

# Democratization, Personal Wealth of Politicians and Voting Behavior

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# I Introduction

One of the most important and influential developments in modern history has been the rise and gradual expansion of democratic governments in Western Europe. At the beginning of the 19th century most countries were ruled by oligarchical elites that were closely allied to an autocratic ruler, usually a king or emperor (Downing, 2020). After 1848 most of these countries adopted a parliamentary system with a separation of powers anchored in a constitution (Berman, 2019; Van Zanden and Van Riel, 2004; Persson and Tabellini, 2005). These were not yet parliamentary democracies, however. Rising incomes did lead to a gradual extension of the franchise in the second half of the nineteenth century but in most countries universal suffrage was only granted after 1900. Besides these political changes, European states transitioned from minimalist governments raising taxes for military purposes only, to governments actively intervening in the lives of citizens, first through investments in public health, transportation, and communication, then through investments in public education, and finally through extensive welfare schemes including unemployment benefits and pensions. (Dincecco, 2011; Downing, 2020; Tilly et al., 1998; Lindert, 2004; Ziblatt, 2006).

This double transition from autocracy to parliamentary democracy, and from passive government to the welfare state, has been widely studied in various disciplines. Political scientists have identified various mechanisms to explain why incumbent politicians would agree to reforms that reduce their power, in particular the threat of revolution (Acemoglu, 2000), electoral expedience (Lizzeri and Persico, 2004; Aidt et al., 2010), and electoral competition (Llavador and Oxoby, 2005; Galor and Moav, 2006)<sup>1</sup>. Subsequent empirical studies have found evidence for each of these mechanisms in specific historical settings (Ziblatt, 2008; Dincecco et al., 2011; Aidt and Jensen, 2014; Aidt and Franck, 2015; Dincecco, 2011; Aidt and Jensen, 2017; Przeworski, 2009; Capoccia, 2010). The empirical evidence on the relationship between political transformation and public finance reform is mixed: notably Lindert (2004) observed a positive correlation between democratization and public spending in European and North American states but others have found no association between franchise extension and public expenditure (Dincecco, 2009; Aidt et al., 2010; Chapman et al., 2020). In the US in the nineteenth century, Corvalan et al. (2016) document that the extension of suffrage did not change the size of government with eligibility requirements in place, but once these were removed and less wealthy politicians took office, more redistributive policies were enacted.

This goes to the heart of the issue addressed in this paper. Why would incumbent politicians in the oligarchies of nineteenth century Europe agree to political and fiscal reforms that chipped away at their power and wealth? For several decades after the installment of parliamentary regimes very little changed in the composition of the political elite (Clark, 2012; Mendoza et al., 2012; Querubin et al., 2016; Martinez-Bravo et al., 2017; Thompson et al., 2019). Members of parliament were often extremely wealthy (Piketty, 2013; Magraw, 1986; Machielsen, 2021) and in many countries the nobility remained overrepresented in parliamentary circles for a very long time (Moes, 2012). But if it was in their own interest to object to fiscal reform, increased government spending, and universal suffrage, why did they eventually agree to this? Was it an ideological choice, fear for revolution, the result of political bargaining, or had something changed in the composition of the political elite?

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<sup>1</sup>For an overview: Przeworski (2009)

To answer these questions, I turn to the case of the Netherlands. The Netherlands is an emblematic case from the perspective of European transition to democracy: the Netherlands became a constitutional monarchy in 1848, and took until 1918 to implement universal suffrage after the First World War (Van Zanden and Van Riel, 2004). In the transition period, the political system shares many characteristics with other countries: it is a bicameral system, where lower house elections took place in a district system, with a and the parliamentary arena was initially populated by insiders, and gradually diversified Van den Berg and Vis (2013). Suffrage was initially based on taxes paid (van der Kolk et al., 2018), requirements which were relaxed later. These characteristics makes the country similar to e.g. the United Kingdom, Germany (Prussia), and Sweden. On the other hand, the Netherlands shares explicit religious tensions with e.g. Belgium and Austria (Evans, 1999). There is ample variation in voting behavior and politicians likely voted as if their vote was pivotal. Due to the chaotic nature of parliament, very few laws were accepted as a *fait accompli*, and it was difficult to predict beforehand whether a law would pass or not (Van den Berg and Vis, 2013).

This study focuses on the influence of politicians' self-interest on this transformation. In this paper, I employ arguably the most obvious proxy for a politician's self-interest: their personal wealth. Using newly-collected probate inventories collected from various archival sources, I retrieve a reliable picture of politicians' personal wealth. I then analyze the influence of politicians' personal wealth, amid many other factors suggested by competing theories, on their voting behavior in a host of important fiscal reforms, suffrage extensions and government interventions. Personal wealth might causally influence voting behavior because acceptance or rejection of reforms might influence politicians' future cash flows in various ways. In a present-day context, there is also anecdotal evidence that politicians' self-interest might influence their decision-making (Ferraz and Finan, 2009; Fisman et al., 2014; Tahoun and Van Lent, 2019). To ensure a causal interpretation of the estimates, we employ several estimation procedures. In particular, we provide instrumental variable (IV) estimates of personal wealth on the propensity to vote for reforms, instrumenting parental wealth by an indicator whether the politician's father was also politically active. I also rely on various other alternatives to limit the bias caused by endogeneity by relying on (plausibly exogenous) timing of death among politicians.

