

REGIONS AND MILIEUX IN WEIMAR GERMANY:
THE NAZI PARTY VOTE OF 1930 IN GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE¹⁾

With 2 supplements (XI, XII)

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Zusammenfassung: Regionen und Milieus in der Weimarer Republik: Wählerstimmen im Jahr 1930 für die NSDAP aus geographischer Sicht

Obwohl sehr viel über die NSDAP, ihre Mitglieder und die Unterstützung durch verschiedene Bevölkerungsschichten der Weimarer Republik geschrieben wurde, gibt es nur wenige Arbeiten zur geographischen Verteilung der NSDAP-Wählerstimmen. Das gegenwärtige Interesse der politischen Geographie am „Milieu“- bzw. „Kontext“-Konzept regte eine erneute Betrachtung der regionalen Differenzierung der Wählerstimmen des Jahres 1930 mit den entscheidenden Stimmengewinnen der NSDAP an. Unter Verwendung von Arc/Info GIS wurden Detailkarten der NSDAP-Stimmenanteile auf Kreisbasis (743 Kreise) erstellt, die ein komplexes räumliches Muster mit mannigfachen Abweichungen vom regionalen und nationalen Trend zeigen. Der gleichzeitige Entwurf von Karten bedeutender sozioökonomischer Bestimmungsfaktoren (Verteilung der protestantischen Bevölkerung, der sozialen Mittelschichten und der Wahlbeteiligung) führte zu der Erkenntnis, daß „lokale Konstellationen“ NSDAP-Stimmenanteile erklärbar machen. Die komplexen Karten und nur schwache statistische Zusammenhänge zwischen den Stimmenanteilen und den einzelnen sozioökonomischen Erklärungsvariablen führten zur Entwicklung regional- und kontext-spezifischer Erklärungsmuster der NSDAP-Stimmenanteile. Untersuchungen auf nationaler Ebene können die Spannweite und den Charakter der gesellschaftlichen Struktur der Weimarer Republik allein nicht erfassen. Die geographische Betrachtungsweise weist auf lokale und identifizierbare Milieu-Effekte hin, die zum Verständnis eines der bemerkenswertesten politischen Phänomene des 20. Jahrhunderts beitragen können.

In the past half-century, hundreds of studies have been completed on the electoral support for the NSDAP (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* or Nazi party) in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. Early works (POLLOCK 1944 and BRECHT 1945) described the regional patterns but did not try to understand regional differences in the strength of the Nazi party appeal. Typically, however, studies concentrated on the socio-economic composition of the electorate as predictors of the aggregate vote proportion of the NSDAP (see, for example, BROWN 1982; FALTER 1986, 1991). Only PASSCHIER (1980) challenged the dominant national-level analyses and examined the Nazi party vote in 68 regions as deviations from the Weimar Republic average. Our research aims to in-

crease explanation of the make-up of the Nazi vote by adding context to the usual compositional (socio-economic categorizations - THRIFT 1983) influences in the analysis.

Two important, related, and unresolved issues that motivated this article concern a) the importance of place (we will also use the term *milieu*) in explaining political behaviour and b) the uncertain make-up of the Nazi electorate. The vast majority of the numerous studies which aim to decipher the make-up of the Nazi constituency ignore geographic variation in that electorate, eliminating from consideration any additional explanation gained by considering context. Recent developments on theoretical and methodological fronts in electoral geography have called into question the rejection of regional factors. A recent paper by O'LOUGHLIN, FLINT and ANSELIN (1994) was able to show that the national surface of the NSDAP vote proportions was very complex and not very well related to the distributions of the socio-economic categories that have been usually chosen to explain the vote distribution. Instead, a complex mix of compositional and regional variables must be picked to develop an adequate explanatory model. Local, regional and compositional elements work in a complicated manner to affect the electoral outcomes. This work and other recent studies by electoral geographers of elections in the United Kingdom (COX 1969; JOHNSTON a. PATIE 1992), the United States (ARCHER a. TAYLOR 1981), Italy (AGNEW 1987, 1994), the Netherlands (PASSCHIER a. VAN DER WUSTEN 1990), Russia (KOLOSOV 1993), and Ireland (O'LOUGHLIN a. PARKER 1990) have highlighted the varying role of contexts and regions in the explanation of the aggregate voting decision.

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In this paper, we continue the recent emphasis on place and region in the further examination of the distribution of the vote for the NSDAP in the 1930 Reichstag election. We contend that the complexity of this voting distribution can only be understood with such an emphasis. The patterns displayed on the maps accompanying this paper should give pause to any researcher seeking simple or singular answers to the question of "who voted for Hitler?" The first step in the contextual analysis of voting behaviour using aggregate data is an examination of the spatial nature of both the dependent (Nazi vote in this case) and explanatory variables. In an exploratory spatial analysis (ANSELIN a. GETIS 1992), this initial step is usually accomplished by mapping the key variables.

In this article, we use the Arc/Info GIS (Geographical Information System) software to map the 1930 Nazi party vote and three important explanatory variables, namely, religion, class, and electoral turnout (Supplement XI and XII). This method constitutes a contemporary methodological use of a traditional skill in electoral geography, that of map comparison. The clues that these maps provide to the understanding of the Nazi vote in relation to the importance of a contextual analysis are then discussed. The maps that we have constructed illustrate the spatial variation of socio-economic indicators that have shown to be useful predictors of the Nazi party vote (O'LOUGHLIN, FLINT a. ANSELIN 1994). We supplement these maps with a simple statistical modelling derived from the earlier study which emphasized a search for a "best model" of socio-economic and contextual influences. Our intention in this article is to revive and promote regional study of aggregate data on the Nazi party vote because of the additional explanation that a contextual approach offers. Our approach, then, is complementary to the hundreds of local studies of this phenomenon completed to date (GRILL 1986).

Context in electoral geography

When dealing with aggregate data, the political geography perspective blends both regional heterogeneity and local dependence. Regional heterogeneity refers to the instability of parameters across the whole data set; in other words, this factor shows how the socio-economic composition of the Nazi electorate was not consistent across the whole of Germany. If regional heterogeneity can be demonstrated, one of the assumptions of the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression procedure, that of homoscedasticity, is violated. Local

dependence refers to the so-called "neighbourhood effect", the influence of place-specific institutions and populations that interact to modify political behaviour. This can be the result of various combinations of factors, such as traditional party strength, social communication networks, well-established local political cultures, and compositional effects.

