königsberg". The same lack of conviction attaches to a statement to the

effect that people in the older groups neglected to vote at Basel in 1911 out of discontent with the proportional mode of election introduced in 1905.

A more complete view of the conditions relating to the differences in electoral participation between different age groups could only be obtained by investigations far more detailed than those so far carried out. In the first place the relation from this point of view, between age and profession and class, would claim attention. For instance it is possible that, as has been supposed, interest in politics is correlated to work in a trade or profession; the low voting frequency in the youngest as well as the oldest group may be related to the fact that the young have not yet entered on regular work, while the old have left it. In order to throw light on this question a detailed analysis of a number of different factors would be necessary. For one thing, the pensioning conditions within different professions ought to be compared with the voting frequency in the respective age groups of the different professions; the successively sinking voting curve in the higher age groups cannot in itself be regarded as proof on this point. It should be emphasized, however, that in case any correlation exists, it cannot be very strong; this is indicated both by the smoothness of the election curve and by the data quoted regarding the electoral participation in different age groups and social classes at Basel and Zurich. — It is also possible that the differences between different age groups are directly related to the differences between different social groups, for instance that the social groups showing the lowest voting frequency are unproportionally strongly represented in the lowest ages.²⁰ But there is no reason to assume a strong correlation on this point either.

It should be safe to assume increasing physical weakness and sickness in the higher age groups to be one cause of the decreasing voting frequency. That the oldest age group among the women as a rule shows such an extraordinary low voting frequency obviously is bound up with the fact that the women — at least in the majority of the countries here dealt with — in the highest ages are more numerous

than the men; in the oldest age group — 70 and over, 75 and over, or as the heading may be — the average age among the women consequently is in point of fact considerably higher than among the men.³⁰

In the German statistical investigation on the election of 1924, one cause of the low voting frequency of the older women is sought in the fact that these women had grown up before the question of woman suffrage had been brought up; it is therefore presumed that the difference on this point will gradually disappear. Even though — as demonstrated above — a tendency to equalization of the electoral participation of men and women can be observed in some countries, several data, as for instance those from the election of 1932 in Sweden, indicate that this difference does not disappear.

The fact that the older age groups show lower voting frequency in the country than in the towns may, at least partly, be explained by the larger distances to the polling centres.³¹ Every external difficulty relative to the casting of the vote obviously will affect the oldest age groups first.

It has been possible to establish the difference in political attitude of the youngest as compared to the older age groups in a number of Swedish towns; such a difference is also made probable in the Amsterdam investigations quoted. According to these data the older groups are more conservative, more influenced by tradition than the youngest group; radical and extreme parties in general have gained ground particularly among the young. In several other countries, as in Germany and Italy, a similar state of affairs has been said to exist. Thus it has been repeatedly maintained that during the last period of the Weimar régime the national socialist and communist parties were supported particularly by the youngest groups of voters; so far as known, however, no statistical proof of this and similar views has been presented.

If a general tendency in the direction indicated is present — which may be considered as probable, but not proved — the question arises what the cause may be. It is possible that age in itself, as frequently maintained, has a

politically conserving effect, that is to say that under otherwise equal conditions elderly people are less open to the influence of new and extreme movements than the young. However, it is also possible that a political difference between the age groups to a great extent is due to differences of a social nature. For instance it seems probable that within the working class the tendency to support a radical socialist movement is greatest among the groups which get low wages and suffer from uncertain conditions of employment, and that these groups are recruited particularly among the youngest age groups. In many cases a comparatively large part of the unemployed, who according to concurring opinions are apt to join extreme, above all radical socialist parties are likely to have belonged to the youngest groups. On similar lines the argument could be carried on as regards other social groups. However a closer analysis of these conditions can not be given here; on this point too, a warning must above all be given against loose generalizations, however tempting.

¹ *Mitteilungen des Statistischen Amtes des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, Nr. 24 p. 25, Nr. 54, p. 28, and the tables.

² *Zürcher statistische Nachrichten* 1926, Nr. 4, p. 154, and *Statistik der Stadt Zürich*, Heft 41, pp. 3, 8 f., 43, and the tables.

³ Large areas were incorporated before the election of 1933.

⁴ *Zeitschrift des K. Sächsischen Statistischen Bureau's* 1903, p. 27.

⁵ *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Band 315, VI, p. 35 ff.

⁶ A look at the tables on p. 36 ff. gives the impression that the persons resident in other places who have voted with Stimmschein in the district in question, have been considered as voters in the calculations of electoral participation; the percentage of participation accordingly would be incorrectly heightened. This is not the case, however, as appears from a summation of the voters in different age groups in the tables following p. 40.

^a BAUER, *Wahlbeteiligung*, 1926, pp. 52 f., 63, 77, 83.

^b To the data regarding the electoral participation of the youngest age group in the towns a few remarks should be added. According to the voting lists the percentages are not those given here, but 72.7 for the men and 70.8 for the women. Bauer, however, found these figures to be too low, particularly as the voting lists included a large number of electors who had moved from the district, and gives the figures here presented as the correct ones. It is, however, not quite proper to employ these figures, as corresponding corrections have not been made for the figures relating to the remaining age groups. For seemingly good reasons — which it would take too long to enter upon here — Bauer thinks, however, that as regards the older age groups the errors of the data based on the voting lists, are relatively small. It therefore seems more adequate

to give the higher instead of the lower figures for the first age group. For a general comparison the matter is of little importance.

⁷ *Beiträge zur Statistik der Stadt Mannheim*, 6 Sondernummer, p. 25 ff.

⁸ *Beiträge zur Danziger Statistik*, Heft 4, p. 58 f.

⁹ *Mitteilungen zur Statistik der Stadt Mülheim an der Ruhr*, Nr. 1, p. 7 f., 11 ff., 3.

¹⁰ *Vierteljahrshefte zur Wirtschaft und Statistik der Stadt Königsberg*, 5. Jahrgang Nr. 3, p. 3 ff.

¹¹ *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Hannover 1930*, p. 143 f.

¹² Here, consequently, another method is employed than in the investigation on the election of the year 1924 carried out by the Reich statistical authorities. According to this procedure electoral participation may be assumed to appear somewhat stronger than is actually the fact, as it may naturally happen that people do not make use of a Stimmschein received. — As regards other control investigations into the accuracy of the voting lists we refer to *Würzburger*, *Wahlstatistisches*, *Deutsches Statistisches Zentralblatt 1932*, col. 225 ff.

¹³ *Aus Hamburgs Verwaltung und Wirtschaft 1929*, p. 334 ff.

¹⁴ *Veröffentlichungen des Amtes für Wirtschaft und Statistik der Stadt Ludwigshafen am Rhein*, Sonderheft 3, p. 16.

¹⁵ MEYER, *Der Nichtwähler*, *Allgemeines statistisches Archiv 1931*, in particular pp. 511 and 515 ff.

¹⁶ Cf *Statistische Nachrichten des Landes Mecklenburg-Schwerin* Nr. 4, 1928 p. 30 f.; *Statistischer Vierteljahrsbericht der Stadt Kassel*, July-September 1930, p. 2 f.; *Wirtschaft und Statistik 1926*, p. 296 (Mainz).

^{16a} TRAP, *Borgerrepräsentantvalgene i Köpenhavn* den 12. Marts 1909, p. 26 ff., *Borgerrepräsentantvalgene i Köbenhavn* den 11. Marts 1913, p. 20 ff.

^{16b} *Statistiske Meddelelser*, *Rigsdagsvalgene* September-October 1920, p. 18.

¹⁷ For the following discussion, cf *Statistische Mededeelingen uitgegeven door het Bureau van Statistiek der Gemeente Amsterdam* Nr 60, pp. VI, VIII f. 64, pp. VI, VIII f.; Nr. 78, pp. VI, VIII f., and the tables added.

¹⁸ Non-voting in a typical Ohio Community, *American Political Science Review 1925*, pp. 818, 823.

¹⁹ MERRIAM and GOSNELL, *Non-Voting*, in particular pp. 12, 29 f.

²⁰ The investigation also includes voters and non-voters within the categories "native white", "negroes", and "born abroad". Some of the data given are obviously doubtful. For instance, out of the negroes 40 per cent are stated to cast their votes in the age group of 21—29, 53 per cent in the group of 30—39, and 38 per cent in the group of 40—49 years; the native white are stated to vote more frequently in the group of 21—29 years than in any other group; those born abroad are stated to vote considerably less in the groups of 30—39 and 40—49 years than in the groups of 21—29 and 50—59 years.

²¹ *Statistisk redogörelse för allmänna val i Stockholm 1911*, p. 29.

²² RADHE, *Åldersfördelning av röstberättigade och röstande vid andra-kammarvalet 1932*, *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift 1934*.

²³ The selection has been made in collaboration with the author of this work.

²⁴ As regards Stockholm, the figures quoted are taken from *Stockholms stads statistik*, *Statistisk redogörelse för allmänna val i Stockholm 1929—1931*, p. 18, 1933—35, p. 15; the data on which the other percentage calculations are based are to be found in *Sveriges officiella statistik*, *Kommunala valen 1922—23*, tables 2 and 3, and *Kommunala valen 1926—1927*, 1930—1931, and 1934—1935, tables 2 and 4.

²⁵ Cf *Sveriges officiella statistik*, *Kommunala valen 1919*, p. 55 ff.; 1922 and 1923, p. 32 f.; 1926 and 1927, p. 36; 1930 and 1931, p. 32; 1934

and 1935 p. 32 as well as *Stockholms stads statistik*, Statistisk redogörelse för allmänna val i Stockholm, 1925—1927, p. 15; 1929—1931, p. 17; 1933—1935, p. 15; the data on which are based the remaining percentage calculations are to be found in *Sveriges officiella statistik*, the tables quoted above, and in *Stockholms stads statistik*.

²⁶ Here and in the following discussion we include Stockholm, where the elections are held in the spring after the other elections have taken place.

²⁷ Prohibition and anti-prohibition liberals. In 1931 these groups formed the "people's party".

²⁸ In one or two cases small groups are excluded.

²⁹ From the Zurich statistics of the election of 1933 it appears, for instance, that those officially employed, both officials and working men, are on the whole considerably older than those employed in private service. The former show a considerably higher voting frequency.

³⁰ This is emphasized in the investigation on the election of 1924, carried out by the German Reich statistical authorities.

³¹ This is doubted by RADHE in the paper quoted. Radhe points out that if the presumption made were correct, the older age groups in the agrarian districts in the country would vote less frequently than in the industrial districts, as there is here, in regard to the distance to the polling places, a difference corresponding to the one between town and country; no such difference is stated to obtain in regard to the electoral participation in rural districts. Against this it may be objected that according to Radhe's figures the older women vote much less frequently in the agrarian than in the industrial districts, and also that the material is on the whole too small to allow of definite conclusions on this point; in each of the age groups here in question, only a few hundred registered electors are included.

CHAPTER III.

OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL STATUS IN POLITICAL ELECTIONS.

Except in Swedish electoral statistics very little information is available regarding electoral participation within different occupational groups and social classes. Scattered data, however, are obtainable from Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Denmark, and the United States.

In the canton *Basel-Stadt* inquiries on the subject have been made on three occasions. The first investigation, referring to the cantonal election of 1908, is of small interest, comprising as it does only one electoral district with 2,761 electors, so that both reliable and sufficiently differentiated results cannot be expected, and further applying a classification of occupations and social groups which is not altogether clear and consistent. But already in that inquiry tendencies are to be traced which are clearly apparent in several other investigations. On the whole electoral participation tends to increase with the social standard. Apart from the personnel of the federal railways stationed at Basel, who for natural reasons were very slack in voting, the undifferentiated group of labourers shows the lowest figure for participation, or 49.6 per cent. On the other hand, the group "merchants and manufacturers" shows a voting frequency of 63.6 per cent. An exceptionally high figure, nearly 70 per cent, is to be observed in the groups comprising officials and workers in the service of the canton, i. e. among those most directly affected by the result of the election. The average participation was only 55 per cent.

The cantonal election of 1911 was made the object of an investigation comprising the whole of the canton, the elec-

tors being classified in great detail. They were distributed both on occupational and social groups. In this latter regard three groups were established: independent occupation, non-independent occupation, and independent without occupation. In each social group the individuals were distributed on a number of occupational groups. In the following abstract from the Basel statistics one or two occupational groups have been excluded as being too small for the voting frequency figures to be of any interest; in the total for each social group, however, they have been included. It should be mentioned that both here and later on the headings have sometimes been given in a somewhat abbreviated form.

Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups at Basel, 1911.

Classes and groups	Number of electors	Voters, in % of electors
<i>Class A (independent occupation)</i>	4 256	71.8
1. Farmers, gardeners, fishermen, etc.	236	61.4
2. Artisans	1 337	76.4
3. Factory owners, builders, etc.	465	80.9
4. Shop-keepers, inn-keepers, taxi-owners etc.	736	63.7
5. Merchants, brokers, etc.	514	68.7
6. Agents	324	64.8
7. Directors and heads of firms	224	73.7
8. Doctors, apothecaries, advocates, etc.	420	75.9
<i>Class B (non-independent occupation)</i>	16 208	69.1
9. Engineers, architects, chemists	174	64.9
10. Heads of institutions, hospital doctors, teachers, journalists, etc.	111	75.7
11. Managers, cashiers, etc.	624	74.7
12. Technical assistants, builders foremen, etc.	231	64.9
13. Shop assistants and commercial travellers	2 090	66.9
14. "Ferber" (technical employees of silk industry)	217	82.0
15. Foremen, overseers, etc.	259	79.1
16. Workers	6 772	63.8
17. In state service (officials and workers)	5 216	74.6
18. In cooperative service (officials and workers)	426	75.8
<i>Class C (independent, without occupation)</i>	1 192	60.6
19. Rentiers, assisted, etc.	946	58.7
20. Students etc.	246	67.9
Total	21 656	69.2

The distribution thus made is explained at great length in the inquiry. Two points of view seem to have been

decisive. One aspect has been "the distribution on occupations in accordance with the economic division of labour", the other "the social stratification"; it has been attempted to distribute the population "not only according to occupation, but also according to social position". It would seem that this last point of view has been accorded dominating importance. Thus, the discussion of the classification made, ends as follows: "By the social classification thus made the incomparably most important foundations of a knowledge of the existing class differences among the electors, are brought to light. It must be admitted, however, that a complete picture is not obtained in this way, because the question whether an individual belongs to one or another social class or group is determined, not by his position in trade or profession alone, but also by other factors, as pecuniary position (fortune or income), character and intelligence, personal relations etc., that is things outside the region of occupation". — In regard to the application in the individual cases of the method indicated the investigation contains a detailed discussion, an account of which would take us too far.

As a matter of fact the points of view above indicated do not seem to accord too well with the classification made, above all not in regard to the main grouping into social classes. Without further discussion the classification into "independent" and "non-independent" occupation has been accepted, while it should be obvious that exactly in regard to social position this distinction is not essential. Some of the consequences are altogether absurd, e. g. fishermen on the Rhine and taxi-owners have been referred to the first class, hospital doctors, journalists, and state officials to the second. Private practitioners belong to the first class, heads of hospitals to the second. Apparently because otherwise the absurdity of the method would become too patent, directors and heads of firms — though not in "independent" occupation — have, inconsistently enough, been included in the first class. It should also be pointed out that within the main classes not only occupation but also social class has influenced the classification; for

instance, within the first class shop-keepers and merchants have been grouped separately, merchants being, according to the comments in the report, "owners of wholesale firms . . . as also owners of retail firms of medium and larger size". Likewise a distinction has been made out between artisans and manufacturers, "regard being had, as far as possible, to the size of the respective undertakings". — Sometimes, on the other hand, persons obviously belonging to different social classes have been included in the same group. Thus, for instance, officials and workers in the service of the state or the cooperative undertakings have been grouped together because "through regulated conditions of service and pay these electors occupy a position in many respects differing from that of their colleagues in private undertakings". Even if some weight is accorded to this point of view it can hardly be disputed that the social difference between the highest officials of the canton and the workers in the service of the canton, is larger than between the former category and the leaders of private economic life, or between working men in state employment and other workers. Another queer example of the method employed is the grouping together of rentiers and "assisted".

These critical observations may suffice, though many others present themselves. The reason why they have been made is that a correct classification is of absolutely fundamental importance in investigations of this nature. To some extent the Basel inquiry is robbed of its value as a result of these methodical errors.

But which method ought to be employed? There can hardly be any hesitation but that in the first place the grouping should be made by social position, as there can be no doubt that more than any other circumstance which may be relevant in this connection, social position is of importance for political attitude; it should be observed that certain other groupings — e. g. after religious confession — are altogether irrelevant to the problem now discussed. How the conception 'social position' is to be determined, and how the social classes are to be delimited, of course may be doubtful; income would seem to be the most im-

portant factor, but it is not the only one. For a grouping as schematic as that which can here be in question, these difficulties, however, do not seem to be decisive. In the main the social position of the different occupational groups is clear, and this is sufficient for our purpose. In regard to grouping into classes, there are different possibilities; that accepted in Swedish statistics — with grouping into an upper class, a middle class, and manual workers — seems to be one of the most convenient. As far as this can be done, therefore, such a method of grouping will be applied to the material comprised by the Basel-Stadt inquiry.

First it must be mentioned, however, that apart from the main table reproduced above, the Basel inquiry gives certain supplemental data, some of which supply direct information regarding the electoral participation within the social classes determined in the manner indicated. Thus, group No. 18 (in cooperative service) is divided into two sub-groups: salaried and wage-earners; of the salaried 79.0 per cent voted, of the wage-earners 72.7. Further, group 17 (in the service of the federation and of Basel-Stadt) has been specially treated. Those in the service of the federation showed a very low voting frequency, 65.2 per cent, while the percentage for those in the service of Basel-Stadt was 84.5. Within this latter group a further classification has been made. Among the teachers the voting frequency was 88.2 per cent, among the officials 87.8, among the clerks 79.2 per cent, and among the workers 84.3 per cent. — Finally the workers were distributed on "skilled" and "unskilled"; among the former participation was 68.8, among the latter 57.7 per cent.

In the main a grouping corresponding to that employed in Swedish statistics can easily be applied to the Basel-Stadt material. For details regarding the manner of carrying out this grouping, we refer to the Swedish statistics and to the detailed discussion of the grouping in the Basel-Stadt inquiry. To social class I groups 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 may be referred, and it would further seem that the teachers and school-masters and officials in the service of

Basel-Stadt ought to belong to this class. Social class II would comprise groups 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 14, and 15 and further the salaried employees of Basel-Stadt and the cooperative organisation. To social class III belong group 16 and the workers in the service of Basel-Stadt and the cooperative organisation. Certain groups must be excluded from the comparison. This applies to the insignificant and apparently very heterogeneous group I, group 17 in so far as it comprises others than those employed by Basel-Stadt (as officials, clerks, and workers have not been separated), and the indefinite and heterogeneous groups entering into the Basel-Stadt statistics as class C. We then get the following table:

Social classes and groups	Number of electors	Voters, in per cent of electors
<i>Social class I</i>	3 389	77.5
Factory owners, builders, etc.	465	80.9
Merchants, brokers, etc.	514	68.7
Directors and heads of firms	224	73.7
Doctors, apothecaries, advocates etc.	420	75.9
Engineers, architects, chemists	174	69.9
Heads of institutions, hospital doctors, teachers, journalists, etc.	111	75.7
Managers, cashiers, etc.	624	74.7
Officials and teachers in the service of the canton	857	88.0
<i>Social class II</i>	5 958	71.1
Artisans	1 337	76.4
Shop-keepers, inn-keepers, taxi-owners, etc.	736	63.7
Agents	324	64.8
Technical assistants, builders foremen etc.	231	64.9
Shop assistants and commercial travellers	2 090	66.9
"F'erge"	217	82.0
Foremen, overseers, etc.	259	79.1
"Salaried" in cantonal service	554	79.2
"Salaried" in cooperative service	210	79.0
<i>Social class III</i>	8 091	66.8
Workers	6 772	63.8
Workers in cantonal service	1 103	84.3
Workers in cooperative service	216	72.7

Even if in some cases this distribution may be considered doubtful it should be indisputable that in this way more reliable information about the voting from the social point of view is obtained, than by the method employed in the Basel-Stadt statistics. In the first place the definite, though not large difference between the different social classes,

must be pointed out; in the upper class the voting frequency is 77.5, in the middle class 71.1, in the working class 66.8 per cent. A difference in voting frequency corresponding to a difference in social position as a rule is to be observed also between particular groups working in the same branch of occupation: factory owners vote more frequently than artisans, merchants more frequently than shop-keepers, heads of firms more frequently than shop-assistants. The lowest voting frequency is to be found among the shop-keepers and the workers in private employment; the latter form the incomparably largest group; their voting frequency is 14 per cent lower than that of the highest social class. — Further it is notable that in all groups those in the employment of Basel-Stadt show higher electoral participation than others; the workers in this category are 20 per cent above the workers in private employment.

The Basel-Stadt statistics contain not only the figures reproduced for the whole canton, but also corresponding data for the different electoral districts, eleven in number. On one point these detailed figures are of interest, as showing, in regard to the largest group, workers in private employment, — the other groups being too small to allow definite conclusions on the point — that on the whole the voting frequency rises with the relative strength of the group within the district. This will be seen in the following collocation:

Electoral district	Workers in per cent of electors	Electoral participation among workers
Steinen	14.0	55.6
Aeschen	18.0	51.8
Spalen	28.0	66.5
Riehen-Dorf	28.1	59.0
Stadt	29.6	55.0
Johann	31.4	65.3
Bettingen	32.9	65.2
Alban	35.8	63.3
Riehen	36.3	56.1
Bläsi	43.7	65.7
Holburg	51.4	73.0

In those districts where the workers make up more than 40 per cent of the electors, their average voting frequency is 69.3 per cent, in districts where they make up 30—40 per

cent their voting frequency is 62.5 per cent, in districts where they make up 20—30 per cent their voting frequency is 60.2 per cent, and in districts where they are less than 20 per cent of the electors their voting frequency is 53.7 per cent. — Below there will be occasion to note similar tendencies in other connections also.

It is also possible to demonstrate the connection between the strength of the working class and the social democrat party in most of the districts. This connection is shown in the following collocation. The electoral districts are given in the same order as before.

Voting workers in per cent of all voters	Social democrat votes in per cent of all votes
11.3	10.8
14.7	27.2
25.4	27.7
24.4	—
23.7	22.4
29.4	37.8
33.3	—
32.7	31.8
30.9	29.5
41.7	41.8
50.0	51.9

The cantonal election of 1932 has also been made the object of an inquiry into the electoral participation of the social groups. A different grouping was used from that employed in 1911; it is stated in the inquiry that the classification of 1911 "in several respects was unsatisfactory" and therefore ought not to be employed, although this might have been desirable with regard to the possibilities of drawing up comparisons. Instead, an occupational schema set up in 1931 by the official Swiss statisticians for the purposes of the housing statistics, was used as the basis of the investigation. It was admitted that "this new schema was better adapted for housing statistics than for election statistics", but for this later purpose it was nevertheless preferred before setting up a special schema for the election statistics. The new classification comprises five social classes; these have not been given particular characterizations, except for class B which is stated to comprise "Mittlere und kleinere selbstständige Erwerbende".

Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups at Basel, 1932.

Classes and groups	Number of electors	Voters, in per cent of electors
<i>Class A</i>	1 020	84.4
1. Big employers	109	89.9
2. Directors of big undertakings	302	86.7
3. Independent in free professions	417	84.9
4. Higher officials	192	81.8
<i>Class B</i>	6 426	67.5
5. Agriculture	215	67.4
6. Industry and handicrafts	2 120	71.4
7. Trade and insurance	3 163	67.0
8. Other undertakings	365	51.2
9. Free professions	563	66.3
<i>Class C</i>	11 048	71.5
10. Higher business employees	1 040	80.0
11. Other business employees	5 654	68.2
12. Higher private employees (engineers, architects, chemists)	930	74.8
13. Technical employees	944	64.4
14. Officials and employees in public employment	1 921	75.0
15. Clergy in public service	85	90.6
16. Teachers in public intermediary schools	116	78.4
17. Elementary school teachers	358	83.5
<i>Class D</i>	21 874	60.7
18. Skilled workers in private employment	11 508	59.9
19. Policemen, frontier guards, etc.	568	70.2
20. Communications personnel (mainly in public service)	1 272	74.2
21. Workers in public employment	1 703	71.6
22. Unskilled workers in private employment	6 560	56.2
23. Workers in private households etc.	263	49.4
<i>Class E</i>	2 016	65.5
24. Rentiers, pensioners, etc.	1 070	78.3
25. Others without occupation or without identifiable occupation	946	59.6
Total	42 384	65.5

It will be seen that, above all from the social point of view, this classification is far more informative than that employed in 1911. The difference in electoral participation of different social classes emerges fairly clearly. On the whole there is a decided fall in participation with falling social standard. In the upper class proper the voting frequency is about 15 per cent higher than in the two intermediary classes B and C, and nearly 24 per cent

higher than in the working class. The workers in private employment who form the biggest groups, show far lower participation than practically any other group.