## 2 Political Transition from Oligarchy to Democracy

To capture the transition from a parliamentary oligarchy to a parliamentary democracy, I focus on three distinct ensembles of laws: franchise extensions, government intervention and fiscal legislation. Franchise reforms institutionalized democracy open to every citizen (Przeworski, 2009) and is the central outcome in the theoretical and empirical literature of democratization (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2000; Aidt and Jensen, 2013). Concurrently, by focusing on major government interventions, I capture the changing paradigm of the state from a passive nightwatchman transforming into an interventionist state, and by focusing on fiscal legislation, I analyze how the state raised finances for this newly-assumed role (Lindert, 2004). The second basis to focus on these groups of laws is that politicians face very similar incentives within these groups.

### 2.1 Suffrage Extensions

An increase in active suffrage encompasses the relaxation (or abolition) of the requirements that granted individuals the right to vote. In the Netherlands, the key laws underlying these changes were implemented in a series of constitutional changes, which legitimized and implemented these expansions, and happened in the Netherlands in 1887, 1896, 1917 and 1918 (van der Kolk et al., 2018). It is also noteworthy that the trajectory did not happen without recoil: several law projects attempting to extend the franchise (in 1872 and 1896) were also rejected on various grounds. In appendix A, I provide a background on each of the debates surrounding these suffrage extensions.

The literature on the drivers of voting for suffrage extension identifies various factors. Firstly, in some models, self-interest influences politicians' decisions: several theories (Lizzeri and Persico, 2004; Aidt et al., 2010; Mukand and Rodrik, 2020) suggest that suffrage extension was a trade of electoral for property rights, so that wealthy elites could secure their property rights against expropriation. Secondly, a large body of literature documents that politicians are incentivized by the threat of revolution (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2000, 2001). Finally, politicians might anticipate that after franchise extensions, increased political competition might decrease the likelihood of reelection, which might reduce their rents and employment prospects (Fisman et al., 2014). On the other hand, it might do the opposite if politicians are popular with the presently-disenfranchised electorate (Llavador and Oxoby, 2005; Aidt and Franck, 2019).

There are also non-economic factors that might influence politicians' decisions to extend the suffrage: suffrage extensions might increase equality and equity, or it might do the opposite, depending on the ideological viewpoint. In the Netherlands, the era in which suffrage was extended is also marked by a shift in parliamentary composition towards a more diverse parliament: whereas parliaments were historically dominated by the nobility and circles close the autocrat, over time, parliaments become more diverse, but were still dominated by a layer of legal specialists, theologians and other trained men (van den Berg, 1983; van den Braak, 1999; Machielsen, 2021). Consistent with e.g. Acemoglu (2008), these changes in parliamentary composition could also be factored in by politicians deciding upon suffrage extension.

The evidence of the drivers of suffrage extension is mixed. Dincecco et al. (2011) and Aidt and Franck (2015) find evidence in favor of the threat of revolution hypothesis, and Aidt and Franck (2019) find that

politicians' decisions were influenced by the threat of revolution, but also by peaceful agitation. There is little evidence that politicians' self-interests are harmed by voting for suffrage: [Seghezza and Morelli \(2019\)](#) find that the acceptance of the Great Reform Act in the UK did not increase redistribution. [Scheve and Stasavage \(2012\)](#), focusing on inheritance taxation in a cross-country context, find no effect of democracy on the tax burden. [Corvalan et al. \(2016\)](#), studying the nineteenth century US, find no redistributive effect of suffrage extensions, although eligibility extensions after suffrage extensions do cause increased redistribution.

In short, the preceding discussion leads us to suppose that since politicians' personal interests were not readily at play, there is no influence of their self-interest on their voting behavior on suffrage extension.

## 2.2 Government Intervention

In nineteenth-century Europe, as documented by [Lindert \(2004\)](#), the general view of the state as a passive actor guaranteeing only the security of its citizens evolved into views that accorded the state a more interventionist role, although opinions about exactly how far that should go differed sharply. The responsibility for such a shift in attitudes across the continent likely lies with increasing social tension and poverty that came with industrialization ([Lindert, 2004](#); [De Swaan, 1989](#)). This initially prompted many parliaments to approve and oversee legislation prohibited child labor and establishing legal working hours ([Schenkeveld, 2003](#); [Aidt and Franck, 2019](#)).

These initial interventions marked a precedent for a more interventionist role of the state in markets and economic life of its citizens more generally: in the case of the Netherlands, the era of 1870 to 1920 is marked by several laws regulating education (1900), housing (1901), higher education (1904), labor contracts (1907), among others. Many of the laws were implemented in a spirit with the so-called *sovereignty in one's own circle*-principle, coined by confessional leader Abraham Kuyper ([Van den Berg and Vis, 2013](#); [Koch, 2020](#)). Significantly, and in contrast to several other countries, the majority of these laws burdened not the state, but private actors such as employers with the execution (and financing) of these provisions.

