Democratization, Personal Wealth of Politicians and Voting Behavior

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Motivation

Motivation

- Between 1850 to 1920, a wave of democratization and liberalization swept over Western Europe, bringing about universal suffrage and an expansion of government.
- The double transition from autocracy to parliamentary democracy, and from passive government to engagement in social spending, has been widely studied in various disciplines.
 - Threat of revolution (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2000)
 - Electoral expedience (Lizzeri and Perisco, 2004)
 - Electoral competition (Llavador and Oxoby, 2005)
- The conception of politicians' self-interest in these studies revolves around safeguarding political power.
- However, politicians might also care about a more superficial form of self-interest: their personal wealth (Ferraz and Finan, 2009; Tahoun and Van Lent,2019).

This study

- I use the setting of the Netherlands to analyze politicians' voting behavior in parliament on all suffrage extensions and major fiscal legislation between 1872-1921
 - Inheritance taxation (Successiewet)
 - Income taxation (Inkomstenbelasting)
- I employ probate inventories collected from archival sources to identify the relationship between politicians' personal wealth and their voting behavior.
- Using data on the portfolio composition of politicians' wealth, I estimate
 politicians' net wealth at the time of voting, and relate this to the voting outcome.
- I provide instrumental variable (IV) estimates of personal wealth on the propensity to vote for reforms.
 - Politician's wealth is instrumented by parental wealth and by an indicator whether the politician's father was also politically active.

Results - Overview

- Major finding: richer politicians are more likely to vote against fiscal legislation than ceteris paribus poorer politicians
 - Instrumental variable analyses suggest there is a direct effect of politicians' personal wealth on accepting fiscal legislation.
- The effects are absent in suffrage extensions
- Consistent with the historiography, ideology and party are major determinants of voting behavior
 - But the effect of personal wealth is strong enough to materially influence the voting outcome
- Paradigm-shifting laws are the primary drivers for the effect
 - Consistent with the effect being more pronounced when expected costs of acceptance are higher

Background

Legislation and Politicians

- **Suffrage extensions:** Initially, very few enfranchised: based on tax burden.
 - Failed attempt at expansion in 1872, extensions in 1887, 1896 and 1917 (universal male suffrage).
 - Main causes of disagreement: specific numbers and precise criteria. Not a debate dominated by abstract principles.
 - Large effect on the electorate, but likely no effect for politicians personally.
- **Fiscal legislation:** 1850-1870: government size was very limited, no structural increase in government expenditures.
 - In 1878, a law project passed which introduced inheritance taxation for lineal descendants.
 - In 1893, first income taxation introduced. Precedents for successive increases in rates.
 - Potentially large effect on politicians' personal finances.

Parliamentary Wealth over Time

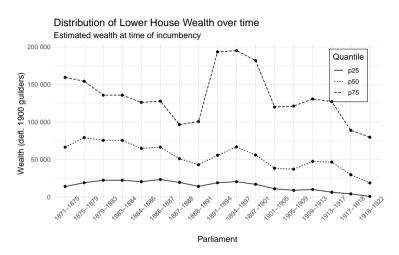


Figure 1: Parliamentary Wealth over Time

Personal Impact on Politicians

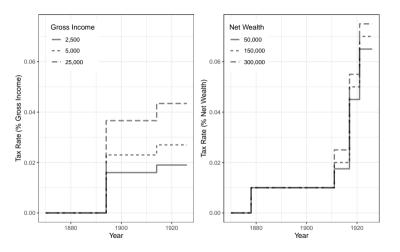


Figure 2: Tax Rates on Income (Left) and Wealth (Right)

Method

Empirical Model

• I firstly pool all laws, and model $V = Pr(p_i = 1)$ as a function of a politician's wealth and party, augmented by controls:

$$\textit{V}_{\textit{i},\textit{j}} = \alpha + \beta \cdot \mathsf{ihs} \; \mathsf{Wealth}_{\textit{i},\textit{j}} + \delta \cdot \mathsf{Party}_{\textit{i}} + \gamma \cdot \mathsf{Law}_{\textit{j}} + \eta \cdot \mathsf{Controls}_{\textit{i},\textit{j}} + \varepsilon_{\textit{i},\textit{j}}$$

- In other specifications, I separately estimate regressions for suffrage extensions and fiscal legislation.
- I use the following recursive relationship to estimate a politician's wealth at the time of voting on law k as a function of their (deflated) wealth at death:

$$\mathsf{Wealth}_{i,t+1} = \sum_{J} \mathsf{AssetShare}_{i,j,t} \cdot \mathsf{AssetReturn}_{i,j,[t,t+1]}$$