From the point of view stressed above, however, this classification cannot either be regarded as wholly satisfactory. The division into classes does not sufficiently closely correspond to the social scale. Thus, it is evident that several of the groups under class C from a social point of view are equal with or superior to the groups under class B; for instance, engineers, architects, and clergymen cannot reasonably be put in a lower social grade than artisans or small shop-keepers. In this regard the classification into "independent" and "non-independent" employment has had a confusing effect — as was still more the case in the 1911 inquiry. Also it seems to be misleading to put rentiers and pensioners into class E together with persons without occupation. In any case an attempt will be made to apply the method of classification employed in the Swedish statistics to this material also in order to make comparisons possible. On several points difficulties arise which were not — or at least not to the same degree — met with in the 1911 inquiry, but a rough, schematic distribution on three main social classes nevertheless may be of some interest.

To social class I naturally in the first place belong the groups entering into the class A of the Basel statistics. Further, several of the groups comprised by class C would be counted to this social class, viz. No. 10 (corresponding to No. 11 1911), No. 12 (corresponding to No. 9 1911), No. 15 and No. 16. The members of the free professions entered under class B probably also ought to be counted to class I, even if part of the group might rather belong to class II. It seems to be necessary to limit social class I to these groups, though in this way it becomes somewhat more exclusive than social class I in our calculations on the election of 1911. It will be found, if the group figures for 1911 and 1932 are compared, that groups 8 and 9 1932 must comprise some which were counted to class A in 1911 (groups 3, 5, and 8), and were included in our class I.

The majority within these groups, however, may with certainty be assumed to have been in such a position as to be included in groups 2 and 4 in 1911, and thus in our calculations assigned to class II. As no separation is possible, consequently groups 8 and 9 must now be referred to this last-mentioned class. Similarly in regard to group 14: in that group will be found both officials who were referred to social class I in the 1911 calculation, and "clerks", who on that occasion were included in social class II.

To social class II those groups are counted which belong to classes B and C above, with the exception of the groups mentioned which have been assigned to class I. To social class III the whole of class D has been referred. It has not seemed possible to include class E in this reclassification as the data for this class seem to be too meagre to allow any definite conclusion in regard to its social character. Possibly one of the groups within this class, No. 24 (rentiers, pensioners, etc.) might be referred to social class I; in any case such a division would not much affect the figure for electoral participation within the class.

A table built on these principles will have the following composition:

Social classes and groups	Number of electors	Voters, in % of electors
<i>Social class I</i>	3 754	78.5
Big employers	109	89.9
Directors of big undertakings	302	86.7
Independent in free professions	417	84.9
Higher officials	192	81.8
Free professions	563	66.3
Higher business employees	1 040	80.0
Higher private employees (engineers, architects, chemists)	930	74.8
Clergy in public service	85	90.6
Teachers in public intermediary schools	116	78.4
<i>Social class II</i>	14 740	69.0
Agriculture	215	67.4
Industry and handicrafts	2 120	71.4
Trade and insurance	3 163	67.0
Other undertakings	365	51.2
Other business employees	5 654	68.2
Technical employees	944	64.4
Officials and employees in public employment	1 921	75.0
Elementary school teachers	358	71.5
<i>Social class III, workers</i> (as in previous table)	21 874	60.7

It will be seen that the differences between the social classes this time were considerably larger than in 1911. At the election of 1932, when on the whole participation was lower than in 1911, the workers' vote was proportionately particularly low; the decrease in the average voting frequency is largely due to their low participation.

In the account of the election of 1911 it was pointed out that the voting frequency of the working class showed a rise with the rise in relative strength of the class within the electoral district in question, and that there was a correlation between the strength of the working class and socialism in the electoral districts. On these points no information of value is to be derived from the 1932 election, because Basel-Stadt was then divided into only three urban and two rural electoral districts, the two latter being joined in the statistical inquiry; the material therefore is too small to allow any comparisons.

At *Zurich* an investigation was made in order to show to which occupational groups the non-voters at the cantonal election of 1926 belonged.^a However, at that time the occupational statistics of Zurich were undeveloped so that the number of voters in relation to the number of qualified electors in each group could not be calculated. Under these circumstances the investigation as a whole loses interest; there is no reason to reproduce the results here.

At the municipal election at Zurich in 1933 an investigation productive of more valuable information was made. In the main the classification was made on the same principles as at Basel-Stadt in 1932, though some differences appear. Thus certain groups which were booked separately in the Basel statistics were joined here; on the other hand the differentiation was increased for instance by separating a group of economy personnel (*Wirtschaftspersonal*) within the working class, and by counting private employees with a university education as a particular group. Below the resulting table is reproduced. It should be noted that — probably in part as a result of the system of compulsory voting in force in Zurich — participation on the whole was

very high and the differences in voting frequency between the different groups comparatively small.

Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups at Zurich, 1933.

Classes and groups	Number of electors	Voters, in % of electors
<i>Class A</i>	1 748	91.4
1. Owners and leaders of big undertakings	766	91.3
2. Independent in free professions	626	92.7
3. Higher officials	356	89.3
<i>Class B (Mittlere und kleinere selbstständige)</i>	10 737	89.7
4. Agriculture	637	95.4
5. Industry and handicrafts	4 393	91.2
6. Commerce, communications, etc.	3 966	91.0
7. Academic professions	835	86.5
8. Other free professions	906	76.2
<i>Class C</i>	23 658	89.5
9. Higher business employees	1 613	92.5
10. Other business employees	13 041	88.3
11. Technicians in private employment	2 818	88.7
12. Privately employed with university education	1 404	85.4
13. Officials and employees in public employment	3 855	92.8
14. Teachers in intermediary and elementary schools, clergy in public employment	927	96.0
<i>Class D</i>	48 986	88.4
15. Transport workers, postmen etc.	2 640	96.6
16. Workers in public employment	5 447	94.2
17. Skilled workers in private employment	26 980	88.0
18. Non-skilled workers in private employment	11 909	87.4
19. Economy personnel	1 237	70.4
20. Workers in private households etc.	773	78.5
<i>Class E</i>	5 821	85.7
21. Rentiers, etc.	1 604	92.1
22. Pensioners	1 670	93.7
23. Students	1 654	72.5
24. Other persons without occupation or without identifiable occupation	893	83.9
Total	90 950	88.7

On essential points the results of this investigation are in accord with those obtained in Basel-Stadt; in the main the tendencies are the same, even if they are less pronounced at Zurich on account of the general high level of electoral participation. Apart from class E with its heterogeneous and indefinite character the working class, class D, shows the lowest degree of participation. In particular the voting

frequency is low among the workmen of the big private undertakings and still lower among those engaged in household work and in the related group economy personnel. By comparison the highest social class shows much higher participation than all the others, while the difference between the two intermediate classes, B and C, is quite insignificant. In all classes participation among those in public service is higher than the average; above all the working men in this category — i. e. most of the communications personnel — show a higher voting frequency than their fellow workers in private employment. One or two deviations from the Basel-Stadt results are to be noted. At Zurich class B had a somewhat higher voting frequency than class C, while the reverse was the case at Basel-Stadt; a similar reversal of the order of the classes is to be observed in regard to classes D and E. In the former case, however, the difference is extremely small, and may have some connection with differences in the application of the principles by which the distribution has been carried out; in the latter case the reversal is due to the very low participation among the large group of students which in Zurich has been referred to class E.

The difference between the social groups in Zurich being so small a re-editing of the data by the method applied above, does not seem to offer much advantage. The main point is that on the whole the same tendencies appear as in the Basel-Stadt elections treated above.

At the election of 1933 the city of Zurich was divided into eleven electoral districts; in the statistics the social grouping of electors and voters has been given for each of these districts. A scrutiny of these data shows that though the differences in voting frequency are very small the same tendencies within the working class as in Basel-Stadt 1911 are clearly apparent: participation is directly proportional to the strength of the class within the district. On an average the workers are 53.9 per cent of the electors. Below their share in the electorates of the different electoral districts and their voting frequency in these same districts will be found.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Electoral district	Workers in % of electors	Electoral participation among workers
No. 7	29.0	86.6
No. 6	31.1	87.6
No. 2	33.4	86.7
No. 8	44.8	88.3
No. 1	52.5	81.6
No. 10	59.3	90.3
No. 11	62.5	89.8
No. 3	67.0	89.3
No. 9	69.5	88.4
No. 4	70.9	88.9
No. 5	76.4	90.2

On the whole the voting frequency rises with the relative strength of the working class within the district. If district No. 1 is excepted it will be found that all districts with more than average working population, show a higher voting frequency than all districts with comparatively small working population. The exceptionally low participation in district No. 1 is explained by the composition of the working class in that district: the strongly voting groups communications personnel and workers in public service, which make up one sixth of the working class in the whole area, are only 8 per cent in this district, while the groups economy personnel and domestically employed, who poll abnormally low, are here 18 per cent, as against an average of 4 per cent.

The correlation between the strength of the working class and the socialist parties will be seen in the following table in which the electoral districts are entered in the same order as above:

Voting workers in per cent of all voters	Socialist votes in per cent of all votes
28.4	27.0
31.0	36.4
32.8	37.6
44.8	41.6
51.0	46.6
59.3	58.0
61.9	53.1
66.9	65.7
68.9	58.4
70.9	71.1
76.0	76.9

The Zurich investigation comprises also an inquiry into the problem of "chronic" non-voting. By identifying the non-voters both in the election to the municipal council and in a federal referendum held a few months earlier, it was found that the number of chronic non-voters per 1,000 qualified electors was 21 in class A, 41 in class B, 33 in class C, 34 in class D, and 47 in class E. The low figure in class A and the high one in class B are particularly noteworthy. As the material examined is small, however, it would hardly be safe to base general conclusions on these data.

In several *German* electoral investigations electoral participation in the different occupational and social groups has been treated, but nowhere in the same detail as in the Basel-Stadt and Zurich investigations.

The class system practised in the *Saxonian diet elections 1897—1901* made the votes of the lower income takers of less importance than those of the more well-to-do, in spite of the universal suffrage; the principles of the system were the same as in Prussia (see below).⁹ Under these circumstances it is natural that the higher social groups, the more profitable professions and occupations, show a far higher voting frequency than the others; the differences were much higher than in the elections treated above. For instance, by an average participation in all three elections of 36.3 per cent the voting frequency was 59.6 among the officials, 57.8 among the independent employers in industry and the building trades, 59.3 in the medical profession, and 53.8 among the lawyers, while the largest working class group polled only 33.2 per cent. The following table shows the proportion of electors and voters belonging to each of the four social groups distinguished in the investigation.

*Electoral participation in the elections to the Saxonian diet,
1897—1901.*

Social groups	Proportion of electors belong- ing to each social group	Proportion of voters belonging to each social group
In independent position in agriculture, mining, industry, and trade, and members of the free professions	23.5	26.1
Officials, clergy, teachers	9.1	12.4
Artisans, business employees, technical assistants, etc.	19.4	18.5
Workers, servants	48.0	43.0

In *Prussia* also before the republic a class election system was practised in the elections to the chamber of deputies of the diet which was highly favourable to the moneyed population groups. For the elections, which were direct, the electors were divided into three classes: the largest tax-payers, paying one third of the total taxes in the electoral district, formed one class, those next in order, paying another third of the total of the taxes, formed a second, and all the remaining electors a third class; each class separately elected the same number of representatives to the electoral assembly by which the deputies were appointed. As an illustration of the effects of this classification it may be mentioned that in the election of 1903 3.4 per cent of the electors belonged to the first class, 12 per cent to the second, and 84.6 per cent to the third class. No figures are available for the participation of different occupational groups under this system. But the voting frequency within each of the three electoral classes was established for each election, and as these classes to a certain extent represent different social groups, the figures are not without interest. It is only natural that they should demonstrate a relatively high level of participation in the highest electoral class, and a decline from one class to another.⁴

Electoral participation in Prussia, 1893—1913.

Electoral classes	1893	1898	1903	1908	1913
I	48.1	46.2	49.2	53.5	51.4
II	32.1	30.7	34.3	42.9	41.9
III	15.2	15.7	21.2	30.2	29.9
Average participation	18.4	18.4	23.6	32.8	32.7

The inquiries made under the Weimar republic in themselves are of more interest on account of the democratic nature of the electoral system then in force. For different reasons, however, chiefly because the material has been too limited and insufficiently differentiated, several of these investigations are of small value.

In Bauer's work on the participation in the *election to the Saxonian diet in 1922* the question of the electoral participation of the different social groups is treated.⁵ The author employs a method for classification of the electors worked out by himself; his classification is different for town and country and for men and women. In the following tables the groups set up by Bauer for the males are given in such order that groups which in the main seem to belong to the same social class are brought together. Bauer does not give the number of qualified electors and voters in each group so that an average of participation for each social class can not be calculated. — Of the women one or two, evidently very small groups, have been excluded.

Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups in certain parts of Saxony, 1922.

T o w n s .			
Men	Voters in per cent of electors	Women	Voters in per cent of electors
<i>Class I</i>		<i>Groups</i>	
1. Manufacturers, directors, wholesale merchants, etc.	89.9	Married women	85.6
2. University and gymnasium teachers	87.7	Daughters living with parents	83.8
3. Higher state and municipal officials	92.7	Teachers, nurses etc.	76.6
4. Employed in leading positions, merchants	83.8	Housekeepers, private secretaries, etc.	56.8
5. Certain free professions: authors, artists, journalists, etc. (but not medical men, lawyers and others, who seem to have been included in groups 1 and 4)	70.0	Typists, seamstresses, shop girls	75.7
		Widows, pensioners, etc.	74.3
		Students	60.9
		Factory workers	77.6
		Servants	56.9
		Employed in hotels and inns	37.0
		Employed in brothels	40.4
		Prostitutes	13.5

	Men	Voters in per cent of electors	Women	Voters in per cent of electors
<i>Class II</i>				
6.	Elementary school teachers	87.4		
7.	Lower state and munic- ipal officials	87.8		
8.	Artisans, small trad- ers, etc.	87.4		
9.	Students	58.0		
10.	Rentiers, pensioners	79.0		
11.	Hotel owners, inn- keepers	86.3		
<i>Class III</i>				
12.	Skilled workers	85.5		
13.	Unskilled workers	83.9		
14.	Employed in private service	77.0		
15.	Employed in hotels and inns	65.6		
	Average	85.6		79.3

Rural districts.

	Men	Women		
<i>Class I</i>		<i>Groups</i>		
1.	Estate owners, factory owners, etc.	93.0	Wives of estate owners, men with university ed- ucation etc. (mainly so- cial class I)	86.2
2.	Big farmers	88.3	Other married women	58.9
3.	Clergy, doctors, apo- thecaries, etc.	92.9	Daughters of men of class I Other daughters living with parents	86.4 67.8
<i>Class II</i>		Privately employed, higher Housekeepers	80.0	
4.	Teachers, sextons, etc.	95.4	Servants	71.7
5.	Farmers	79.4	Workers of various cate- gories	63.0 52.6
6.	Higher agricultural employees (stewards, clerks)	89.5		
7.	Lower employees (gamekeepers, garden- ers)	74.6		
8.	Lower state and munic- ipal officials	83.3		
9.	Artisans, shopkeepers, innkeepers	75.9		
<i>Class III</i>				
10.	Industrial workers	81.4		
11.	Agricultural workers	68.7		
	Average	79.8		58.1

In the main the same tendencies appear as in the inquiries into the Basel and Zurich elections. The groups in public employment (state and municipal officials, teachers, etc.) show a high average voting frequency. On the whole participation declines with the social standard, though the differences between the social classes do not seem to be so pronounced among the town population as in the Swiss towns; the large groups of workers (Nos. 12 and 13) show a voting frequency only slightly lower than the average. In the country the differences are more marked. In particular attention must be directed to the extremely low participation of the agricultural workers, who seem to constitute a very large part of the electorate (to judge from the relation between the percentages of the various groups and the average); the voting frequency in this group is nearly 20 per cent lower than in the highest social class. Among the women the married show considerably more interest in politics than the unmarried employed. The women in domestic employment — to which many of the "workers" in the country probably belong — show particularly low participation. It is interesting to note the marked difference in voting frequency between "home women" of different social classes in the country; the married women belonging to social class I have a voting frequency nearly 30 per cent higher than other married women, and the difference is considerable also between daughters in the home of higher and lower social class.

At *Mannheim* a special inquiry was made into the voting of women of different occupation at the election to the national assembly in 1919; the report embraces one fifth of the franchised women, 13,948 persons.* In the report itself it is stated that the occupational groups have been incompletely and uncertainly determined; in consequence the results have not been taken under discussion in the text, but are only given in a table. The chief points of this table are reproduced below.

*Electoral participation within occupational groups among women
at Mannheim, 1919.*

Occupational groups	Number of qual- ified electors	Voters, in per cent of electors
Domestically employed	646	76.9
"Salaried" of various categories	1 000	84.0
Workers	624	81.2
Teachers, free professions	235	85.1
Other professions	771	78.9
Gainfully employed, total	3 276	81.0
Not gainfully employed	10 672	82.5
	Total 13 948	82.1

According to these figures, consequently, the women not in gainful employment voted somewhat more frequently than those so employed; among the latter the voting frequency on the whole rises with the social standard, teachers, members of the free professions and other "employed" voting somewhat more frequently than workers, and considerably more frequently than the domestically employed. The table also gives the figures for voting frequency within the occupational groups, treated in three different age groups: below 25, between 25 and 45, and above 45; in part these groups are too small for any importance to be ascribed to the figures given, but on one point a clear tendency can be observed: the voting frequency rises with age among the gainfully employed, while those without fixed occupation — the home women — show the lowest participation in the highest age group. This is shown in the following collocation:

	Below 25 years	25 to 45 years	Over 45 years
Gainfully employed	78.1	81.8	86.3
Non-employed	80.1	84.5	79.8

At *Mühlheim* on the Ruhr the social and occupational position of the voters in the Reichstag election of 1924 was determined.⁷ It was found, i. a., that of the non-voters 2.4 per cent belonged to the group independently occupied (the family were counted as belonging to the respective groups), 11.2 per cent to the group "salaried", and 86.4 per cent to the group workers. These figures

indicate a comparatively low participation among the workers. However, as the total number of persons belonging to the different groups, has not been given, comparisons are impossible. Equally unprofitable inquiries were made regarding participation in the Reichstag election in Mecklenburg-Schwerin 1928, and in Kassel for the Reichstag election of 1930.⁸

In the *Danzig* statistics tables on the participation of various occupational groups in the election of 1927 are given.⁹ No information is imparted on the manner of classification; it is stated only that the inquiry comprises every third electoral district. To a certain extent the classification is different for men and women.

*Electoral participation within different occupational groups
in Danzig, 1927.*

<i>Men: Occupational groups.</i>	Number of electors	Voters, in % of electors
In independent occupation	5261	90.5
Free professions	179	82.1
Higher officials	358	93.6
Officials in intermediate position	1 394	96.5
Lower officials	1 661	90.2
Employed in leading positions	482	86.1
Other employed	2 215	88.8
Skilled workers	10 022	87.9
Unskilled workers	11 721	89.3
Persons without occupation or without identifiable occupation	3 640	78.9
Total	36 933	88.3
<i>Women: Occupational groups.</i>		
In independent occupation	211	90.0
Free professions	82	86.6
Officials	319	92.2
Employed in leading position	158	94.9
Other employed	2 060	84.2
Skilled workers	1 329	81.8
Unskilled workers	1 333	78.8
Married women	26 576	86.5
Widows	4 120	76.6
Domestically employed	2 769	64.4
Persons without occupation or without identifiable occupation	6 358	78.4
Total	45 315	82.7

As no information is given on the methods of inquiry the obvious peculiarities of the results cannot be explained. At some points, however, the material is so small that

accidental factors may have been deciding; in the first place this applies to the low participation in the free professions. Other singularities cannot be explained in this way, e. g. the lower voting frequency of the higher as against the intermediate officials, and the higher participation of unskilled as against unskilled workers; this last figure is the more remarkable because a marked difference of the opposite kind is to be observed in the case of the women workers. It is thus impossible not to suspect the existence of hidden sources of error.

The results of the inquiry regarding participation in the Reichstag election at *Nuremberg* 1930 also must be said to be uncertain.¹⁰ In this case the calculation of the size of each group of electors was based on an investigation made in 1925; it is stressed in the inquiry that in the meantime "the occupational distribution of the *Nuremberg* population may have changed in one direction or another, particularly when the state of economic crisis prevailing during the last few years is taken into account". In addition the classification is rather confuse and undifferentiated. The results will be found in the following table.

Occupational group	Number of qualified electors in different occupational groups, calculated on the proportion obtaining in 1925		Voters, in per cent of electors	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
In independent occupation	19 397	6 571	90.2	93.0
Officials and salaried groups	37 379	17 391	88.5	90.0
Workers	66 233	34 670	88.9	92.8
Servants etc.	1 254	12 699	82.1	69.5
Rentiers, pensioners, persons without occupation	9 138	18 243	81.7	71.9
Married women without occupation outside home	—	68 378	—	85.2
Total	133 401	157 952	88.4	84.9

In several respects the figures here given must be regarded as curious. For instance, in the three first occupational groups the women would have had a higher voting frequency than the men, which is in contrast to all experience elsewhere. The author of the report seeks an

explanation in the circumstance that "among these women are only very few married, e. g. such practising a profession, and that the older age groups, which have been found to be particularly slack in voting among the women, are very weakly represented in comparison with the young and middle-aged". The first part of this explanation can hardly be accepted, as the married women as a rule show higher electoral participation than the unmarried, but the latter part may be correct. It is assumed, in addition, that in these as in other groups the men are prevented from voting more often than the women, an assumption which does not seem to be based on fact. As for the participation of the women it must further be pointed out that among the married women without occupation outside the home the voting frequency is a little over the average, while it is extremely low in the group servants — more than 15 per cent below the average.

The high voting frequency of the "independently occupied" is in accordance with the results of other investigations. The figure given for officials and salaried is of little interest because within the group very wide social differences seem to be present. An observation in the report that the group "cannot be acquitted from the charge of considerable slackness in voting" does not seem justified, seeing that the voting frequency within the group is more than average; the explanation of the alleged lack of political interest by a reference to "Sorglosigkeit bei festen Anstellungsverhältnissen" seems still more irrational as those in the safest position — state and municipal officials — as a rule poll very heavily. In this investigation the workers show very strong electoral participation; the voting frequency of the men was one half per cent above the average, and the women voted with relatively still higher frequency. Including servants and others, however, the working class here also will be found to stay below the average.

Very detailed and interesting investigations of the electoral participation from a social point of view have been made in connection with the elections to the town council of

Copenhagen in 1909 and 1913.¹¹ The franchise for these elections was regulated by an electoral law introduced in 1908, extending the male franchise and introducing women's suffrage in the main on the same conditions as for the men. In order to understand the results of these investigations it is necessary to explain the franchise conditions and their working in some detail.

The fundamental conditions of suffrage were having reached the age of 25, and having paid the taxes on an income of at least 800 Danish crowns (the lowest income on which tax was levied); taxes paid by the husband were counted as conferring the franchise on the wife as well. It was stipulated that the elector was to have lived in the municipality during the fiscal year in which the election was held and the whole of the previous year. Excluded from franchise were persons who had received poor law relief without having made repayment, and certain other groups. Naturally, the various limitations of the franchise most of all hit the lower social groups. Thus, 32.5 per cent of the workers liable to taxation were excluded from the franchise in 1909, and 30 per cent in 1913, in 12 per cent of the cases because the taxes had not been paid; of clerks and shop assistants 33.4 and 32.7 per cent respectively were excluded. Corresponding figures e. g. for officials were 13.9 and 12.6, for "independently occupied" in crafts and industries 15.1 and 17.4 per cent; those excluded on account of non-payment of taxes were about 3.4 per cent in these groups. Of workers with an income between 800 and 1,000 crowns 49.6 per cent were without a vote in 1909, of these about 15.5 per cent on account of non-payment of taxes; among the workers in the income class 1,200—1,500 crowns only 33.5 per cent were without a vote, of these 8 per cent on account of non-payment of taxes. These facts must be kept in mind in studying the figures for electoral participation; in particular it must be remembered that the poorest, who as a rule have the lowest voting frequency, were excluded from the franchise, and that consequently the figure e. g. for the voting in the working class becomes misleading in so far that it gives an

Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups in Copenhagen, 1909 and 1913.

Social and occupational groups	M e n		W o m e n	
	Number of electors	Voters, in per cent of electors	Number of electors	Voters, in per cent of electors
Officials	2 267	88.8	1 603	82.7
Teachers	584	87.7	1 259	87.1
Free professions . .	2 772	83.0	2 256	76.2
Employed in subordinate position . .	4 137	81.9	3 387	67.3
Independent in agriculture and fishing	240	83.3	196	70.9
Independent in industry and crafts	5 775	83.1	5 164	69.0
Independent in trade	7 664	76.6	7 031	63.7
Clerks and shop assistants	4 729	82.2	3 809	74.5
Foremen etc.	2 841	71.1	2 546	68.0
Workers	29 495	81.5	23 699	70.1
Group comparable to the workers group	3 622	77.8	3 000	63.0
Capitalists and pensioners	2 280	75.9	6 166	66.7
Others	55	74.5	144	72.2
Total	66 461	80.5	* 60 622	69.4

* (including 362 without known profession)

Social and occupational groups	M e n		W o m e n	
	Number of electors	Voters, in per cent of electors	Number of electors	Voters, in per cent of electors
Officials	2 212	87.7	1 763	81.7
Teachers	696	89.8	1 398	87.1
Free professions . .	2 937	82.2	2 680	73.2
Employed in subordinate position . .	7 117	88.9	5 998	78.9
Independent in agriculture and fishing	227	87.2	205	69.8
Independent in industry and crafts	5 426	86.0	4 990	72.7
Independent in trade	7 438	80.3	7 098	66.9
Clerks and shop assistants	6 160	84.4	5 938	75.8
Foremen etc.	2 856	72.1	2 670	70.9
Workers	31 288	87.1	26 540	76.3
Group comparable to the workers group	3 783	77.1	3 104	62.8
Capitalists and pensioners	2 348	80.2	7 007	71.5
Others	36	63.9	{ 184	{ 74.5
			{ *717	{ 71.3
Total	72 524	84.8	70 292	74.1

* (without known profession)

exaggerated impression of the political interest of the workers.