Politicians might take decisions on the basis of various factors when deciding whether to vote in favor. Firstly, For example, the compulsory education laws in 1901 likely increased equality and equity, the 1874 law regulating child labor helped children and the poor more generally ([van Gerwen and van Leeuwen, 2000](#); [Schenkeveld, 2003](#)), and the law regulating strikes (1903) might have solved one problem (strikes) but caused another (more revolutionary potential) according to at least some politicians ([van Welderen Rengers and Romeijn, 1916](#)). Similarly, the 1901 housing law might have disproportionately concerned particular groups (workers), and laws regulating labor contracts (1907) and offering protection to workers might or might not have had the intended effects (securing the position of workers vs. creating unemployment), depending on the politician's ideology.

There are also direct and indirect ways in which accepted legislation can directly influence a politician's wealth: government intervention not concerning the government budget may influence politicians' wealth indirectly in ways dependent on the specific law: laws regulating labor (e.g. labor accident law 1901, labor contract law, 1907, sick leave law, 1913) might influence the wealth of politicians who own firms or shares, who might have a lower profit rate. In a principal-agent framework ([Kalt and Zupan, 1984](#); [Peltzman, 1984](#)), if politicians' self-interests are concerned, it might influence their vote. However, since many

of the laws instigating government intervention were explicitly designed to keep the state small and minimize the burden on the state budget, I again reason that the personal interests of politicians were not at play, and do not influence their voting behavior on these laws.

## 2.3 Fiscal legislation

Despite that most government intervention targeted to limit governmental transfers, government size steadily increased, reaching levels significantly higher than ever before in history, although not nearing the standards of present-day (Lindert, 2004). Increased government spending was necessitated by several exogenous trends: the stalling of revenue from the colonies necessitated higher domestic taxation to balance the budget (Van Zanden and Van Riel, 2004; van Zanden and van Riel, 2010), but the aforementioned expansion of the government into many areas of life also required funds. The tax system, based predominantly on excise duties and tariffs was also widely considered to be outdated (Van den Berg and Vis, 2013). Finally, social tensions and perceived inequity were widespread, and arguably shifted the consensus towards acceptability of increasing taxation, sometimes even rendering taxation progressive. Again, in appendix A, I describe the historical background of the legislation into more detail.

The most important developments in fiscal legislation include the creating and development of an income tax (1893), which included a progressive tax rates. The 1914 hike increased basic tariffs and progressivity (Smit, 2002; van Zanden and van Riel, 2010). The other major source of tax revenue was inheritance taxation, which established a basic tax rate on inheritance to lineal descendants in 1878. The rates were increased in 1911, 1916, and 1921, but unlike the income tax, there was no progressivity until 1911, whereas afterwards, progressivity was introduced (Jacobs, 2003).

[Figure 1 here]

The impact of fiscal legislation on politician's wealth is direct: extrapolating from the possibility that politicians might benefit from taxation in terms of public goods, they are personally confronted with expected costs. To illustrate, using the rates of the 1893 income tax and the 1911 succession law, an estimate of the present value of accepting the law, using  $r = 0.03$  and  $T = 20$  (the average age at the time of voting is 53, and the average age of death of a politician is 73), we find that the expected present value cost of the acceptance of the 1893 income tax for a politician who earned about 5,000 guilders per year was about 8,000 guilders, and the expected costs of the acceptance of the inheritance tax reforms for a politician with median wealth at death (150,000 guilders) was about 2,500 guilders.<sup>2</sup>

After observing that a politician's income and wealth are (mechanically) related, it is easy to see that wealthier politicians experience higher expected costs from acceptance of the law. Hence, I expect that personal interests influence politicians' voting behavior on fiscal legislation, such that richer politicians are *ceteris paribus* less likely to vote in favor of fiscal reforms.

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<sup>2</sup>These arguments also apply to the other laws in question, but it is much less obvious whether there is a direct monetary cost, and whether this applies to all politicians in the general case, instead of only concerning a particular law. I also abstract away from any public goods that politicians might consume.

### 3 Estimating the Effect of Wealth on Voting Behavior

#### 3.1 The Link Between Politician Self-Interest and Voting Behavior

Historically, suffrage extensions and transitions to liberal democracy have been emphasized to be the product of ideological changes in society and politics (Ziblatt, 2006; Lijphart, 1975; Mukand and Rodrik, 2020). However, in the political economy literature (as in Snyder Jr, 1991; Mian et al., 2010), politicians' preferences are usually modeled as a function of their ideal policy and some component that reflects self-interest. In this context, the acceptance of each of these laws can influence politicians' utility in two ways: it can influence the state of the world in such a way as to come either closer to their ideal state,  $p_i^* \in [0, 1]$ , or farther. Secondly, political are supposed to care about their financial interests. Both considerations might lead them to decide upon accepting the laws according to:

$$U(p_i, C_i) = -(p_i - p_i^*)^2 + \beta \cdot f(p, C_i) + \epsilon_i^p \quad (1)$$

where  $p_i \in \{0, 1\}$  is the voting outcome, and  $f(p_i, C_i)$  is a function representing the impact of the acceptance of the law on their own wealth by taking into account potential *personal* cost to the politician  $C_i$ . This framework is flexible enough to accommodate politicians' ideological considerations: politicians might have preferences over social and societal outcomes that might be affected by the law. For example, politicians might be convinced that the particular law increases equality and equity, helps poorer individuals in general, or helps a particular ethnic, religious or economic group (all of which they may or may not value).

