

ELECTIONS TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN THE HLUČÍN REGION IN 1929: A HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The Hlučín region, which is the subject of this analysis, is characterised by different historical development in comparison with the rest of the Czech Republic (178 years of affiliation with the German empire). This fact became evident especially after integration of the region to former Czechoslovakia in 1920. The area analyzed, or rather its population, revealed a whole range of particularities, among them the electoral behaviour. The main goal of this study consists in evaluation of electoral behaviour of the Hlučín region population during the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 1929. The historical-geographic and the classic electoral-geographic methods were used for needs of this analysis. On the basis of the analysis applied, a unique model of electoral support of political parties was proved, especially in the context of demographic structures of local inhabitants. The significant spatial differences in their electoral preferences were also proved in the region examined.

Key words: electoral geography, electoral behaviour, Hlučín region.

INTRODUCTION

The work presented can be perceived as an attempt to analyze the electoral preferences of the Hlučín region population in 1929 from historical-geographic point of view. This region was chosen intentionally due to its obvious specificity determined by historical destiny of this area, which was noticeably different from the other regions in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. As a result of the so-called First Silesian War (1740-1742) the historical area of Silesia was divided between victorious Prussia led by Frederick II and defeated Austria under the reign of Maria Theresa. Diplomatic negotiations were conducted in the area of Duchy of Opava. Subsequently, the border represented by the Opava river was delimited. By the terms of the Treaty of Breslau, one half of the Duchy, on the left side of the river, was awarded to the Kingdom of Prussia. Local population was then forced

to spend in the new state division almost 200 years in the position of certain cultural-ethnical subculture. Especially thanks to the language (so-called Moravian) practised institutionally in schools and churches and in everyday life (Plaček 2007) as well, and because of the traditional Catholic faith, local people were able to maintain their identity, which, however, developed to a certain extent. It concerns mainly certain national ambivalence and behavioral qualities attributed to so-called Prussian character, e.g. respect for authority (Plaček 2007). With this potential the inhabitants of the Hlučín region became part of the newly-formed Czechoslovakia. We can observe that a number of citizens of the republic perceived them as a nationally unreliable community (Pavelčíková 1999:57-61). This perception could have been intensified due to entirely atypical electoral behavior of the Hlučín region inhabitants, which became evident under the influence of historical events in 1929.

The main goal of this study is to analyze the parliamentary elections in the Hlučín region which took place in the year mentioned, but it concerns only elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia. The study concentrates on a spatial context of the elections, and territorial differentiations are examined to the level of administratively valid municipalities in 1929. On the basis of the analysis conducted we will examine the distribution of electoral support of the individual political parties which obtained the votes in the Hlučín region. The individual cores of electoral support will be analyzed too, mainly for the political parties with the largest percentage of votes. We will evaluate also the degree of overlap of these cores and the position in which similar political groups are situated, either in the context of national focus of political parties or in similarities in the programs of political parties. In the final part, possible connections between results of individual political parties and selected demographic and settlement indicators of the Hlučín region will be outlined.

Johnston and Pattie (2008) asserts that elections are inherently geographical phenomena and electoral geography is the partial discipline which is interested in an elections. Prescott (1959) already in the fifties suggested that the study of election statistics has some value for political or social geography. This attitude is still accepted, that is why Johnston (2005) sees electoral geographers as a small subset within the larger community of political geographers. Johnston (2009) also describes electoral geography as the study of geographical aspects of the organization, conducting and results of elections. Pioneering studies (Krebheil 1916) were conducted early in the twentieth century, but most of the literature – produced by a small number of specialists (e.g. McPhail 1971; O'Loughlin 1980) – dates from 1960. In the Czech Republic, this subdiscipline has no significant tradition due to the events in 1948 and their consequences. Only after 1989 we can perceive the beginning of geographical interest in the phenomenon of elections. Because of this reason, the work of Blažek and Kostelecký (1991) can be determined as pioneering, analyzing the results of parliamentary elections in 1990, as well as the study of Jehlička and Sýkora (1991), examining the

support stability of the traditional political parties. Subsequently the research attention concentrates also on the analysis of historical election events. Fňukal (2008) assesses the application of manipulative electoral techniques of gerrymandering and malapportionment during the parliamentary elections in the area of the present-day Czech Republic in 1907; Král (2010) examines the development of electoral support of German nationalists in the border area of interwar Czechoslovakia.

DELIMITATION OF THE AREA EXAMINED

The spatial delimitation of the region, which was analyzed within this paper, is depicted in Figure 1. It is obvious that the historical area of the Hlučín region is identified with cadasters of 38 municipalities which were in 1920 (more precisely 1923) attached to Czechoslovakia. Among the municipalities with the largest number of inhabitants were Hlučín (5,068), Kravaře (4,108), Ludgerovice (3,916) and Petřkovice (3,206). It concerned the municipalities connected with an important trade route from Opava to Těšín and from there further to Kraków. Since the 17th century the route was called “Salt Road” because salt from Poland (Wieliczka) was transported to Austria there. After affiliation of the Hlučín region to Prussia (and later Wieliczka to Austria) the route lost its significance and became only an important local road (Plaček 1997:8).

To this day, the status of municipality was maintained only in 28 cases. Formerly independent municipalities Hošťálkovice, Lhotka and Petřkovice were transformed into municipal districts of Ostrava, Antošovice and Koblouh nowadays form two parts of the municipal district Slezská Ostrava. The process of integration affected also six historical villages situated in western and central part of the Hlučín region: Malé Hoštice nowadays belong to Opava as one of its municipal districts, Služovice and Vrbka were unified into one municipality Služovice, Kravaře and Kouty into Kravaře,¹ Zábřeh was integrated into Dolní Benešov and, finally, Darkovičky and Bobrovníky were incorporated into Hlučín (Růžková et al. 2006).

¹ Dvořišsko, which is not part of historical Hlučín region, was in addition integrated into municipality of Kravaře in 1960.