The perspective adopted in our work and similar geographic studies of voting has ramifications beyond the specific study of Nazi voting behaviour. Electoral studies usually assume a homogenous national electorate in which voters of the same class and religion in different parts of the country are believed to vote in the same manner; stated another way, the socio-economic composition of a particular party's support is consistent across space. Geographers, by contrast, promote context as the unifying theme of electoral geography, examining the extent to which geographic location affects voting behaviour. The central premise of the electoral geographer is that place-specific social relations and interactions are influences upon voting behaviour which must be considered along with the socio-economic characteristics of the electorate. Place or milieu is the dominant geographic scale at which context is viewed as influential in voting behaviour (AGNEW 1987; MERCER a. AGNEW 1988), though other spatial scales such as neighbourhood (HUCKFELDT a. SPRAGUE 1987; EAGLES 1990) and region (PASSCHIER 1980; JOHNSTON 1991) have also been used.

AGNEW (1987) criticizes the dominant approach to voting behaviour for its focus on psychological factors affecting individual voters. For AGNEW and other electoral geographers, political behaviour, including voting, is also a product of social interaction within milieux. Geographers add regional cleavages to the most widely-accepted model for West European democracies, four cleavages (capitalist-worker, urban-rural, religious-secular, and core-periphery) that define the main dimensions of voter decision-making (LIPSET a. ROKKAN 1967). The milieu concept is strongly opposed to the compositional cleavage model by its emphasis on "overlapping of social, religious and regional factors and, in addition, is not bound to define groups in terms of polarities or conflict . . . voting is primarily to be seen as an expression, not of party identification, but of group identification" (ROHE 1990, 12-13). Non-material interests, frequently ignored by psephologists, are considered to be important.

Contextual influences can be viewed as a change in the flow of information which will consequently affect political behaviour (BOOKS a. PRYSBY 1991). For AGNEW (1987), place or milieu is the nexus of the

structuring of social relations. The three component parts of place are a) location, the role of a place in the global division of labour; b) locale, the institutional setting within which social interactions occurs; and c) a sense of place, the subjective orientation that can be engendered by living in a place (AGNEW 1987, 5). Milieu in this definition allows for a wide consideration of institutions including religious, family, political party, as well as other social networks. Aspects of both location and locale influence the content and flow of the information received by individuals in milieux and the way in which they will evaluate it. But whence does this information flow? Within political geography, there remains some disagreement about its sources (COX 1969 and JOHNSTON 1986). Though the notion of contextual influences is little contested (but see McALLISTER 1987), empirical evidence has been unable to certify the sources of the influences, which seem to vary from setting to setting.

Milieux retain special voting styles that are not obviously the result of socio-economic conditions. Why do differing milieux develop? Two competing hypotheses are offered (JOHNSTON 1986 and COX 1969). COX, who did the pioneering work in this area of electoral geography, preferred an "acquaintance-circle" explanation based on his studies in the United Kingdom. He believed that voters were influenced by the dominant local norms, so that, for example, working-class immigrants to a middle-class neighbourhood would quickly adopt the dominant values and party preferences of the area through constant exposure to them in their social network interactions. JOHNSTON (1986) strongly argued for the "forced field bias" explanation dismissed by COX. In this explanation, the role of parties is most significant. Parties work hard to convert newcomers to an area in order to bring them into the local political culture. Parties can be viewed as manipulators of the local agenda so that they create, over time, a local political environment within which voters and newcomers are socialized. This continual reciprocal action between voters and political parties at the local level perpetuates the special character of the individual milieux. BRUSTEIN (1990) has used a similar interpretation of place-effects to discuss the influence of community networks upon Nazi party membership in Schleswig-Holstein.

The historical legacy and duration of the institutional setting upon political behaviour is summarized by JOHNSTON's (1991) term "local collective memory", emphasizing the structuring of information within a place and its influence upon decision-making and political action. This "local collective memory", probably caused by both party activity and social

pressures to conform to the local cultural norms, fits well ROHE's (1990) notion of the formation of "*Milieu-parteien*" in Germany before the Second World War. His definition of milieu is "nothing more than a distinct way of life shared with others and reproduced by daily practice" (ROHE 1990, 7). The basic idea of ROHE's work is that the nationalization of the German electorate began at the time of the introduction of mass politics in the *Kaiserreich* of the late nineteenth-century but that it was not prominent until after World War II. In other words, local interest groups and issues dominated through the years of Weimar and the Third Reich.

Between 1870 and 1920, Germany was industrializing rapidly and the resulting commodification of social relations marked a break with the traditional local community life that had been built up over centuries (TILLY et al. 1975). Parties had neither a consistent religious or class voter base but instead they "must be looked at as complex constellations of social, religious and regional factors which had merged into comparatively stable socio-cultural milieux" (ROHE 1990, 1). Milieu-parties interact with the local environment to change it and be modified by evolving local circumstances. Above all, according to ROHE, these locally-based parties had a very strong cultural association. An extreme manifestation of "collective memory" is *Heimat* with its promotion of loyalty to local customs and beliefs. ROHE (1990) referred to the importance of "*heimatbezogene Gemeinschaften*" (locally-based associations) in building a strong local consciousness in Imperial Germany and continuing into the Weimar period.

The validity of contextual influences upon voting behaviour is not universally accepted. McALLISTER (1987) argues that contextual effects are "vastly overestimated" and result from the failure to introduce the correct explanatory variables or a sufficient number of independent controls. McALLISTER believes that contextual influence becomes insignificant after more predictor variables are included. McALLISTER's argument does not address the theoretical frameworks of electoral geographers which portray political behaviour as a product of social interaction, rather than socio-economic categorization, no matter how many categories are used to describe an individual.