Keeping their moral values and preferences over social outcomes fixed, politicians might also not be convinced that the law in question solves the problem it attempts to solve, or indeed creates additional problems outweighing the initial problem. For this reason, their preferred outcome for such a law would be  $p_i^* = 0$ . Furthermore, some politicians might be ideologically in favor of free markets, and any government intervention can be thought of as bringing disutility to this group of politicians, which would be reflected in  $p_i^* = 1$ . In the setting of the Netherlands, some socialists frequently thought that government intervention did not go far enough, or that some conservatives thought that it went too far (van der Kolk et al., 2018). This can be reflected in a  $p_i^* \in (0, 1)$ , meaning that they suffer utility loss from a law that is less than somebody who is absolutely against it if accepted or absolutely in favor of it when rejected. Finally, politicians' might also feel animosity or hostility towards a particular colleague, leading them to prefer the law to be rejected, despite any eventual merits the law might have.

To keep the structure as simple as possible, I assume that:

$$f(p, C_i) = \begin{cases} C_i & \text{if } p_i = 1 \\ 0 & \text{if } p_i = 0 \end{cases}$$

with  $C_i$  being a measure of the cost they bear when the law is accepted. This means that politicians would factor the cost of a law in their decision, as if the acceptance would depend only on their vote. Combining this observation with the fact that  $\frac{\partial C_i}{\partial W_i} > 0$ , I deduce that the higher a politician's wealth, the lower the probability they vote in favor of a law. Alternatively, if politicians' self-interest would not



influence their decision, there would be no relationship between a politician’s personal wealth and the probability of voting in favor of a law.

### 3.2 Estimating the Influence of Personal Financial on Voting Behavior

The above framework implies that politicians make choices based on their ideology and self-interest and a random error. I collect voting outcomes on three ensembles of laws, suffrage extensions, government interventions and fiscal legislation, to obtain an estimate of the influence of personal wealth on the tendency of politicians to vote in favor of these laws. Using probate inventories, I obtain a measure of politicians’ personal wealth at the time of death. In section 3.4.1, I explain various ways in which I extrapolate politicians’ wealth at the time of voting. Furthermore, I capture a politician’s ideology by a classification on the basis of several works by political historians (van den Berg, 1983; Secker, 1991; van den Braak, 1999; Turpijn, 2017; Oomen, 2020), authors of detailed collective biographical works of the Dutch Upper and Lower Houses, as well as the broader political class. The classification is primarily based on close reading of parliamentary debates, secondary works, and biographical information. I map this very heterogeneous classification to the three basic ideological currents: {Liberal, Confessional, Socialist}.

In previous empirical studies of voting behavior (Kalt and Zupan, 1984; Peltzman, 1984, 1985; Levitt, 1996; Mian et al., 2010), separating ideology from personal and constituent interests has proven difficult because ideological interests and constituent interests were (nearly) perfectly correlated, e.g. richer and more confessional politicians represent districts in which religious shares are higher. In this study, however, I exploit many votes, with many different district-politician combinations, so that there is sufficient variation to separately identify the effects of constituencies, ideology, and personal wealth.

The baseline model involves creating three subsamples based on the three ensembles  $K$ , and then pooling the voting behavior politician  $i$  on specific law  $k \in K$ :

$$V_{i,k} = \alpha + \beta \cdot \text{Wealth}_{i,k} + \delta \cdot \text{LawDum}_{K=k} + \gamma \cdot \text{Party}_i + \eta \cdot \text{Controls}_{i,k} + \varepsilon_{i,k}$$

### 3.3 Control Variables

Politicians do not maximize equation 1 without constraints, but are also bound to take into account other factors: in a responsive democracy (Duggan and Martinelli, 2017), politicians should take into account constituent interests. These interests might be more effective depending on electoral competition. Other theories imply that threats of instability or revolution might induce politicians to vote. Hence, I include various control variables attempting to capture these factors at the politician-district level. First, to capture economic interests in a particular district, I include the share of the total labor force working in industry, services and agriculture in the closest available year preceding the vote. I also include the proportion of tax-paying individuals as a proxy for local wealth. Second, to capture revolutionary threat, I include a socialist dummy, indicating whether the politician competed against a socialist, as well as the voting share obtained by socialist candidates. As a measure for peaceful agitation, I include a count of strikes in the year preceding the vote in a politician’s district. Next, I include a measure for a district’s religious composition: depending on the specification, I include the percentage of Dutch Reformed or



Roman Catholic inhabitants. I additionally include various electoral variables (turnout, total vote margin, and nearest competitor margin) to control for possible effects of political competition, and I add several demographic variables, a politician’s age at the time of vote, and the age at the time of first entrance into the lower house, as well as a politician’s long and short electoral horizons (days to the next election, and years until planned retirement). In appendix B, I summarize all variables and sources used in this study.