Two Ways to Address Endogeneity

- Even after correcting for differential wealth returns, politicians' wealth could be endogenously determined.
 - Particular voting behavior might be rewarded by interest groups (Fisman et al., 2014, Tahoun and van Lent, 2019)
 - I test whether there is a difference in the personal wealth voting behavior relationship between politicians who died shortly after having vote and those who did not.
- There might still be many reasons why this approach does not isolate the effect of personal wealth on voting behavior.
 - E.g. politicians' consumption and investment behavior might be correlated with their voting behavior: politicians who vote against might have consumed more of their income, reducing the observed correlation between personal wealth and voting behavior.
 - More generally, unobserved politician fixed effects might be correlated with wealth.
- I use instrumental variable estimation to address this.
 - Two unrelated instruments: Father Politician and Expected Inheritance

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1: Dissent in Voting Behavior in Key Laws

| | | | | | | Pa | arty Line | | | Dissent | |
|---------------|-------------------------|------|----|---------------|----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|---------|-----------|
| Category | Law | Year | Ν | Pct. In Favor | Status | Confessional | Liberal | Socialist | Confessional | Liberal | Socialist |
| Electoral Law | Kieswet 1872 | 1874 | 71 | 0.45 | Rejected | Con | Pro | - | 0.04 | 0.30 | - |
| | Kieswet 1887 | 1887 | 83 | 0.82 | Accepted | Pro | Pro | - | 0.39 | 0.02 | - |
| | Kieswet 1892 | 1894 | 98 | 0.42 | Rejected | Con | Pro | Pro | 0.16 | 0.37 | 0.00 |
| | Kieswet 1896 | 1896 | 88 | 0.74 | Accepted | Pro | Pro | Pro | 0.41 | 0.17 | 0.00 |
| | Kieswet 1918 | 1919 | 68 | 0.85 | Accepted | Pro | Pro | Pro | 0.30 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Fiscal Law | Inkomstenbelasting 1872 | 1872 | 78 | 0.35 | Rejected | Con | Pro | - | 0.04 | 0.49 | - |
| | Inkomstenbelasting 1893 | 1893 | 89 | 0.62 | Accepted | Con | Pro | Con | 0.26 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| | Inkomstenbelasting 1914 | 1914 | 80 | 0.85 | Accepted | Pro | Pro | Pro | 0.34 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Successiewet 1878 | 1878 | 80 | 0.60 | Accepted | Con | Pro | _ | 0.04 | 0.10 | _ |
| | Successiewet 1911 | 1911 | 69 | 0.93 | Accepted | Pro | Pro | Pro | 0.14 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| | Successiewet 1916 | 1916 | 77 | 0.62 | Accepted | Con | Pro | Pro | 0.15 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| | Successiewet 1921 | 1921 | 70 | 0.77 | Accepted | Pro | Con | Pro | 0.26 | 0.17 | 0.00 |

Dissent is defined as the percentage of politicians of each faction having voted against the party line.

Party Line is defined as the median vote per party: 'Pro' if in favor, 'Con' if against, 'None' if no discerible party line (equally split), and '-' if N.A.

 ${\sf Kieswet - Electoral\ Law,\ Inkomstenbelasting - Income\ Tax,\ Successiewet - Inheritance\ Tax}$

OLS Estimates

- OLS Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Suffrage and Fiscal Legislation
 - Results show small but significant relationship

| | Pooled | Sut | ffrage Extens | sion | Fisc | cal Legislatio | n |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Personal Wealth | | -0.007* (0.004) | -0.007** (0.004) | -0.008* (0.004) | -0.010*** (0.004) | -0.009** (0.004) | -0.008* (0.004) |
| Personal Wealth x Fiscal | -0.009** (0.004) | , | , , | , , | , , | ` , | , , |
| Personal Wealth \times Suffrage | -0.009*** (0.003) | | | | | | |
| N | 633 | 255 | 255 | 238 | 311 | 311 | 301 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.40 | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.35 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.53 |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Selection Ratio | - | 2.13 | 12.37 | 9.75 | 6.6 | 27.49 | 3.65 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote). Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Controls: (2,5): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (3,6) + District Income, Wealth, Strikes. (4,7) + Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election.