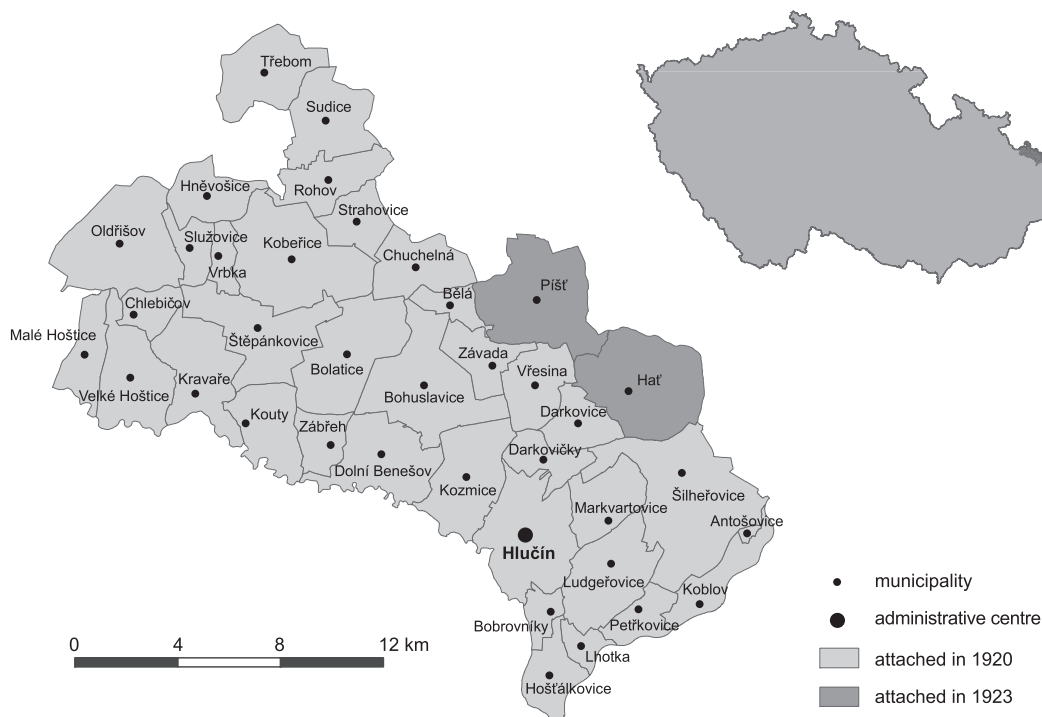


Figure 1 Delimitation of the area of interest and its appearance in 1929. Source: Bartoš et al. (2005:125).

After affiliation of the Hlučín region to Czechoslovakia the region was included into administration of Silesia as an independent administrative department, both political and judicial, as the district Hlučín headed by a regional representative and with a district court of law (Bartoš et al. 2005:125). In connection with changes in the state administration (particularly unification of Moravia and Silesia into the Land of Moravia-Silesia) realized in 1928, the Hlučín region – as the only one of Silesian districts – went through a territorial change. Twelve villages were removed from the political district Hlučín (Hněvošice, Chlebičov, Koberčice, Malé Hoštice, Oldřišov, Rohov, Služovice, Strahovice, Sudice, Třebom, Velké Hoštice, and Vrbka) and subsequently added to the political district Opava (Plaček 2007:120-122). But they remained part of the judicial district Hlučín. Due to the opposite process, five villages were transferred to the political district Hlučín (Děhylov, Dobroslavice, Martinov, Plesná, and Třebovice) from the political district Bílovec,

forming a Silesian part of the judicial district Klimkovic. Analogically, these five villages remained part of the judicial district Klimkovic (Bartoš et al. 2005:126). The process outlined caused not only administrative change of spatial delimitation of administrative units, but also a paradoxical situation when the principle of composition of judicial districts into political districts was not preserved. As a result we can observe that the judicial district Hlučín is unusually larger than the political district Hlučín. A similar paradox was connected with e.g. the judicial district Olomouc, which was spatially identical with the area of political districts Město Olomouc (City of Olomouc) and Olomouc-venkov (Country of Olomouc).

For the needs of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies a regionalization of Czechoslovakia was accomplished which resulted in division of the state into 22 electoral districts (Předsednictvo Poslanecké sněmovny a Senátu 1928:325). These

Table 1 Ethnical and confessional structure of the Hlučín region inhabitants in 1930.

Source: Státní úřad statistický (1935:36-37; 1934:46-51); Bartoš et al. (2005:128-129).

entity	Nationality (%)			
	Czechoslovak	German	Polish	Other
Hlučín region	92.33	7.51	0.12	0.04
Moravian-Silesian country	74.12	22.85	2.27	0.76
Czechoslovakia	66.91	22.32	0.57	10.20

entity	Religious belief (%)					
	Roman Catholic	Evangelic	Czechoslovak	Israeli	Other and not declared	Non believers
Hlučín region	97.83	0.77	0.64	0.07	0.08	0.61
Moravian-Silesian country	85.88	4.89	4.53	1.16	0.60	2.94
Czechoslovakia	73.54	7.69	5.39	2.42	5.16	5.80

districts were structurally composed of individual electoral “small districts” whose delimitation corresponded to the judicial districts. The Hlučín region belonged to the electoral district Moravská Ostrava and the local electoral “small district” was identical with the area of the judicial district Hlučín, or, in other words, with the area of the political district Hlučín before the reform mentioned above was conducted. All these territorial units are spatially identical and their borders thus represent “limits” for the electoral analysis presented below.

DEMOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

To register the social conditions in the Hlučín region we have chosen *Statistický lexikon obcí v republice Československé* published by the Státní úřad statistický (1935), which reflects the census realized 1 December 1930. The date of realization of the census guarantees creation of relatively accurate ethnical and religious structure of the Hlučín region population to the level of local villages and conscriptional settlements, more or less a year after the elections examined. Due to this relatively short period of time and a certain stability of the structures mentioned, we can consider the features (described

below) as relevant for the moment when the elections took place. Although most of the inhabitants stated in the census questionnaire from 1930 that their nationality is Czechoslovak, the community claiming their allegiance to the German nationality still existed in the Hlučín region, representing a little less than 8% of the population. Among the villages where the German population predominated over the Czech were Sudice and Třebom. In Třebom, there were 15 times more inhabitants declaring the German nationality than the ones declaring the Czechoslovak nationality. Other bigger groups of inhabitants claiming the German nationality were present in the municipalities with larger population and better job offers. It concerned mainly Kravaře and Hlučín.

The Hlučín region population was traditionally predominantly Catholic and there was not any difference in 1930. Due to the religious structure the region differentiated from predominant part of Prussia; significant differences are evident even in the comparison with the Land of Moravia-Silesia, which is obviously documented (see Table 1) by the proportion of evangelic Protestants and members of newly-formed Czechoslovak Church in the Hlučín region.