### 3.4 Empirical Challenges

#### 3.4.1 Controlling for Differences in Portfolio Composition

The probate inventories I use contain information about (i) politicians’ net wealth at the time of death, and (ii) their asset composition. In order to ensure comparability between the wealth levels of politicians who died (and whose wealth was observed) at different points in time, I use data on asset class returns provided by Jordà et al. (2019) to estimate a politician’s wealth at the time of voting, thereby correcting for differential asset returns to which they might have been exposed over the course of their lifetime. Not doing so might risk overstating differences in wealth between politicians, and potentially overestimating the effect of personal wealth on voting behavior. I start out by deflating all observed wealth to 1900 guilders. Then, I use the following recursive relationship to identify a politician’s wealth at the time of voting on law  $k$  as a function of their (deflated) wealth at death:

$$\text{Wealth}_{i,t+1} = \sum_j \text{AssetShare}_{i,j,t} \cdot \text{AssetReturn}_{i,j,[t,t+1]} \quad (2)$$

In words, since a politician’s wealth at death, and their portfolio composition (in terms of asset classes) are known and observed, it is possible to estimate the wealth one year before using (average) real returns on asset class  $j$ . Applying this recursively yields an estimate of the wealth at the time of voting. In appendix C, I detail the precise assumptions used to match portfolio composition with assets class returns as provided by Jordà et al. (2019).

#### 3.4.2 Endogeneity

A politician’s wealth is likely to partially depend on the voting profile that politicians show, such that particular voting behavior is rewarded by interest groups, and other behavior is not (Ferraz and Finan, 2009; Fisman et al., 2014; Tahoun and Van Lent, 2019). This makes clear that both final wealth and voting behavior (and party affiliation) are likely to be determined by factors such as ideology and initial wealth. Hence, politicians’ voting behavior and their wealth are likely simultaneously determined by their ideological penchant. To arrive at an estimate unbiased by endogeneity, it is necessary to either find a measure of initial wealth that is measured at or before politicians’ wealth is affected by their voting behavior, or to use exogenous variation that is correlated to wealth, while at the same time being uncorrelated to a politician’s ideology (Wooldridge, 2010; Angrist and Pischke, 2008).

**Early deaths:** To this end, I make use of politicians who died relatively recently after having cast their votes in any of these laws. If these deaths are random with respect to voting behavior, and if the

relationship between wealth and voting behavior is the same for this subpopulation as for all other politicians, the distortion in estimates due to endogeneity is negligible. To this end, we use a dummy variable indicating whether a politician died within two (five) years after having cast the vote on a particular law, and estimate the following model:

$$V_{i,k} = \alpha + \beta_1 \cdot \text{Wealth}_i + \beta_2 \cdot \text{Died within X years} + \beta_3 \cdot \text{Wealth} \times \text{Died within X years} + \beta_4 \cdot \text{LawDum}_{K=k} + \beta_5 \cdot \text{Party}_i + \gamma \cdot \text{Controls}_{i,k} + \varepsilon_{i,k} \quad (3)$$

A politician who died fairly recently after a certain vote has less time to accrue rents from voting behavior after their political career, for example, in a lucrative function that they have occupied after their political career. Hence, it is likely that the simultaneity bias is attenuated for these observations. Secondly, the fact that a politician died closely after voting makes their wealth at death a good proxy for their initial wealth, on the basis of which they initially decided to vote. If the bias is strong, we would observe a large discrepancy in the influence of wealth on voting behavior between politicians who died later after having voted, thus having enough time to accrue rents, and politicians who died relatively shortly after having voted. On the other hand, if endogeneity plays a small role, we expect  $\beta_3$  to be insignificant. On the other hand, if the bias is large (and the effect of wealth on voting behavior is present) we would observe a  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_3$  that are widely different in magnitude.

**Instrumental variable:** To eliminate the bias arising from the endogenous relationship between wealth and voting behavior, we find an instrument that is both relevant and valid. To that end, I find the professions of the fathers of politicians, using mainly the *Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands* and genealogy websites, and construct an indicator variables indicating whether the father of politician  $i$  was a politician's father has ever been a politician (at any level) or not:

$$Z_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if father of politician } i \text{ was active in politics} \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

First, concerning the relevance of this instrument, politicians whose fathers were ever active in politics tend to be wealthier than politicians whose fathers were not. Validity of this instrument implies the supposition that having a father that was politically active is uncorrelated with the ideology (or other factors on the basis of which politicians make decisions) of politicians themselves. In the past, researchers have used similar instruments to account for the endogeneity of wealth. More specifically, Meer et al. (2003) used inheritances as an instrument for wealth, whereas Tahoun and Van Lent (2019) uses returns from a retirement plan, and Hilber and Liu (2008) use the occupation of the parents, parental education level, and parental income. In appendix D, I discuss threats to identification and argue against their plausibility.