On page 145 the figures are given for the electoral participation within the different occupational groups distinguished in the statistics; the married women have been included in the same groups as their husbands.

It is obvious that the classification employed does not give any clear idea of the social stratification, as certain groups can be assumed to include persons from distinctly separate social classes. However, the reports contain other data of great importance; thus, figures are given for the voting within different income classes, for the election of 1909 in regard to most of the groups and for the 1913 election for all groups. These figures show that on the whole the voting frequency rises with income; this is particularly apparent among the women. It would take us too far to give a complete account of the results on this point, but for some of the social groups the voting figures of the different income classes will be reproduced. For this purpose groups will be chosen embracing so large a number of individuals in each income class that the figures may be regarded as fairly representative.

Electoral participation within different social and income classes.

Free professions, 1913 Income classes	Voters, in per cent of electors	
	Men	Women
800—1000 crowns	67.3	67.9
1000—1200 "	76.5	67.4
1200—1500 "	74.7	69.7
1500—3000 "	81.2	72.8
3000—6000 "	86.7	75.7
6000 crowns and more	86.8	80.0

Independently occupied in trade, 1909 and 1913.

Income classes	Voters, in per cent of electors				
	1 9 0 9		1 9 1 3		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
800—1500 cr. {	800—1000 cr.	68.0	53.2	66.8	57.0
	1000—1200 "			72.9	55.6
	1200—1500 "			75.1	58.8
1500—3000 cr.	80.1	65.5	81.9	67.7	
3000—6000 "	83.8	76.1	88.0	77.5	
6000 cr. and more	85.6	82.2	85.4	79.6	

Workers, 1909 and 1913.

Income classes	Voters, in per cent of electors			
	1909		1913	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
800—1000 cr.	65.2	55.4	83.0	73.1
1000—1200 "	79.3	62.0	85.3	74.0
1200—1500 "	88.0	80.2	87.9	76.7
1500—2000 "	87.4	75.0	89.6	79.0
2000 cr. and more	83.4	76.4	88.0	76.4

On working-class level, 1909 and 1913.

Income classes	Voters, in per cent of electors			
	1909		1913	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
800—1000 cr.	65.2	54.0	68.5	55.2
1000—1200 "	76.5	59.0	76.2	61.3
1200—1500 "	82.0	67.5	78.1	62.4
1500—2000 "	79.8	65.0	81.8	67.8
2000 cr. and more	82.9	65.4	83.0	69.4

For the election of 1909 the participation within different income classes cannot be determined, because the social groups have not all been divided up after income. But for the election of 1913 the investigation contains a table in which all electors have been classed after income.

Electoral participation in different income classes, 1913.

Income classes	Men	Women
800—1000 crowns	79.2	69.7
1000—1200 "	82.2	70.8
1200—1500 "	85.7	73.4
1500—3000 "	86.4	76.2
3000—6000 "	85.8	77.7
6000 crowns and more	86.2	79.9

In the report on the 1913 election the social structure of the electorate within each of the fifteen electoral districts is scheduled, and also the voting frequency of each social group within the district. An examination of these figures shows that on the whole the voting frequency of a group increases with the percentual strength of the group in question. This is illustrated in the following collocation in regard to the two largest social groups: independent in trade and workers. The electoral districts have been placed

in order according to the relative strength of the group in question; thus, it is to be noted, the order is not the same in the two tables.

Independent in trade in per cent of electors	Voting fre- quency among independent in trade	Independent in trade in per cent of electors	Voting fre- quency among independent in trade
6.9	81.7	10.9	80.4
7.0	81.2	11.4	86.0
7.5	75.7	15.3	81.2
7.6	76.0	16.3	84.7
8.1	68.3	18.2	84.5
8.1	76.5	19.0	83.7
9.0	76.5	19.8	83.4
10.8	84.9		

Workers in per cent of electors	Voting fre- quency among workers	Workers in per cent of electors	Voting fre- quency among workers
17.1	80.7	37.8	78.3
20.4	77.0	45.6	83.4
23.0	78.0	50.8	83.1
25.5	79.6	51.2	81.9
26.6	81.2	52.8	85.1
29.5	80.1	54.9	84.0
30.0	79.8	56.6	83.2
37.2	82.6		

A tendency to a rise in the voting frequency with increasing relative size of the group may be noted in both cases. In the trade group the average voting frequency in the seven districts where the group constitutes less than 10 per cent of the electors, is 76.5 per cent, in the remaining eight districts 83.6 per cent. Among the workers the average participation in the nine districts where the group constitutes less than 40 per cent of the electors, is 79.7 per cent, in the remaining six districts 82.8 per cent.

In the Copenhagen investigation the electoral participation has been analysed also in regard to the civil status of the electors. The men were grouped into married men whose wives were qualified to vote, and others; the latter group comprised in the main unmarried and widowers, but also men whose wives had not got a vote, mostly on account of the age restriction. It was found that electoral participation was considerably higher in the former group than in the latter. The voting frequency of the two groups was 82.0 and

75.9 in 1909, 85.7 and 81.5 in 1913; the difference consequently was 6.1 per cent in 1909 and 4.2 per cent in 1913. The difference was particularly marked in the lower social groups; among "permanently employed in subordinate position" it was 10 per cent in 1909 and 7.1 per cent in 1913, among the workers it was 9.2 and 5.8 respectively. It seems probable that this difference in voting behaviour chiefly was due to the circumstance that on an average the married were older and had higher incomes than the unmarried; however, this cannot be directly proved by the statistical figures.

The women were divided into married whose husbands were qualified to vote, unmarried, widows, and "others", i. e. in the first place married women whose husbands were not qualified; this last category was very small and may be left out of account. The highest voting frequency was found among the unmarried; next in order came the married and last the widows. The differences were particularly large in 1909.

Voting frequency	1909	1913
Married	69.1	74.4
Unmarried	78.9	78.2
Widows	60.2	66.7

Curiously enough the unmarried women had a higher voting frequency than the married, while the reverse has been the case everywhere else this question has been investigated. There seems, however, to be a natural explanation: on account of the franchise regulations in force at the time the unmarried female electors in many respects constituted a group of particularly high qualifications. The unmarried women had the vote only if they had paid tax on an income of at least 800 crowns, while the married women were qualified by the husband's income. Of the women liable to taxation 19 per cent were for different reasons excluded from the franchise in 1909 and 22.5 per cent in 1913. It should also be noted that of the unmarried enfranchised women a comparatively large part belonged to social groups with a high voting frequency, above all the teachers'

group; the unmarried female teachers — in 1909 more than one sixth and in 1913 one seventh of the unmarried enfranchised women — showed a voting frequency of 89.4 and 91.1 per cent respectively. Among the workers and comparable groups there were comparatively very few enfranchised unmarried women; in the 1913 election these voted with less frequency than the married women of the same class. The numerous unmarried women in the class 'capitalists and pensioners' showed a remarkably high voting frequency. In 1909 nearly 40 per cent of the unmarried female electors belonged to this class, in 1913 nearly 25 per cent; their voting frequency was 77.1 and 81.8 per cent respectively, as against 65.9 and 68.5 per cent respectively among the married women in the same class.

On the elections to the *Austrian Reichsrat* in 1907 — the first to be held after the introduction of universal suffrage — an investigation was instituted in which the electoral participation of various social and occupational groups in all the provinces of the country was determined. In the introduction to the report on the results of the investigation which was published in 1912, the principles on which the investigation had been started and planned were expounded.¹¹⁸ According to the materialist conception of history, the report says, "the economic conditions of a state would alone determine the political constitution of that state". Even if this conception could not be accepted, the political importance of economic factors must be admitted. "Auf das spezielle Gebiet der politischen Wahlen übertragen, verdichtet sich diese Tatsache zu der Erkenntnis dass neben anderen wichtige Faktoren, wie Nationalität und Religion, insbesondere auch die wirtschaftliche Stellung des Wahlberechtigten für seine politische Gesinnung mitbestimmend wirkt." Therefore it would be of great interest to examine the composition of the electorate from this point of view. For this purpose a distribution ought to be made not only in regard to occupation but also in regard to social position; "es ist klar, dass für die politische Interessenge-

meinschaft mehr die soziale Stellung als die Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Berufszweige in Betracht kommt."

This investigation probably is the most extensive ever made: it comprises almost 5.5 million electors. Nevertheless its interest is limited. As will be demonstrated below the classification made is so rough that very little information can be obtained on the relation between social class and voting behaviour. The orientation given regarding the method of classification employed, is too brief to be of real service. The results from different provinces differ so much and on certain points are so peculiar that it must be doubted whether a uniform method has been applied. But above all it is to be noted that the division into electoral districts introduced by the electoral law of 1907, and which was intended to satisfy the interests of the national groups, in certain cases may have occasioned dislocations in the electionary participation of various social groups; for certain national minority groups it would sometimes appear useless to vote, and the national and social dividing lines might in certain regions approach each other. Here the results of his investigation will be reproduced only on one or two points. No calculation of the electoral participation of the different groups for the whole country has been made in the report, and cannot usefully be made as some provinces had introduced compulsory voting, others not. Nor would a calculation of this kind made separately for the countries with and without compulsory voting be of much value as the differences between the countries within each group are extremely wide.

The primary classification is after occupation. The four categories distinguished are in the first place agriculture and forestry, industry and crafts, trade and communications, public service and free professions. In regard to certain of these categories sub-divisions have been introduced: thus the group industry and crafts is divided into large and small undertakings, the group trade and communications into post-office, telegraph and telephone, railway and tram services, and other undertakings. Public service and the free professions are treated as separate sub-di-

visions. A social classification has further been made within the occupational categories, as a rule distinguishing, however, only persons independently practising a trade or profession, salaried, and workers.

Below voting frequency in some of the most important groups is given for Vienna and the two largest provinces, Bohemia and Galicia. It is to be remembered that compulsory voting had been introduced in Vienna, but not in the two provinces in question.

Electoral participation within different groups in Austria, 1907.

Industry and crafts	Number of electors			Voters, in per cent of electors		
	Vienna	Bohemia	Galicia	Vienna	Bohemia	Galicia
<i>Large undertakings</i>						
Independent	1 462	4 235	1 425	88.6	80.9	80.2
Salaried	2 675	8 333	1 178	92.1	83.4	73.7
Workers	31 945	221 989	16 848	90.0	90.3	82.7
<i>Small undertakings</i>						
Independent	51 980	201 247	81 123	94.4	84.6	82.0
Salaried	672	1 286	370	88.4	74.0	75.7
Workers	91 708	139 351	28 365	90.7	80.4	78.3
<i>Trade and trans- port (except post- office, railways, etc.)</i>						
Independent	20 306	50 512	63 543	91.8	78.7	79.3
Salaried	17 939	11 801	2 831	88.8	74.8	80.0
Workers	23 275	25 851	8 135	88.6	77.4	75.2
<i>Public service</i>						
Higher officials . .	3 837	5 307	3 442	94.0	87.2	86.3
Lower officials . . .	294	193	465	93.9	75.1	83.2
Elementary school teachers	2 575	13 856	5 227	94.7	90.4	85.8
Workers	8 718	17 816	7 361	94.1	90.2	86.0
<i>Agriculture and forestry</i>						
Independent	1 898	228 524	915 210	92.9	87.7	87.5
Salaried	138	4 221	2 825	81.9	79.9	79.5
Workers	1 473	99 890	105 499	84.9	83.2	78.9
"Häusler" (cottag- ers owning a piece of land and working as day- labourers)	—	105 579	5466	—	86.7	80.5
Average for the whole electorate	—	—	—	91.1	84.7	84.7

Certain of the tendencies which are to be observed, may be said to be representative of the whole country. Thus the independent farmers nearly everywhere show a higher voting frequency than the agricultural workers. In industry and crafts the workers in the big undertakings and the owners of small undertakings show a comparatively high voting frequency in relation to the employers in big undertakings and the workers in small undertakings respectively; the latter group in particular has a low voting percentage in most provinces. On this as on other points, however, the statistics reveal surprising differences between different provinces; about the local conditions which might explain these phenomena no information is given. For instance, electoral participation among the workers in Tirol was 87 per cent in big undertakings, among workers in small undertakings 63.4 per cent; in Krain the corresponding figures were 83.1 and 63.3 per cent; In certain other provinces this relation was reversed; e. g. in Triest the voting frequency among workers in big undertakings was 55.8 per cent, among workers in small undertakings 76.4 per cent, in Dalmatia the figures were 26.1 and 63.8 per cent. For reasons indicated above no definite conclusions can be based on this investigation.

By a resolution of the magistrature of *Vienna* the election to the national council in 1923 was subjected to an investigation from the point of view here discussed.¹² The classification of electors and voters made on this occasion, however, is rather undifferentiated. Seven main categories were set up: agriculture; industry, trade, and communications; free professions; public service; persons without occupation (mostly pensioners); religious communities; women without occupation which could not be referred to any of the categories mentioned. Within most of these categories sub-divisions were set up, but not of a social nature. The electoral groups were further divided in men and women; among the women a distinction was made within each sub-division between those working in a particular profession and others, i. e. those belonging to the group in question by marriage or otherwise by family position.

Below a collocation of the main results is reproduced. The figures for electoral participation in the agricultural group have been omitted, as comparatively few electors belonged to that category.

Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups in the national council election in Vienna, 1923.

Social and occupational group	Number of electors			Voters, in per cent of electors		
	Men	Women		Men	Women	
		Independently belonging to group	Others		Independently belonging to group	Others
<i>Industry, trade, and communications</i>						
Independent . . .	86 415	20 399	61 828	92.9	89.2	91.7
Salaried	91 102	41 213	51 239	90.6	87.9	91.3
Workers	189 581	98 449	97 512	94.0	92.2	95.2
Servants	1 142	26 915	—	87.0	78.3	—
<i>Free professions</i>						
Lawyers, doctors, technicians, etc.	17 068	4 051	8 412	86.9	82.1	85.9
Students	5 325	904	—	87.9	82.9	—
<i>Public service</i>						
Administration .	47 954	11 735	60 914	92.4	91.4	93.9
Communications .	41 342	6 693		95.5	87.6	
Armed forces . .	7 694	—		88.4	—	
<i>No occupation</i>						
Rentiers	8 277	58 146	12 598	86.6	83.4	92.0
Pensioners . . .	15 103	12 285		92.7	87.9	
Assisted	4 248	13 533		85.5	82.5	
<i>Religious communities</i>						
Clergy, monks . .	822	—	217	89.7	—	94.0
Nuns	—	1 645		—	97.0	
Employed	288	73		97.6	90.4	
<i>Other women without employment</i>	—	—	33 368	—	—	85.4
Total	517 397	622 926		92.6	90.0	

The average participation is very high, and as usual in these cases the differences between different categories are insignificant. Regarding the participation of the social

classes the unsatisfactory classification prevents any general conclusion. However, it is very remarkable that the workers in private undertakings and their wives show a voting frequency higher than the average and higher than that of the independent and salaried in industry, trade, and communications. This marks a clear exception from the general rule that the voting frequency rises with rising social standard. In the bitter fight between conservatives and social democrats characteristic of Vienna politics the workers have been mobilized to an exceptional degree. As for the women it is to be noted that all along the line those in outside occupation vote less frequently than the "others" — mainly the married women; often the latter category shows even higher voting figures than the men; nevertheless, of course, the married men may be assumed to vote more frequently than the married women. A higher voting frequency than any other women's group is exhibited by the nuns; evidently they were very reliable supporters of the Christian-social party.

Figures for the voting frequency and the representation of each group among the electorates of the twentyone electoral districts of Vienna, are also to be found in the report. A comparison between the percentual representation of the workers in the electorate and their electoral participation here as elsewhere show that participation rises with rising representation in the electorate. This may be seen in the following collocation in which the relative number of the male workers and their voting frequency are recorded.

Workers, in per cent of electors	Voting fre- quency among workers	Workers, in per cent of electors	Voting fre- quency among workers
7.0	89.3	16.6	94.8
7.7	92.4	16.8	94.1
7.8	90.2	19.6	92.5
8.3	91.5	20.2	96.1
9.2	91.8	21.4	95.5
9.9	94.3	21.8	95.9
10.5	92.8	24.3	95.6
11.7	92.3	24.8	93.5
12.8	94.0	25.0	97.0
13.4	92.8	25.9	93.7
14.6	94.1		

The tendency is unmistakable. In the six districts where the workers constitute less than 10 per cent of the electorate their average voting frequency is 91.6 per cent; in the eight districts in which they make up 10 to 20 per cent of the electorate their voting frequency is 93.4 per cent; in the remaining seven districts it is 95.3 per cent.

In this connection it should be mentioned that in the statistical investigations in *Amsterdam* mentioned above an attempt has been made to throw some light on the relation between social position and political attitude.¹³ This was done by comparing the number of voters with an income above a certain level in the different electoral districts with the number of votes for the conservative and radical parties in these districts. In this manner a definite relation between higher income and conservatism was demonstrated at the municipal elections in 1919 and 1921 and at the election to the chamber of deputies in 1925. For this last election the correlation was calculated both between the number of radical votes and the number of voters with an income of more than 3,100 guilders, and between the number of conservative votes and the number of voters with an income of more than 6,700 guilders. In the former case a negative correlation of -0.71 was found, in the latter a still stronger positive correlation, $+0.79$.

In the *American* investigations concerning electoral participation in the city of Delaware, Ohio, and Chicago, Ill., respectively, the problem of the participation of different occupational groups also has been treated.^{13a} In the first-mentioned investigation the electorate has been examined after the same method as employed in the federal census; by this method both the occupational classes and the position of the individual within the class are listed. One drawback is that men and women have not been booked separately; in addition the number of electors included in the investigation (4,390) is so small that certain groups consist only of some tens of persons. On the whole, however, the results display unmistakably the same ten-

dencies as in most other similar inquiries. The highest voting frequency is found with persons in public employment (including workers), 88.1 per cent; only, this group does not count more than some sixty persons. Next comes the upper class in the various trades and occupations: owners and leaders of industry 85.9 per cent; persons in leading positions in banking and insurance and real estate brokers 85.7 per cent; lawyers, doctors, and clergymen 79.5 per cent; college teachers 84.7 per cent. Of those employed in transport undertakings (excluding workers) 80.2 per cent cast their votes, of the merchants 77.7 per cent, of business employees 74 per cent, of public school teachers 72.5 per cent; the low figure for this last group seems to be due to its consisting in big part of women. Of the mass of industrial workers only 63.1 per cent voted; the corresponding figure for mechanics was 65.1 and for carpenters and house-painters 75.2 per cent. On the whole the figures give a voting frequency for the highest group (about 280 persons) of about 85 per cent, for the intermediate group (about 660 persons) 75 per cent, and for the working class (about 770 persons) 65 per cent. Outside this classification the few farmers in the district have been placed (voting frequency 71.2 percent) and further some small, socially not clearly defined groups like students (79.5 per cent) and retired, and above all the large group of housekeepers (1,859, voting frequency 55.6 per cent).

The picture of the electoral participation afforded by these data has been supplemented by several other inquiries. Thus, participation was investigated from the point of view of residence, the city being divided for this purpose into areas designated as "very good", "good", "fair", and "poor". Even if a certain degree of subjectivity is unavoidable in this connection, the point of view is not without interest. Further, those possessing their homes (naturally with the families) were separated from those living in rented quarters. Finally, the voting frequency was determined also from the point of view of education. On all three points very significant results were obtained, as will be seen from the following tables.

Type of neighbourhood.	Number of registered electors	Voters, in per cent of registered electors
Very good	608	74.0
Good	1811	67.6
Fair	1330	60.8
Poor	458	44.5
<i>Nature of residence</i>		
Owning home	2757	68.9
Not owning home	1356	57.8
<i>Education</i>		
College	876	78.1
High School	1219	69.6
Elementary school	1964	57.2
No school education	63	34.9

The inquiries regarding electoral participation made in *Chicago* were not directed to clearing up the problem discussed here and do not contain specified data on this point.¹⁴ It can be stated, however, that these inquiries have offered undoubted evidence that the same tendencies have made themselves apparent as in the above-mentioned investigation, as it is pointed out in the later of the two *Chicago* inquiries. Among other things it is stated that "the better the quarters that a citizen lives in, the more apt he is to vote in presidential elections," and "the more schooling the individual has, the more likely he is to register and vote in presidential elections". — The same tendency is revealed in an inquiry regarding electoral participation in *Columbus* and in *Cincinnati*; the non-voters were found to be about 5—10 per cent in the more well-to-do districts, about 30 per cent in the slum districts.^{14a}

Before the democratic reform of 1918 a graduated scale was in force at the municipal elections in *Sweden*, the number of votes depending on the taxed income. Since 1907 a maximum of 40 votes was stipulated; formerly one voter might have still more votes. Various reports on the municipal elections during this time show that the voting frequency rose with the number of votes; the poorest electors voted least, the richest most. For instance, at the election to the city council of *Stockholm* in 1913 the voting frequency was 33.8 per cent among persons with 1—10 votes, 65.3 among

persons with 11—20 votes, 70 per cent among persons with 21—30 votes, and 76.4 among persons with 31—40 votes. The corresponding percentages in 1917 were 33.3, 64.1, 72.3 and 77.2¹⁵. Evidently this means that participation was comparatively low in the working class. In 1917 participation in the whole of Stockholm was 52.2 per cent. Among the workers in a limited sense the average number of votes per elector was 9.1, and the voting frequency 48.2 per cent; for foremen the figures were 16.8 and 62.7, for merchants and directors 35.4 and 77.9. Other inquiries have given similar results¹⁶.

Particular interest attaches to the inquiries regarding electoral participation within different social and occupational groups which since 1911 have been published in the official statistics of Sweden.¹⁷ The classification of the electors has been made above all from the social point of view. In the first inquiry, concerning the 1911 election, it is stated that the principles followed in the occupational classification "have had regard not so much to the technical and economic points of view as rather to the social, the purpose being to throw light on the effects of the electoral regulations now in force and the use made of the suffrage in different social layers of the population." The same principle has been followed in the later reports. For the sake of greater simplicity the different occupational groups have further been brought together into three social classes which may be termed the upper class, the middle class, and the workers' class. Altogether the voting in seven elections 1911—1928 has been investigated in this way; reports have not been published for the elections of March 1914 and September 1932; the report for the election of 1936 has not yet been published.

As fundamental changes in regard to the franchise were introduced before the election of 1921 it has been found expedient to treat the elections of 1911—1920 and of 1921—1928 separately. For both groups only a short summary can be given.

According to the electoral law of 1909 which applied to the elections of 1911—1920, every Swedish male, with

certain exceptions, had the right to vote in and from the calendar year following upon that in which he reached 24 years of age. Excluded were among others persons who had not paid taxes to the state or municipality payable during the three last calendar years and persons owing for relief granted them or their family by the poor law authorities during the running year or the year before that. In the main these restrictions hit the working class; they played a somewhat larger rôle for the upper than for the middle class because the farmers who constituted the main part of the middle class, were seldom affected. Thus, the percentages of persons excluded from the franchise in the different social classes on account of the tax and poor relief restrictions in the elections of the autumn of 1914 and 1917, were as follows:

	1914	1917
Upper class	7.7	7.4
Middle class	7.0	4.9
Working class	21.4	24.8

In particular the restrictions limited the franchise of the unspecified group "workers", comprising mainly industrial workers. Of those entered in the registers in this group 27.9 were excluded from voting in 1914 and 32 per cent in 1917.

These circumstances must be kept in mind in examining the electoral participation in different social classes. In particular it must be observed that in the working class those lowest on the economic scale, who would be expected to have the lowest voting frequency, were altogether excluded from the franchise.

The tables given in the official statistics for participation in the elections of 1911, September 1914, 1917, and 1920, and which in the main are drawn up on the same principles, are reproduced below in their main parts. The number of electors is given only for one year, as only the rough order of magnitude of the different groups is of interest.

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Electoral participation within different social and occupational groups in the elections to the second chamber in Sweden, 1911—1920.