Alternative Explanations

- The effect of personal wealth on the likelihood to vote in favor of fiscal legislation seems to be robust to the inclusion of many controls
- But politicians who voted against could have been rewarded by interest groups
 - ullet Wealth at death is higher because of voting profile o coefficient might be overestimated
- Test whether there is a difference in the relationship between wealth and voting behavior for politicians who died early and those who did not
 - The group who died shortly after voting is unlikely to have had opportunities to amass rents
 - If there is a substantial difference, reverse causality could play a large role

Alternative Explanations: Died Shortly After Vote

 The coefficient on personal wealth is significant in both analyses, as well as in the pooled case.

| | Pooled | | Suffrage | | | Fiscal | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|---------|----------|---------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) |
| Personal Wealth | -0.010*** | -0.008* | -0.008* | -0.009* | -0.012*** | -0.011** | -0.010** |
| | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Died W 2 Yrs | -0.009 | 0.077 | 0.092 | -0.021 | -0.168* | -0.144 | -0.198** |
| | (0.085) | (0.120) | (0.119) | (0.143) | (0.100) | (0.098) | (0.081) |
| Personal Wealth x Died W 2 Yrs | 0.005 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.017 | 0.010 | 0.008 | 0.016** |
| | (0.006) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.011) | (0.009) | (0.009) | (800.0) |
| N | 633 | 255 | 255 | 238 | 311 | 311 | 301 |
| Adj. R^2 | 0.40 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.35 | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.53 |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Selection Ratio | - | 7.16 | 1.54 | 1.73 | 4.05 | 25.73 | 13.54 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote). Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Controls: (2,5): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (3,6) + District Income, Wealth, Strikes. (4,7) + Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election.

IV Estimates

- There are still various reasons why this coefficient might not reflect the true relationship between personal wealth and voting behavior.
- Politicians' consumption and investment behavior might be correlated with their voting behavior: politicians who vote against might have consumed more of their income, reducing the observed correlation between personal wealth and voting behavior.
- More generally, unobserved politician fixed effects might be correlated with wealth (omitted variable bias)
- I use instrumental variable estimation to address this.
 - Two unrelated instruments: Father Politician and Expected Inheritance

IV Estimates: Suffrage Extensions

- Father Politician is a good predictor for politicians' wealth.
- No precise relationship between personal wealth and propensity to vote in favor of suffrage extension.

| | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|---------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Father Politician | 1.773* | | 1.665 | | 1.287 | |
| | (0.975) | | (1.036) | | (1.149) | |
| Personal Wealth | | -0.026 | | -0.059 | | -0.078 |
| | | (0.030) | | (0.047) | | (0.081) |
| N | 238 | 238 | 210 | 210 | 194 | 194 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.08 | 0.25 | 0.12 | 0.01 | 0.08 | -0.15 |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | 3.31 | | 2.59 | | 1.26 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | 0.56 | - | 0.57 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ink(Wealth at Time of Vote), and instrumented by Father's profession. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election

IV Estimates: Fiscal Legislation

- Father Politician is a good predictor for politicians' wealth.
- Significant and negative relationship between personal wealth and propensity to vote in favor of suffrage extension.
 - About 2-3 times the effect size of the OLS analyses.

| | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Father Politician | 2.484*** | | 2.324*** | | 2.024*** | |
| | (0.596) | | (0.627) | | (0.644) | |
| Personal Wealth | , , | -0.044** | , , | -0.057** | , , | -0.064** |
| | | (0.020) | | (0.024) | | (0.031) |
| N | 337 | 337 | 302 | 302 | 292 | 292 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.08 | 0.31 | 0.06 | 0.32 | 0.07 | 0.23 |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | 17.35 | | 13.75 | | 9.87 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | 0.71 | - | 0.59 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote), and instrumented by Father's profession. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election

IV Estimates: Fiscal Legislation - Expected Inheritance

 Relationship persists when using a completely unrelated (and plausible) instrument despite small sample size.

| | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Expected Inheritance | 1.345*** | | 1.441*** | | 1.568*** | |
| | (0.478) | | (0.442) | | (0.452) | |
| Personal Wealth | , , | -0.028* | , , | -0.026* | , , | -0.021* |
| | | (0.015) | | (0.015) | | (0.013) |
| N | 176 | 176 | 162 | 162 | 155 | 155 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.09 | 0.37 | 0.04 | 0.43 | 0.07 | 0.43 |
| Clustering | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | 7.93 | | 10.62 | | 12.03 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | 6.56 | - | 1.04 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote), and instrumented by Expected Inheritance. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election

Impact on Probability of Acceptance

• The magnitude of the effect is material: some accepted laws would likely not have been accepted by wealthier parliaments, everything else equal.