### 3.5 Descriptive Statistics

In table 1, I show the voting outcomes for each law and a measure of dissent, defined as the proportion of politicians within a faction that voted different from the majority vote. A few patterns instantaneously

become clear: first, dissent has been much higher in fiscal legislation and suffrage extension than in government intervention. Secondly, dissent rates seem to be generally higher among confessional politicians than among liberally-oriented politicians, although liberal politicians also show relatively high dissent rates from time to time.

[table 1 Here]

In tables 2, 3 and 4, I show the descriptive statistics of all covariates in the empirical analysis. The median politician has an estimated deflated wealth of about 35,000 guilders, with ample within-category variation: standard deviations are generally very high, and there are poor politicians (with a negative net wealth) as well as very wealthy politicians. Industry shares for district hover around the 35 percent, with a large standard deviation. At the time of vote, politicians are on average about 52 years old, and have been member of parliament for about 10 years.

[tables 2, 3, 4 here]

## 4 Analysis

### 4.1 OLS Estimates

I start by estimating the influence of a politician's personal wealth on their voting behavior in table 7 by providing OLS estimates. First, I show results on laws pertaining to suffrage extensions in the lower house.

[Table 5 here]

In table 6, I show the results for government intervention.

[Table 6 here]

Next, I show the results pertaining to fiscal legislation. I begin by examining the correlation in a bivariate setting (specification 1), and then include party dummies supplemented by law dummies, giving a *within-law, within-party* estimate of the effect of wealth on the propensity to vote. Where data allow, I also split up the estimates for lower and upper houses.

[Tables 7 here]

In table 8, I further investigate the influence of wealth on the propensity to vote in favor of fiscal legislation by focusing on the lower house and adding control variables to the analysis.

[Table 8 here]

In nearly all specifications, there is a consistent negative coefficient on personal wealth, which is significant at the 5%-level, indicating that personal wealth played an important role for politicians in deciding whether to vote in favor or against the law.

### 4.2 Instrumental Variable and Robust Estimates

In the present section, I focus on the relationship between personal wealth and voting behavior in the context of fiscal legislation in the lower house, and isolate the influence of personal wealth more precisely.

[Table 9 here]

[Table 10 here]

### 4.3 Other Robustness Checks

[Tables 11, 12 here]