Region and milieu in studies of the Weimar electorate

Regional peculiarities in German voting behaviour have been a consistent feature since the beginning of electoral democracy before the end of the nineteenth-

century. These trends are related to the interaction of patterns of compositional, as well as contextual, influences upon voting. Regional analyses of German electoral behaviour, and the Nazi electorate in particular, have been subsumed by the dominant behavioural paradigm that is criticized by AGNEW (1987).

Studies of German politics near the end of the Second World War highlighted the geographic expression of support for, and resistance to, the NSDAP. BRECHT (1945) described the east-west trend within Germany in increased support for what he names as the "democratic parties" (the Social Democrats [SPD], the liberals and the Zentrum party). BRECHT identified five western areas where these parties held their combined majority vote until the 1932 election (Köln-Aachen, Koblenz-Trier, Westphalia-North (Münster), Baden, and Württemberg). All of these districts lie in or near the Rhine Valley, a traditional Catholic heartland of Germany, though Baden and Württemberg had large Protestant numbers. By contrast, in most of the districts in the Centre and East of Germany, as well as in the *Wahlkreis* of Düsseldorf-East, these three democratic parties failed to obtain a majority from 1920 to the end of the Weimar Republic in 1933. In a belt between these two extreme regions, as well as in the three election districts of Düsseldorf-West, Hamburg and Silesia, the democratic parties obtained a majority at least once again in Weimar elections after they had lost it in 1920. BRECHT therefore identified three broad regions of Nazi party support in Weimar Germany.

Electoral support for the NSDAP was heterogeneous; it was strongest (over 40 percent in November 1932) in two well-marked agrarian regions, the first reaching south-west from Schleswig-Holstein through Hannover and Hesse down to Pfalz and the second from Pomerania south to Silesia (BRECHT 1945). Additionally, support for the Nazis was as strong in the industrial region of Chemnitz-Zwickau in Upper Saxony. The NSDAP obtained 35-40 percent of the vote in November 1932 in the adjacent geographic cluster of Mecklenburg, Magdeburg, Thuringia and Franconia, as well as in East Prussia. In 12 of the 35 *Wahlkreise*, the combined vote of the nationalistic parties, which included the NSDAP, failed to reach a majority even in the March 1933 election. These "opposition regions" were Köln-Aachen, Koblenz-Trier, Düsseldorf-West, Düsseldorf-East, Westphalia-North, Westphalia-South, Berlin, Upper Bavaria, Lower Bavaria, Pfalz, Hamburg, and Leipzig (BRECHT 1945). Unfortunately, no explanation is given for this pattern except for a broad correlation of

these regions with high proportions of Catholics (e. g., Koblenz-Trier) and industrial workers (e. g., Hamburg) in the regions of opposition to the Nazis, and farmers in their areas of high support (e. g., East Prussia).

A second early political geography of the Nazi party vote was POLLOCK's (1944) empirical analysis of regional trends in the percentage of the Nazi party vote at the scale of the 35 *Wahlkreise*. He generally matched BRECHT's analysis, though with a notable difference; POLLOCK found Pfalz to be an area of high Nazi support. No explanation is offered for this discrepancy. POLLOCK's emphasis was on the identification of patterns at a regional scale; the existence of pockets of support that do not fit the general regional pattern were dismissed as "difficult questions" (POLLOCK 1944, 91) and, consequently, were left unanswered.

Such empirical geographic analysis as BRECHT's and POLLOCK's were not to be replicated until PASSCHIER's (1980) analysis of 68 German regions defined by administrative boundaries for the five elections between May 1928 and March 1933. PASSCHIER expressed the electoral percentages of the NSDAP as deviations or residuals from their national average. These residuals can be partly explained by differing local contexts. By emphasizing a double explanation of religion and the rural/urban divide, while also considering the electoral fortunes of other parties, PASSCHIER was able to define five political regions in Weimar Germany. They were a) "Nationalist Germany" (the NSDAP core area), including the provinces of East Prussia, Pomerania, Posen-West Prussia, and Central Franconia; b) "Small Party Germany", consisting of the rural Protestant areas along the Baltic sea and the Weser-Elbe region as well as Upper Hesse, most of Württemberg, Thuringia, parts of Saxony, Lower Saxony, and the south-west part of Berlin; c) "Middle Germany", incorporating Swabia, Protestant areas of Central Germany, Saxony, and the cities of Bremen and Hamburg; d) "Socialist Germany", chiefly the urban areas along the Rhine and its tributaries, the Ruhrgebiet, most of Berlin, and some agricultural areas in Lower Silesia, Upper Franconia, and the Pfalz region; and e) "Catholic Germany", which were the majority Catholic areas of Western and Southern Germany and Upper Silesia (PASSCHIER 1980, 297). This regionalization confirmed in broad detail the earlier wartime studies of POLLOCK and BRECHT.

Apart from these studies, most statistical analyses of the Nazi party vote have either ignored regions and milieux or treated region as an afterthought. An ex-

ample of the latter is FALTER and BÖMERMANN (1991) addition of a dummy variable to a regression of socio-economic predictors on the Nazi party vote to certify regional differences in voting behaviour between Baden and Württemberg. There are, of course, many regionally-specific analyses, such as GRILL's (1983) study of Baden and ORLOW's (1986 and 1991) work on Prussia. Geography is not directly considered in the form of a spatial regressor but such regional studies are implicit recognitions of the heterogeneity of the German national electorate in the 1920s and 1930s. O'LOUGHLIN, FLINT and ANSELIN (1994) illustrate the complexity of the Nazi electorate by estimating separate regression models for six different regions of Weimar Germany. They included local effects, where appropriate, in the form of a spatial autoregressive term, while the mix of the significant socio-economic predictors varied from region to region with only Protestantism offering a consistent predictor.

The neglect of regional and local context in the statistical analysis of the Nazi party vote is especially disappointing in light of the wealth of regional and local studies of the NSDAP. GRILL (1986) synthesized these studies in a bibliographical essay and concluded that National Socialism was "polymorphic", which the social composition of membership and the emphasis of the party's message varying from place to place. GRILL's conclusion goes a long way to support the claims of electoral geographers for the importance of "collective memory" in explaining the Nazi party support and opposition. The most explicit relationship between place and German political behaviour can be seen in ROHE's discussion of *Milieuparteien*. In Imperial Germany, according to ROHE (1990, 9), the result was "the political 'meaning' of a vote . . . could differ tremendously from region to region" (ROHE 1990, 9).