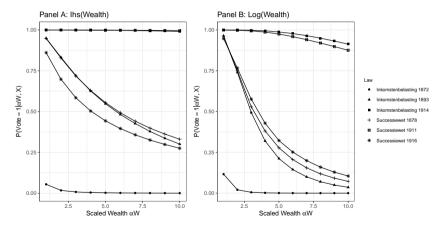


Figure 3: Wealth and Probability of Acceptance

Conclusion

Conclusion

- I find a significant and persistent negative effect of politicians' wealth on the tendency to vote in favor of tax increases
 - Dissenting politicians tend to prioritize their finances
- The effect is economically significant: poorer parliaments would have approved rejected laws sooner, and richer parliaments would have rejected laws increasing taxation that have been accepted.
- Clear relationship between personal wealth and voting behavior is absent in the case of suffrage extension
- Implications for democratization literature
 - Direct evidence that the personal profile of politicians influences government size
 - Partial explanation for why government size increased slowly over the nineteenth century (cf. Lindert, 2004) is the domination of politics by wealthy elites.
 - Exogenous negative wealth shocks facilitated expansion.

Appendix

Descriptive Statistics

| | | Electo | ral | | | Fisca | ıl | |
|------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|-----|---------|---------|---------|-----|
| | Mean | Median | SD | N | Mean | Median | SD | N |
| Panel A: Dependent and Main Inde | p. Vars | | | | | | | |
| Vote | 0.65 | 1.00 | 0.48 | 415 | 0.67 | 1.00 | 0.47 | 548 |
| Wealth (Time Vote) | 197.04 | 67.97 | 387.25 | 287 | 166.36 | 55.09 | 342.11 | 348 |
| Wealth (Time Vote), Rebalanced | 222.95 | 88.63 | 437.92 | 287 | 183.98 | 80.05 | 355.87 | 348 |
| Panel B: Party Affiliation | | | | | | | | |
| Catholic | 0.22 | 0.00 | 0.42 | 412 | 0.21 | 0.00 | 0.41 | 546 |
| Protestant | 0.21 | 0.00 | 0.41 | 412 | 0.23 | 0.00 | 0.42 | 546 |
| Socialist | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 412 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 546 |
| Liberal | 0.48 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 412 | 0.43 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 546 |
| Panel C: District Characteristics | | | | | | | | |
| % District in Agriculture | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.12 | 328 | 0.17 | 0.18 | 0.12 | 458 |
| % District in Industry | 0.42 | 0.43 | 0.09 | 328 | 0.43 | 0.43 | 0.09 | 458 |
| % District in Services | 0.40 | 0.36 | 0.19 | 328 | 0.40 | 0.36 | 0.19 | 458 |
| Share of District Income Tax | 59.85 | 43.62 | 53.30 | 339 | 53.05 | 37.39 | 49.43 | 472 |
| Share of District Wealth Tax | 3.43 | 2.34 | 3.13 | 339 | 3.05 | 2.08 | 2.92 | 472 |
| District Total Personal Tax Income | 238.33 | 100.64 | 319.17 | 339 | 228.70 | 94.82 | 313.15 | 472 |
| No. of Strikes | 3.72 | 1.00 | 10.80 | 339 | 12.78 | 1.00 | 37.01 | 472 |
| % Catholic | 0.37 | 0.30 | 0.29 | 339 | 0.36 | 0.31 | 0.28 | 472 |
| % Hervormd | 0.57 | 0.63 | 0.26 | 339 | 0.55 | 0.61 | 0.24 | 472 |
| % Gereformeerd | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 339 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 472 |
| Panel D: Electoral Characteristics | | | | | | | | |
| Vote Share | 0.51 | 0.50 | 0.26 | 338 | 0.55 | 0.53 | 0.19 | 469 |
| Socialist Dummy | 0.22 | 0.00 | 0.42 | 338 | 0.50 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 470 |
| Socialist Vote Share | 541.55 | 0.00 | 2022.15 | 338 | 1304.70 | 0.00 | 2193.76 | 470 |
| Days Since Last Election | 706.29 | 801.00 | 592.59 | 338 | 710.38 | 637.00 | 542.69 | 470 |
| Turnout | 0.65 | 0.67 | 0.18 | 338 | 0.72 | 0.75 | 0.16 | 469 |
| Vote Share Nearest Competitor | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.12 | 316 | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.12 | 458 |
| Seniority | 3234.71 | 2305.00 | 2942.38 | 415 | 3589.90 | 2767.00 | 3187.51 | 548 |
| Panel E: IV-Related Variables | | | | | | | | |
| Father Politician | 0.30 | 0.00 | 0.46 | 245 | 0.27 | 0.00 | 0.44 | 343 |
| Expected Inheritance | 158.45 | 39.82 | 593.26 | 131 | 133.73 | 18.68 | 518.50 | 177 |

Note: All wealth numbers deflated to 1900, and displayed in units of 1000 guilders. Wealth at time vote represents the wealth of politicisan \$\$ at the time of voting for a particular Jaw. Socialist dummy indicates where a socialist participated in the last election of politician \$\$1\$'s district. Seniority indicates the days since a politician became an MP F Taker politician indicates whether father of politician \$\$5's as a politician.