## 5 Interpretation and Conclusion

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# Figures and Tables

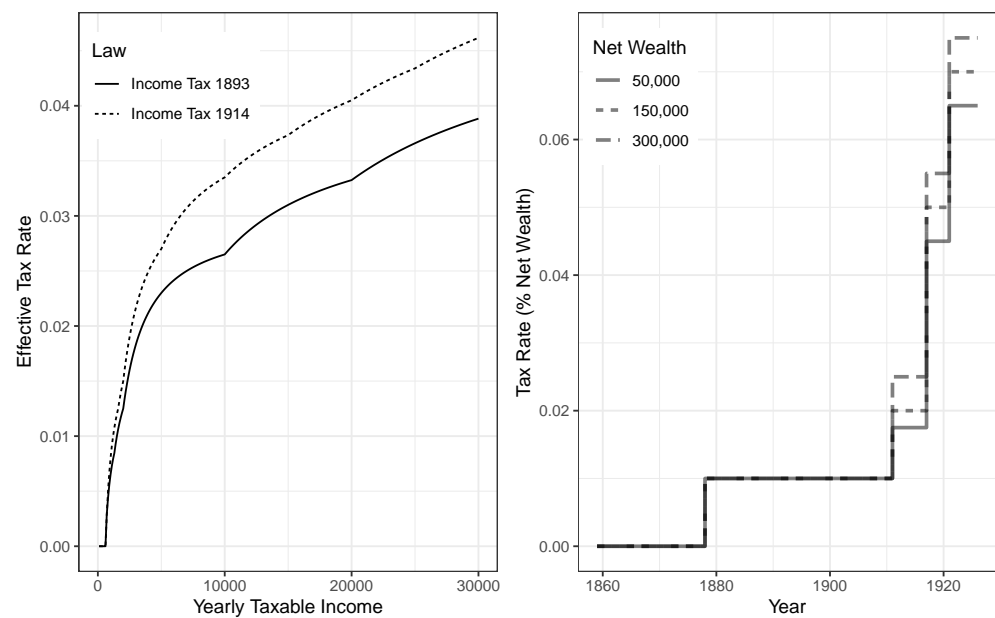


Figure 1: Increases in Tax Burden from Fiscal Legislation

Table 1: Dissent in Voting Behavior in Key Laws

Category	Law	N	confessional	liberal	socialist
Fiscal Legislation	Successiewet 1878	80	0.29	0.08	
	Inkomstenbelasting 1893	89	0.31	0.12	0.50
	Successiewet 1911	68	0.14	0.00	0.00
	Inkomstenbelasting 1914	79	0.32	0.00	0.00
	Staatsschuldwet 1914	84	0.00	0.11	0.09
	Successiewet 1916	77	0.17	0.00	0.00
Gov't Intervention	Successiewet 1921	72	0.26	0.50	0.00
	Kinderwetje 1874	65	0.12	0.05	
	Leerplichtwet 1901	99	0.07	0.05	0.36
	Ongevallenwet 1901	93	0.27	0.05	0.00
	Woningwet 1901	75	0.13	0.00	0.00
	Antistakingswet 1903	96	0.00	0.00	0.06
	Hoger Onderwijswet 1904	98	0.02	0.00	0.00
	Arbeidscontractwet 1907	86	0.02	0.00	0.00
	Wet Ouderdom Invaliditeit 1913	89	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Ziektewet 1913	80	0.04	0.00	0.50
	Amendement Presentiegeld 1916	77	0.47	0.30	0.38
	Staatspensioen 1916	86	0.03	0.00	0.00
	Arbeidswet 1919	71	0.00	0.00	0.14
Suffrage Extension	Kieswet 1872	67	0.21	0.21	
	Kieswet 1887	81	0.34	0.03	
	Kieswet 1892	98	0.15	0.35	0.00
	Kieswet 1896	91	0.42	0.15	0.00
	Kieswet 1918	72	0.30	0.00	0.00

Percentage of politicians of each faction having voted against the party line.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics: Fiscal Legislation

	N	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max
wealth_timevote	340	123539.46	33808.06	252402.60	-30391.91	2120776.77
agricul_share	346	0.11	0.06	0.11	0.01	0.43
industry_share	346	0.35	0.32	0.09	0.21	0.67
services_share	346	0.54	0.60	0.17	0.15	0.75
aandeel_gem	396	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.12
percentage_aangesl	405	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.08
strikes	477	9.71	0.00	28.43	0.00	139.00
tvsv	477	0.40	0.40	0.25	0.00	1.00
socialistdum	470	0.54	1.00	0.50	0.00	1.00
socialistpercentage	470	0.18	0.03	0.24	0.00	0.73
turnout	472	0.75	0.80	0.17	0.25	0.98
ncm	477	0.14	0.05	0.20	0.00	0.93
tenure	549	10.02	8.45	8.79	0.00	39.26
long_elec_horiz	549	9.36	6.39	8.29	0.08	39.88
age_of_vote	549	52.91	51.84	10.49	30.57	81.16
age_of_entrance	549	42.89	40.96	8.81	30.20	68.67
rk_pct	459	0.34	0.27	0.28	0.00	0.99
hervormd_pct	459	0.50	0.55	0.22	0.01	0.84
gereformeerd_pct	459	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.34

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics: Government Intervention

	N	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max
wealth_timevote	620	128635.07	26972.07	304165.53	-29021.20	2931027.47
agricul_share	661	0.13	0.08	0.12	0.01	0.43
industry_share	661	0.36	0.33	0.10	0.21	0.67
services_share	661	0.51	0.58	0.18	0.15	0.75
aandeel_gem	766	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.12
percentage_aangesl	772	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.08
strikes	944	8.07	1.00	20.25	0.00	89.00
tvsv	940	0.40	0.49	0.26	0.00	1.00
socialistdum	929	0.44	0.00	0.50	0.00	1.00
socialistpercentage	929	0.13	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.73
turnout	923	0.75	0.78	0.15	0.25	0.98
ncm	942	0.15	0.05	0.21	0.00	0.95
tenure	1015	9.79	7.47	8.25	0.01	39.84
long_elec_horiz	1015	9.71	7.24	8.54	0.00	43.18
age_of_vote	1015	52.81	51.78	10.47	31.77	82.17
age_of_entrance	1015	43.02	41.62	8.94	30.20	74.08
rk_pct	901	0.36	0.27	0.30	0.01	1.00
hervormd_pct	901	0.49	0.55	0.24	0.00	0.84
gereformeerd_pct	901	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.00	0.32



Table 4: Descriptive Statistics: Suffrage Extension

	N	Mean	Median	SD	Min	Max
wealth_timevote	282	150571.02	46888.74	306543.73	-86270.79	2403057.21
agricul_share	286	0.09	0.06	0.10	0.01	0.43
industry_share	286	0.33	0.31	0.08	0.21	0.67
services_share	286	0.58	0.63	0.15	0.15	0.75
aandeel_gem	319	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.12
percentage_aangesl	327	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.02	0.08
strikes	337	1.71	0.00	6.48	0.00	38.00
tvsv	337	0.37	0.29	0.29	0.01	1.00
socialistdum	335	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
socialistpercentage	335	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
turnout	335	0.65	0.69	0.20	0.19	0.96
ncm	337	0.13	0.03	0.21	0.00	0.95
tenure	409	8.80	6.30	7.90	0.12	39.67
long_elec_horiz	409	9.85	6.99	8.77	0.03	38.28
age_of_vote	409	52.02	51.19	9.65	32.44	82.00
age_of_entrance	409	43.22	41.57	8.89	30.51	68.67
rk_pct	332	0.34	0.25	0.30	0.00	1.00
hervormd_pct	332	0.50	0.56	0.24	0.00	0.84
gereformeerd_pct	332	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.00	0.34