The NSDAP was an anti-milieu party in most places as it tried to build a national constituency for its policies (ROHE 1990). However, according to STACHURA (1980), the party had an uncanny ability to adjust its national *völkisch* appeal to fit local needs. Local party leaders were instrumental in blending national and regional platforms to fit the changing conditions, particularly as the economy plummeted in late 1929 and unemployment rose quickly in 1930. Thus, ironically, one needs to look carefully at the different contexts within Weimar Germany to explain the voting distributions; the NSDAP never penetrated successfully into the strongly Catholic and working-class areas, though there is some evidence that middle-class Catholic voters supported the party in the 1930s (BROWN 1982).

From the multitude of local and regional studies (see GRILL 1986), a complex regional and local pattern of support for political parties can be expected to be visible in Weimar Germany. We document in this article the existence of local and regional contextual effects in the key election of the Weimar Republic that are not interpretable solely in compositional terms.

Methodology and data

Unfortunately, because of the absence of individual-level information on voting choices, the electoral geographer has to rely upon aggregate data collected for each election and deposited in the file "Wahl- und Sozialdaten der Kreise und Gemeinden des Deutschen Reiches, 1920-1933" at the Zentralarchiv für empirische Sozialforschung der Universität Köln²⁾. The file contains census data for 1925 and voting results of elections from 1919 to 1933 for over 6,000 spatial units. Like previous researchers (FALTER 1986, 1991), we were forced to aggregate the small units into larger, temporally-consistent *Kreisunits*. Our file eventually contained 743 places, covering all of Weimar Germany³⁾.

In studies of the Nazi electorate, regional heterogeneity and local dependence in aggregate compositional data are used as evidence of contextual variation in voting behaviour. To examine this dual effect, we constructed detailed maps of the distribution of the Nazi party vote and of the key predictors of that vote. We chose the breakthrough election of November 1930 for our study: this election, which saw the NSDAP vote percentage of 18.3 percent increase from 2.6 percent in 1928, made this party the second-largest in the Weimar Republic after the Social Democrats (SPD) and launched them to eventual seizure of power in 1933.

We eventually picked four variables for detailed mapping and analysis. The NSDAP percentage in 1930 is the dependent variable, the pattern that we try to understand and it is shown in Supplement XI a). Three fairly-consistent theories of why Germans voted for the Nazi party led to the choice of the three independent predictors. They are a) confession, the

²⁾ Individual-level data are available for NSDAP party members and have been drawn from a huge archive in the Berlin Document Center. See BRUSTEIN (1995) for details of these party membership files.

³⁾ JÜRGEN FALTER and his collaborators had corrected many of the errors, mostly the result of geographic boundary shifts, and deposited the modified file at the archive. See FALTER and GRUNER (1981).

percentage of the population in 1925 that was Protestant; b) the percentage of the population that is middle-class in 1925; and c) electoral turnout in 1930. Our recent detailed spatial-statistical analysis has been able to support elements of these theories as useful in our understanding of the complex NSDAP support base (O'LOUGHLIN, FLING a. ANSELIN 1994).

Confession, the most uncontroversial explanatory variable in studies of the Nazi electorate, consistently indicates that most Catholic voters did not support the NSDAP while Protestant voters disproportionately did (SCHOLDER 1977). To a large extent, the NSDAP eventually replaced the DNVP (*Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Volkspartei*) as the Protestant confessional party in the early 1930s. BURNHAM's (1972) theory explains the confessional nature of voting. Social and political institutions available to Catholics, such as the Zentrum party, provided havens and benefits during times of crisis, thereby immunizing them from the appeal of the Nazis. Despite the party's origins in Bavaria, the NSDAP always received much more support in the Protestant North and East of the Weimar Republic. In the September 1930 election, the NSDAP received in average of 20.2 percent in the 19 election districts (*Reichstagswahlkreisen*) that were more than 70 percent Protestant, whilst the party received only 14 percent in the 6 predominantly-Catholic districts (SCHOLDER 1977, 162). (The national average was 18.3 percent).

The reasons why the NSDAP evolved into such a Protestant-dominated party are not altogether clear. At the same time as the NSDAP, the social democratic party (SPD - *Sozialdemokratische Partei*) also gained more support in Protestant regions. GEIGER (quoted in SCHOLDER 1977, 163) distinguished between "old" and "new" proletariat to help explain the concurrent rising support for the parties of the left and right in Protestant regions. The old proletariat emerged in Germany in the nineteenth-century with industrialization; the most common definition of this group is the manual industrial worker class. This is the population that remained loyal to the left parties, the SPD and the Communist party (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*) for class and ideological reasons in a time of great economic uncertainty. By contrast, the NSDAP picked up support from worried and disaffected members of the new proletariat, the unskilled and semi-skilled white-collar staff of new enterprises (*Angestellte*). On the Catholic side of the religious divide, the Church was actively forbidding its members to join the Nazi party and not allowing Nazi party members to be confirmed or buried by Catholic ceremony. A sharp religious contrast emerged among

the youth, with the NSDAP receiving an early membership boost in Protestant universities and among Protestant youth groups. The average age of party members was 25-36 in 1930 and this youthful support was important in generating enthusiasm for the party, its policies and its leaders (SCHOLDER 1977).

Turnout is used by proponents of the mass theory (ARENDRT 1958; KORNHAUSER 1959) as a surrogate measure of alienation. This theory argues that non-voters previously alienated from politics and society would vote for the Nazi party. In this theory, there is great emphasis on the concept of "anomie", the alienation that was produced in the Weimar Republic as traditional society came under stress as a result of changes from a traditional to a modern industrial and urban society. This change was exacerbated by the economic and political challenges to the Weimar regime, especially after 1929. Studies have shown a significant relationship between turnout and the Nazi party vote, though the coefficient is small. As noted by GEIGER, alienated groups could be members of either the old or the new proletariat.