RESEARCH METHODS

The analytical part of this work was conducted on the basis of the results of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia which took place 27 October 1929. The data were obtained mostly from archive materials (Zemský archiv v Opavě) and authorized publications (Náhlovský 1930) published by the State Statistical Office. Information about the elections results presented in his report also Káňa (1984). The obtained aggregated data were then employed for partial calculations, graphic processing of selected indicators and for the realization of statistical analysis, which is presented in this paper to mark out the cores of electoral support of selected political subjects, to evaluate a mutual territorial overlap of these cores and, finally, to conduct the correlation calculation.

The core of electoral support of a certain political party was presented by a territory where the party given obtained exactly 50% of their total electoral gain in the Hlučín region. The method of finding the cores of electoral support for the most successful political parties was the following one. Individual municipalities were arranged in descending order, always according to the percentage of valid votes for a given political party in individual municipalities.

Next, we calculated the percentage of electoral gain of this political party for every municipality in the Hlučín region in the total electoral gain of this political party for the entire area examined. Later on, the values were accumulatively counted, starting with the municipality where the examined political party received the highest relative percentage of votes from all municipalities in the Hlučín region, until the accumulative sum reached 50% of the total electoral gain of relevant political party in the region. The municipalities, which were part of this group, form the cores of electoral support of the political party given. Jehlička and Sýkora (1991) also applied the identical methodology in their study, but they used the term “territory of electoral support” instead of “core of political support”.

The goal of correlation calculation is to express the tendency of changes in the value of symbol for dependent variable when changing the value of symbol for independent variable. The tendency is expressed by mathematical function (regressive function), which represents a specific regressive line and reflects which value of symbol for dependent variable most likely corresponds to a certain value of symbol for independent variable. (Brázdil et al. 1995) In other words, the correlation function was applied to outline a possible relationship between ethnical and religious structure of electorate; the size structure of municipalities on the one hand and the electoral results on the other hand. The value of so-called correlation coefficient takes values from -1 (indirect dependence) to $+1$ (direct dependence). In this paper, we consider as a trace of correlation the value 0.3 or -0.3 . The correlation is evident in case that the established value is larger than 0.7 or smaller than -0.7 . These values are highlighted in bold. Similar techniques were used for analysis of election results by Král (2010), who was interested in the support of German nationalists in the Trutnov region in the time of so-called First Republic, and also by Voda (2010), who was focused on the historical development of electoral support of Christian Democrats in the Czech lands.

Graphic components were put together in form of tables and thematic maps, which depict the cores of electoral support of selected political parties and their electoral gains. A comparison of these electoral maps allows us to get an idea about relations between individual subjects (Pink and Voda 2010). These maps thus allow us to get a better overview about the form of electoral support of political parties and provide the basis for interpretation of these phenomena.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS

Early elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate held 27 October 1929 were the third elections since the foundation of the state and included the whole area of Czechoslovakia. The earliness of elections was caused by disintegration of so-called “Panská koalice” (Coalition of Lords). One change was introduced, legalized by the law from 8 April

Table 2 Total results of the elections in the Hlučín region in 1929 and their comparison with the election results in Czechoslovakia. Source: Zemský archiv v Opavě; Náhlovský (1930:9-17).

Electoral subject	Religious belief (%)					
	Hlučín region		Electoral region Moravská Ostrava		Czechoslovakia	
	total	%	total	%	total	%
GCSPP	7,124	27.49	35,644	6.91	348,097	4.71
GNP	3,877	14.96	27,842	5.39	189,071	2.56
GSDWP	2,919	11.27	36,984	7.16	506,750	6.86
CPP	2,918	11.26	59,994	11.62	623,522	8.44
DNSWP	1,779	6.89	33,321	6.46	204,096	2.77
CSDWP	1,684	6.50	95,876	18.56	963,312	13.05
RPASP	1,391	5.37	35,122	6.80	1 105,429	14.97
CPC	1,233	4.76	52,218	10.12	753,444	10.20
CNSP	1,080	4.17	42,275	8.19	767,571	10.39
CND	818	3.16	23,264	4.51	359,533	4.87
GEC	485	1.87	19,265	3.73	396,383	5.37
CTP	234	0.90	14,839	2.87	291,238	3.94
LABT	178	0.69	2,248	0.44	70,857	0.96
HSPP	160	0.61	6,639	1.29	425,052	5.76
UJPP	30	0.12	30,710	5.95	104,539	1.42
German subjects in total	16,191	62.49	153,056	29.65	1,651,068	22.36
Other subjects in total	9,719	37.51	363,095	70.35	5,734,016	77.64
Total	25,910	100.00	516,151	100.00	7,385,084	100.00

Abbreviations

GCSPP	German Christian Social People's Party
GNP	German National Party
GSDWP	German Social Democratic Workers Party
CPP	Czechoslovak People's Party
DNSWP	German National Socialist Worker's Party
CSDWP	Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers Party
RPASP	Republican Party of Agrarian and Smallholding Peoples
CPC	Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
CNSP	Czechoslovak National Socialist Party
CND	Czechoslovak National Democracy
GEC	German Electoral Coalition
CTP	Czechoslovak Traders' Party
LABT	League Against Bound Tickets
HSPP	Hlinka's Slovak People's Party
UJPP	United Jewish and Polish Parties

1927 n. 56 Sb.: denial of voting rights to the men in active military service and to the members of the police (Náhlovský 1930:7).

As Náhlovský (1930:7-13) states 8,183,462 voters had the right to take part in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies (from the total number of 14,611,000 inhabitants of Czechoslovakia). A total of 688,459 voters did not make use of the opportunity to vote. The biggest non-participation (11.6% of eligible voters) was in Carpathian Ruthenia. Voter turnout in the entire Czechoslovakia exceeded 91%.

When we concentrate on the Hlučín region, we find out that there were 28,948 voters out of which 26,100 voters (90.16%) actually took part in the elections and casted their votes. The total number of valid votes was 25,910. We can thus observe that turnout in the Hlučín region was de facto comparable with the whole-republic level. The electoral gains of individual political parties and groups, which participated in the elections in the Hlučín region, are represented in Table 2.

During the elections analyzed, a significant electoral dominance of German political parties emerged in the area of interest. In total they gained almost 2/3 of all valid votes. This result did not correspond with the whole-republic results at all: RPASP won (15% of votes) and four other parties in order were Czechoslovak as well. Moreover, the strongest German political party was not GCSPP, but GSDWP (Cabada 2000).

Even nine years after the reconnection of the Hlučín region to Czechoslovakia, the consequence of strong bounds of 178 years affiliation with Prussia (more precisely the German empire²) is still evident. In the background, this result of the elections can be considered as a certain declaration of dissatisfaction of most Hlučín region inhabitants with their everyday reality in their restored homeland.