Social and occupational groups	Number of qualified electors in 1911 (1914)	Voters, in per cent of electors			
		1911	1914	1917	1920
<i>Social class I</i>	73 120	68.2	79.0	74.4	68.6
Estate owners etc.	1057	81.0	84.2	83.5	80.9
Manufacturers, merchants, directors	8477	73.6	83.7	82.4	79.8
Office employees, engineers, and shop managers	30 027	68.3	78.8	74.1	66.9
Higher officials	21 168	73.3	84.7	79.2	74.8
Free professions	6267	60.2	68.8	62.5	55.2
House-owners and capitalists	3456	58.9	68.9	64.3	58.4
Others	2668	37.3	52.8	41.0	36.2
<i>Social class II</i>	486 405	60.8	68.1	68.3	59.8
Farmers etc.	245 242	59.7	66.2	67.3	60.4
Tenant -farmers	42 672	60.3	67.7	68.8	56.6
Artisans	89 166	59.9	66.9	66.6	56.0
Shop-keepers	26 488	64.5	73.3	69.8	63.6
Shop assistants	6368	54.2	69.0	67.7	54.3
Others engaged in trade or industry	5646	54.3	66.5	63.7	53.9
Sea-captains etc. (in 1911 counted as sailors)	(6030)	—	41.2	37.0	28.8
Lower officials	61 165	65.4	78.3	77.7	66.2
Elementary school teachers	6855	81.1	84.1	81.8	74.1
Others	2083	40.0	48.2	39.8	30.7
<i>Social class III</i>	506 675	51.7	62.3	62.3	49.7
Farm foremen etc.	6557	63.4	70.5	66.9	55.3
Crofters etc.	85 177	48.5	56.7	55.8	40.0
Farm servants, farmers' sons etc.	78 245	50.8	60.4	61.7	49.3
Other agricultural labourers	34 865	45.8	60.0	54.5	42.0
Sailors and fishermen	21 345	28.4	—	—	—
Sailors (1914)	(6265)	—	33.0	34.4	20.5
Fishermen (1914)	(8827)	—	48.4	41.9	26.1
Workers not in agriculture	265 896	57.0	67.2	68.1	55.5
Personnel of army and navy (1914)	(12 979)	—	59.8	54.7	39.9
Others	14 590	20.6	31.6	20.6	18.0
<i>Together</i>	1 066 200	57.0	66.2	65.8	55.3

It will be seen that in every election the voting frequency declines from the higher to the lower social classes. On an average the difference between the first and the second social class is 8.3 per cent, between the second and the third 7.8 per cent. Thus, the average difference between the first and the third class is no less than 16.1 per cent, which

means that if participation in the third class is put at 100, participation in the first class is about 130. Participation is very high among all in public service (officials, teachers). Among the agricultural population the difference between the social groups is particularly marked; the average voting frequency of the estate owners is 82 per cent, of the farmers 63 per cent, and of the crofters 50 per cent. In the working class the largest group, which may be designated as the industrial workers' group, had the highest voting frequency, as a rule higher than the general average. It should be pointed out that the difference between the second and third social class has decreased with rising participation; in order from lower to higher, participation in the four elections was 55.3, 57, 65.8, and 66.2 per cent, and the difference in question was 10.1, 9.1, 6.0, and 5.8 per cent.

By the electoral reform of 1921 the franchise was extended to the women, and the qualifying age was lowered by one year; tax disqualification was abolished, and poor relief disqualification was limited to persons permanently maintained by the poor law authorities. Practically everybody who has reached the stipulated age has the right to vote, according to the new regulations, so that the question of the importance of the franchise conditions for different social groups may here be left out of account.

The occupational classification of the electorate has been changed on some points in 1921 and later, and the distribution on the social classes thereby in certain respects altered. In regard to the women a particular grouping, additional to the social and occupational classification has been added, viz. into "wives", "other family members", and "gainfully employed and others", as considerable differences in electoral participation had proved to exist between these groups. It is to be observed that as a rule married women in outside employment are entered on the voting lists in the column "wives".

Below figures will be found for the voting frequencies of various groups in the three elections in question, 1921, 1924, and 1928. Over every percentage the absolute num-

ber of *voters* is indicated, not the number of qualified electors, which is not always given in the statistics. The table shows that comparatively important changes in the classification were introduced in 1924. Thus, the group office employees, engineers, and shop managers, formerly assigned to social class I, has been divided up into two groups: "higher administrative personnel in private employment", which is referred to class I, and "office employees and foremen", which is referred to class II. Further the group "free professions", which formerly belonged to class I, was divided into two groups, one of which is counted to class I, the other to class II. Finally, the group "lower officials", previously belonging to class II, was divided into two groups, one of which was assigned to class III; it comprises chiefly postmen, railway porters, and military personnel. By these changes social class I was considerably reduced (257,000 electors in 1921, 171,000 in 1924), and class II also was somewhat reduced in favour of class III. Some smaller changes in 1928 tended in the same direction. — The men within each group are counted together. The women are entered in four columns; column 1 refers to all women, column 2 to "wives", column 3 to "other family members", and column 4 to "gainfully employed and others". The group "others" in each class, which has been very small in the latest elections, has been left out of this account.

Because the classification has varied considerably from one election to another, comparisons between different elections are of limited value. In regard to the electoral participation of the men, however, in the main the same tendencies as in the elections 1911—1920 are to be observed. The difference between the participation of the first and the second social class was only one per cent in 1921, but — partly owing to changes in the manner of classification — rose to 13 per cent in 1924 and 9 per cent in 1928. The difference between the second and the third class was 7.3 per cent in 1921, 5.0 in 1924, and 6.3 in 1928. Thus, the average difference between the two former classes was 7.7, and between the two latter 6.2, between the first

Social and occupational groups	1921				
	Men	Women			
		1	2	3	4
<i>Social class I</i>	82 502 66.7	80 354 60.2	50 106 69.1	6707 42.2	23 541 52.9
Estate owners etc.	1946 79.6	1866 76.8	1403 82.9	281 57.6	182 73.4
Manufacturers, merchants, directors	9603 77.4	8277 72.2	7489 75.1	710 51.9	78 60.9
Office employees, engineers, and shop managers	40 142 63.6	35 744 57.9	21 819 64.3	3049 38.4	10 876 57.9
Higher administrative personnel in private employment	—	—	—	—	—
Higher officials in public service	21 675 74.2	19 994 68.3	13 872 75.2	1485 45.6	4637 61.4
Free professions (reduced in 1924)	7268 53.1	10 863 49.4	4385 61.5	820 40.5	5658 44.1
House-owners and capitalists	1820 66.0	2764 54.9	1120 60.8	287 40.6	1357 54.7
<i>Social class II</i>	404 743 65.7	342 211 49.3	240 590 59.4	38 493 29.1	63 128 40.3
Farmers	181 374 65.0	149 941 48.5	118 256 59.6	25 835 29.5	5850 25.3
Tenant farmers	32 794 65.0	24 219 46.8	21 317 53.7	2614 24.1	288 25.6
Farmers' sons working on farm (The women are included in the above groups in 1921 in part, in 1928 wholly)	36 786 61.8	2671 50.3	2671 50.3	— —	— —
Artisans	46 123 62.3	41 688 47.4	30 202 56.0	3322 25.9	8164 38.7
Shop-keepers	26 057 63.7	24 981 54.7	17 539 60.9	1890 34.1	5552 48.7
Shop assistants	7666 56.6	11 689 44.5	3074 59.1	719 29.4	7896 42.4
Others engaged in trade or industry	3784 58.9	4291 44.1	2616 52.1	277 29.3	1398 37.1
Sea-captains etc.	3155 38.2	2802 40.5	2492 43.0	302 27.3	8 34.8
Office employees and foremen	—	—	—	—	—

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1924					1928				
Men	Women				Men	Women			
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
62 548 75.1	61 225 70.1	41 385 76.8	4928 50.9	14 912 62.9	64 417 84.7	67 519 83.4	44 569 88.3	7624 68.0	15 326 79.4
1883 86.3	1901 78.7	1450 85.6	289 58.4	162 71.7	1894 89.5	1933 86.2	1362 92.2	380 70.8	191 84.1
9670 81.1	8551 76.3	7706 79.6	692 53.3	153 65.1	11 859 87.2	10 997 84.6	9488 88.2	1280 66.1	229 74.6
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 034 72.2	14 506 71.0	10 904 74.7	1123 47.8	2479 71.4	14 884 86.1	12 243 86.3	10 223 89.6	1178 66.5	842 83.9
23 848 80.3	22 718 74.8	15 943 80.6	1684 52.8	5091 68.6	25 312 86.7	27 361 85.0	17 202 89.6	3001 69.1	7158 82.8
6785 61.3	8750 59.8	3903 67.4	673 49.5	4174 55.8	7537 75.1	9334 78.1	4420 84.0	1161 69.9	3753 74.7
2252 67.8	4195 58.9	1460 62.4	440 48.1	2295 59.3	2672 79.3	4784 76.1	1832 79.6	556 63.3	2396 77.1
385 531 62.1	342 440 48.6	231 995 57.3	34 680 28.4	75 765 42.6	494 135 75.7	487 114 66.9	309 493 75.3	65 566 48.0	112 055 62.0
172 235 63.7	144 301 46.3	115 719 57.0	21 863 27.4	6719 23.0	214 921 79.4	208 112 66.2	157 848 76.8	38 799 47.2	11 465 43.0
31 268 60.9	23 603 45.4	21 021 51.6	2 226 22.6	356 24.9	40 331 77.2	34 791 64.1	30 031 71.7	4327 38.4	433 37.6
32 431 54.7	2325 48.8	2265 50.6	60 21.1	—	48 709 69.2	—	—	—	—
44 486 60.0	38 166 47.4	29 441 54.7	2684 26.3	6041 36.7	49 023 71.5	46 023 63.2	34 075 70.1	4851 42.6	7097 55.6
25 748 64.5	24 979 55.4	17 613 61.3	1628 34.6	5738 49.4	35 568 75.3	38 594 71.7	25 338 76.8	3902 54.5	9354 68.4
8371 57.7	12 578 46.4	3138 58.6	776 32.6	8664 44.7	12 904 71.5	22 902 63.7	4817 74.0	1862 51.3	16 223 62.9
3638 55.2	4279 43.9	2529 50.8	250 32.2	1500 37.7	5631 68.6	7261 59.9	4046 66.8	542 43.7	2673 55.4
2647 34.0	2633 39.6	2330 41.5	254 28.6	49 31.4	4093 48.4	4505 60.8	3745 63.3	668 52.2	92 42.0
33 062 65.1	30 706 58.5	18 398 63.0	2206 38.5	10 102 57.5	50 074 77.0	53 123 75.2	28 085 77.7	5887 59.4	19 151 77.7

Social and occupational groups	1921				
	Men	Women			
		1	2	3	4
Lower officials (the group was reduced in 1924)	58 490 70.8	44 912 60.1	37 945 66.4	1911 28.7	5056 46.4
Elementary school teachers	6960 76.7	16 026 63.2	4208 74.3	815 36.8	11 003 59.5
Higher domestic employment	206 44.4	8794 33.9	118 45.4	75 26.0	8601 33.1
Free professions belonging to class II . . .	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Social class III</i>	462 436 58.4	375 307 43.5	267 836 58.0	21 636 23.7	85 835 27.7
Farm foremen etc.	10 225 63.4	7216 49.3	6340 54.8	359 24.4	517 32.4
Crofters etc.	44 004 52.8	35 751 34.2	27 195 43.2	4194 21.2	4362 20.1
Agricultural labourers (except farmers' sons on farm)	67 256 51.3	33 830 43.7	30 386 50.7	1906 17.5	1538 23.3
Sailors and fishermen	8228 30.0	5045 31.1	4387 35.1	641 17.8	17 12.1
Workers	330 116 62.3	246 070 54.3	198 190 63.7	13 477 26.3	34 403 37.8
Lower officials	—	—	—	—	—
Lower domestic employment	1755 55.9	32 995 25.6	1050 56.5	382 25.8	31 563 25.1
<i>Together</i>	949 681 61.9	797 872 47.2	558 532 59.4	66 836 27.9	172504 33.7

and the third 13.9 per cent. A comparison between groups belonging to different classes within the same branch of occupation, is interesting. The average voting frequency of estate owners was 85.1, of the farmers 69.4, of the farm foremen 65.8, of the crofters 55.4, and of the labourers 53.1 per cent. On an average 84.1 per cent of the larger employers (manufacturers and others) voted in the elec-

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1924					1928				
Men	Women				Men	Women			
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
19 270	21 782	13 402	941	7439	17 021	22 020	12 933	1444	7643
77.1	56.0	67.5	32.7	46.0	83.4	70.9	79.7	50.5	63.9
7574	16 884	4500	759	11 625	9363	24 690	5650	1551	17 489
78.4	59.6	73.8	37.9	57.5	84.7	74.9	85.0	57.0	74.2
263	3973	144	42	3787	254	7050	157	77	6816
49.0	44.8	49.5	37.5	44.7	63.3	56.5	72.4	42.5	56.4
1855	2520	1287	134	1099	3612	5840	2213	417	3210
49.1	44.4	57.8	34.6	35.9	58.0	59.8	66.5	50.2	57.2
508 439	410 424	296 857	19 771	93 796	658 701	591 282	39 4530	45 903	150 849
57.1	43.1	57.1	23.1	27.0	69.4	58.1	71.2	38.9	43.6
9309	6651	5914	262	475	11 140	7833	7200	509	124
61.3	49.0	55.1	21.9	28.6	72.7	66.9	71.5	39.2	35.8
38 717	33 154	24 864	3312	4978	50 114	51 697	35 407	6856	9434
47.3	31.3	40.4	18.6	18.7	66.1	51.0	61.5	35.9	38.3
66 704	32 455	29 034	1718	1703	82 866	43 473	35 540	4640	3293
47.1	40.4	46.9	17.0	20.5	60.8	54.7	62.6	34.0	36.5
7892	5169	4394	567	208	10 451	7762	6340	1219	203
26.6	29.3	33.1	17.4	18.1	37.3	47.1	52.1	33.0	32.2
338 938	254 022	202 275	12 159	39 588	441 712	349 894	266 163	26 640	57 091
61.5	53.1	62.1	26.5	37.3	72.3	65.8	74.1	40.4	53.8
44 746	31 651	29 418	1105	1128	57 383	49 358	40 618	3069	5671
71.5	62.9	67.5	27.7	41.5	80.4	73.4	79.5	43.8	62.1
971	37 202	534	247	36 421	1177	59 218	676	631	57 911
55.5	25.2	54.2	21.8	25.0	61.3	39.9	64.3	32.7	39.8
956 518	814 089	570 237	59 379	184 473	1 217 253	1 145 915	748 592	119 093	278 230
60.0	46.7	58.3	27.3	33.6	72.6	62.7	73.7	44.8	50.9

tions, 71 per cent of the office employees and foremen, 65.9 per cent of the industrial workers. The average voting frequency of officials in public service in the two latest elections was 83.5 in the first social class, 80.2 in the second and 76 in the third. These last comparisons apply only to the elections of 1924 and 1928, as the classification was different in 1921. — Regarding the voting in class III

it should be noted that throughout the industrial workers show a comparatively high voting frequency in relation to other groups within the class; in two out of the three elections it exceeds the male average. This circumstance is particularly noteworthy because this group was considerably enlarged by the franchise reform of 1921.

In all the social classes the women have participated far less than the men. Remarkably large differences prevail between the different categories on which the women have been distributed in the statistics. As an illustration of these conditions the figures for average participation in the three elections in different social classes, among men and among women of different categories, i. e. "wives", "other family members" and "gainfully employed and others", are given below.

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Together
<i>Men</i>	75.5	67.8	61.6	64.8
<i>Women</i>	71.2	54.9	48.2	52.2
<i>Wives</i>	78.1	64.0	62.1	63.8
<i>Other family members</i> . .	53.7	35.2	28.6	33.3
<i>Gainfully employed and others</i>	65.1	48.3	32.8	39.4
<i>Together</i>	73.4	61.4	54.9	58.5

Of the women the married have incomparably the highest voting frequency. In the classes I and III it is even higher than the men's, which evidently is because the older married women vote with considerably higher frequency than the younger unmarried men. With regard to the figures for electoral participation in different age groups and among married couples, reproduced in another chapter, it may safely be said that the married men vote more frequently than the married women. Among the women following some occupation outside the home, the voting frequency on an average is 24 per cent lower than among the married women. The group "other family members" exhibits a voting frequency 6.1 per cent lower than that of the gainfully employed women; participation is little more than half as compared with that of the married women.

From the present point of view another circumstance is of more importance; the difference in voting frequency between the different social classes within these categories on the whole is inversely proportionate to the participation of the category in question, i. e. the difference between the social classes is largest in the categories with the lowest voting frequency. This may be illustrated by the following collocation in which the difference in participation between the different social classes, is indicated.

	Difference between class I and II	Difference between class II and III	Difference between class I and III
<i>Men</i>	7.7	6.2	13.9
<i>Women</i>	16.3	6.7	23.0
<i>Wives</i>	14.1	1.9	16.0
<i>Other family members</i> . .	18.5	6.6	25.1
<i>Gainfully employed</i> . . .	16.8	15.5	32.3
<i>Average</i>	12.0	6.5	18.5

On the whole, consequently, the difference in electoral participation between the social classes, is considerably larger among the women than among the men; by the introduction of woman franchise, thus, this difference is accentuated. The "social" election curve for married women, however, does not deviate very much from that of the men; but among "other family members" and the "gainfully employed" electoral participation is strongly reduced from one class to another. The difference is surprisingly large between the women engaged in outside work in all classes; among these women the voting frequency of the first class is double that of the third. It may also be pointed out that in the working class the unmarried female workers show about half the voting frequency of the married.

As a further illustration of these conditions figures are here given expressing the electoral participation of the different social classes if participation is put at 100 for every category in class III.

	Class I	Class II	Class III
<i>All</i>	134	112	100
<i>Men</i>	123	110	100
<i>Women</i>	148	114	100
<i>Wives</i>	126	103	100
<i>Other family members</i>	188	123	100
<i>Gainfully employed</i>	198	147	100

In the official report on the parliamentary election of 1928 further data of interest in this connection are given.¹⁸ The communes have been divided into groups according to their social structure, i. e. with regard to the distribution of the population on different social groups, and the electoral participation within different social groups has been established in different types of communes.

The rural communes were divided into three main groups, A, comprising communes where social group III constituted at most 30 per cent of the population, B, where the share of the lowest social group was between 30.1 and 60 per cent, and C, where the share of the lowest social group was more than 60 per cent. Each of groups B and C was further divided into three categories, B 1, B 2, and B 3, and C 1, C 2, and C 3 respectively, according as the agricultural population amounted to more than 60, 30.1—60, and up to 30 per cent of the total population of the respective communes. Of these groups evidently C 3 had the largest population of industrial workers. The towns were divided only into three main groups, A, B, and C, according as social group III constituted at most 50, 50.1—60, and more than 60 per cent of the population.

When the electoral participation within the different groups was calculated, the difference was found to be remarkably small, having regard to the pronounced differences in voting behaviour obtaining between the different social classes according to the data reported above. "The explanation of this apparent contradiction will be evident if the data for electoral participation in the commune groups are supplemented, as has been done below, by figures for the participation in each of the particular social groups."

		Voters in per cent of electors 1928					
		Social group I		Social group II		Social group III	
		M.	W.	M.	W.	M.	W.
Rural districts							
Group A	. . . . .	84.8	86.7	76.9	64.7	59.9	45.6
" B	. . . . .	83.0	81.2	76.5	65.6	64.5	51.6
of these gr.	B 1	83.0	81.7	77.9	66.8	62.1	48.2
" B 2	. . . . .	82.0	79.9	75.1	64.1	65.9	53.8
" B 3	. . . . .	86.0	83.4	74.9	68.3	71.7	61.2
Group C	. . . . .	83.8	82.1	75.1	66.0	71.8	60.3
of these gr.	C 1	87.8	84.7	78.1	68.2	67.6	53.0
" C 2	. . . . .	84.9	82.5	75.1	65.3	69.5	56.9
" C 3	. . . . .	82.7	81.5	74.1	66.3	74.3	64.3
	Together	83.4	81.8	76.2	65.6	67.9	55.6
Towns							
Group A	. . . . .	85.7	84.1	75.7	69.9	69.9	55.6
" B	. . . . .	85.3	84.0	73.8	70.1	71.1	60.1
" C	. . . . .	85.0	83.5	74.4	69.5	73.2	64.2
	Together	85.2	83.8	74.1	69.8	72.2	62.2

In this table a tendency which has repeatedly been established above is brought to light with great clearness: electoral participation within a social group rises with the strength of the group in the area in question. The tendency is particularly apparent in regard to social group III, and within this group is specially marked among the women. Thus, in the rural communes the difference in electoral participation between males of this group in commune group A and commune group C 3, is no less than 14.4 per cent; the corresponding difference among the women is 18.7 per cent. In towns of group C the voting frequency of males of the lowest social group is 3.3 per cent higher than in towns of group A; for the women the figure is 8.6 per cent.

The same division of the communes from the point of view of social structure, was carried out at the elections of 1924 and 1932 also; only at the 1928 election, however, the electoral participation of different social groups in different kinds of communes was calculated. For all these elections the share of the different parties in the vote within the different commune groups, has been calculated. In this manner an interesting light has been thrown on the relation between party and social group. Below the per-

centage share of the electorate voting with the "bourgeois" and socialist parties in the different commune groups in the respective elections, is indicated.¹⁹

	Bourgeois parties			Socialist parties		
	1924	1928	1932	1924	1928	1932
Rural districts						
Group A	90.8	90.7	86.6	9.2	9.3	13.4
Group B	68.1	70.4	63.6	31.9	29.6	36.4
of these gr. B 1 . . .	77.3	79.0	72.9	22.7	21.0	27.1
" B 2 . . .	60.8	63.1	55.8	39.2	36.9	44.2
" B 3 . . .	52.8	56.7	49.8	47.2	43.3	50.2
Group C	38.9	41.9	36.1	61.1	58.1	63.9
of these gr. C 1 . . .	57.5	62.0	54.1	42.5	38.0	45.9
" C 2 . . .	44.0	47.7	41.9	56.0	52.3	58.1
" C 3 . . .	31.1	33.0	27.7	68.9	67.0	72.3
	Bourgeois parties			Socialist parties		
	1924	1928	1932	1924	1928	1932
Towns						
Group A	65.7	67.4	59.2	34.3	32.6	40.8
Group B	50.2	53.5	45.1	49.8	46.5	54.9
Group C	42.0	43.8	37.9	58.0	56.2	62.1

The connection between political attitude and social position comes to light in the table so clearly that the matter needs no further stressing. The socialist parties grow in strength with the share of the lowest social class in the electorate. In the rural communes this growth is particularly marked in those commune groups where the non-agricultural population is in a majority.

In the statistics of the city of *Stockholm* detailed figures are to be found for the participation of different social and occupational groups both in the political and the municipal elections during the period under discussion.²⁰ In the main the same principles have been applied as in the statistics of the state though in many respects the *Stockholm* reports are more detailed. Here an account of these reports will be given only on one or two points, as supplementary of the data reproduced above.

From the two following tables of the participation of the different classes in the elections to the second chamber 1921—1932 and to the city council 1921—1935 it will be found that on the whole the relation between the voting frequencies of the social classes has been the same in

Stockholm as in the country as a whole. In regard to the parliamentary elections the electors are divided by sex, and among women two categories are distinguished, "occupied" (in gainful occupation) and others. The number of qualified electors is given only for the latest election.

Electoral participation within different social classes in the election to the second chamber and the city council of Stockholm after 1920.

Social classes	Number of electors 1932	Voters, in per cent of electors				
		1921	1924	1928	1932	
Social class I	48 847	68.1	73.1	85.4	82.0	
Men	22 537	70.9	75.0	85.7	82.5	
Women	26 310	65.6	71.5	85.2	81.5	
Occupied	9588	62.9	69.7	84.7	80.4	
Unoccupied	16 722	67.5	72.7	85.5	82.2	
Social class II	114 978	53.1	56.4	72.6	70.2	
Men	43 444	60.2	62.1	74.3	72.0	
Women	71 534	49.1	53.2	71.7	69.1	
Occupied	43 913	46.8	51.2	70.9	68.0	
Unoccupied	27 621	52.8	56.2	72.8	70.8	
Social class III	196 688	53.7	56.0	66.4	68.1	
Men	89 764	63.2	65.1	72.2	74.0	
Women	106 924	46.5	48.8	61.7	63.1	
Occupied	59 602	34.3	37.2	52.1	53.2	
Unoccupied	47 322	61.3	62.6	72.6	75.6	
Together	360 513	56.1	58.9	71.2	70.6	

Social classes	Number of electors 1935	Voters, in per cent of electors				
		1921	1923	1927	1931	1935
Social class I	51 294	58.7	58.5	71.3	78.3	83.5
Social class II	120 700	40.0	39.8	54.1	65.0	71.6
Social class III	199 218	33.7	34.7	48.3	61.9	66.3
Together	37 212	39.3	39.8	53.4	65.1	70.4

The differences in electoral participation between the social classes always have been more marked in the municipal than in the parliamentary elections where the general level of participation has been comparatively high; these differences were particularly large in the municipal elections of 1921 and 1923 when the poll was on the whole extremely light. In the parliamentary elections the difference between

the first and second social class has been larger than in the country as a whole, while the case has been reversed in regard to the second and third social class; this is due to the comparatively high voting frequency of the working class in Stockholm. The differences in question are largest in the female electorate, particularly among the slackest voters among the women, the "occupied". In the first social class the women vote nearly as much as the men, in the third class the difference is very considerable. While both the men and the unoccupied women of the third class have an average voting frequency somewhat higher than the same categories in the second class, the frequency in the second class as a whole is somewhat higher than in the third class because the occupied women in the third class vote to such an exceptionally small extent. On the whole the conditions are the same in the municipal elections, according to data from certain elections. At both kinds of elections, however, a tendency towards equalization of all these differences is noticeable.

Those employed in state or municipal service in all cases display a high proportion of voters. The differences in this respect are particularly noticeable among the workers. This will be seen in the following collocation on the voting frequency among workers (including female occupied and women belonging to working class families) in state, municipal, and private employment. It is to be noted that the table refers not to the whole working class, but only to workers in the narrow sense; thus persons in domestic employment, restaurant personnel etc. are not included.