Support from the middle-class is expected by proponents of the class theory (SWEETZ 1942; LIPSET 1960). They argue that the core of the Nazis' support came from sections of the middle-class under economic pressure from the societal trends of modernization and centralization. This view contradicts that of GEIGER, cited above, that the Nazi party picked up the support of the "new proletariat". The self-employed population had most to lose by the growth of large corporations and the increasing economic centralization of the Weimar society. Over the course of the decade-long economic crisis from the early 1920s to the eventual demise of the Weimar state in 1933, the lower middle-class was especially radicalized, according to this theory, and their dissatisfaction with the trends in society was reflected in their increasing support for the NSDAP over time (BROWN 1982).

Rather than constructing univariate choropleth maps of the dependent variable and the independent predictors (Protestant percentage, middle-class proportion and turnout ratio), we elected to develop more complex, but more accurate, maps based on population density. The maps in Supplement XI and XII are termed bivariate maps since there are two distributions portrayed. The key indicates the combination of population density (persons per square kilometre) and the variable of interest as a percentage (NSDAP vote, etc.). The densities of shadings is a function of the particular combination of the two variables and the maps require a much closer examination by the reader than is normally the case with choropleth

maps. However, the reader is rewarded with a more accurate portrait of the situation since large regions with small populations (as in East Prussia) will not dominate the map as is usually the case with choropleth maps. The construction of the maps was completed using the Arc/Info Geographic Information System; the particular choice of colour schemes was made after considerable experimentation and reflects the authors' choices. In a sense, the maps are similar to cartograms (maps with areas proportionate to populations) but unlike this method of mapping, the bivariate maps preserve the exact location, topology, and shape of the 743 Kreisunits.

Mapping regional contexts and local milieux in Weimar Germany 1930

The maps show regional trends, distinctive clusters and specific milieux in the pattern of the Nazi party vote and the socio-economic variables. The broadest brush paints the overall heterogeneity of Germany's political behaviour, as discussed by BRECHT (1945) and PASSCHIER (1980). The most striking patterns are the broad north-south trends of both the NSDAP vote and confessionalism (Supplement XI, a) and b)). Within these regional trends, there are recognizable clusters of similar values. On the Protestant map (Supplement XI, a)), for example, one can see the cluster of Protestant *Kreise* in Württemberg reaching towards Franconia. At the most detailed view, specific *Kreise* that are different from their neighbours can be seen. On the Protestant map, the alternating high and low and medium values for the cities of the Ruhr are clearly visible. The predominant impression is one of the existence of obvious local clusters on all four maps.

The broad north-south pattern identified for elections of the 1930s by PASSCHIER (1980) is supported by the high Nazi party support (over 24 percent in the 1930 election) in the North and the East of the country (Supplement XI, a)). As can also be identified by the bi-variate colour map, these regions had low population densities and are identified also by BRECHT (1945) as locations of strong Nazi support. These regions include Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, eastern East Prussia, and Brandenburg, as well as parts of Pomerania, Magdeburg, Franconia, Mecklenburg, Lower Silesia, and Lower Saxony. By contrast, the regions where the NSDAP was unable to garner much support can also be seen, especially the Ruhrgebiet, as well as most of the Rhineland and Württemberg, Bavaria south of Nürnberg, and Upper Silesia.

Within the general area where the opposition to the Nazi party was strong, however, there are clusters of NSDAP support. *Kreise* in Baden, Hesse, Lippe, Franconia, Thuringia, and along the Czech border in industrial Saxony are identifiable. In contrast, in general areas of NSDAP strength, we can see a cluster of non-NSDAP voting in the central part of East Prussia. Local specificities, that is an island or two of Nazi support or opposition within a contrasting regional pattern, are also visible. In the southwest of Germany, and in Baden particularly, those individual *Kreise* which tended to support the Nazis had large Protestant populations (GRILL 1983). The high NSDAP votes in Lahr and Rastatt contrast with the low Nazi party vote in neighbouring Karlsruhe. In Franconia, the same local Protestant-NSDAP correlation held. High NSDAP votes in Wunsiedel, Münchberg and Stadtsteinach in 1930 differ significantly from their neighbours, Bayreuth and Tirschenreuth. A third example of local specificities in the NSDAP vote can be seen in Pfalz. Here, Kaiserslautern city and land display a strong contrast with adjoining Neustadt-an-der-Weinstraße, Ludwigshafen and Frankenthal. Other urban islands contrasting with the surrounding rural support are visible in Breslau, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipzig, Frankfurt, some Ruhr cities, and Königsberg in East Prussia.

The coincidence of regional trends in the Nazi party vote and that of the Protestant percentage clearly supports BURNHAM's political confessionalism theory and provides further evidence for the importance of religion as a predictor of German voting behaviour. In 1930, the correlation of the Protestant proportion and the NSDAP proportion was .609 ($r^2 = .371$), a value that is consistent with previous studies (O'LOUGHLIN, FLINT a. ANSELIN 1994). The distribution of the Protestant population is shown in Supplement XI, b). Of the four variables, the Protestant proportion is most spatially-clustered as measured by a spatial autocorrelation statistic, indicating that the regional pattern is most homogenous (FLINT 1995). The high percentage of Catholics in Bavaria, the Rhineland and Upper Silesia, for example, is visible, as is the strongly Protestant composition of Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, East Prussia, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Saxony.

Differences within the broad regional religious patterns must be considered in order to understand the NSDAP vote; Catholic clusters within Protestant East Prussia, Baden, along the Dutch border and Franconia are clear. In Franconia, many *Kreise* had mixed (Catholic and Protestant) populations. STONE (1982) argued that the NSDAP gained strong support in mix-

ed Catholic-Protestant communities in this region. While Catholics had protection through their cooperatives from the worst effects of the agricultural crisis, the Protestant farmers turned to the NSDAP for similar help. Also, the pattern in Westphalia provides more evidence for STONE's (1982) assertion that where Protestant and Catholic *Kreise* lived in close quarters, Protestants chose the NSDAP and the Catholics voted for the Zentrum Party. The chessboard-like distribution of religion is visible in the Ruhrgebiet. In East Prussia, a Catholic concentration is seen in Allenstein, Heilsberg and Rössel. Overall, however, the geographic trends are clearest for the religion variable with the widest range of values of any of the four variables, from near zero to near 100 percent. Consequently, its statistical relationship with the NSDAP vote is the strongest and the correlation has been identified in all studies of the NSDAP vote.