GCSPP became the most successful political party in the Hlučín region. They gained more than 27%

of valid votes. The second and the third position in the notional election chart obtained also German parties, GNP gained almost 15% of valid votes and GSDWP received more than 12% of valid votes. Nevertheless, the difference between the last German party mentioned and the first most successful Czechoslovak political party, which was CPP, was only 0.01% of votes.

Even though there was a relatively large number of agriculture farms and industrial companies in the Hlučín region, labour and agricultural parties did not have a significant dominance. Although GSDWP achieved the third best result, RPASP or CSDWP, which obtained the first and the second position in the whole-republic results of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 1929, they gained a little less than 12% together in the Hlučín region.

It seems that the electoral preferences of the Hlučín region inhabitants were strongly influenced by their Catholic faith, traditionally deeply rooted in the region. The election program of German nationalists also found a breeding ground there – their electoral preferences significantly increased in comparison with the parliamentary elections in 1925 (Káňa 1984). These facts probably caused low electoral gains of GEC, which was the least preferred German political party in the Hlučín region, but the second most successful German party in the whole-republic results.

THE CORES OF ELECTORAL SUPPORT OF SELECTED POLITICAL PARTIES

Every political party which gained the votes in the Hlučín region disposed of a certain core of electoral support. It concerned the municipalities where the intended party gained exactly 50% of their total electoral gain in the Hlučín region.

Among the political parties with the largest gain of votes in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 1929 were: GCSPP, GNP, GSDWP, and CPP. All these parties obtained more than 10% of votes from the Hlučín region inhabitants. CPP gained almost 5% more votes than the fifth most successful party in the Hlučín region GNSWP.

² Since 1919 so-called Weimar Republic.

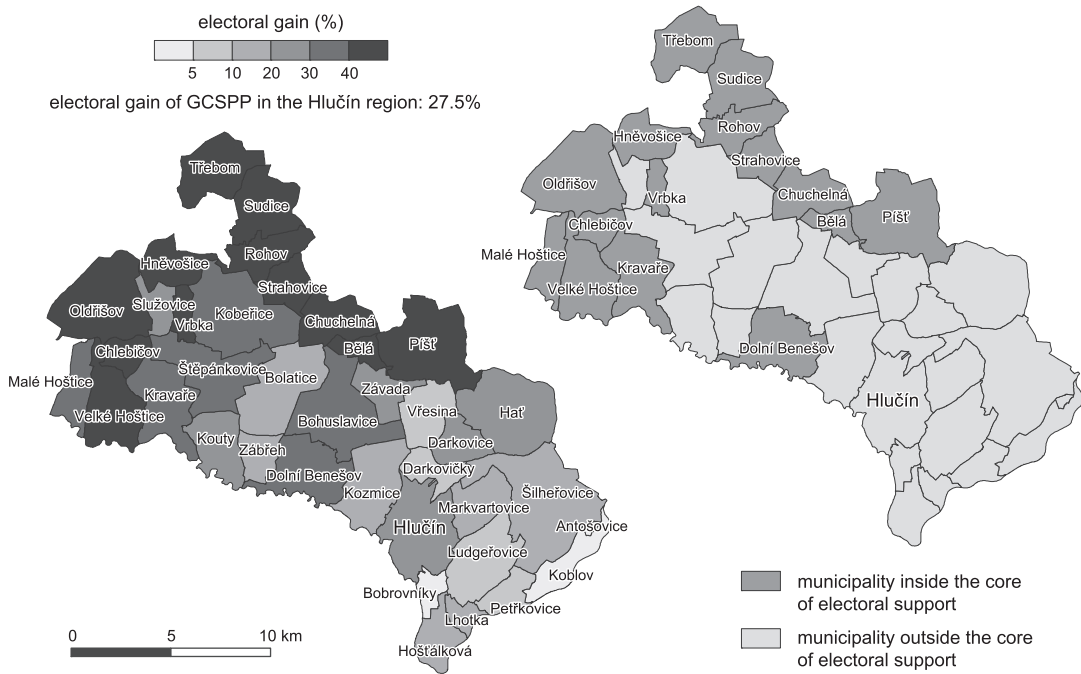


Figure 2 Spatial distribution of electoral support of GCSPP. Source: Zemský archiv v Opavě, own processing.

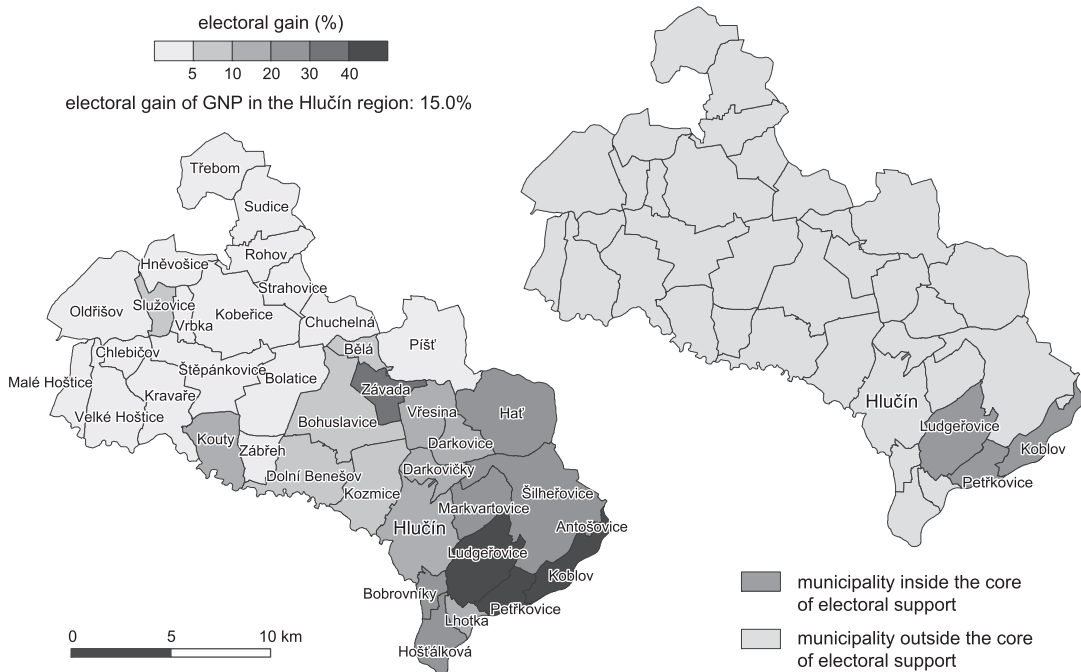


Figure 3 Spatial distribution of electoral support of GNP. Source: Zemský archiv v Opavě, own processing.