	Workers in state employment	Workers in municipal employment	Workers in private employment
Second chamber election			
1921	75.3	75.5	58.9
1924	75.9	76.2	60.4
1928	80.3	84.8	69.8
1932	84.7	84.2	72.9
City council election			
1921	56.0	58.1	35.8
1923	55.1	57.9	37.3
1927	66.9	73.2	51.7
1931	80.2	82.1	66.8
1935	82.7	86.0	69.6

Among those in public employment (less than 10 per cent of the whole number) electoral participation is incomparably higher than among the others; the difference is largest in the elections where the general level of participation is low. As a rule the municipal workers vote somewhat more than those in state employment; naturally they take more interest than the latter group in the municipal elections.

At one or two elections the privately employed workers also have been divided on different groups according to the nature of their employment. The result seems to indicate that the better paid workers, engaged in skilled occupations, show the highest political interest. Thus, the voting frequency at the city council election of 1935 was considerably higher among the workers in the printing industries (compositors 83.6 per cent) and the metal and engineering industries (75.6 per cent) than in the textile industry (63.8 per cent) and among the unskilled labourers (56.8 per cent); the percentages indicated refer to both males and occupied and unoccupied women. The data from the municipal election of 1931 and the parliamentary elections of 1928 and 1932 point in the same direction.

In regard to the women a particular grouping of considerable interest has been made at several elections. Three categories have been distinguished: married, unmarried, and widows and divorced, and then within each of these categories occupied (employed) and unoccupied (household work not being counted as occupation in the technical sense). The voting frequency within the groups thus formed at the municipal elections 1921—1931 will be found in the following table.

*Electoral participation of women in the municipal elections,
1921—1931.*

	1921	1923	1927	1931
<i>Women</i>	32.6	34.6	49.0	61.3
Occupied	25.2	26.8	41.7	54.6
Unoccupied	41.9	44.1	58.1	69.6
<i>Married</i>	44.2	46.1	61.1	73.1
Occupied	38.6	38.9	61.3	72.7
Unoccupied	44.7	46.6	61.1	73.2

	1921	1923	1927	1931
<i>Unmarried</i>	24.8	26.4	40.1	52.0
Occupied	24.5	26.0	39.7	51.8
Unoccupied	33.8	38.1	48.1	57.0
<i>Widows and divorced</i>	22.2	25.0	38.8	51.5
Occupied	24.0	26.5	39.7	52.7
Unoccupied	18.5	21.8	37.0	50.0

That the unoccupied women vote more than the employed, and the married more than the unmarried is not surprising; evidently the groups unoccupied and married to a large extent coincide. But it may seem strange that both among married and unmarried the unoccupied have the higher voting frequency. Only in the group widows and divorced the employed have voted much more than the others. It must be pointed out, however, that at least to a certain degree these differences may be due to differences in age and social position. Thus, the mean age of occupied married women probably is lower than that of the unoccupied. The unmarried occupied (41,660 in 1931) on the whole may be expected to belong to a lower social class than other unmarried (2,173 in 1931). Among widows and divorced probably a large number of the unoccupied (5,533 in 1931) have reached the age where a considerable general decline of electoral interest sets in. It should also be stressed that an extremely strong tendency towards equalization of the electoral participation has been visible in the later elections when on the whole participation has been comparatively high. This tendency may be traced also in the municipal election of 1935 from which data as complete as those from the earlier elections, are not available. The participation of the married in that election was 78.1, of the unmarried 59.8, of widows and divorced 57.2 per cent. In the category married — the only one within which the statistics from this election distinguish between occupied and others — the voting frequency was somewhat higher among the occupied, the figures for the two groups being 79.7 and 77.8 per cent.

Finally it must be pointed out that the low voting frequency of the working class women and among occupied

unmarried, largely are due to the same cause: the exceptionally low electoral participation among the women in lower domestic employment (servants). At the latest elections this group comprised 60—70 per cent of the occupied women in the working class, and probably — assuming that the great majority of the servants are unmarried, a point on which the statistics give no information — something like 40 per cent of the unmarried occupied. In the municipal election of 1931 only 38.6 per cent of this group voted, and in the election of 1935 47.3 per cent. For comparison it may be mentioned that the voting frequency among the female workers in a more limited sense was 62.2 and 67.8 per cent respectively.

In Stockholm an inquiry was instituted regarding the second chamber election of 1928, in the main of the same nature as that carried out for the same election in the Swedish official statistics. The results are of no particular interest; on the whole they confirm the conclusions arrived at in this latter investigation.

Regarding the second chamber election of 1932 I have carried out a special investigation on electoral participation and the correlation between social class and party attitude on the basis of material in the statistical office of Stockholm. The material was the same as in the investigation on the effects of the women's franchise of which an account has been given above, i. e. it comprised 55 out of the 400 electoral districts. The districts belong to the parishes of Oscar, Gustav Vasa, St. Göran, Högalid, and Brännkyrka; in regard to the standard of income of the population these parishes represent different levels, from Oscar, which may be assumed to be the richest of Stockholm, to Högalid and Brännkyrka, in which the workers predominate.

The following table illustrates the relation on the one hand between the share of the third social class in the electorate, and on the other hand the electoral participation within this class, also the participation of the women within the class in question.

Electors of social class III in % of all electors	Averages in groups of 5 districts	Voting frequency of class III	Averages in groups of 5 districts	Voting frequency of women of class III	Averages in groups of 5 districts
24.7	31.9	54.0	56.4	50.8	50.4
30.2		56.0		51.7	
31.5		55.5		46.2	
35.9		59.2		51.7	
37.0		57.2		51.4	
38.3	39.5	51.6	57.9	46.2	52.5
38.4		56.4		51.1	
38.9		52.1		45.5	
40.6		71.9		67.8	
41.5		57.6		52.0	
42.2	44.3	54.6	60.6	55.6	55.7
42.3		64.7		58.0	
44.4		64.8		59.9	
46.2		56.7		49.3	
46.4		62.3		55.7	
48.5	49.7	67.9	69.8	63.0	63.9
48.8		77.5		69.6	
49.3		70.8		64.6	
50.7		61.0		55.1	
51.1		72.0		67.4	
53.4	54.9	62.4	61.1	57.2	56.6
53.6		45.9		39.4	
54.9		63.7		61.2	
55.5		67.6		62.9	
57.0		65.8		62.4	
57.5	59.5	79.3	73.6	78.3	69.2
58.2		66.9		59.9	
59.7		73.4		68.4	
61.0		73.0		69.1	
61.2		75.3		70.3	
62.2	63.2	71.2	75.2	64.4	69.8
62.6		74.7		71.1	
63.5		80.7		75.6	
63.7		80.0		75.7	
64.1		69.4		62.3	
64.8	66.3	70.7	74.0	66.3	70.2
65.8		70.5		66.7	
65.8		76.6		73.1	
67.1		77.9		74.2	
67.9		74.5		70.8	
68.3	69.3	77.4	73.7	72.6	70.8
68.9		68.9		71.0	
69.4		68.5		63.7	
69.7		77.1		73.1	
70.2		76.4		73.5	
70.3	74.5	73.1	76.0	69.3	72.9
73.3		78.0		75.3	
74.9		77.2		74.4	
76.8		76.6		72.1	
77.1		75.2		73.3	
77.6	84.0	80.8	72.5	78.0	69.6
78.2		66.0		63.7	
84.8		82.3		78.9	
86.2		78.1		75.4	
93.2		55.3		52.2	

The table shows a distinct correlation between the strength of the social class and the electoral participation within the class; this tendency seems to be particularly strong among the women.

The following table shows the strong correlation between the strength of the socialist parties and the share of the third social class in the electorate.

Socialists in per cent of valid votes	Averages for groups of 5 districts	Electors in social class III in per cent of all electors	Averages in groups of 5 districts.
15.0	22.5	24.7	34.5
18.4		30.2	
25.9		37.0	
26.2		42.2	
26.8		38.3	
27.9	31.6	38.4	38.2
29.2		38.9	
29.3		35.9	
34.4		46.2	
37.1		31.5	
38.3	43.0	41.5	45.6
39.7		42.3	
44.8		44.4	
45.2		53.6	
47.2		46.4	
47.4	50.2	53.4	48.5
49.6		48.5	
50.5		49.3	
51.3		50.7	
52.4		40.6	
57.0	58.7	48.8	53.7
57.0		51.1	
58.4		55.5	
59.4		54.9	
61.7		58.2	
62.5	67.4	57.0	60.0
64.3		57.5	
69.6		59.7	
69.9		64.8	
70.9		61.0	
71.2	73.3	62.6	63.9
72.2		62.2	
73.6		67.9	
74.1		61.2	
75.2		65.8	
76.1	77.4	63.5	66.8
77.5		70.2	
77.6		67.1	
77.7		64.1	
78.3		68.9	
79.2	80.8	63.7	69.4
79.4		65.8	
80.1		78.2	
82.4		69.7	
82.8		69.4	

Socialists in per cent of valid votes	Averages for groups of 5 districts	Electors in social class III in per cent of all electors	Averages in groups of 5 districts.
82.8	83.4	76.8	72.7
82.9		70.3	
83.3		74.9	
83.7		68.3	
84.2		73.3	
86.1	90.5	77.1	83.8
89.1		77.6	
92.1		93.2	
92.6		84.8	
92.8		86.2	

The table shows that in those districts where social class III is weak, socialism does not poll at a strength corresponding to the strength of the social class, while the socialist poll exceeds the relative strength of the third social class in districts where this class is strongly represented. This may to a certain extent be due to an influence of the social environment on the electors; but it is also probable that the party or parties appealing to the strongest social groups in the area, carry on the incomparably strongest propaganda. Above all, however, it must be stressed that the distribution on social classes is schematic, and that possibly all social classes in the more well-to-do districts in reality represent a higher social standard than in the poor districts. In addition the members of the third social class in the more well-to-do districts to a considerable part stand in a relation of personal service to the members of the other social classes, and so may be expected to become influenced by these.

¹ *Mitteilungen des statistischen Amtes des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, No. 13, pp. 6 seq. and for the following No. 24, pp. 11 seq., 26 seq., and tables and No. 54, pp. 28 seq. and tables.

² *Zürcher statistische Nachrichten*, 1926, No. 4, pp. 167 seq.; for the following cf. *Statistik der Stadt Zürich*, Heft 41, pp. 29 seq., 35 seq., 42 seq., 54 seq.

³ *Zeitschrift des K. Sächsischen Statistischen Bureaus* 1903, p. 62.

⁴ *Zeitschrift des Königlich preussischen statistischen Landesamts, Ergänzungsheft XXXXIII*, p. XXIV; cf. KAMM, Abgeordnetenberufe und Parlament, 1927, pp. 6 seq.

⁵ BAUER, "Wahlbeteiligung", 1926, in particular pp. 56, 65, 79, 85, 99 seq.

⁶ *Beiträge zur Statistik der Stadt Mannheim*, 6. Sondernummer, p. 38.

⁷ *Mitteilungen zur Statistik der Stadt Mülheim an der Ruhr*, No. 1, pp. 8 seq.

⁸ *Statistische Nachrichten des Landes Mecklenburg-Schwerin*, No. 4, 1928 pp. 30 seq., *Statistischer Vierteljahrsbericht der Stadt Kassel*, Juli—September 1930, p. 2.

⁹ *Beiträge zur Danziger Statistik*, Heft 4, p. 58.

¹⁰ MEYER, *Der Nichtwähler*, Allgemeines statistisches Archiv 1931, pp. 520 seq.

¹¹ TRAP, *Borgerrepræsentantvalgene i København den 12. Marts 1909*, TRAP, *Borgerrepræsentantvalgene i København den 11. Marts 1913*.

^{11a} *Österreichische Statistik*, Berufstatistik der Wahlberechtigten bei den Reichsratswahlen . . . im Jahre 1907, particularly pp. V seq., 56 seq.

¹² Of this report a type-written copy has been obtained through the Swedish legation in Vienna. The percentages are from DANNEBERG, *Wer sind die Wiener Wähler? and Klasse und politisches Interesse*, *Der Kampf 1924*, pp. 187 seq., 223 seq. In WOYTYNSKY, *Die Welt in Zahlen*, Siebentes Buch, p. 69, several figures have been transposed in the reproduction of the chief table.

¹³ *Statistische Mededeelingen uitgegeven door het Bureau van Statistik der Gemeente Amsterdam*, No. 60, pp. VIII, No. 64, pp. VIII, No. 78, pp. IX, and tables.

^{13a} ARNESON, *Non-voting in a typical Ohio Community*, *American political science review* 1925, pp. 819, 825.

¹⁴ GOSNELL, *Getting out the vote, 1927* p. 11, cf pp. 48 seq., 90 seq., 98; cf also GOSNELL and GILL, *An analysis of the 1932 presidential vote in Chicago*, *American political science review* 1935, p. 984.

^{14a} DONALDSON, *Compulsory voting*, *National municipal review* 1915, pp. 460 seq.

¹⁵ *Stockholms stads statistik*, *Statistik redogörelse för allmänna val i Stockholm år 1913*, pp. 6*, 11* seq. . . . åren 1916 och 1917, pp. 6*, 10* seq. Cf also *Sveriges officiella statistik*, *Landstingsmannavalen år 1912*, p. 19, år 1916, p. 22, år 1918, p. 23.

¹⁶ Cf TYNELL, *De olika befolkningsgruppernas deltagande i de allmänna valen i våra storstäder*, *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* 1910, and literature cited by him, THULIN, *Kommunal rösträtt i Sverige, 1908*, in particular pp. 70 seq., *Förslag till kommunal rösträttsreform 1918*, p. 64.

¹⁷ *Sveriges officiella statistik*, *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1909—1911*, pp. 24 seq., *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1912—1913 samt hösten 1914*, pp. 24 seq., *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1918—1920*, pp. 25 seq.; *Riksdagsmannavalet år 1921*, p. 18 seq.; *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1922—1924* pp. 15 seq.; *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1925—1928*, pp. 49 seq. — Cf also GRÖNLUND, *Den allmänna politiska rösträtten och valen till riksdagens andra kammare åren 1911—1921 i statistisk belysning*, *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* 1924.

¹⁸ *Sveriges officiella statistik*, *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1925—1928*, pp. 57 seq., 73 seq.

¹⁹ *Sveriges officiella statistik*, *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1925—1928*, pp. 93 seq. and *Riksdagsmannavalen åren 1929—1932*, pp. 63 seq.

²⁰ *Stockholms Stads statistik*, *Statistik redogörelse för allmänna val i Stockholm år 1921* pp. 2* seq., 9* seq.; åren 1922 och 1923 pp. 7* seq.; år 1924, pp. 3* seq.; åren 1925—1927 pp. 7* seq.; år 1928, pp. 15 seq.; pp. 25 seq.; åren 1929—1931, pp. 9* seq.; år 1932, pp. 8 seq.; *Allmänna val i Stockholm 1933—1935*, pp. 8 seq. Cf also the respective tables printed at the end of each report.

CHAPTER IV.
COMPULSORY VOTING AND ELECTORAL
PARTICIPATION.

Compulsory voting means that the citizen's duty to take part in elections or referendums is established by law. Compulsion of this kind acquires real importance only if the law provides certain consequences or penalties for abstention. Nevertheless, a few cases have occurred where obligatory voting has been enacted in principle without measures against abstention being provided for. Sometimes a distinction has been made out between obligation to elect and obligation to vote, the former referring to the citizen's duty actually to make his choice in an election or referendum, the latter only to the formal polling. In practice and under present conditions, the vote being secret, only obligatory voting in its proper sense can be in question, which means that the elector has fulfilled his duty even if he has cast a blank ballot.

Compulsory voting has been established only in few states, but its institution has been propagated and discussed in many more. Several writers in political science have displayed strong sympathies for the arrangement; e. g. Herrfurth and Laband in Germany, Moreau and Barthélemy in France, Kjellén in Sweden, have maintained the value, in principle and practice, of the obligatory vote.¹ As a rule, but by no means always, the advocates of the institution have taken their stand on a general, conservative doctrine, while opposition has been forthcoming from radical, and particularly from social-democrat quarters. It may be profitable to dwell for a moment on the actual political arguments advanced in the debate; the reasons for or against

obligatory voting based on various theories of the nature of the suffrage, in this connection are of no interest.

The motives for introduction of compulsory voting were summed up by Rudolf Kjellén in the motion brought in by him at the Swedish riksdag av 1912. The non-voters — the “election shirkers” or “election strikers” — are divided into certain psychologically defined groups: the pessimists, who do not find it worth while to register their vote, the optimists, who believe that all goes well without their help, the timid, who do not want to offend anybody by taking sides in politics, the high-principled, who cannot agree wholly with any party, and therefore remain outside politics altogether, the sensitive, who are disgusted with the political scramble, the indifferent of various categories. According to Kjellén the non-voters are to be found above all within the social groups which, on account of their position and their psychological orientation, would be predisposed to vote with the non-socialist parties. “It is in the nature of the thing itself, and in accordance with general experience that a higher degree of organisation guarantees a lower percentage of abstention; but no party operates with forces so strongly disciplined as the socialists. Within their ranks the psychological factors mentioned above — the faint-heartedness of pessimism, the overconfidence of optimism — may be expected to play the smallest part as against those almost religious feelings of solidarity with the party by which the rank and file are animated to do their duty as party “supporters”. Thus, Kjellén believes that the non-socialist parties must have immense reserves among the non-voters, and that the present condition — without obligatory voting — “offers a premium to the socialists at the cost of other parties.” He is further of opinion that the absence of obligatory voting favours the party system as such, the non-voters being to a large part non-party people, critical towards party life; the present state of the law “puts a premium on partisan will instead of giving expression to the popular will”. Obligatory voting thus is assumed to serve as a conservative insurance, and as a restraining force in the party

struggle. It is also assumed that it would strengthen the authority of the representation. When a great number of electors abstain from voting, parliament cannot perform its function of giving expression to different opinions among the people; the parliamentary system as a whole is in a precarious position so long as a great proportion of the electoral body forms an unknown and incalculable political factor. Finally obligatory voting would favour general political education, and restrict party agitation; if the electors are legally forced to cast their vote, there is not the same need for the parties to urge them on to the ballot box.

The argument advanced by Kjellén, like many other authors, unsupported by practical investigation of the psychology of the non-voter, is highly dubious. It is easy to figure out various reasons for non-voting, but speculation of this kind is of little interest so long as no attempt has been made to fix the importance of the different factors. The disposition to make the non-voters appear in a favourable light, is unmistakable; the general impression received from the characterization here given, is that the social group in question is rather over-cultured and hypersensitive. In other advocates of compulsory voting this tendency has been still more obvious. According to a French author "the intellectual élite of the people asks itself whether it is worth while to cast a vote which is doomed to drown among the votes of the great crowd".³ In Laband's account of the import of compulsory voting the non-voter receives an equally ample tribute: "The political value of compulsory voting consists in social groups being forced to participation in the elections which otherwise would keep away in disgust at the immoderation and foolishness of the party programmes and the excesses of the election campaign. These groups are by no means the politically indifferent, but rather the reflecting, moderate elements, putting up passive resistance to the inflammatory tactics of the extreme parties, and despairing of the chances of victory for the moderate elements against the influence exerted on the masses by zealous demagogues".³ This

manner of characterizing the non-voters, the electors outside the parties, reflects an essential element of the conservative doctrine, which served as a weapon in the fight against parliamentarianism; the supporters of the non-parliamentary régime regarded themselves as essentially outside politics, and the conservative party was looked upon as an organisation of the unpolitical elements, a party above parties. This explains how Kjellén could see in compulsory voting both an asset for the conservatives and a safeguard against party strife; to the antiparliamentary conservative these lines of thought were coincident.⁴

Another obscurity in Kjellén's reasoning also — typical of many of the conservative supporters of compulsory voting — must be pointed out. When he wrote his motion Kjellén had access to the statistics on the election of 1911 and these show, i. a., that participation in the election was comparatively low among the working classes. Nevertheless he states that the non-voters are to be found chiefly among those social groups which are predisposed to support the conservatives. This conclusion was made possible in part because the heavy poll among the lower employees — assumed to be socialistically disposed — is strongly underlined, in part because in reality the psychological reasoning has been allowed to supersede the actual, sociological material, finally and above all because Kjellén took it for granted that electoral discipline is strongest among the socialists so that these can be assumed to poll with particular strength. This belief that party discipline is stronger within the socialist party than elsewhere, no doubt can be supported by certain facts. For instance, several statistical investigations show that alterations and expunction of names occur comparatively rarely on the ballot papers of the socialist parties. But the conclusion that the socialists profit by the absence of electoral compulsion obviously is false. It may be regarded as certain that the non-voters are very few among the registered party members, socialist or non-socialist; but this question is of little interest because the registered party members everywhere constitute a small part of the body of electors. The relevant problem is within

which social groups the non-voters not registered in any party, are to be found. For the solution of that problem it is of course quite irrelevant whether party discipline is stronger within one party than the other.

The motives advanced by Kjellén recur with variations in other authors. Sometimes the value of obligatory voting as a conservative guarantee has been decisive. When different possibilities of checking the forward march of social democracy were being discussed in Germany in the nineties, compulsory voting was advocated as a conservative guarantee instead of limitations of the suffrage;⁵ similar points of view were brought to bear when voting was made compulsory in Belgium and Holland.⁶ Besides, compulsory voting has been advocated as a means of making the representative body really representative, and thus increasing its authority, of fostering the political interest of the electors, and of assuring stability in political life. Barthélemy looks upon compulsory voting as a cure against the crisis of democracy: moderation would gain at the expense of passion, the criticism of the opposition parties would lose force when government was founded on a majority of all the enfranchised citizens. When the introduction of compulsory voting was debated in Holland, this measure was recommended in authoritative quarters as a necessary complement of parliamentary democracy; if the legislative body did not reflect popular opinion, a growing demand would arise for direct decision by the electors in important questions, so that direct democracy would oust parliamentary democracy.⁷

Opponents of compulsory voting have maintained that without compulsion a natural sifting of the electorate takes place, only those who have some interest in and knowledge of public questions troubling to take part in the elections.⁸ The opinions of the non-voters may be regarded as irrelevant when "the popular will" is to be ascertained. In the report of the constitution committee of the Swedish riksdag on Kjellén's motion of 1915 the question was asked whether "among those who are to give expression to the will of the people, those ought also to be counted who

have no will at all in political matters or . . . consciously prefer not to manifest this will, or whether the will of the electorate does not receive its most reliable expression exactly by giving the freest possible opportunity to those desirous of doing so, for manifesting their political opinion by means of the ballot."° In characterizing the non-voters stress is mainly laid on traits other than those emphasized by the advocates of compulsory voting; indifference and ignorance are regarded as the chief causes of non-voting. Consequently it is feared that the introduction of compulsory voting may involve a lowering of the general quality of the active electorate. As a rule, however, opponents of compulsory voting seem also to have accepted the view of its supporters that the institution in question would favour the conservatives; indifference and ignorance, it is reasoned, go with passive acceptance of conditions as they are. Occasionally it has however been suggested that the indifferent, if they were compelled to vote, incensed by this compulsion would turn to the extreme opposition parties.

In many respects it is hardly possible to judge the validity of the reasons advanced in this discussion. The question whether the authority of the representative body, the stability of political life, etc., have been influenced in any way by the introduction of compulsory voting, can only be the object of loose assumptions; the general expressions of opinion common on this as on other subjects — as a rule implying that the writer has found his opinion confirmed by experience — evidently cannot be said to prove anything. One thing only seems to be quite clear, that in these discussions the importance of the institution in question has been immensely overestimated.

Certain notions in regard to the motives for non-voting and the qualities of non-voters, which have played a considerable part in the discussion, may definitely be said to be mistaken. In particular this can be said about the belief that on the whole the non-voters are an exceptionally ripe, reflecting, moderate, intellectually gifted part of the electorate. Statistical evidence, to the effect that participation

in elections is least among the younger generations, among the uneducated etc., points to a totally different conclusion. The enthusiasm with which the non-voters have been characterized, e. g. by Laband and Moreau, seems absurd when confronted with actual experience. Nor is it possible to find any support in the electoral statistics for the belief that obligatory voting, if efficient, would favour generally conserving tendencies or politically the conservative party. The authors who have taken this for granted, have assumed a certain immanent political disposition in the different social classes. They have assumed that if the non-voters were compelled to vote, they would vote in the same manner as the "voluntary" voters in the same social layer; in the propertied and moneyed classes they would vote with the conservative parties, in the labouring class with the socialists. If this view is accepted, and available data regarding non-voters are brought in, the conclusion will be exactly contrary to the common one: generally participation in elections increases with rising social standard; compulsory voting consequently ought to be an asset to radicalism. But it cannot be said with any certainty that the individuals who do not vote voluntarily, if voting were made compulsory would follow the general political tendency of their class to the "normal" extent. In this connection, however, it should be pointed out, that in countries with female suffrage compulsory voting possibly may accentuate the effect of the woman's vote in the conservative direction.

It seems to have been generally assumed in the discussion on compulsory voting that the number of habitual non-voters is very considerable; otherwise the psychological speculations on the characteristics of non-voters would be quite meaningless. On this point, however, election statistics afford very little information.