The geographic pattern of electoral turnout (Supplement XII, a)) is distinctly less general than that of the confessionalism map. Turnout is measured as the ratio of eligible voters who went to the polls and the range is from 58 to 94 percent. Highest turnout is seen in parts of Central Germany, (in Saxony, Thuringia, Westphalia, Franconia, Brandenburg) and in the large cities. The lowest turnout occurred in Bavaria (especially eastern Bavaria), Oldenburg, Baden and in Pfalz. Unlike the two previous maps, there is no distinct regional trend and turnout has only a modest role in explaining Nazi voting, with a correlation of $-.063$ ($r^2 = .004$). Though seen by the proponents of the mass society theory as an important explanatory variable, its importance has been a matter of some debate. FALTER (1986) believed that turnout was strongly related to the Nazi party vote only in elections after 1930, when unemployment increased sharply and increased turnout was generated by the previously-disinterested voters. However, O'LOUGHLIN, FLINT a. ANSELIN (1994) found that in the 1930 Reichstag election, the variable measuring turnout (change between 1928 and 1930) was significantly positive in four of their six regions (Prussia and Silesia, Baden-Württemberg, North-west Germany, and the Rhineland). Given the geographic dispersal of the pattern and the relatively-small range of the variable, the aggregate correlation with the NSDAP is of marginal importance when other factors are taken into account.

The middle-class variable is an aggregate of four separate occupational percentages (self-employed, clerical workers in the industrial sector, white-collar civil servants, and white-collar workers in the trade and transport industry) (Supplement XII, b)). Like the turnout variable, this predictor also has a modest

range (from 7 to 59 percent) with most *Kreise* lying in the 16 to 40 percent range. Unlike the expectations of class theory, there is only a weak relationship between middle-class status and NSDAP voting. The correlation was $-.199$, with the $r^2 = .040$. The general distribution of middle-class workers in Weimar Germany is essentially an urban-rural pattern. Particular examples are cities with high proportions of the middle-class such as Berlin, Köln, Frankfurt, Königsberg, München, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Bremen, and Leipzig. Outside the urban areas, the Catholic south generally shows more *Kreise* with higher proportions of middle-class than the East in general. An interesting mixed and complex pattern in the distribution of the middle-class is visible around Chemnitz-Zwickau.

The patterns on these four maps clearly indicate the problems facing the researcher trying to understand the basis of the NSDAP vote in the elections to the *Reichstag* in 1930 Weimar Germany. The results of correlation studies of aggregate data based on spatially-defined units, the only data available for study of the Nazi party vote, are clearest when the trends and geographic clusters of the dependent variable and independent predictors are in general alignment. With the exception of the Protestant ratio, that is not the case on any of our maps of the predictor variables. Complicated statistical analysis does not reveal any greater clarity and these maps should give pause to any analysts searching for a simple explanation of the Nazi party vote. The regression equation for this election (with the NSDAP proportion) is $19.77 + .159 \text{ PROT} + .090 \text{ MIDCLASS} - .179 \text{ TURNOUT}$, with an $R^2 = .39$. (Only the Protestant and turnout variables are significant in this multiple regression.) Clearly, the complex mosaic of places in Weimar Germany prevents any consistent statistical results.

Conclusions

The evidence in the maps presented in this article support strongly the idea that the NSDAP vote in Weimar Germany in 1930 was conditioned by place-specific circumstances. Sometimes, the patterns were broad enough to produce a regional cluster or a national trend. Using the language of spatial statistics, we call this phenomenon "spatial heterogeneity" and, more than any other effect, it represents the factor that all geographers like to highlight. In the face of a general devaluation of space in social science research (AGNEW 1989), heterogeneity of national surfaces is a powerful argument that, instead of trying to produce

general models, we should be considering "domain-specific" relationships (MOST a. STARR 1989). In the matter of voting studies, this perspective would certainly look for compositional effects such as religion, class and other social cleavages, but it would examine their changing relationship to the vote by region. The "domain-specific" approach is expected to have greater relevance in the study of political choices in large and diverse countries like Germany, the United States, India or Russia.

As well as spatial heterogeneity, our maps also displayed "spatial dependence" or the presence of local effects or disguisable milieux. It is evident that if most places differ from their neighbours (a near random arrangement of places), geography's so-called first law (that places are more like nearby places than places farther away) is violated. Spatial dependence is more common than not and if the dependence extends across many neighbours (the econometric term is multi-lag autocorrelation), we shade into heterogeneity based on clusters. In the case of the NSDAP vote, local effects were evident all over the country, sometimes contrasting anti-NSDAP urban areas to surrounding rural areas. Because of the presence of distinctive milieux, studies of the rise to prominence of the Nazi party in Weimar Germany need to be more sensitive to ways of life based on communities that had not yet become part of a national electorate.

We have stressed throughout this article how local collective memories were shaped and perpetuated. It could be argued that though milieux and regions were prominent in one of the most important elections of the twentieth-century, that of 1930 in Weimar Germany, their presence in post-war German elections is problematic in the face of a society that had been changed utterly by the war. The continued obvious role of context and locales in British and American elections (JOHNSTON 1991), as well as the continued pattern of pre-1948 geographic clusters in post-1989 Czech elections (JEHLICKA, KOSTELECKY a. SYKORA 1993) should give pause to anyone ready to discount historical local attachments after dramatic social and economic changes. Examination of the contextual hypothesis in postwar Germany is clearly merited and long overdue (ROHE 1990).