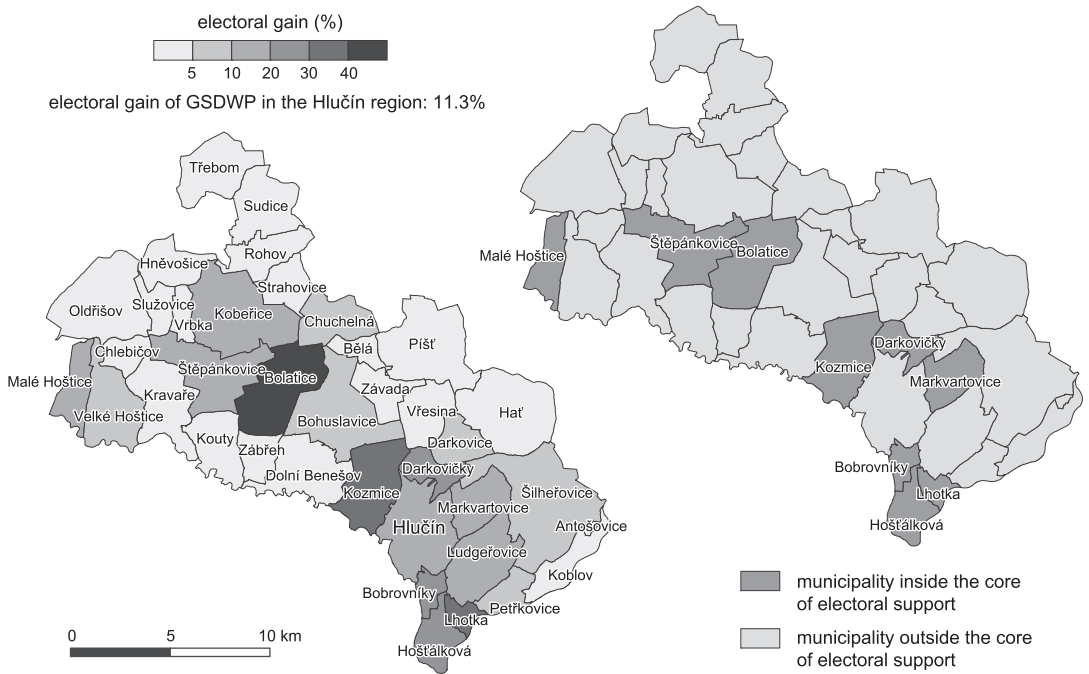


Figure 4 Spatial distribution of electoral support of GSDWP. Source: Zemský archiv v Opavě, own processing.

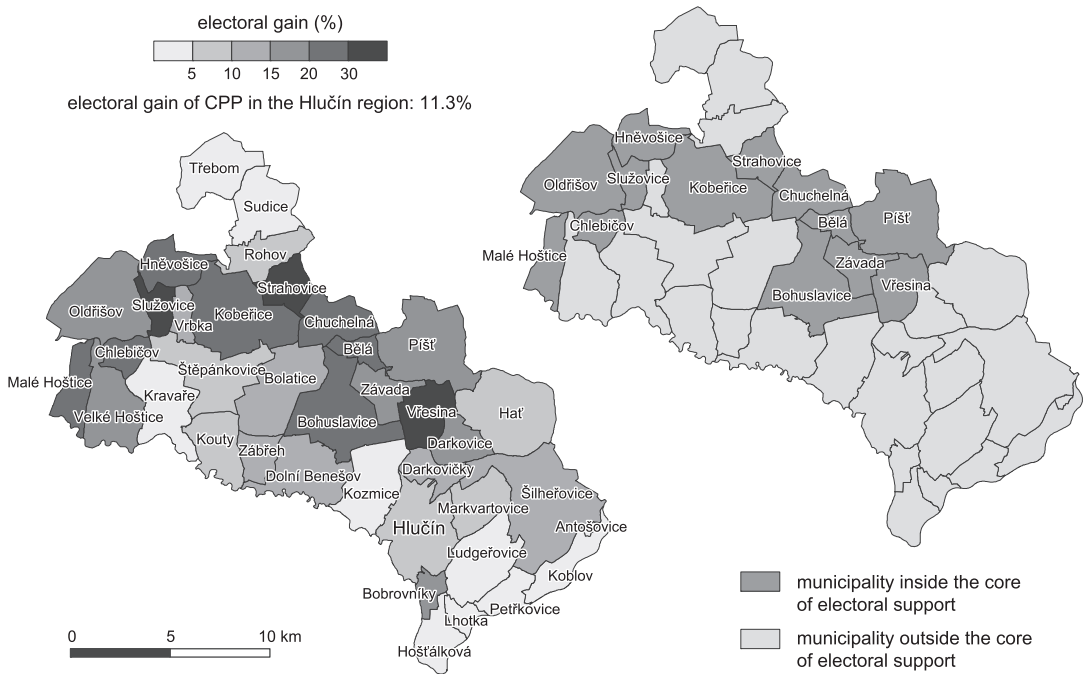


Figure 5 Spatial distribution of electoral support of CPP. Source: Zemský archiv v Opavě, own processing.

Marek (1998) considers GCSPP as a party based on a traditional Austrian Christian-social party from the 1890s. The core of electoral support of GCSPP, which was founded in Czechoslovakia in 1919 and had the greatest influence in traditional Christian and conservative areas (e.g. South Moravia, the Hlučín region and the Opava region), was represented by 15 municipalities of the Hlučín region (see Figure 2). In 3 municipalities the support of this party exceeded even 60%. The greatest electoral support was observed in Sudice where it reached almost 67%. The gain amounted to almost 62% in Rohov and 60% in Vrbka.

The core of electoral support is almost continuous, a certain enclave is represented by Dolní Benešov. The spatial localization of the core is relatively distinct, it is situated in the northwestern and also southwestern part of the region, where was located the border of the German Empire (1919-1920 Weimar Republic) with Austria-Hungary (possibly with Czechoslovakia since 1918). The smallest occurrence of electoral support of this party was proved in the east of the Hlučín region, specifically in Antošovice and Koblov. In fact, the party did not obtain any vote in Antošovice. The election program, significantly promoting the claim of autonomy of the Hlučín region and emphasizing Catholicism, did not attract attention of rather left-wing or nationalist-oriented voters.