An examination of the election statistics in countries with compulsory voting hardly gives any guidance as to the effect of the institution from the partly point of view. In most countries important changes in regard to suffrage and election system have been made simultaneously with the introduction of compulsory voting; in these cases it is

impossible to form an opinion on the effects of the institution by itself. In addition, statistical data from the countries in question are very scanty; for instance, no investigations have been made regarding the social distribution of that category of electors who have abstained from voting in spite of the legal obligation to vote. It is very difficult even to get a clear picture of the influence of the compulsory vote on the total participation, because as a rule its introduction has been bound up with other electoral reforms. Below, however, an attempt will be made to throw light on this problem by the aid of available data.

In *Belgium* compulsory voting was introduced in 1893 as part of a thorough-going constitutional reform.¹⁰ This involved above all the introduction of universal, though not equal, manhood suffrage. Previously suffrage was bound up with certain property qualifications; by the new law additional votes were granted to certain categories of electors, i. e. to persons with higher incomes; the age limit was 25 years for elections to the chamber of representatives, 30 years for elections to the senate. Apart from a statement of the principle the provisions for compulsory voting — which have in the main remained intact — are given in the electoral law (art. 207 seqq. in the present law). Electors who have not voted have to prove an excuse before the justice of the peace. Those who have not brought in an accepted excuse, are prosecuted before the justice of the peace; his decision is final. The first unexcused abstention is punished by a reprimand or a fine of from one to three francs. Repeated unexcused abstention within six years is punished by a fine of from three to twentyfive francs; a second repetition within ten years is punished in addition by public posting in the commune of residence. The fourth abstention within a period of fifteen years in addition to these penalties is followed by disfranchisement for ten years, during which time the offender cannot receive a public appointment or public honours. Compulsory voting in municipal elections accompanied with the same penalties, was introduced somewhat later.

In the decades immediately after the introduction of compulsory voting — the years before the Great War — participation in the Belgian elections rose considerably; while previously the frequency had been varying between 70 and 85 per cent, it was about 95 per cent in the elections to the chamber of representatives in the nineties and the beginning of this century. As a rule this rise is ascribed wholly to the introduction of compulsory voting, but this seems to be an exaggeration; the extension of the suffrage in 1893, and the introduction of proportional representation in 1899 both were measures which may have contributed to a rise in electoral participation. In all probability, however, compulsory voting has been a chief cause.

Equal manhood suffrage at 21 years of age for elections to the chamber of representatives, was introduced by a law of 1919 and a constitutional amendment in 1921. Certain categories of women — above all so-called war widows — further were enfranchised, but have constituted only about four per cent of all electors. In 1921 suffrage for senatorial elections — in so far as these were to be by popular election — was instituted on the same conditions as for elections to the chamber. Figures for participation under the new regulations will be found in the tables below.¹¹

Participation in elections to the Belgian chamber of representatives in 1919—1932.

Election of	Votes cast in per cent of registered electors	Invalid votes in per cent of votes cast	Valid votes in per cent of electors
1919	88.5	5.4	83.7
1921	91.1	4.6	86.9
1925	92.8	4.5	88.6
1929	93.9	4.9	89.3
1932	94.2	3.1	91.3

Participation in elections to the Belgian senate in 1921—1932.

Election of	Votes cast in per cent of registered electors	Invalid votes in per cent of votes cast	Valid votes in per cent of electors
1921	91.0	8.1	83.6
1925	92.7	6.8	86.4
1929	94.0	7.2	87.2
1932	94.3	4.9	89.7

The number of voters in relation to the number of registered electors is remarkably high. In all elections except one the participation has exceeded 90 per cent, sometimes it has approached 95 per cent. The comparatively low figure for participation in the election of 1919 partly is to be ascribed to the fact that at this time — shortly after the War and the German occupation — a large number of electors were away from their homes. However, a high frequency of voting cannot, as is often done, in itself be regarded as decisive in a discussion of the effects of compulsory voting. If the *effective or active* participation — i. e. the number of *valid* votes cast in relation to the number of registered electors — is not affected, of course the institution has failed of its purpose. It will be seen that the invalid votes — the figures do not differentiate between blank votes and others — are extremely numerous. On an average they make up more than five per cent, while the corresponding figure in countries without compulsory voting does not exceed one or two per cent, frequently being less than one half per cent. Consequently it can be assumed that nearly one twentieth of the electors purposely hand in invalid ballots. But even if regard is paid to this circumstance in judging the electoral participation, it must be assumed that compulsory voting is of considerable importance, i. e. a certain number of electors who otherwise would not have taken part in the election, hand in valid votes because the penalties on abstention have made them attend at the poll. On an average effective participation is about five per cent higher than in the countries with which comparison can most appropriately be made, e. g. Germany and France. But it must be remembered that Belgium is extremely densely populated so that in any case a heavy poll would be expected. Finally it must be pointed out that in the period after the reforms of 1919—1921 participation has shown a rising tendency, and that the elections to the senate display somewhat lower participation, both active and passive, than the elections to the chamber. To judge from available figures the municipal elections show about the same result as the political elec-

tions; the fact that female suffrage has been introduced for municipal elections does not seem to have made any difference.

Of the 100,000—200,000 non-voters at each election only comparatively few become the objects of legal measures; it seems that most of them give notice of an excuse which is accepted by the justice of the peace. In the period 1899—1907 in all 11,909 prosecutions were instituted for non-voting at political elections. Of the prosecuted 3,710 were acquitted, 3,575 received an admonition, and 4,624 were fined. In 1912 the corresponding figures were 313, 326, and 428, in 1920 (after the 1919 election) 1,426, 1,004, and 1,376. In the following table the figures are given for 1921—1933 (the elections of 1921, 1925, 1929, and 1932):

Year	Number of prosecutions	Acquitted	Reprimanded	Fined
1921	590	245	192	153
1922	1383	305	376	702
1925	1310	363	308	639
1926	167	50	14	103
1929	962	246	293	432
1930	4	1	2	1
1932	11	0	1	10
1933	687	151	201	335

According to the official statistics no other punishment than admonition and fine has been applied.

In *Holland* the introduction of compulsory voting coincided with measures by which suffrage was made universal; this was in 1917 when men were enfranchised at 25; at the same time proportional representation was introduced. In 1919 woman suffrage was introduced. Compulsory voting applies at elections to the second chamber as well as elections to the Provincial States — by which the first chamber is elected — and the municipal councils. Originally provisions for compulsory voting made part of the constitution, but since 1922 they are included in the electoral law (art. 72, 149 seq.). By these provisions, which have in the main been preserved unchanged, every elector who has not voted at an election “if possible is to be requested by the mayor of his commune within one month after the

election to offer a written or oral explanation". If the mayor finds that a valid excuse for absence from the poll has been given, the matter is allowed to rest, if not, proceedings are to be instituted before the local bench. If in these proceedings the elector cannot prove a valid excuse, he is fined a highest sum of three guilders; if he has been guilty of the same offence within a previous term of two years, the fine may be raised to ten guilders. Till 1925 a reprimand might be substituted for the fine.

Already before the introduction of compulsory voting participation in elections was high in Holland, as will be seen from the following figures for the elections in 1905—1913.¹²

*Participation in elections to the Dutch second chamber,
1905—1913.*

Election of	Voters in per cent of electors	Invalid votes in per cent of votes cast	Valid votes in per cent of electors
1905	83.0	1.3	81.9
1909	78.8	1.4	77.6
1913	84.5	1.5	83.3

After the introduction of the constitutional reforms mentioned above participation in the elections has risen still further. Below figures are given for the elections in the years 1925—1933. From other elections complete figures are not available, but those that can be had, indicate strong participation.¹³

*Participation in elections to the Dutch second chamber,
1925—1933.*

Election of	Voters in per cent of electors	Invalid votes in per cent of votes cast	Valid votes in per cent of electors
1925	91.4	4.7	87.1
1929	92.7	4.6	88.4
1933	94.5	4.5	90.2

At the other elections participation has been roughly the same. Thus, effective participation in the elections to the municipal councils in 1931 was 88 per cent, and in the elections to the Provincial States in 1933 86.8 per cent. In all cases a larger number of invalid votes has been handed in

in the larger cities than elsewhere; the number of invalid ballot-papers in per cent of all votes cast in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, was 6.4 in the elections to the Second Chamber in 1933, 7.1 in the municipal elections of 1931, and 9.3 in the provincial elections of 1931.

In the main the same conclusions can be drawn as in regard to the Belgian election figures. It should be added that strong opposition has been offered against the principle of electoral compulsion, particularly on the part of the Calvinist antirevolutionary party. By this party women's suffrage is condemned on religious grounds, and in certain cases the women have refused to vote; the statistical figures give no information of the extent of this refusal.¹⁴ A consequence has been, however, that the communal mayors have been recommended by the government to accept conscientious objections as valid excuse (1928).

Evidence is unanimous that in a great number of cases, particularly in the larger towns, non-voters have not been prosecuted, although according to the letter of the law they should have been. From the start the practice seems to have varied in different localities and at different elections. In 1922 1,084 persons (among whom 740 women) were penalized for non-voting; the corresponding number in 1925 was 10,545 (5,715 women) and in 1927 6,392 (3,863 women). According to the statistics of the city of Amsterdam the preliminary investigations alone, before prosecution, cost 45,000 guilders at the 1925 election.¹⁵

The *Swiss Confederation* has no provisions for compulsory voting, but in this as in many other electoral matters the cantons possess freedom of action. Several cantons have made use of this liberty.¹⁶ Already in 1835 compulsory voting was enacted in ST. GALLEN, and later on similar enactments were made in the cantons of SOLOTHURN (1856), THURGAU (1870) AARGAU (1871), and SCHAFFHAUSEN. Since compulsory voting has been abolished in Solothurn in 1887, four cantons have compulsory voting in the proper sense; fines of 1—2 francs are provided for non-voting if a valid excuse cannot be offered. In some of the cantons in ques-

tion regulations exist in regard to excuses (sickness, age, etc.). In *Zurich* regulations are in existence since 1890 which may be said to constitute a certain compulsion to vote. Before the election every elector receives an election card, which has to be presented as a certificate of identity at the polling booth. If the card is not handed in at the polling booth and has not been sent in within two days, it is called for on behalf of the election authorities, and a charge of up to one franc is made. In VAUD compulsory voting in the federal referendums was introduced in 1924, and, as will be shown later, this seems to have affected participation at the elections as well. In several cantons there exist general stipulations about obligation to vote but providing no penalty for abstention; these rules are of no interest in this connection.

The Swiss election statistics available for the period before the introduction of proportional representation (1919), are very incomplete. Consequently it is not possible to carry out in detail the comparison which is of most interest, viz. between voting frequency in cantons with compulsory voting and other cantons. But it can be said that the cantons with compulsory voting have shown a considerably higher level of participation than the average. In the elections to the National Council in 1902—1917 participation was very low for Switzerland as a whole, on an average below 55 per cent, at no election higher than 60 per cent.¹⁷ The corresponding figures in the cantons with compulsory voting, vary between 70 and 85 per cent; in Zurich it was considerably lower in certain elections. However, it cannot be said that these differences were due to compulsory voting alone; participation varied considerably as a result of other circumstances, particularly the liveliness of the election campaign. In certain cantons where the result for the whole of the cantons or the majority of the constituencies, was clear beforehand, participation might be reduced to 25—30 per cent, while in other cantons without compulsory voting, but with sharply fought campaigns, the figures rose to 60—70 per cent. But undoubtedly compulsory voting during this period had a definite effect on participation.

To some extent, however, this effect referred only to what has been termed above the passive, not the effective poll. In almost all cases the number of blank votes was extremely large in the cantons with compulsory voting. Below will be found the relevant figures for the compulsory vote cantons for the elections to the National Council in 1905—1917.

*Participation in Swiss elections, Confederation and cantons
with compulsory voting, respectively, 1905—1917.*

Elections of	Voters in per cent of electors	Not blank ballots in per cent of electors
1905		
Switzerland	56.2	53.0
Aargau	83.0	75.3
Schaffhausen	85.1	68.1
St. Gallen	83.8	78.8
Thurgau	76.7	67.8
Zurich	72.6	65.0
1908		
Switzerland	52.5	49.3
Aargau	83.1	76.7
Schaffhausen	80.1	58.1
St. Gallen	72.0	68.6
Thurgau	82.6	74.9
Zurich	74.8	68.1
1911		
Switzerland	52.8	48.4
Aargau	83.1	74.7
Schaffhausen	82.7	67.7
St. Gallen	75.7	58.6
Thurgau	82.9	75.1
Zurich	65.6	55.4
1914		
Switzerland	46.6	40.3
Aargau	85.9	66.2
Schaffhausen	78.7	53.0
St. Gallen	71.1	55.2
Thurgau	78.8	69.7
Zurich	51.2	35.3
1917		
Switzerland	60.0	56.7
Aargau	81.9	69.4
Schaffhausen	86.8	74.2
St. Gallen	77.3	69.6
Thurgau	78.4	66.9
Zurich	70.9	65.2

On an average, consequently, 12 per cent of the votes cast in elections in the cantons with compulsory voting, were blank; undoubtedly this is due to deliberate sabotage of the compulsory voting. Nevertheless the effective poll is higher than in Switzerland as a whole, but the difference becomes far less considerable than the bare election figures would indicate. It should be pointed out that the number of blank votes cast, is highly varying, evidently according to the degree of interest awakened by different elections. — In the referendums the tendencies in regard to passive and active participation have in the main been the same as in the National Council elections.¹⁸

Since the introduction of proportional representation participation in the Swiss elections has risen to a remarkable degree. In consequence the relation between participation in cantons with and without compulsory voting has undergone considerable changes. In the following table this relation at the elections 1919—1931 is illustrated.¹⁹ Among "cantons without compulsory voting" only the cantons electing more than one representative are included; in the four cantons where election still is by majority vote, the poll is incomparably lower than in other cantons.

Participation in the elections to the National Council in Switzerland, 1919—1931, in cantons with and without compulsory voting.

	1919	1922	1925	1928	1931
Aargau	90.7	88.3	88.7	89.5	90.5
Schaffhausen	91.1	90.3	92.3	92.5	93.0
St. Gallen	91.1	86.9	87.0	87.8	89.1
Thurgau	84.5	84.6	82.6	84.8	85.3
Zurich	84.9	79.0	77.1	78.6	76.8
Cantons with compulsory voting	87.6	83.5	82.5	83.6	83.1
Cantons without compulsory voting (excluding cantons with only one seat)	77.8	73.7	74.8	77.4	77.7

It will be seen that the cantons with compulsory voting still continue to display a relatively high poll. The difference between these cantons and others, however, has become decidedly smaller than previously, on an average between seven and eight per cent, and this difference has been steadily reduced — from 9.8 per cent in 1919 to 5.4 per cent

in 1931. The difference will be a little larger if Zurich — as is permissible — is counted among the cantons without compulsory voting, because participation is considerably lower in that canton than in those with real legal compulsion to vote. It should be added that the enactment by which voting in referendums was made compulsory in Vaud in 1924, has affected participation in the federal elections as well; in 1919 71.3 per cent of the electors came to the poll, in 1922 66.9 per cent; the corresponding figures for the elections 1925, 1928 and 1931 are 87.1, 82.6, and 77.6 per cent.

In regard to blank or otherwise invalid ballots a considerable change is to be noted. The number of valid votes in per cent of the whole number of votes cast in the whole country, and in the four cantons with legally complete compulsory voting, will be found below.²⁰

	1919	1922	1925	1928	1931
Whole country	98.6	98.2	97.7	98.2	98.3
Aargau	98.6	97.9	97.4	97.3	97.8
Schaffhausen	95.5	92.3	89.0	95.0	91.5
St. Gallen	96.9	94.8	94.8	95.9	96.4
Thurgau	98.4	97.4	97.0	97.9	98.2

The invalid ballots still are most numerous in the cantons with compulsory voting; in particular a comparatively large number of blank ballots are cast in these cantons, although this cannot be seen in the table. However, in this respect also the difference between the two categories of cantons has been reduced; in comparison with earlier conditions a very small number of voters now are driven by the legal compulsion itself to hand in invalid ballots. In regard to Schaffhausen, the canton with the highest frequency of invalid ballots, it is to be noted that on different occasions certain minority parties have systematically encouraged voting with blank ballots.

In any case the difference between cantons with and without compulsory voting is still smaller in regard to effective than passive participation. And whether one or the other is used as basis for a comparison, the difference has no longer an absolute character; several cantons without

compulsory voting, like Luzern, Solothurn, Wallis, and Freiburg, have had a higher average poll than certain cantons with compulsory voting. In the election of 1931 Aargau, a canton with compulsory voting, had first place with regard to participation, but the other cantons with compulsory voting were fifth, sixth, and seventh respectively. Finally it must be remembered that at least some of the cantons with compulsory voting have been the scenes of violent party strife, and that consequently a high poll was to be expected independently of any legal obligation to vote.

In *Austria* a clause empowering the individual provinces to introduce compulsory voting was inserted in the electoral law in connection with the electoral reform of 1907. Before the election of 1907 six provinces made use of this power: Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Salzburg, Moravia, Vorarlberg, and Silesia. At the election of 1911, the second and last election under the law of 1907, compulsory voting obtained in another two of the seventeen provinces, viz. Krain and Bukovina. The penalty for abstention without a legal excuse — sickness, official duties, absence from home, etc. — was a fine of from one to fifty Austrian crowns. Below the polls are given for the elections of 1907 and 1911 for Austria as a whole, for the provinces without compulsory voting and for each of the provinces with compulsory voting.²¹

*Participation in the Austrian elections to the Reichsrat
in 1907 and 1911.*

	1907	1911
<i>Austria</i>	84.6	80.2
<i>Provinces without compulsory voting</i>	74.2	67.3
Lower Austria	93.0	92.6
Upper Austria	93.3	93.3
Salzburg	93.5	91.8
Vorarlberg	93.8	91.4
Moravia	92.3	91.7
Silesia	95.3	94.1
Krain (no compulsory voting in 1907)	70.8	87.3
Bukovina (no compulsory voting in 1907)	74.1	78.2

In the provinces with compulsory voting thus participation in the elections was 20—25 per cent higher than in the other provinces. In the elections of 1907 more than 92 per cent of the electors went to the poll in the provinces with compulsory voting, while the figure was 84.8 per cent in those without compulsion where participation was highest (Bohemia and Galicia). In 1911 the poll was between 87 and 94 per cent in the provinces with compulsory voting (except Bukovina); Bohemia was next with a poll of 79.4 per cent. For unknown reasons compulsory voting seems to have had little effect in Bukovina.

Figures for blank ballots are available only from the election of 1907. They show that blank votes were cast more frequently in the provinces with compulsory voting than in the others, but the difference was not very considerable. The number of blank ballots in per cent of votes cast reached an average of 0.35 per cent in provinces without compulsory voting, and 1.1 per cent in the provinces with this institution. In the provinces with compulsory voting consequently active participation was nearly as high as the passive.

In the Austrian republic also it was left to the provinces to decide in regard to compulsory voting.²² Enactments in this respect for elections to the provincial diets and the Nationalrat, were included in the electoral laws of 1919 and 1920; in the electoral law of 1923 it was stipulated that if a province instituted compulsory voting for elections to the provincial diet, the regulations in question were to apply to elections to the Nationalrat as well. However, compulsory voting was introduced only in two provinces, Tirol and Vorarlberg; the penalty for abstention was in Tirol a fine of from 3 to 50 schillings, in Vorarlberg a fine of from 10 to 100 schillings or imprisonment for not more than three days.

Particularly in the three first elections under the republic participation was considerably higher in the two provinces with compulsory voting than in the others, as will be seen in the following table.

Participation in the elections to the national assembly and to the Nationalrat in 1920 and 1923, in Austria, in Tirol and Vorarlberg.

	1919		1920		1923	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Austria	87.0	82.1	83.8	77.7	88.9	85.2
Tirol	92.6	92.9	88.3	86.8	92.9	91.5
Vorarlberg	87.6	93.3	90.0	90.0	94.4	93.8

It is noteworthy that compulsory voting has been particularly effective in regard to women; in the provinces with compulsory voting they voted with about the same frequency as the men, in 1919 with even higher frequency. The participation of the males on an average has been 4.4 per cent higher in the provinces with compulsion than in the whole country; the corresponding figure for the women is nearly 10 per cent. The proportion of invalid and blank ballots is not shown by the figures from these elections.

In the elections to the Nationalrat of 1927 and 1930 the polls were so high in all provinces that the effect of compulsory voting was not very noticeable. For these elections data have been given in regard to invalid and blank ballots. Figures for active and passive participation are given below:

Participation and number of invalid ballots in per cent of votes cast in Austria, Tirol, and Vorarlberg in 1927 and 1930.

	1927			1930		
	Austria	Tirol	Vorarlberg	Austria	Tirol	Vorarlberg
Participation	89.2	92.5	93.7	90.0	92.9	93.1
Men	90.8	93.9	93.8	91.2	93.6	92.1
Women	87.5	91.2	93.7	88.8	92.3	94.1
Invalid ballots	0.9	2.6	3.1	0.8	1.9	2.6
Men	1.0	3.5	3.4	0.9	2.7	3.3
Women	0.8	1.7	2.8	0.7	1.1	2.0
Active participation	88.3	89.9	90.6	89.2	91.0	90.5
Men	89.8	90.4	90.4	90.3	90.9	88.8
Women	86.7	89.5	90.9	88.1	91.2	92.1

It will be seen that the proportion of invalid and blank ballots is considerably larger in the provinces with compulsory voting; this applies particularly to the men. In

Tirol and Vorarlberg more than three per cent of the male voters have cast invalid votes. Effective participation by the males was only 0.6 per cent higher than the average in the provinces with compulsory voting in the election of 1927; in 1930 the males of Tirol cast a somewhat higher proportion of valid votes than in the country as a whole, while the reverse happened in Vorarlberg. Effective participation by the women was 3—4 per cent above average in the provinces with compulsory voting.

In *Czechoslovakia* compulsory voting was introduced for elections to the senate and the chamber of deputies in 1920; the enactments then made were included without change in the new electoral law of 1927.²³ The franchise age is 21 years in elections to the chamber of deputies, 26 years in elections to the senate; both men and women have the right to vote. Persons who fail to vote, without a valid excuse, are fined 20—5,000 Czech crowns or imprisoned for one day to one month; valid excuses are age (over 70), sickness, official duties, living at a long distance from the polling place, and traffic stoppages.

The official statistics offer complete figures for participation at the polls only for the election of 1920.²⁴ In that year 88.8 per cent of the men voted in the election to the chamber of deputies, and 90.9 per cent of the women; the figures for the election to the senate were 90.6 and 90.2 per cent. The lower figure for the males in the election to the chamber may have been due to the fact that at this time (April 1920) many of the young men were still serving with the colours, and that the electoral registers generally were not quite exact in regard to the younger men. The proportion of blank or invalid ballots, 0.3 per cent in the election to the chamber, 0.4 per cent in the senatorial election, is remarkably low. In the reports on the elections of 1925 and 1929 figures for participation are given only for the elections to the chamber.²⁵ In 1925 91.8 per cent of the male voters polled, 90.9 per cent of the women; nearly one per cent of the ballots cast were blank or invalid. In 1929 91.8 per cent of the men voted and 91.4 per cent of the wom-

en; about 1.5 per cent of the ballots were blank or invalid. For the election of 1935 official figures have not yet (end of 1936) been published; according to a work published shortly after the election, the poll was 91 per cent.²⁶

In *Bulgaria* where manhood suffrage from the age of 21 is of long standing, compulsory voting was introduced in 1919; for non-voting a fine of from 20 to 500 levas may be imposed. The following table shows that the reform has been followed by a considerable rise in popular participation. Towns and country are recorded separately; participation is higher in the towns than in the country along the whole line. The statistics give no information in regard to invalid votes.²⁷

Participation in Bulgarian elections, 1913—1931.

Election of	Whole country	Towns	Country
1913	55.0	47.9	57.0
1914	67.1	52.8	71.3
1919	54.4	45.3	57.6
1920	77.1	61.8	82.0
1923 ¹	86.5	77.6	89.2
1923 ²	86.2	74.1	90.0
1927	84.3	72.7	87.8
1931	85.2	78.1	87.4

In *Rumania* compulsory voting was introduced into the constitution on 1923 (fine of 50 lei). In the elections of 1927, 1928, and 1931 participation was 77, 77.4, and 72.5 per cent.²⁸ The compulsory voting enactment in *Greece* of 1929 (fine of 25—2,000 drachmas) does not seem to have been effective; in 1932 19 per cent of the population voted (the number of electors is not given), as against 16.5 and 26.1 per cent respectively in the elections of 1928 and 1926.²⁹ Compulsory voting has further been introduced in *Lichtenstein* (1878), *Luxembourg* (1924), and *Hungary* (1925); data regarding its effect are not available.

In the Commonwealth of *Australia* compulsory voting was introduced by a law of July 31, 1924.³⁰ Every registered elector who has not voted, receives from the election officer

an invitation to give "a valid, truthful and sufficient reason" for his failure to vote. Persons who do not comply with this request, or do not give a valid reason for their non-appearance at the poll, or can be proved to have given false reasons, are prosecuted by the chief electoral officer, or by his direction, and fined two pounds. The fine, thus, is considerably higher in Australia than in any other state.

Figures for the average participation in five elections to the senate and the house of representatives before the introduction of compulsory voting, and in the five elections (to the senate four) after that date, follow.³¹

	Senate		House of representatives	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1913—1922	75.4	65.5	75.9	66.4
1925—1934	93.9	93.5	94.2	93.7

The rise in participation will be seen to have been very strong. In particular the difference in the poll is very large on the part of the women; their participation previously was about ten per cent below that of the males, but now is practically equal. How far effective participation has risen, it is impossible to say, as the statistics do not give any figures for invalid votes.