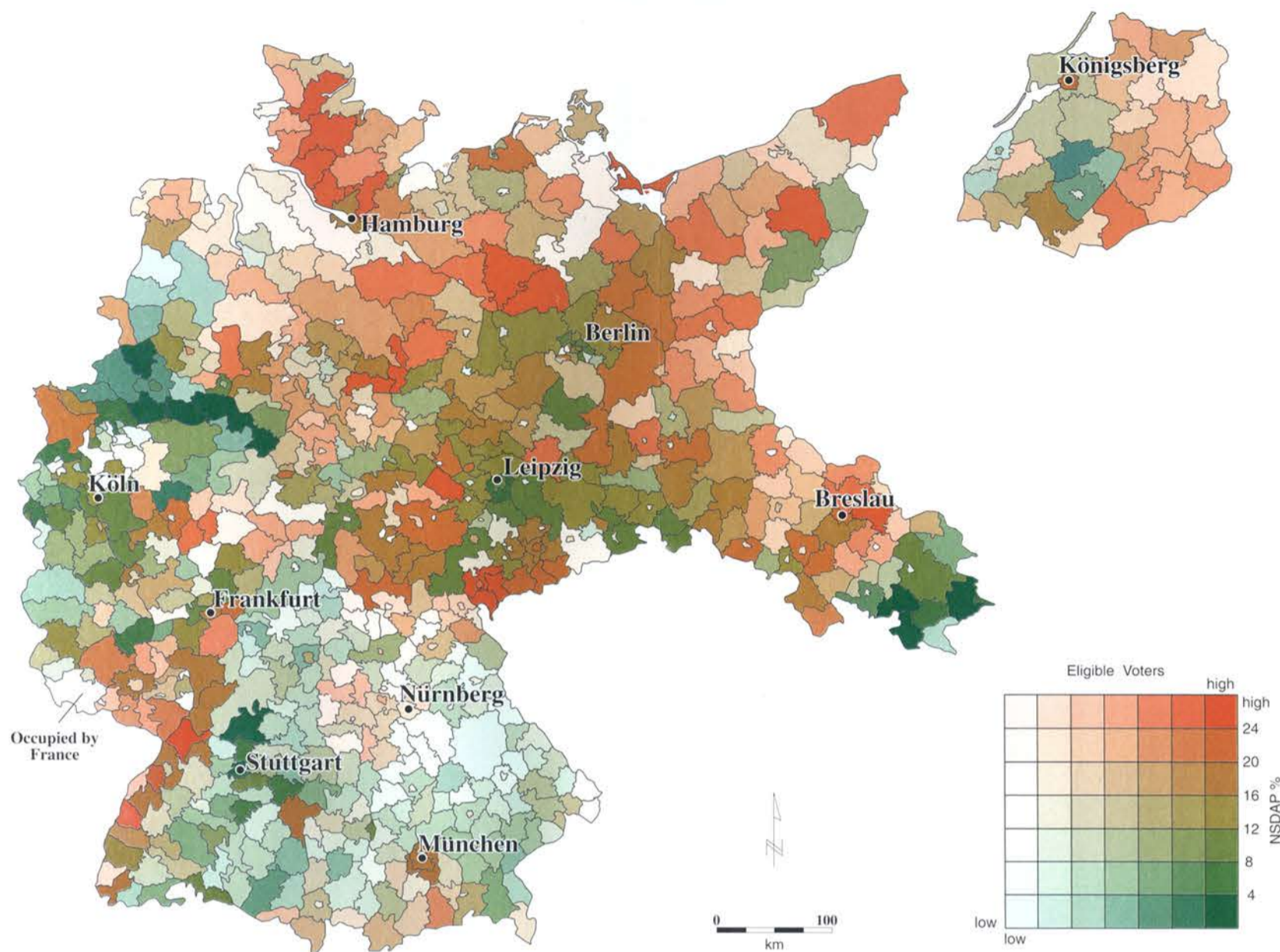
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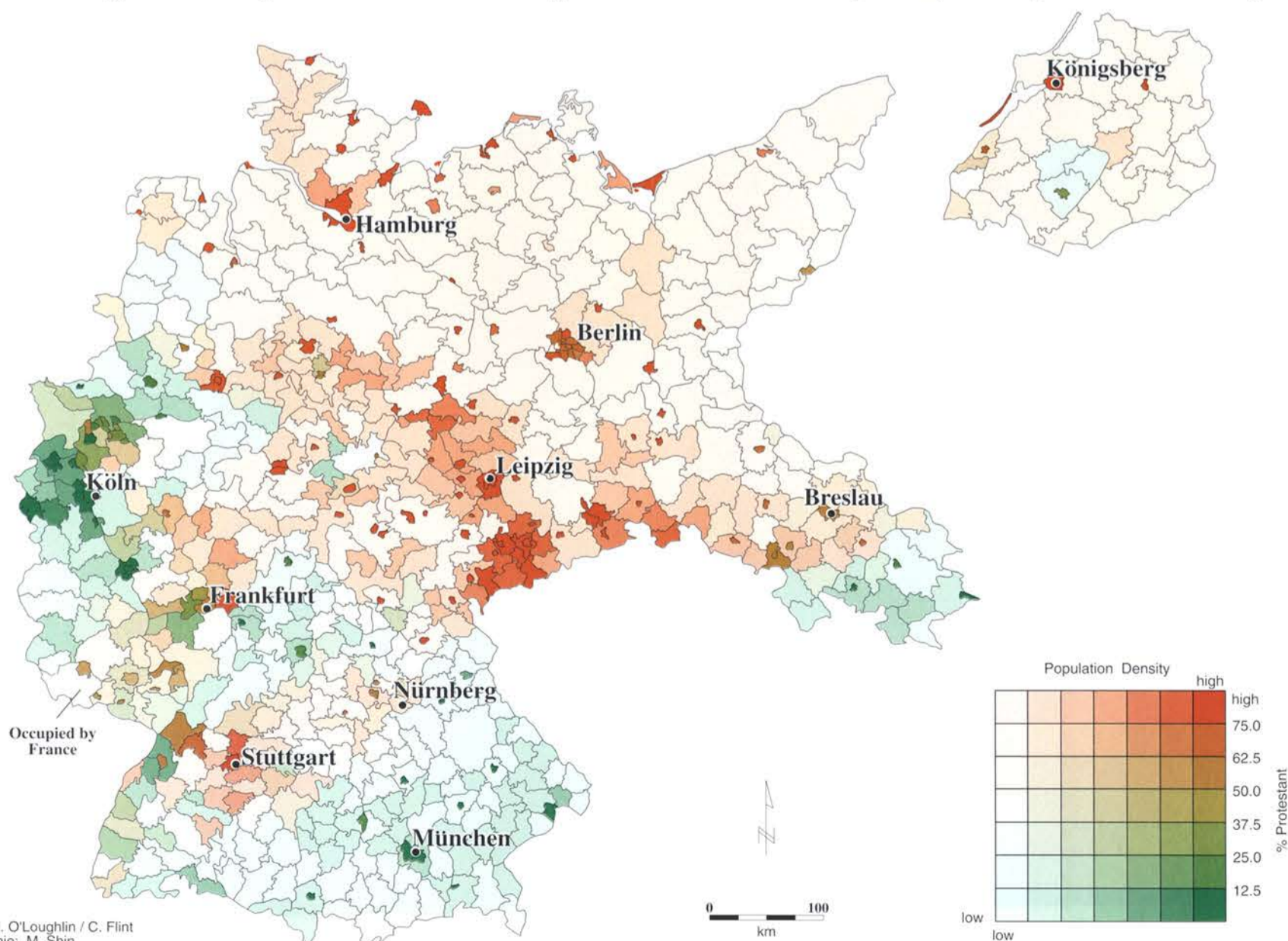
a) NSDAP vote in percentages in the Reichstag Election, 1930 (weighted by eligible voters)