The second most influential party GNP (Figure 3) based on ideological traditions of *Deutschböhmisches volkspartei* (which was dissolved due to treasonable activity) was created in the final form in December 1919, when *Deutschsoziale Volkspartei* and *Deutschnationale Partei* merged in order to increase their influence (Malíř and Marek 2005:872-873). The party gained the most significant support in the eastern part of the region. Three neighbouring villages can be considered as the core: Ludgeřovice, Koblov and Petřkovice. In all these municipalities the cores of electoral support for this party reached more than 44% of votes. The greatest support (above 49%) was proved in Ludgeřovice.

If we compare the electoral gains of GNP with the gains of GCSPP, the territorial differentiation is clearly visible. The support of GNP, an extremely

right-wing party whose main goal was to get the right of self-determination for the German people living in Czechoslovakia (Malíř and Marek 2005: 74), was primarily bound to the more industrial eastern part of the Hlučín region.

On the contrary, the agricultural western part of the region, which according to the census results declared a slightly higher religiosity (probably much higher in reality), can be considered as a "sphere of influence" of GCSPP and CPP.

The core of electoral support of GSDWP (Figure 4), one of the most significant German left-wing oriented democratic parties, was discontinuously scattered along the whole Hlučín region. It consists of 9 municipalities. GSDWP gained the greatest support in Bolatice (41% of votes).

The discontinuousness of the core could be related to the fact that industrial companies were situated in the core municipalities (agricultural machinery factory in Štěpánkovice, cement factory in Bolatice) and economically active people working in the secondary sector of the economy concentrated there. These people traditionally represented the key voters for the party. In case of municipalities situated immediately in the hinterland of Hlučín, the electoral support was represented mostly by workmen commuting to the city. In villages (Lhotka, Hošťálkovice) in the south part of the region workers most probably commuted to the industrial area of Ostrava or to nearby Petřkovice with two mines of *Vítkovické těžiřstvo* (ironworks of Vítkovice) (cf. Káňa 1984).

The electoral support of CPP (Figure 5) was continuously concentrated in 13 municipalities of the Hlučín region. Similarly to GCSPP, the support of CPP was mostly located in the western part of the region where both parties literally competed with each other, but also in Bohuslavice, Závada and Vřesina, which are situated rather in the central part of the Hlučín region. It was exactly in Vřesina where Czechoslovak populists gained the greatest support (more than 53% of votes). It was proved again that supposed higher degree of religiosity of voters determined the electoral behavior of population rather in the western municipalities of the Hlučín region.

Table 3 Percentage of overlapping municipalities in the core of electoral support of individual political parties.

Source: Zemský archiv v Opavě, own processing.

Party	Number of municipalities inside the core	Proportion (%) of municipalities, which are at the same time inside the core of electoral support of			
		CPP	GCSPP	GNP	GSDWP
CPP	13	—	61.54	0.00	7.69
GCSPP	15	61.54	—	0.00	6.66
GNP	3	0.00	0.00	—	0.00
GSDWP	9	7.69	6.66	0.00	—

Voters who decided to vote for CPP and GCSPP, thus the parties oriented to political Catholicism, did not have to decide only on the basis of their ethnicity. The program differences of both political subjects also could have played an important role in their decision.

It is evident that in case of four most influential parties the cores of political support partially overlapped (see Table 3). As it was suggested above, the most overlapping cores of electoral support were the ones of CPP and GCSPP. It concerned 8 municipalities. It is a relatively significant overlap when we take into consideration the fact that the core of electoral support of GCSPP consisted of 15 municipalities and the one of CPP consisted of 13 municipalities. As for other overlaps we can observe only an overlap of the cores of GSDWP and CPP represented by 1 village, and also GSDWP and GCSPP, again in the extent of 1 village.

The main tendencies in the spatial distribution of the cores of electoral support can be summarized as follows. The support of German political parties was high in the Hlučín region. It was most evident in the peripheral parts of the region. GCSPP dominated in the western part; GNSWP was relatively influential there too. GNP was the undisputed favourite in the eastern part of the region. GSDWP gained the votes mostly in the central part of the region and in the hinterland of Hlučín.

To make the picture complete, we will briefly characterize the spatial distribution of the cores of the remaining parties. Except for the core of electoral

support of CPP, which stretched along from the northwestern part to the centre of the Hlučín region, the support of Czechoslovak parties like CND, CNSP, CSDWP or RPASP, which belonged to the parties with lower gain of votes, was concentrated in the central and eastern parts of the Hlučín region. On the contrary, CPC got the votes mostly in the western villages of the Hlučín region. The cores of electoral support of the political parties with poor results were represented by municipalities with the largest population. This fact was most likely caused by concentration of minorities in these villages (the Polish in Kravaře and Šilheřovice, the Jewish in Hlučín and Šilheřovice), possibly also by concentration of economically active inhabitants connected with the tertiary sector of the economy (traders, merchants). The continuous core of electoral support of GEC (Rohov, Sudice, Třebom) was determined by relatively significant concentration of the inhabitants proclaiming German nationality.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE ELECTIONS

The following part was composed on the basis of application of correlation calculation, which was defined above. The goal of the following text and tables is to outline possible dependence of the electoral gains of political subjects in individual municipalities of the Hlučín region on selected demographic structures and the population size of municipalities. The data for these structures were gained from the Statistical lexicon of municipalities in Czechoslovakia (Státní úřad statistický 1935:36-37). The data base of this publication is limited,

Table 4 Correlation coefficients between results of individual political parties and ethnical or religious structure of inhabitants of the Hlučín region for the elections in 1929.

Source: Státní úřad statistický (1935:36-37); Zemský archiv v Opavě.