In several of the separate Australian states compulsory voting has been introduced in recent years, viz. Queensland (1915), Victoria (1926), Tasmania (1928, for elections to the house of assembly only), and New South Wales (1928). In all these states, the penalty for non-voting is a fine of not more than one pound; in Tasmania the minimum is 5 shillings, in new South Wales 10 shillings. Compulsory voting has brought about an immense growth of the poll, above all on the part of the women, who now show very nearly the same voting frequency as the men. Data in regard to active participation are lacking. Below the averages are given for elections to the legislature, or in cases of two-chamber system to the lower house, before and after the introduction of compulsory voting.

	Men	Women
<i>Queensland</i>		
1907—1912	72.2	70.5
1915—1932	84.8	88.0
<i>Victoria</i>		
1920—1924	63.5	56.9
1927—1932	93.6	92.9
<i>Tasmania</i>		
1912—1928	75.4	66.0
1931—1934	95.5	94.0
<i>New South Wales</i>		
1907—1927	71.5	64.8
1930—1932	95.7	95.6

* * *

As already indicated highly differing views have been propounded on the effectiveness of compulsory voting. A purely negative view has frequently been urged. The usual argument has been concisely presented by a German writer in political science: "The secret vote makes it impossible to create any guarantee that the elector forced to the poll does not simply hand in a blank ballot, or that he does not refuse to take his electoral duty in any way seriously. And then the possible legal penalties for non-voting. With negligible fines nothing is gained, heavy fines or imprisonment are out of proportion to the offence. All in all, consequently, there is very little to be achieved by making voting compulsory".³²

The account given above proves this opinion to have been mistaken. In many cases it is admittedly difficult to decide whether the institution of compulsory voting has had any effect, particularly when its introduction has been combined with other electoral reforms. It remains that popular participation in elections is very high in countries with compulsory voting, that the introduction of compulsory voting everywhere has been accompanied by a remarkable rise in participation, and that in countries where compulsory voting has been enacted in certain regions, these display more intense participation than the regions without compulsory voting (Switzerland, Austria). Even when the penalties for non-voting are very small, and

where law and practice prescribe very wide acceptance of excuses, the growth of the poll has been perceptible. The proportion of blank and invalid ballots has been comparatively high in many states with compulsory voting; nevertheless the effect of the institution on the whole has been unmistakable, not only in regard to passive, but also to effective participation.

It may be necessary to say that this statement must not be taken as an opinion in favour of compulsory voting. It is not my intention to enter into a discussion of the desirability of its introduction. On this question it is hardly possible to harbor a definite opinion unless certain political valuations and certain unverifiable assumptions on the general political effects of the institution in question are accepted. Two remarks must be made, however. In a number of states the introduction of compulsory voting in late years has lost actuality, because participation in elections has risen to a very high level without the application of this particular measure; when electoral participation is so high that obligatory voting cannot be expected to add more than a few per cent, the question has lost much of its importance. Further, the old idea, generally favoured in democratic quarters, that a maximum of popular participation in elections to the representative institutions is desirable, is not any longer accepted as indisputably correct. In another connection it will be shown that a very high degree of electoral participation sometimes may be a symptom of a crisis in the democratic system, and may make the functioning of this system difficult.

¹ Cf KJELLÉN's motions on the subject (Första kammaren 1912, No. 94 and 1915 No. 74), MEYER, *Das parlamentarische Wahlrecht*, 1901, pp. 653 seqq., and the literature quoted here and in the motions. Further SÉGOR, *De l'abstention en matière électorale*, 1906, and the report of BARTHÉLEMY to the French chamber of deputies (doc. parl. sess. ord. 1922, annexe nr 4738) together with his essay *Le vote obligatoire* i *Revue du droit public* 1923. The constitution committee was almost unanimous in recommending the rejection of KJELLÉN's motions (KU 1912 No. 28 and 1915 Nr. 11), and they were rejected by both chambers.

² MOREAU, *Le vote obligatoire*, *Revue politique et parlementaire* 1896, p. 43.

³ LABAND, *Die Reform des Wahlrechts in Belgien*, *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung* 1900, p. 219.

⁴ It might also be asked what is meant by moderation, thoughtfulness, etc. except exactly a tendency to vote with the conservatives. And how could it be expected from those who are brought to the poll only by compulsion, and consequently cannot be supposed to exercise any other political activity, that they would exert any particularly beneficent influence in politics by their moderation etc., except by voting conservative? Evidently these arguments are in reality a form of glorification of the conservative citizen as a "personality".

⁵ HERRFURTH, Reichstags-Wahlrecht und Wahlpflicht, Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung 1896, p. 5.

⁶ Cf the account in GARGAS, Die Wahlpflicht in den Niederlanden, Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts 1929.

⁷ GARGAS, Die Wahlpflicht in den Niederlanden, p. 224.

⁸ Cf TRIEPEL, Wahlrecht und Wahlpflicht, 1900, KAHL, Wahlpflicht, Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung 1923, GIRAUD, Le vote obligatoire etc., Revue du droit public 1931, the debates in the Swedish riksdag (15 May, 1912, and 15 April, 1915) and GARGAS' account.

⁹ KU 1915, No. 11.

¹⁰ Cf here and below BARTHÉLEMY, L'organisation du suffrage et l'expérience belge, 1912, pp. 471 seqq.; REED, Government and Politics of Belgium, 1924, pp. 56 seqq.; ROBSON, Compulsory Voting, Political Science Quarterly, 1923, p. 574.

¹¹ The numbers of electors, voters, etc., are given in *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo Belge*; cf in particular vol. XLIX, p. 82, 84, 89, vol. LIII p. 66 seq., vol. LVI, p. 65 seq. — The figures for prosecutions and penalties for non-voting 1921—1933 have been obtained through the Swedish legation at Brussels.

¹² Cf here and below *Statistiek der Gemeenten*, ser. A, No. 2(1935).

¹³ Thus GARGAS, Die Wahlpflicht in den Niederlanden, p. 225 seq. Gargas states that compulsory voting "in the beginning has not had large practical effects", but the data given by him indicate very high participation.

¹⁴ Cf GARGAS, Die Wahlpflicht in den Niederlanden, p. 231 seq., and HUART, Die Entwicklung des öffentlichen Rechts in den Niederlanden seit 1923, Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts 1930, p. 286 seq. In the political literature the institute of compulsory voting has often been criticized, e. g. by the well-known authority on constitutional law KRANENBURG.

¹⁵ *Statistische Mededeelingen uitgeven door Bureau van Statistiek der Gemeente Amsterdam* No. 78, p. VI.

¹⁶ For the regulations cf LAMBELET in Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik 1893; DEPLOIGE, Le vote obligatoire en Suisse, 1893; BRAUNIAS, Das parlamentarische Wahlrecht, II Band, 1932, p. 39 seqq., and the electoral statistics cited below.

¹⁷ *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz* 1908, pp. 347, 358, 1911, p. 303, 1918, pp. 289, 299. Here only the number of blank, not the whole number of invalid ballots is given. If the effective participation is fixed by subtracting other invalid votes as well, the result will not be very different; however, a certain number of invalid but not blank ballots seems to be cast intentionally in the cantons with compulsory voting. This has been confirmed by a scrutiny of the reports, as a rule not printed, sent in to the confederation by the cantons after each election; these reports are kept in the archives of the confederation.

¹⁸ BRUSEWITZ, Folkomröstningsinstitutet i den schweiziska demokratin, 1923, p. 218.

¹⁹ *Statistische Quellenwerke der Schweiz*, Heft 23, p. 8 seq. The results of the elections of 1935 showed the same tendencies as earlier elections. It has not been possible to discuss the 1935 election here.

²⁰ Cf *Statistische Quellenwerke der Schweiz*, Heft 23, p. 10 and the table p. 5; further in regard to the election of 1922 *Schweizerische statistische Mitteilungen*, XI Jahrgang, 1. Heft., table p. 3, and *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik* 1923, p. 37 seqq.

²¹ For the following, cf *Osterreichische Statistik, Die Ergebnisse der Reichsratswahlen . . . im Jahre 1907*, p. VIII, and *Die Ergebnisse der Reichsratswahlen . . . im Jahre 1911*, p. 5, and Berlin, *Om Valg- eller Stemmepligt*, 1910, p. 25 seqq. Berlin's data for electoral participation in Austria on some points are incomplete. For the discussion on compulsory voting in Austria, see WALLENGREN, *Valrättsproblem*, 1915.

²² Cf here and for the following BRAUNIAS, *Das parlamentarische Wahlrecht*, II Band, p. 43; *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich I*, p. 2, II, p. 3 seqq., IV, p. 140, and *Statistische Nachrichten, Nationalratswahlen vom 24. April 1927*, p. 7 seq., and *Die Nationalratswahlen vom 9. November 1930*, p. 4 seqq.

²³ *Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Tschechoslowakischen Staates*, Jahrgang 1920, No. 123 §§ 6 and 58, No. 124, § 2, and JANKA, *Wahlordnung für die Nationalversammlung* (Prager Archiv für Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung 1931) pp. 11, 40, 42.

²⁴ *La statistique tchécoslovaque, Les élections à l'Assemblée nationale en avril 1920 etc.*, pp. 19^a, 13, 81.

²⁵ *La Statistique tchécoslovaque, Les élections à l'Assemblée nationale en novembre 1925*, p. IX, *Élections à la chambre des députés faites en octobre 1929*, p. IV.

²⁶ RAUCHBERG, *Bürgerkunde der Tschechoslowakischen Republik*, 1935, p. 99.

²⁷ *Annuaire statistique 1933*, p. 375, and the different *Statistique des élections des députés pour la . . . Association nationale ordinaire*, particularly that published in 1928, p. IX, and for the elections before the War that published in 1915, p. XII.

²⁸ *Annuaire Statistique de la Roumanie 1930*, p. 9, *Statistique des élections des députés du 7 novembre 1926* (1928), *du 19 août 1928* (1931) . . . *du 25 septembre 1932* (1933).

²⁹ *Statistique des élections des députés du 7 novembre 1926 . . . du 19 août 1928 . . . du 25 septembre 1932*.

³⁰ *The Acts of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 1924*, pp. 26 seqq.

³¹ Cf here and below *Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, Statistical returns in relation to the senate elections, 1934 . . . together with summaries of elections and referendums 1903—1934* (1935). For the separate states, see *Queensland, The Election Acts, 1915 to 1930*, p. 27 seq.; *Victoria, Compulsory voting act 1926; Tasmania, Electoral Act 1928; New South Wales, Act. No. 55, 1928*, pp. 54 seqq. Uncontested elections are not counted, but this does not much affect the percentages.

³² NAVIASKY, *Betrachtungen zur Reform des deutschen Reichstagswahlrechts*, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Band 16, p. 550.

CHAPTER V.

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS: OTHER ASPECTS.

In this chapter some questions will be treated regarding popular participation in elections which have not, or only in passing, been discussed above. Only a summary survey is intended; some of the questions here discussed have been fully investigated by other authors.

A comparison between *election and referendum votes* in regard to popular participation, is possible only for a few countries; in some of the countries where referendum is provided for, it has been so rarely practiced that such a comparison could serve no purpose. In a work on the referendum in *Switzerland* it is stated that for the period 1871—1922 average participation in elections to the national council — as far as figures exist — was 57.4 per cent; about the same frequency obtained in popular initiatives (55.2 per cent) and facultative law referendums (61.8 per cent); at obligatory referendums the voting frequency was considerably lower (48.4 per cent).¹ Thus, on the whole, popular participation was only a very little higher in elections than in referendums. It is to be observed, however, that during this period participation in the elections to the national council in many parts of the country was extremely low, partly no doubt because under the majority system then in force, the election campaigns were very feeble in those areas where one party possessed a firm majority; in the referendums this factor obviously was of no importance. After the introduction of proportional representation in 1919 the voting frequency has everywhere been considerably higher in the elections to the national council than in the referendums. In the elections during

the years 1919—1931 the average poll was 78.2 per cent, in the obligatory referendums 61.2 per cent, in the popular initiatives 63.1 per cent, and in the facultative referendum 68.6 per cent.²

In the *United States* voting frequency, according to an investigation of 1923, has been considerably higher in elections than in referendums, even when these have not been of an obligatory character; to judge from tests made this has been the case in recent years also.³ From *Australia* official figures for voting frequency are available only from four referendums, in 1916—1919. Participation in these was only a few per cent lower than in the parliamentary elections of 1917 and 1919; it must be said, however, that certain of the questions laid before the electors were of exceptional interest.⁴ In *Estonia* the average of participation in the elections in 1923—1932 was 69.5 per cent, in four referendums 1923—1933 75.3 per cent; in three of the referendums the voting frequency was about the same as in the elections, but in one (on the question of constitutional reform in 1932) nearly 90 per cent.⁵ In *Latvia* participation in the elections 1920—1931 was on an average 80 per cent, in four referendums 72.6 per cent.⁶ — It may be said that as a rule participation is higher in elections than in referendums; only when these are on subjects of exceptional interest the voting frequency will rise above that in the elections. This probably is because the political parties seldom are so deeply engaged in referendums as in elections. It is natural that, as a rule, voting frequency is lower in obligatory than in facultative referendums and popular initiatives.

Popular participation in local, particularly municipal elections, in comparison with elections to the state legislatures, has been studied by Gosnell in a work comprising Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland.⁷ According to him participation in local elections as a rule is low. In Great Britain the poll in municipal elections in the towns, is about 20 per cent lower than in parliamentary elections; in the county council elections interest is considerably slacker. In France participation in provincial

elections is 12—20 per cent lower than in the elections to the chamber of deputies; in the elections in the primary communes nearly the same figures as in the parliamentary elections are reached. The diet elections in the German states attracted an interest nearly equal to that expended on the elections to the Reichstag, but in the municipal elections the voting frequency was decidedly lower. A corresponding tendency is to be observed in Switzerland. In Belgium, where voting is compulsory in municipal elections also, these have not shown much lower figures than the parliamentary elections.

For the Scandinavian countries figures on participation in municipal elections have been given in another connection. In Sweden and Norway the voting frequency in these elections in recent years has been 5—10 per cent lower than in the parliamentary elections. In Finland the difference has been 15—20 per cent; in Denmark it has been very small.

Regarding *participation in towns and in the country* statements in the literature are very divergent. In a work published in 1927 an American sociologist, Thompson, maintained that political activity is liveliest in the towns, generally increasing with growing "urbanization".⁸ As evidence of this the fact was adduced that in recent years political interest has been growing, while at the same time a larger proportion of the population has come to settle in the towns; further, he gave figures intended to show that in certain countries participation in elections is higher in the towns than in the country. In parenthesis it may be observed that the low voting frequency in the agrarian southern states is cited as supporting this latter proposition; but evidently this lack of electoral interest is partly due to the fact that in these states party strife is not very keen, because one party, the democratic, is practically supreme. Another author, Woytinsky, is of the opinion, that in countries with a preponderatingly agricultural population voting frequency is lower than in densely populated industrial countries.⁹ On the other hand it has been maintained that on this point no general conclusion can be

drawn; "what relationship exists between urbanization and voting is purely temporary and characteristic of the individual countries".¹⁰

A few general observations must be made on the arguments of Thompson and Woytinsky. Obviously Thompson's conclusion that the increased electoral participation in recent years is a consequence of the assumed growth of urbanisation, is premature; just because two tendencies appear at the same time, they cannot be said to stand in any necessary connection. Woytinsky's statement refers to a comparison between countries of different character, not to different parts of one and the same country. A general assertion that for the different countries electoral participation has a direct relation to the industrial or agrarian character of the respective countries, can hardly be upheld. Actual evidence for the verification of such a rule is lacking, that is to say, figures are unavailable from a number of countries displaying the same characteristics except in this respect. In a general way, of course, it seems probable that — at least to a certain degree — political antagonism will be intensified with the growth of industrialization, but so wide a proposition cannot be regarded as proved by a comparison between those comparatively few and comparatively similar countries from which the necessary statistics can be obtained.

The fact is that no general "rule" can be formulated for electoral participation in town and country, but it must also be said that in several countries the urban population is politically the more active.

For this question I may on several points refer to the data for electoral participation in rural and urban regions in different countries, given in other connections.

In *Sweden* and *Norway* electoral participation throughout has been higher in the towns than in the country; in particular the difference often has been considerable in regard to the polling of the women. In late years a tendency towards equalization has been evident; the difference between town and country has been reduced to a few per cent. To a large part this may be assumed to be due to measures

by which it has been made easier for the voters to register their vote (above all the increase in the number of polling booths); the case has been similar in several other countries. In the *Icelandic* elections the city of Reykjavik has shown considerably higher voting frequency than the rest of the country. In *Finland* participation has been highest sometimes in the country, sometimes in the towns; in recent years, however, the women of the towns fairly regularly have polled more strongly than the country women. In *Estonia* the menfolk have been politically more active in the country than in the towns, while the reverse has been the case among the women. In Vienna electoral participation always has been somewhat higher than in the rest of *Austria*. In *Germany*, to judge from various tests, the town population was more active under the Weimar republic; an investigation of the matter seems to show that on the whole this was the case under the empire as well.¹¹ In *Bulgaria* electoral participation is highest in the country districts.

From some other countries data exist which have not been referred to above. According to special accounts of *French* elections there is no decided difference in voting frequency between Paris and rest of the county.¹² The *Danish* statistics as a rule show lower participation in Copenhagen than in the country as a whole; the average difference in the eight elections to the Folketing 1920—32 was three per cent. To judge from the available older figures, however, participation has been not inconsiderably higher in the provincial towns than in the rural districts, while Copenhagen had about the same voting frequency as the rural districts. In the three elections of 1906, 1909, and 1910 67.1, 70.8, and 74.9 per cent of the electors voted in Copenhagen, 77.6, 79.3, and 80.7 per cent in the provincial towns, 68.0, 68.9, and 73.2 per cent in the rural districts.¹³ Certain figures in the *Latvian* statistics appear to point to a considerably lower electoral participation in the country than in the towns; the figures for the voting of these categories are 67.7 and 88 per cent respectively.¹⁴ But in this connection the figures are of no importance be-

cause the electors may vote where they choose, and a great number of the rural electors vote in the towns. In *Poland* no particular tendency is noticeable; in the elections to the chamber of deputies in 1922 participation was 72.7 in the towns and 66.1 in the country districts, while in 1926 the corresponding figures were 75.8 and 79.6 per cent.¹⁴

In *Switzerland* the rural districts as a rule seem to have shown higher participation than the towns. For the whole of the confederation this tendency has been established by an examination of the figures from the elections to the national council in 1881 and 1919—1928 and from the referendums, 1872—1924.¹⁵ Particular investigations on this point have been undertaken in Zurich and Berne. In a report on the elections to the national council in Zurich in 1919 the communes are divided into six groups according to their agrarian or industrial character, the first group consisting of purely agricultural communes, the sixth of towns.¹⁶ On the whole electoral participation proved to decrease from group to group; in the purely agrarian communes the poll was 94 per cent, in the towns 82 per cent. In the canton of Berne participation in the elections to the cantonal representation in 1930 and 1934, was 65.9 and 76.0 per cent respectively.¹⁷ The lowest figures were from the towns of Berne and Biel where average participation was 56.2 in 1930 and 69.5 per cent in 1934. In the national council elections of 1931 the voting frequency for the whole canton was 79.6 per cent, for Berne and Biel 74.7 per cent. In Switzerland as in other countries generalisations have been made on the basis of the prevailing tendency; thus, in the Zurich investigation cited the differences there established in regard to electoral participation, are stated to be due to the fact, that "the farming population, which has its roots in the soil, brings more interest to public affairs than the constantly flowing industrial and urban population".

In some investigations electoral participation among different *races, nationalities and creeds* within limited regions, has been examined. Thus it has been established in special reports on the diet elections in the county of *Nyland, Fin-*

land, 1911—1919, that as a rule the Swedish-speaking population in that region voted more frequently than the Finnish-speaking.¹⁸ In *Zurich* the electors in the cantonal elections of 1926 and the municipal elections of 1933 were distributed in religious groups.¹⁹ In 1926 the protestants had the highest participation figure, the catholics were second, and the members of the Mosaic community last; the differences, however, were not large. In 1933 the Jews had the highest proportion of voters (94 per cent), while the protestants and catholics followed with roughly equal voting frequency (88.8 and 88.2 per cent respectively); in the report it is assumed that the political interest of the Jews has been increased by the events in Germany in the same year. According to certain *American* investigations interest in voting is less among the negroes than among the whites, and certain differences in voting behaviour can be observed between immigrants of different nationalities.²⁰ In all probability these differences are essentially a reflection of differences in social position and education between the particular groups.

Of more interest is the fact that according to some investigations those *resident since some longer time in the locality in question, show more interest in voting than the new residents*. In elections in *Basel-Stadt* in 1911 and 1932 and in *Zurich* in 1926 and 1933 participation was considerably higher among the citizens of the respective cantons than among other Swiss citizens who had acquired the right to vote after having moved there; in *Basel* the difference was more than 15 per cent, in *Zurich* (with much higher general participation) considerably less.²¹ Similar results have been obtained in the *American* investigations just mentioned.²² Thus, in certain elections in *Chicago* the voting frequency of different groups has been found to rise with the length of residence in the city; non-voting is most common among the new residents.

It is natural that participation should become higher in cases where the outcome of an election seems uncertain, because fairly even forces fight for victory, than in cases where the success of one party seems assured. This factor

— it may be called the influence of *closeness of contest* — has been exemplified by several authors, above all by Gosnell.²³ The method has been to establish the relation between size of poll and proportion of votes cast for the successful candidate in different constituencies — naturally only under the majority system. On the whole popular participation stands in direct relation to the narrowness of the absolute or relative majority. Thus, for instance, in the British parliamentary election of 1924, in constituencies where the successful candidate received 30—60 per cent of the votes cast, the poll was about 80 per cent, but in the constituencies where the winner received 70—100 per cent of the votes, only 60—70 per cent. A similar tendency has been observed in French, German, and Swiss elections.

The shrinking of the poll in the absence of party competition is most marked in constituencies where one party has held a decisive majority for a very long time, and where consequently opposition to this party seems more or less futile. In certain American so-called one party states one can hardly speak of an election campaign. Particularly in certain southern states where the ascendancy of the democratic party is clear, the poll in presidential or congressional elections may be as low as 5—20 per cent; participation is often much higher in the primary elections by which the candidates of the ruling party are nominated. According to an investigation by Gosnell on the election of 1920 to the House of Representatives in certain states, popular participation was 61.4 per cent in electoral districts where the winner received 50—59.9 per cent of the votes cast; the larger the majority of the winner, the smaller the poll; in districts where one party received 90—100 per cent of the votes cast, the poll was only 8.5 per cent. Similar tendencies have been observed in Switzerland, in districts where one party has been in a dominating position for a very long time.

The extent of *chronic abstention from voting*, and the question within which groups of electors it is to be found, never has been very closely investigated. On one or two occasions, however, the problem has been touched on. In

the city of *Zurich* report on the election to the municipal representation on the 24th of September 1933, the question has been treated, to which extent persons who did not vote in this election had also failed to vote in a federal referendum of 28th of May of the same year.²⁴ In the municipal election 8,830 qualified electors, i. e. 11.3 per cent, failed to vote; of those 2,688, i. e. about 30 per cent, — 3.5 per cent of the electorate — had not voted in the referendum. A detailed investigation showed that the difference between separate groups — social groups, age groups, residents and others — was considerably larger in regard to chronic abstention than in regard to one-time abstention, i. e. among the chronic abstainers chiefly those groups which had many non-voters in the municipal election, were represented. In regard to age and social groups this has been observed above. In the city of *Mülheim an der Ruhr* a similar investigation has been made on popular participation in the elections to the German Reichstag in May and December of 1924.²⁵ In the December election altogether 21,382 qualified electors failed to vote, 22.1 per cent of the males, and 32.8 per cent of the women; of these 9,629 persons, 40.6 per cent of the males and 48 per cent of the women, failed to vote in the May election also. In regard to chronic abstention within different groups, available data seem to indicate the same general tendency as in *Zurich*. — In the *Chicago* investigation referred to above the problem of chronic abstention is referred to, but its extent is not established, though it is stated that chronic non-voting was common particularly in the youngest and the oldest age groups.²⁶

On the *individual reasons for abstention from voting* assertions, based on general deliberations only, have been made by various authors, as shown in the chapter on compulsory voting. Some investigators, however, have made this question the object of empirical inquiry, the non-voters being asked to state their reasons for not voting. As far as known the first work of this type is that published by Würzburger, based on a questionnaire put to about 1,500 persons in Dresden who had not voted in the Reichstag

election of 1907.²⁷ A more extensive inquiry regarding the mayoral election in Chicago in 1923, was carried out by Merriam and Gosnell.²⁸ In order to illustrate the method employed and the results arrived at, I reproduce below certain figures from this work. The material consisted of answers from 5,310 non-voters; the table gives the chief reasons advanced for non-voting, and the number of persons (in per cent of the whole number) giving the respective reasons.