Der NSDAP-Stimmenanteil in der Reichstagswahl, 1930 (mit Wahlberechtigten)



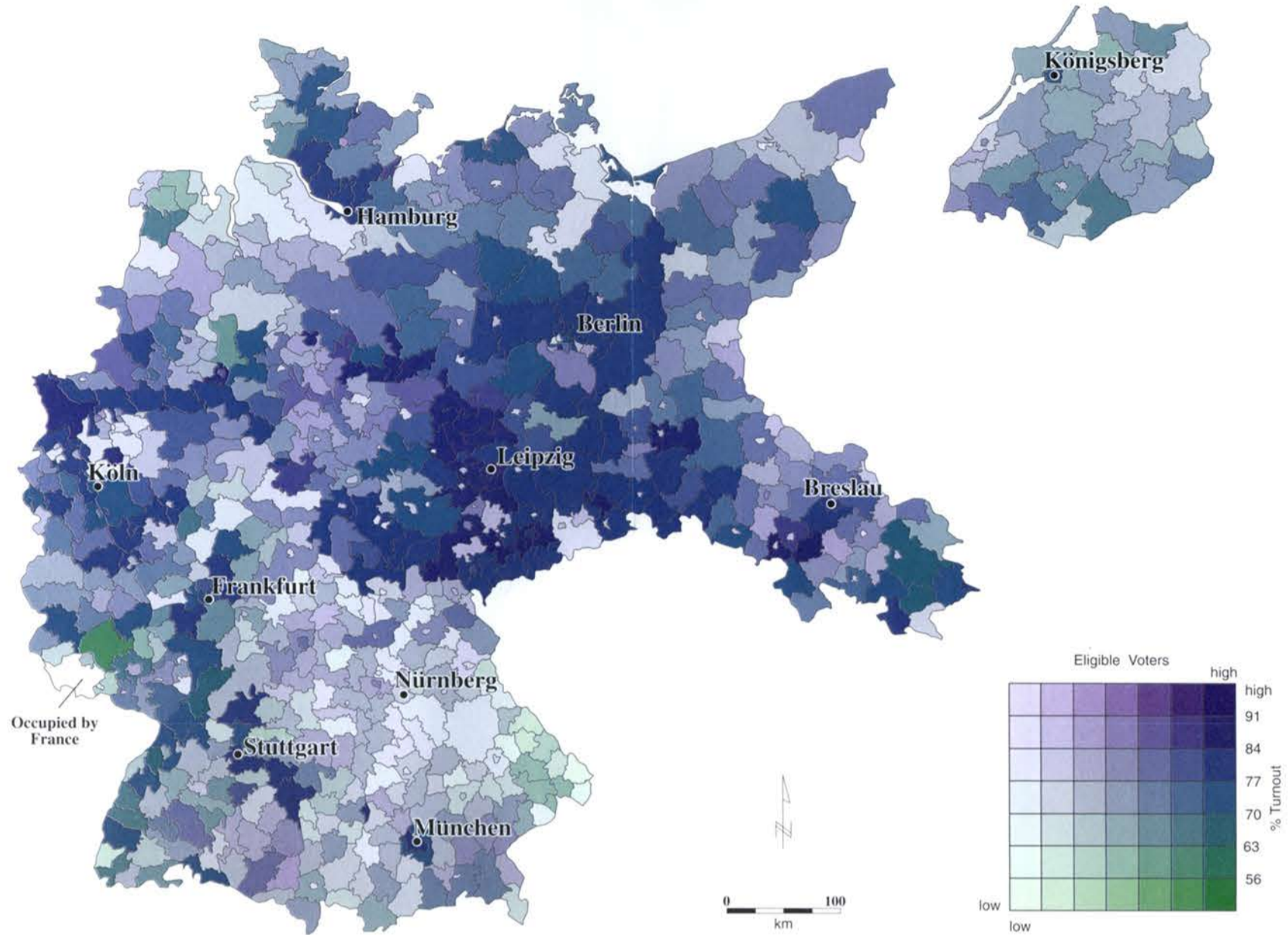
b) Distribution of Protestants in the Weimar Republic, 1925 (weighted by population density)

Die Verteilung der evangelischen Bevölkerung in der Weimarer Republik, 1925 (mit Bevölkerungsdichte)



a) **Turnout (percent of eligible voters) in the Reichstag Election, 1930**
 (weighted by eligible voters)

Die Wahlbeteiligung (Prozent der Wahlberechtigten) in der Reichstagswahl, 1930 (mit Wahlberechtigten)



b) **Middle class population (percentages) in the Weimar Republic, 1925**
 (weighted by population density)

Der Mittelschichtanteil in der Weimarer Republik, 1925 (mit Bevölkerungsdichte)