Party	Nationality				Religious belief				
	Czecho-slovak	German	Polish	Other	Roman Catholic	Evangelic	Czecho-slovak*	Israeli	Non Believers
CPC	0.169	-0.160	-0.027	-0.125	0.083	-0.112	0.033	0.006	0.089
GEC	-0.909	0.919	-0.072	0.119	-0.344	0.494	-0.199	-0.069	-0.114
GSDWP	0.147	-0.144	-0.029	-0.058	0.048	-0.128	0.115	0.019	0.182
UJPP	0.160	-0.165	0.316	-0.014	0.023	-0.124	0.276	0.327	0.062
GNP	0.181	-0.203	0.167	0.165	-0.159	-0.091	0.609	0.108	0.364
CNSP	0.037	-0.069	0.427	0.268	-0.125	0.014	0.118	0.409	0.229
CSDWP	0.182	-0.230	0.051	0.428	-0.009	-0.169	0.534	0.086	0.124
LABT	0.157	-0.148	-0.038	-0.117	0.124	-0.107	-0.047	-0.009	-0.065
CND	0.129	-0.161	0.065	0.284	-0.229	-0.0386	0.644	0.025	0.472
CPP	0.349	-0.335	-0.086	-0.215	0.320	-0.222	-0.419	-0.046	-0.264
RPASP	0.357	-0.343	-0.205	-0.199	0.389	-0.232	-0.355	-0.182	-0.400
CTP	0.090	-0.144	0.336	0.479	-0.124	-0.071	0.517	0.422	0.215
GCSPP	-0.379	0.412	-0.146	-0.211	-0.139	0.347	-0.437	-0.095	-0.188
HSPP	0.159	-0.141	-0.106	-0.207	0.139	-0.109	-0.074	0.205	-0.161
GNSWP	-0.066	0.061	0.141	0.056	0.139	-0.087	-0.097	-0.052	-0.139

Note: * – members of Czechoslovak Church.

because it consists only of the data concerning the population size of municipalities and their religious and ethnical structure. For this reason we have chosen just these features.

Table 4 represents correlation coefficients, which express statistical dependence between results of individual political parties and ethnical structure of inhabitants of the Hlučín region – more precisely the local voters.

The closest correlation dependence was proved in case of individual election results of German political party GEC. In case of two selections represented by the electoral gains of GEC and the proportion of declared German nationality, there exists an almost perfect direct correlation dependence. This result points out the fact that GEC gained the

votes mostly in the villages with a significant percentage of German nationality inhabitants. It can be proved in case of Sudice and Třebom. In Sudice, where the inhabitants of German nationality constituted more than 77% of population in 1930, the German political party gained above 20% of votes. In Třebom, with more than 90% inhabitants of German nationality, the German party got more than 31% of votes, which was their largest electoral support ever. On the contrary, in the municipalities with the largest percentage of Czechoslovak inhabitants, GEC achieved the smallest electoral gains. In some villages, e.g. Antošovice, Bělá or Vřesina, the party did not get any vote at all.

According to Table 4, the main GEC rival in the Hlučín region was represented by GCSPP. This fact can be proved by a slight correlation dependence

Table 5 Correlation coefficients between the results of individual political parties and population size of municipalities in the Hlučín region for the elections in 1929.

Source: Státní úřad statistický (1935:36-37); Zemský archiv v Opavě.

CPC	GEC	GSDWP	UJPP	GNP	CNSP	CSDWP	GNSWP
0.115 368	-0.169 450	0.220 131	0.123 546	0.259 287	0.214 697	0.029 401	0.251 503

LABT	CND	CPP	RPASP	CTP	GCSPP	HSPP
-0.026 460	0.233 589	-0.374 550	-0.338 540	0.328 041	-0.193 040	-0.089 250

between the electoral gains of GCSPP and the proportion of German nationality inhabitants, and by a trace of indirect correlation dependence between the electoral gains of GCSPP and Czechoslovak nationality. If we take a closer look at the election results, we can indeed observe a slightly higher electoral gains of GCSPP in the municipalities with a higher percentage of German nationality inhabitants, e.g. in Malé Hoštice, where the party gained above 39% of votes (the percentage of German nationality inhabitants was almost 13%). This kind of dependence became extremely evident in Sudice mentioned above, where GCSPP obtained the greatest support (more than 66%). Nevertheless, the support of GCSPP was global (see e.g. Vrbka with 4 people of German nationality and the party gained their third best result there, above 60%, or Hněvošovice with 8 inhabitants proclaiming German nationality and the political party got more than 57% of votes there, which was the fourth best result of the party in the Hlučín region) and it would be certainly confusing to give electoral gains of GCSPP only in the villages with a higher percentages of German nationality inhabitants.

Regression analysis produced interesting results in case of members of the Czechoslovak Church. This group proved a relatively high value of direct correlation with distribution of gains of radical GNP. But we cannot interpret this fact in the way that these people would represent the electoral core of GNP. In the examined period of time, the members of the Czechoslovak Church represented a minority in the traditionally Catholic Hlučín region: 0.63% of inhabitants. To a large extent, it could have concerned the families of state officials who moved in

the Hlučín region from Bohemia, where the Czechoslovak Church had much better position. Then they could have been settled partly in the administrative centre of the Hlučín region, partly in the municipalities with more significant support of GNP. In this case we are particularly thinking of more industrial-oriented villages in the eastern part of the Hlučín region (Koblov, Ludgeřovice, Petřkovice) which is illustrated by a slightly positive correlation of GNP and atheistic people. In the municipalities mentioned they thus could have actively opposed this trend or at least monitored it. We rather incline to the opinion that the spatial distribution of the members of this church could have positively influenced the electoral gains of CND (Král 2010:169) also alluded this in his work), possibly of CTP.

In case of the remaining parties, there are only traces of relations between their electoral gains and ethnical or religious structure. Traces of relations were proved between distribution of inhabitants, who, in the census, identified themselves as Israelites, and the gains of UJPP and CTP. CNSP is attached to them, too.

Table 5 provides us with the results of regression analysis. Using this analysis we tried to monitor the potential dependence of the electoral gains of the parties, which participated in the parliamentary elections in the Hlučín region, on the population size of municipalities.

It can be stated that the table does not provide any fundamental information. A trace of correlation closeness was proved only in three cases. In the case of CTP the value of positive correlation points out

the tendency to obtain most of their electoral gains in the Hlučín region municipalities with a larger population. This statement seems logical with regard to a higher number of merchants and traders in regional centres and municipalities with a larger population. On the contrary, the values of correlation coefficient in case of CPP and RPASP illustrate greater electoral support rather in the municipalities with a smaller population. Even this statement corresponds with traditionally greater support of these parties in the hinterland of cities and in the countryside.

CONCLUSION

From the point of view of the parliamentary elections, the historical Hlučín region can be determined as a specific region, of which electoral results in 1929 significantly differed from the total results of Czechoslovakia. Even though the majority of local population identified with the Czechoslovak nationality in the census a year later, the people still did not identify with Czechoslovak political parties to that extent to be able to vote for them and make the first move to declare a better adaptation with their restored homeland and a deeper integration with it. Káňa (1984) even points out a certain process of radicalization of the society in the Hlučín region since 1925. This fact is proved by a large increase of electoral preferences of radical GNP in comparison with parliamentary elections in 1925 and, on the contrary, a decrease of electoral gains of remaining German political parties during this period.