Robustness Checks

Logit Instead of OLS

• Results show similar pattern as OLS results but a larger magnitude

| | | Suffrage | | | Fiscal | |
|---------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Personal Wealth | -0.038 | -0.033 | -0.028 | -0.086** | -0.101** | -0.104** |
| | (0.028) | (0.030) | (0.032) | (0.034) | (0.041) | (0.045) |
| N | 286 | 255 | 238 | 347 | 311 | 301 |
| Nagelkerke R^2 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.15 | 0.22 |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. Results for lower house voting outcomes. The dependent variable, Vote, is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

IV Results Fiscal - Raw Wealth

- (Deflated) Wealth at end of life without estimating Wealth at the time of vote
 - Instrumented by Father Politician

| | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Father Politician | 2.872*** | | 2.823*** | | 2.641*** | |
| | (0.718) | | (0.757) | | (0.772) | |
| Personal Wealth | ` , | -0.038** | , , | -0.047** | ` , | -0.049** |
| | | (0.018) | | (0.020) | | (0.023) |
| N | 337 | 337 | 302 | 302 | 292 | 292 |
| Adj. R^2 | 0.09 | 0.33 | 0.08 | 0.36 | 0.08 | 0.32 |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | 15.98 | | 13.92 | | 11.71 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | 1.65 | - | 0.85 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Death), and instrumented by Father's profession. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election

IV Results Fiscal - Law and Party Interaction Dummies

 Results using only within-parliament within-law variation are equal to the baseline results

| | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|---------------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|----------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Father Politician | 2.678*** | | 2.393*** | | 2.076*** | |
| | (0.599) | | (0.592) | | (0.631) | |
| Personal Wealth | , , | -0.040** | , , | -0.057** | , , | -0.065** |
| | | (0.020) | | (0.024) | | (0.031) |
| N | 337 | 337 | 302 | 302 | 292 | 292 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.06 | 0.43 | 0.04 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.25 |
| Law x Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | 19.96 | | 16.35 | | 10.83 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | 2.2 | - | 2.08 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote), and instrumented by Father's profession. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election

Robustness Check - Rebalancing Portfolio

 Results using an estimate of Wealth at Time Vote using yearly rebalancing of portfolio asset shares

| | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|------------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Father Politician | 1.165*** | | 1.176*** | | 1.033*** | |
| | (0.257) | | (0.287) | | (0.281) | |
| Personal Wealth | | -0.094** | | -0.113** | | -0.125** |
| | | (0.044) | | (0.048) | | (0.060) |
| N | 337 | 337 | 302 | 302 | 292 | 292 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.14 | 0.37 | 0.09 | 0.41 | 0.08 | 0.32 |
| Clustering | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | 20.61 | | 16.82 | | 13.53 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | 3.78 | - | 0.39 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote), constructed using yearly portfolio rebalancing, and instrumented by Father's profession. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share, Vote Share N.C., Turnout, Seniority, Days since Last Election

Placeho Test

- Placebo test:
 - If Wealth *actually* reflects another component of preferences, it should be apparent on laws that are ideologically charged but have no influence on personal wealth.

| | 0 | LS | Personal Wealth | Vote | Personal Wealth | Vote |
|------------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Expected Inheritance | | | 0.140*** | | 0.115*** | |
| | | | (0.044) | | (0.035) | |
| Personal Wealth | 0.000 | 0.000 | , , | -0.001 | , , | -0.006 |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | | (0.004) | | (0.010) |
| N | 623 | 552 | 346 | 346 | 320 | 320 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.44 | 0.43 | 0.15 | 0.39 | 0.26 | 0.37 |
| Clustering | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician | Politician |
| Law Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Party Fixed Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| First-Stage Wald Stat. | | | | 10.38 | | 10.7 |
| Selection Ratio | - | - | - | | - | 0.04 |

^{*} p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Note: Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise. Robust standard errors clustered at the politician-level in parentheses. Personal Wealth is defined as ihs(Wealth at Time of Vote), and if applicable, instrumented by Expected Inheritance. Controls: (2): None. (4): Religious Decomposition, Economic Characteristics. (6): District Income, Wealth, Strikes, Socialist Vote, Socialist Dummy, Vote Share. Vote Share N.C.. Turnout. Senjority. Days since Last Election