Reasons for not voting	Per cent distribution
<i>Physical difficulties</i>	25.4
Illness	12.1
Absence	11.1
Detained by helpless member of family	2.2
<i>Legal and administrative obstacles</i>	12.6
Insufficient legal residence	5.2
Fear of loss of business or wages	5.5
Congestion at polls	0.8
Poor location of polling booth	0.8
Fear of disclosure of age	0.3
<i>Disbelief in voting</i>	17.7
Disbelief in woman's voting	7.8
Objections of husband	1.0
Disgust with politics	4.3
Disgust with own party	2.0
Belief that one vote counts for nothing	1.5
Belief that ballot box is corrupted	0.7
Disbelief in all political action	0.4
<i>Inertia</i>	44.3
General indifference	25.4
Indifference to particular election	2.5
Neglect: intended to vote but failed	8.4
Ignorance or timidity regarding elections	7.1
Failure of party workers	0.9

Finally, a general comparison between *electoral participation in different countries and at different times*. Such a comparison will offer a basis for a discussion of the *effect of different franchise conditions and election systems on electoral participation*. Below figures are given for the voting frequency during certain periods or in separate elections for a number of states from which complete or relatively complete data are available; all figures refer to the representative body or the more democratic chamber. Important changes in regard to franchise or election system are noted in parenthesis. Countries with compulsory elec-

tion have been excluded; Switzerland and Austria, where compulsory election has only partially been introduced, have not been counted among these.

*England*²⁹ (majority system).

1895	78.0	1922	71.3
1900	74.4	1923	70.8
1906	83.3	1924	76.6
1910 a)	85.6	1929 (univ. suffrage for women)	76.1
1910 b)	81.0	1931	80.0
1918 (universal suffrage for men and for women over 30)	57.6		

*Canada*³⁰
(maj. system)

1921	70.3
1925	68.8
1926	70.1
1930	76.1

*Australia*³¹
(maj. system)

1913	73.5
1914	73.5
1917	78.3
1919	71.6
1922	59.4
(Since then compulsory voting)	

*Irish Free State*³²
(prop. repr.)

1927 a)	68.1
1927 b)	69.0
1932	76.5
1933	81.3

*New Zealand*³³
(maj. system)

1908	79.3
1911	83.0
1914	81.3
1919	80.5
1922	88.6
1925	91.0
1928	88.0
1931	83.2

*France*³⁴
(in main majority system with second ballot)

1876	76.0	1906	79.9
1877	80.0	1910	77.5
1881	69.0	1914	77.3
1885	78.0	1919 (semi-prop. system)	70.7
1889	76.6	1924	83.0
1893	77.1	1928 (maj. syst.)	83.7
1898	72.3	1932	83.5
1902	80.0		

*Germany*³⁵ (before 1919 majority system with second ballot).

1871	50.8	1912	84.5
1874	60.9	1919 (women's vote, suffrage age lowered)	83.0
1877	60.4	1920	79.3
1878	63.1	1924 a)	77.4
1881	56.1	1924 b)	78.8
1884	60.4	1928	75.6
1887	77.2	1930	82.0
1890	71.3	1932 a)	84.0
1893	72.2	1932 b)	80.6
1898	67.8	1933	88.7
1903	75.8		
1907	84.4		

*Switzerland*³⁶ (before 1919 majority system)

1905	56.2	1919	80.4
1908	52.5	1922	76.5
1911	52.8	1925	76.8
1914	46.6	1928	78.8
1917	60.0	1931	78.8

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Austria (prop. repr.)³⁷

1919	84.4
1920	80.3
1923	87.0
1927	89.2
1930	89.9

*Estonia*³⁸ (prop. repr.)

1923	67.8
1926	73.6
1929	69.3
1932	67.4

*Latvia*³⁹ (prop. repr.)

1920	84.9
1922	82.2
1925	74.9
1928	79.4
1931	80.0

*Poland*⁴⁰ (prop. repr.)

1922	67.9
1928	78.5
1930	74.8

Sweden (before 1911 majority system)⁴¹

1872—1890	28.8	1914 b)	66.2
1893	42.4	1917	65.8
1896	45.3	1920	55.3
1899	40.3	1921 (male suffrage extended, women's vote)	54.2
1902	47.2	1924	53.0
1905	50.4	1928	67.4
1908	61.3	1932	67.6
1911 (suffrage extended)	57.0		
1914 a)	69.9		

*Denmark*⁴² (before 1920 maj. syst.)

1872	40.4	1909	71.1
1873	51.7	1910	74.8
1876	48.6	1913	75.0
1879	47.2	1915	
1881 a)	47.8	1918 (suffrage extended, wo- men's vote)	75.4
1881 b)	55.6	1920 a)	80.6
1884	59.0	1920 b)	74.9
1887	69.6	1920 c)	77.0
1890	66.3	1924	78.6
1892	63.8	1926	77.0
1895	59.9	1929	79.7
1898	59.7	1932	81.5
1901	61.1	1935	80.7
1903	63.9		
1906	69.7		

*Norway*⁴³ (before 1919 majority system with second ballot)

1906	64.8
1909 (limited suffrage for women)	62.9
1912	64.5
1915 (universal suffrage for women)	59.2
1918	59.7
1921 (suffrage age lowered)	67.9
1924	69.8
1927	68.0
1930	77.6
1933	76.4

*Finland*⁴⁴ (prop. repr.)

1907	70.7	1917	69.2
1908	64.4	1919	67.1
1909	65.3	1922	58.5
1910	60.1	1924	57.4
1911	59.8	1927	55.8
1913	51.1	1929	55.6
1916	55.5	1930	65.9

As pointed out in another connection the degree of electoral participation cannot be exactly fixed for the *United States*, because a person is registered as a qualified elector only on his own demand. Nevertheless, several attempts have been made on the basis of the population figures to fix roughly the number of individuals qualified for franchise, and estimates of the size of the participation have thus been made. According to Gosnell, whose figures coincide on the whole with those of other authors, participation in the presidential elections 1892—1928, was as follows:⁴⁵

1892	86.2	1912	64.7
1896	89.5	1916	69.6
1900	84.6	1920	56.9
1904	75.3	1924	56.6
1908	74.8	1928	67.5

In 1932 participation was somewhat higher, approaching 70 per cent.

It should be added that as a rule the poll is smaller in the congressional elections than in those for the presidency.

No general and fixed *evolutionary tendency in regard to electoral participation* is to be observed. However, in several countries where the voting frequency is known for some longer period, electoral participation on the whole has increased; that is the case in France and in the Scandinavian countries. In particular it is noteworthy that in many instances voting frequency has been rising or remained constant although the franchise has been extended to social groups which notoriously show less interest in voting than those previously enfranchised. In these cases it may be assumed that a considerable rise in voting frequency has taken place within the electoral groups enfranchised already

before the extension of the suffrage. For instance, in regard to Germany it can be said with certainty that the males over 25, enfranchised before 1919, have voted to 85—90 per cent after 1919, while the newly enfranchised women and young men have lowered the average poll. The statement not infrequently heard that the constitution of 1919, and above all the system of proportional representation, lessened political interest in Germany, consequently is completely unfounded.⁴⁶ The same applies to several other countries, e. g. Great Britain and the Scandinavian states. Sometimes the introduction of women's suffrage seems to have reduced the average voting frequency for some time (Sweden, Norway), but on the whole participation has increased after the respective suffrage reforms. In general the figures given constitute a decisive denial of the common notion that political interest has been slackening in late years.

This touches the question of the relation between *suffrage and electoral participation*. The extensions of the suffrage lately carried through in various countries, would be assumed in themselves to be of such nature as to reduce the voting frequency — women, youths, the very poor showing a comparatively high proportion of non-voters. Evidently, however, important factors have acted in the other direction. In certain cases the extension of the suffrage may have been accompanied by a sharpening of the political differences, and consequently heightened political interest. The perfection of modern propaganda technique, undoubtedly also has been of importance. It must be remembered, too, that voting has been made easier in different ways, by increases in the number of polling places and improvements in communications. It is not possible to give a definite estimate of the importance of these and other factors tending to increase electoral participation.

Assertions on the connection between suffrage regulations and electoral participation, based on insufficient evidence, are not infrequently found in the literature. For instance, it has been stated that "the granting of additional votes for property and educational qualifications increases in-

terest in elections".⁴⁷ As a proof the high proportion of voters under plural vote systems in Belgium, Saxony, and Hamburg, is cited. As a matter of fact electoral participation was somewhat higher in Belgium 1892—1912, under the plural vote system then in force, than after the democratization of 1918. However, the difference is very small (about 2 per cent), and it is to be noted that the figures for voting frequency before 1919 refer to the number of votes cast, not the number of voters; in all probability the difference is due simply to the fact that individuals with more than one vote, voted with relatively high frequency.⁴⁸ In Saxony plural voting was practised only in one and in Hamburg in a few elections; on these occasions the voting frequency was higher than in earlier elections — when the election laws were less democratic — but lower than in several elections under the republic.

Nor is it possible to establish a general connection between *electoral participation and election system*. In certain states with majority system the level of participation is high, in others it is very low. Similar differences are to be observed between states with proportional representation. One important difference between majority system and proportional representation theoretically appears as self-evident, and it is confirmed by practical investigation. As already said, under a majority system electoral participation frequently is very low in regions where one party has a definite majority, and where, consequently, the minority party or parties believe that they have no chance of success. The United States offer the best example of this condition; in certain "one party states" one of the political parties has dominated for a long time, and electoral interest has become less and less. It has been strongly maintained, probably with reason, that the introduction of proportional representation in these states would conduce to raising the proportion of voters. Similar conditions reduce the average voting frequency in other countries also; it should be remembered that the figures given for electoral participation in Great Britain and certain British dominions, refer only to those constituencies where voting

has taken place, and that these figures would be somewhat lower if the number of voters were put in relation to the whole number of qualified electors, If, however, the parties are distributed over the whole country in such a way that a real electoral contest takes place everywhere, naturally a very high poll may be reached under a majority system. If a relative majority is not sufficient, but — as is the case in France and formerly in Germany — a second ballot is held when no candidate has reached an absolute majority in the first round, the chances of very low participation in certain regions are considerably reduced.

Under a proportional system obviously the situation, from this point of view, is different. Interest in the election is not diminished by one party having a decided and permanent ascendancy in an electoral district, so long as other parties have a chance of winning one or more mandates within the district; in that case the contest will be not for the majority, but for the uncertain mandate or mandates.

Switzerland offers the best example of proportional representation under certain conditions leading to a considerable rise in voting frequency. Before 1919, when the proportional system was introduced, the average poll in the national council elections was only somewhat more than 50 per cent; after that it has been more than 78 per cent. The difference becomes still more marked if only the cantons without compulsory voting are included in the comparison. In several of these one party had a firm majority in the whole canton or in certain districts, and the voting frequency was only 30—40 per cent (Berne, Freiburg, Tessin, Vaud); in these cantons the number of voters was doubled or more after the introduction of proportional representation.⁴⁹ It is characteristic that in the small cantons without compulsory voting, electing only one representative in the national council (Appenzell, Uri, Nidwalden, and Oberwalden), electoral participation after the electoral reform still is only about 40 per cent, while the voting frequency in the other cantons without compulsory voting exceeds 75 per cent. It seems probable that the considerable increase in electoral participation in Norway from the

election of 1921, is to some extent dependent on the introduction of proportional representation.

Once again it must be stressed that these examples do not prove the existence of any general correlation between proportional representation and a high level of electoral participation, but only that a combination of a specific political situation and proportionalism, has occasioned a rise of the poll. Other situations may be imagined in which a change from proportionalism to a majority system would contribute to an decrease in the size of the poll; for instance this might happen if only two parties were contending for power, and if these were fairly equal in strength over the whole country. But undoubtedly the situation in which proportionalism may be expected to stimulate the electoral interest, is more common. In any case there is no foundation for the assertion — often heard in Sweden — that proportional representation has a depressing effect on the electoral interest as compared with the majority system.

At one time it was generally held that a maximum poll was desirable from a democratic point of view. The reasons are obvious; popular government was regarded as a failure if popular opinion could not be ascertained, and a higher poll was assumed to afford clearer evidence regarding this opinion. These views can now hardly be accepted without reservations. An exceptionally high voting frequency may indicate an intensification of political controversy which may involve a danger to the democratic system. The enormous election figures in Austria 1923—1930 and in Germany 1930—1933 were symptoms of a political tension heightened in the extreme, and foreshadowed the fall of the democratic régimes. Another circumstance is of importance. So long as electoral participation is "normal", the parties will in the main direct their energies to conquering the politically indifferent groups, but when practically all the electors are politically engaged, not only will the competition for the indifferent be intensified, but in addition the efforts to win over electors from the opposing camp will become predominant. After the Austrian elec-

tion of 1923 an author pointed out that the votes of the elements unaffected by political agitation, were no longer decisive for the further prospects of the parties. Their progress "will depend rather on the extent to which it will be possible to make electors already determined for one party, leave that party, and further which party will achieve the stronger influence on the growing generation, on the electors of to-morrow. The political contest must become harder and harder when the parties can no longer, as before, work more or less side by side, but have to work altogether against each other."⁶⁰ These points of view, of course are of importance above all when the electoral masses are comparatively firmly attached to separate parties. In countries where a great number of electors do not feel bound to a certain party but — as seems to be the case in Great Britain, France, and the United States — to a great extent make their choice in each election according to their views on the particular election issues, a high degree of electoral participation cannot be judged in the same manner.

¹ BRUSEWITZ, Folkomröstningsinstitutet i den schweiziska demokratin, 1923, p. 212, cf p. 216.

² Cf the electoral statistics referred to above and *Übersicht der Referendumvorlagen und Initiativbegehren von 1909—1932 und der eidgenössischen Abstimmungen seit 1848*, p. 29 seqq. A vote regarding a so called "Gegenentwurf" has not been counted, because it is not clear whether it ought to be counted as popular initiative or obligatory referendum; the poll was 41.8 per cent.

³ Cf TINGSTEN, Folkomröstningsinstitutet i Nordamerikas Förenta Stater, 1923, p. 296; SCHUMACHER, Thirty years of the people's rule in Oregon: an analysis. Political science quarterly 1932, p. 245 and the yearly surveys in the American Political Science Review.

⁴ Cf *Commonwealth of Australia*, Statistical returns in relation to the senate elections, 1934 . . . together with summaries of elections and referendums 1903—1934 (1935).

⁵ Cf electoral statistics indicated, and *Eesti statistika* 1923, No. 14, p. 61, and 1933 No. 145, p. 608.

⁶ *Bureau de statistique de l'État*, Élections à la Saïema de la république Lettonie en 1925, and the corresponding publications for 1928 and 1931; the voting figures for the referendums have been obtained through the Swedish legation in Riga.

⁷ Why Europe Votes, 1930, pp. 142—176.

⁸ Urbanization, 1927, particularly pp. 322 seqq., p. 340.

⁹ Die Welt in Zahlen, Siebentes Buch, p. 105.

¹⁰ SOROKIN and ZIMMERMAN, Principles of rural-urban Sociology, 1931, p. 447.

¹¹ Bock, Wahlstatistik, 1919, pp. 117 seqq. 140.

¹³ SÉGOR, De l'abstention en matière électorale, 1906, p. 157 seq. Journal de la société de statistique de Paris 1920, p. 212; LACHAPPELLE, Elections législatives, 1924, 1928, 1932.

¹⁴ *Danmarks Statistik, Folketingsvalget den 22 Oktober 1935*, p. 12. Formerly the electoral participation was given for provincial towns and rural districts separately; cf *Danmarks Statistik, Folketingsvalgene den 20 Maj 1913*, p. 12, and BANG og ELBERLING, *Riksdagsvalgene 1895—1910*, p. 13.

¹⁵ *Élections à la Saeima de la république Lettonie en 1925*, pp. 3 seqq.

¹⁶ *Statistique de la Pologne, Statistiques des élections . . . effectuée le 5 et le 12 novembre 1922*, p. VIII; *Statistiques des élections effectuées le 4 et le 11 mars 1928*, p. XXXVIII.

¹⁷ *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik 1882*, p. 78; *Statistik der Nationalratswahlen 1919, 1922, 1925 and 1928*, p. 20; GOSNELL, *Why Europe votes*, pp. 140 seqq.; SOROKIN and ZIMMERMAN, *Principles of rural-urban sociology*, p. 447.

¹⁸ *Statistische Mitteilungen betreffend den Kanton Zürich*, Heft 136, p. 7.

¹⁹ *Mitteilungen des statistischen Bureaus des Kantons Bern*, No. 12, pp. 10 seqq., No. 17, pp. 12 seq.

²⁰ HALLSTEN, *Valen till lantdagen i Nylands läns valkrets 1911*, p. 7, and corresponding reports on the elections of 1913, p. 7, 1916, p. 10, 1917, p. 11, 1919, p. 11.

²¹ *Züricher statistische Nachrichten 1926*, No. 4, pp. 166 seq.; *Statistik der Stadt Zürich*, Heft 41, pp. 40 seq.

²² ARNESON, *Non-voting in a typical Ohio community*, *The American Political Science Review 1925*, pp. 819, 823; MERRIAM and GOSNELL, *Non-voting, 1927*, pp. 29 seqq.; GOSNELL, *Getting Out the Vote, 1927*, pp. 81 seqq.

²³ *Mitteilungen des statistisches Amtes des Kantons Basel-Stadt*, No. 24, pp. 24 seqq.; No. 54, p. 26; *Züricher statistischer Nachrichten 1926*, No. 4, pp. 165 seq.; *Statistik der Stadt Zürich*, Heft 41, pp. 39 seq.

²⁴ ARNESON, *Non-voting in a typical Ohio Community*, *The American Political Science Review*, pp. 818, 823; MERRIAM and GOSNELL, *Non-voting*, pp. 31 seqq.

²⁵ *Why Europe Votes*, pp. 14, 49 seq., 74, 199 seqq.; cf Bock, *Wahlstatistik*, pp. 109 seqq., *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik 1882*, p. 78.

²⁶ *Statistik der Stadt Zürich*, Heft 41, pp. 41 seqq.

²⁷ *Mitteilungen zur Statistik der Stadt Mülheim an der Ruhr*, No. 1, pp. 9 seqq.

²⁸ MERRIAM and GOSNELL, *Non-voting*, pp. 29 seqq.

²⁹ *Die "Partei der Nichtwähler"*, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik 1907*.

³⁰ *Non-voting*; the data referred to will be found on p. 34.

³¹ Cf GOSNELL, *Why Europe Votes*, p. 5 and sources indicated (for 1931 *Constitutional Yearbook*). English electoral statistics are too defective for absolutely certain data to be obtained. The figures here given refer only to contested constituencies; the constituencies where no voting took place, are not counted. The same applies for Canada and Australia.

³² *The Canada Yearbook 1934—1935*, p. 85.

³³ Cf electoral statistics indicated above.

³⁴ *Irish Free State*, *Statistical Abstract 1931*, p. 25, 1934, p. 31.

³⁵ Cf electoral statistics previously referred to.

³⁶ LACHAPPELLE, *Élections législatives 1:er et 8 mai 1932*, p. XV; the figures differ in certain cases from those given by GOSNELL in *Why Europe votes*, p. 41; cf also SÉGOR, *De l'abstention en matière électorale*, p. 22 seqq. A kind of proportionalism was practiced in France in the elections of 1919 and 1924, but the proportional principle was very incompletely applied.

³⁵ See *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* 1927, pp. 496 seqq., and the electoral statistics referred to above.

³⁶ Cf electoral statistics previously referred to.

³⁷ Cf electoral statistics previously referred to, and WOYTINSKY, *Die Welt in Zahlen*, Siebentes Buch, p. 68.

³⁸ Cf electoral statistics previously referred to.

³⁹ Cf *Bureau de statistique de l'Etat*. Élections à la Saeima de la république Lettonie en 1925, pp. 3 seqq., en 1928, p. 9, en 1931, p. VI.

⁴⁰ Cf *Statistique de la Pologne*, Statistique des élections . . . effectuées le 16 et le 23 novembre 1930, p. XXXI.

⁴¹ Cf electoral statistics previously referred to and THERMAENIUS. *Lantmannapartiet*, 1928, p. 435.

⁴² Cf *Danmarks Statistik, Statistiske Meddelelser*, for the different elections to the Folketing and BANG og ELBERLING, *Riksdagsvalgene 1895—1910*, pp. 10 seqq.

⁴³ Cf *Norges offisielle statistik* for the different Storting elections.

⁴⁴ Cf *Finlands officiella statistik* for the different elections to the lantdag and the riksdag.

⁴⁵ GOSNELL, *Why Europe Votes*, p. 196; cf RICE, *Quantitative Methods in Politics*, 1928, p. 246, *Memorandum prepared June 1, 1928 . . . by the National League of Women Voters* (not printed). For the election of 1932 see TITUS, *Voting Behavior in the United States*, 1935, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Cf e. g. KAISENBERG, *Wahlreform*, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 1931, p. 457.

⁴⁷ GOSNELL, *Why Europe Votes*, p. 182.

⁴⁸ This is pointed out by GOSNELL, *Why Europe Votes*, p. 104.

⁴⁹ Cf electoral statistics previously referred to.

⁵⁰ DANNEBERG, *Das österreichische Wahlergebnis, Der Kampf 1924*, p. 155.

CONCLUSION.

The more important results of the present investigation are very briefly as follows. In the chapter on the effects of woman suffrage it has been shown that the women nowhere make use of their vote to the same extent as the men; as a rule the difference in voting frequency between the sexes in recent years seems to have amounted to about ten per cent. A tendency towards equalization has been noticeable in several countries, but cannot be said to be general. Wherever investigations on this point have been possible woman suffrage proves to have favoured the bourgeois parties, particularly those having a religious tint; above all in catholic regions this has been of great importance. As data from different quarters indicate that as a rule the women in the lower social classes vote far less than the men of the same class, it may be assumed that in general woman suffrage has acted as a conservative factor in politics, though its importance in this respect may have varied a good deal in different countries. The chapter on the age classes shows that according to a large amount of concurrent data electoral participation is low in the youngest age groups, then rises to a maximum in the middle-aged groups (40—50 years), and after that steadily declines. The Swedish electoral statistics indicate that the younger age groups are more inclined to the radical and extreme movements than the older. Whether this is a general tendency cannot be decided, but having regard to opinions very generally expressed, this may be regarded as probable. Scattered data indicate a correlation between civil status and electoral participation. Especially it may be stated that the married show more active political interest than

the unmarried, and that this difference seems to be particularly pronounced among the women; it is to be assumed that the wives are affected by the political interest of the husbands. The analysis of the electoral participation of the different social classes has proved that as a rule the political interest grows with rising social standard. Evidently this circumstance also is of a nature to favour the conservative parties; the elements among which these in the first place seek their support, are politically more active than the lower social groups which constitute the bulk of the *clientèle* of the radical and above all the socialist parties. In certain cases a close correlation between political attitude and social position has been established.

All the facts here gathered indicate the existence of a rule which may be termed the law of dispersion; according to this rule the dispersion (the differences) in regard to participation in an election or within a certain group, is smaller the higher the general participation is. For instance, if the voting frequency has been high in a certain election, the difference in participation between different categories of electors (men and women, social groups, age groups etc.) is comparatively low. In reality this is a natural phenomenon; the chances of dispersion obviously are inversely proportional to the electoral participation. However, the rule is of considerable value as a point of departure in the analysis of different elections. For instance, basing on this knowledge it may safely be said that the big socialist success in the 1936 second chamber election in Sweden — when participation probably was nearly 10 per cent higher than in the election of 1932 — above all must have been due to the fact that groups which previously had shown very low participation (farm labourers, working class women etc.) have now become politically active.

A "law of the social centre of gravity" may also be formulated. In regard to the social groups there is evidence from various quarters that the electoral participation within a group rises with the relative strength of the group in the electoral district. Certain data also seem to indicate that the attachment of a particular group to the party which

on the whole may be regarded as representing the group most closely, rises with the strength of the group within the area. For instance, the workers vote more consistently socialist in proletarian than in more well-to-do districts. A related fact is that — according to certain data — the women within the working class vote more strongly socialist the stronger socialism is within the electoral area.

General explanations of the tendencies found have not been attempted. But it has seemed necessary to dismiss certain explanations, particularly of the type which implies simply a paraphrasing of certain concrete circumstances in abstract phraseology, and further to stress the possibility that certain tendencies may be correlated, and to point out certain obvious connections. On certain points — e. g. in regard to the religious tendencies of the women — guidance may be found in works on social psychology; it is outside our competence and intentions further to pursue these subjects.

The two last chapters of the book hardly demand any commentary. They have been intended only to supplement earlier investigations, and to collect the results of certain inquiries on electoral matters.

LEADERSHIP IN A SMALL TOWN

AARON WILDAVSKY

Who rules in a small American town? How do its leaders arise, and in what ways are they different from other people? This instructive book gives answers based on searching reviews of the handling of nine political issues in an Ohio town. The issues are familiar to most towns; they range from questions about off-street parking to major utilities, from united charity appeals to Negro housing. In the sometimes dramatic handling of these issues, two men stand out as more influential than others and they become subject to detailed role studies. These leaders turn out as well-known types: one centrally placed local official and one perpetually energetic activist. The vivid description of the men and the issues is set against an historical background, and supplemented by an interview survey of rulers and ruled. Everything blends into a complete picture of community politics and power.

The author draws many parallels to other community studies and formulates several general propositions about power in American towns. These generalizations about pluralist power correct the impressions given by some recent books about communities. Professor Wildavsky finds considerable advantages in the middletowns of mass-society, advantages enriching creativity and the ability of citizens to direct their own future. This realistic optimism about the potentials of local government makes his a welcome book both for the student and the practitioner of local politics.

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