Relatively significant differences were found out in the support of individual political parties running for the Chamber of Deputies in the Hlučín region in 1929. The greatest electoral gain was achieved by German political parties, either so-called activist (GCSPP, GSDWP) or radical (GNP). This fact, according to the ethnical structure, gained the region a rare position in Czechoslovakia. CPP became the only successful Czechoslovak party in the Hlučín region.

Fundamental differences in the territorial distribution of electoral preferences emerged from the construction of the cores of electoral support.

Christian-oriented political parties GCSPP and CPP had obvious superiority in electoral support especially in the villages situated in the western part of the Hlučín region. These democratic parties relatively significantly competed with each other. Among other things, this fact can be proved by a significant degree of overlap of their cores of electoral support. On the contrary, GNP obtained their electoral gains mostly in the municipalities situated in the eastern part of the region. In comparison with other most influential parties, the core of electoral support of GNP is the smallest one and clearly concentrated on the eastern edge of the region, where emerged a slightly different character of local villages and most likely also the effect of neighbourhood. As for the opposite pole of the values of electoral gains, we can observe the concentration of support of marginal political parties (e.g. CTP, UJPP) in cities and bigger villages, which was a relatively widespread tendency. In the Hlučín region, this situation was stressed by the prevailing occurrence of the Polish or Jewish minorities in municipalities of this size.

The values of correlation coefficients calculated by regression analysis indicate a situation when the population evincing the German nationality in 1930 preferred mostly German parties (negative correlation coefficients with all Czechoslovak parties), above all GCSPP. The voters of GEC were purely German; on the other hand, this political party achieved one of the lowest electoral supports. In case of voting for radical GNP, the ethnical key did not matter, which was indirectly pointed out by negative correlation coefficient with German nationality. In case of voters of Czechoslovak nationality we cannot prove (except for GEC) preference for any party (almost all the coefficients are positive). Instead of ethnical key, it was rather social status or momentary satisfaction with everyday life that decided. It must be said that the analysis applied does not have ambitions to specify an unqualified situation. By this analysis, we tried to point out potential connections of electoral results. For more complex understanding of motivation of voters' electoral behaviour, it would be necessary to carry out a poll preferably immediately after casting of ballots, which is a hardly realizable task even nowadays.

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Résumé

Volby do Poslanecké sněmovny Národního shromáždění na Hlučínsku v roce 1929: historicko-geografická analýza

Předloženou práci je možno chápat jako pokus o historicko-geografickou analýzu volebních preferencí populace Hlučínska v roce 1929. Tento region byl vybrán záměrně vzhledem ke své očividné specifčnosti, determinované historickým osudem území, který se markantně lišil od dalších regionů v Čechách na Moravě a ve Slezsku. V důsledku tzv. 1. slezské války (1740–1742) došlo k rozdělení historické země Slezska mezi vítězné Prusko Fridricha II. a poražené Rakousko Marie Terezie. Vratislavským mírem bylo Hlučínsko přičleněno Pruskému království, místní populace pak byla nucena strávit v pozici určité kulturně-etnické subkultury v novém státním útvaru takřka dvě století. Především kvůli kontinuálně zachovávanému jazyku (tzv. moravština) a tradiční katolické víře si dokázali uchovat svou identitu, která však prošla jistým vývojem. Jednalo se především o jakousi národnostní nevyhraněnost. S tímto potenciálem se obyvatelé Hlučínska stali součástí čerstvě vzniklého Československa, přičemž lze konstatovat, že řada občanů republiky je vnímala jako národně nespolehlivou komunitu, k čemuž přispívalo i atypické volební chování elektorátu na Hlučínsku.

Předložená studie si klade za hlavní cíl provést analýzu parlamentních voleb (třetí parlamentní volby od vzniku státu, předčasné, což způsobil rozpad tzv. „panské“ koalice) na Hlučínsku konaných ve zmíněném roce, zabývá se však pouze volbami do Poslanecké sněmovny Národního shromáždění Československé republiky. Studie se zaměřuje na prostorový kontext voleb, přičemž územní diferenciacie jsou zkoumány do úrovně administrativně platných obcí v roce 1929. Metodicky byly využity historicko-geografické postupy, klasické přístupy volební geografie a základní statistické operace.

Prostorové vymezení regionu, jenž byl v rámci této studie podroben analýze, je zde ztotožněno s katastry celkem 38 tehdejších obcí, které byly v roce 1920

resp. 1923 přičleněny k Československé republice. Region v této podobě navíc odpovídá volebnímu okrsku Hlučín.

Projevila se výrazná volební převaha německých politických stran, které v konečném součtu získaly téměř dvě třetiny platných hlasů. Tento výsledek naprosto nekorespondoval s celorepublikovými výsledky. Nejsilnější stranou se na Hlučínsku stala Německá křesťanskosociální lidová strana, jež získala přes 27 % platných volebních hlasů. Nejúspěšnější československou politickou stranou byla celkově čtvrtá v pořadí Československá strana lidová. I když se většina místního obyvatelstva o rok později během sčítání lidu identifikovala s československou národností, stále se s československými politickými stranami neztotožnilo do té míry, aby jim odevzdalo více volebních hlasů a tímto krokem deklarovalo větší adaptaci se staronovou vlastí a hlubší integraci s ní. Volební rozhodování hlučínského elektorátu výrazně ovlivnila silná katolická víra, v regionu tradičně zakořeněná. Na poměrně úrodnou půdu zde také dopadal volební program německých nacionalistů. Na základě provedené analýzy jader volební podpory vyplynuly taktéž zásadní rozdíly v územním rozmístění volebních preferencí elektorátu. V obcích nacházejících se v západní části Hlučínska měly jasnou převahu ve volební podpoře zejména křesťansky orientované politické strany (Německá křesťanskosociální lidová strana a Československá strana lidová), naopak z obcí ležících ve východní části regionu generovala své volební zisky především Německá národní strana. V jejím případě byla prokázána nejvýraznější koncentrace volební podpory, projevit se mohl zejména tzv. efekt sousedství a ve srovnání se zbytkem regionu poněkud diferencovaný sociální a ekonomický charakter obcí. Regresní analýza poukazuje na situaci, kdy voličstvo vykazující v roce 1930 německou národnost preferovalo s největší pravděpodobností německé strany. V případě voličů československé národnosti nelze prokázat kromě DW 29 vyhraněnost vůči žádné straně, v jejich případě rozhodoval spíše sociální status či momentální (ne)spokojenost s každodenností.