Table 5: OLS Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Suffrage Expansion

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.001 (0.017)	-0.010 (0.019)	-0.015 (0.020)	-0.011 (0.022)	-0.017 (0.020)	-0.017 (0.020)	-0.015 (0.020)
Amount of Strikes		0.006* (0.003)	0.006* (0.003)	0.006** (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)
Catholics in district			-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Share Industrial				-0.089 (0.469)			
Vote Share					-0.157 (0.108)	-0.159 (0.108)	-0.162 (0.109)
Electoral Turnout						-0.036 (0.159)	-0.043 (0.160)
Tenure							-0.002 (0.004)
Liberal	0.418*** (0.055)	0.419*** (0.057)	0.386*** (0.069)	0.370*** (0.075)	0.385*** (0.069)	0.382*** (0.070)	0.379*** (0.071)
Socialist	0.529*** (0.084)	0.660*** (0.092)	0.631*** (0.105)	0.626*** (0.103)	0.642*** (0.099)	0.638*** (0.102)	0.617*** (0.113)
Law Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	265	246	243	214	243	243	243
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.29	0.28	0.28	0.24	0.28	0.28	0.28

Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ .

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 6: OLS Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Government Intervention

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.008)	0.001 (0.008)	0.001 (0.010)	0.001 (0.008)	0.000 (0.009)	0.000 (0.009)
Amount of Strikes		0.002* (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.001 (0.003)	0.002** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)
Catholics in district			0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Share Industrial				-0.060 (0.223)			
Vote Share					0.002 (0.068)	0.027 (0.070)	0.029 (0.072)
Electoral Turnout						0.272** (0.131)	0.276** (0.135)
Tenure							0.000 (0.002)
Liberal	0.428*** (0.036)	0.427*** (0.037)	0.430*** (0.042)	0.427*** (0.053)	0.429*** (0.043)	0.434*** (0.043)	0.434*** (0.043)
Socialist	0.499*** (0.050)	0.500*** (0.053)	0.500*** (0.060)	0.471*** (0.077)	0.500*** (0.060)	0.507*** (0.060)	0.509*** (0.062)
Party + Law Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	573	556	532	373	532	530	530
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.44	0.44	0.43	0.40	0.43	0.43	0.43

Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ .

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 7: OLS Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Fiscal Reforms

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.024** (0.011)	-0.018* (0.010)	-0.022 (0.013)	-0.031** (0.014)	-0.016 (0.010)	-0.026** (0.012)	0.003 (0.014)
Liberal		0.386*** (0.042)	0.485*** (0.053)	0.231*** (0.066)	0.408*** (0.041)	0.506*** (0.045)	0.358*** (0.062)
Socialist		0.469*** (0.049)	0.569*** (0.059)	0.293*** (0.077)	0.475*** (0.051)	0.633*** (0.061)	0.342*** (0.111)
House	Both	Both	Tweede Kamer	Eerste Kamer	Both	Tweede Kamer	Eerste Kamer
Law Dummies	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	482	480	313	167	480	313	167
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.19	0.28	0.09	0.30	0.45	0.38

Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ .

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses. The reference political allegiance is confessional.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 8: OLS Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Fiscal Legislation - Controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.026** (0.012)	-0.020 (0.012)	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.023 (0.016)	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.026** (0.013)	-0.026** (0.013)
Amount of Strikes		0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.008* (0.004)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Catholics in district			-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Share Industrial				-0.011 (0.348)			
Vote Share					0.016 (0.091)	0.018 (0.092)	0.018 (0.095)
Electoral Turnout						0.035 (0.138)	0.034 (0.139)
Tenure							0.000 (0.003)
Liberal	0.506*** (0.045)	0.527*** (0.046)	0.433*** (0.060)	0.467*** (0.075)	0.433*** (0.060)	0.434*** (0.060)	0.434*** (0.060)
Socialist	0.633*** (0.061)	0.662*** (0.066)	0.529*** (0.080)	0.530*** (0.109)	0.530*** (0.081)	0.532*** (0.081)	0.532*** (0.082)
Party + Law Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	313	295	285	209	285	285	285
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.45	0.47	0.49	0.48	0.48	0.48	0.48

Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ .

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 9: OLS Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Fiscal Reforms - Endogeneity Test

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.041** (0.016)	-0.038** (0.017)	-0.039** (0.017)	-0.038* (0.023)	-0.039** (0.017)	-0.039** (0.017)	-0.040** (0.018)
Died Within 2 Years	-0.397 (0.241)	-0.425* (0.250)	-0.307 (0.257)	-0.350 (0.326)	-0.320 (0.262)	-0.318 (0.263)	-0.320 (0.265)
Wealth x Died Within 2 Years	0.034 (0.022)	0.036 (0.023)	0.027 (0.024)	0.031 (0.030)	0.029 (0.024)	0.028 (0.024)	0.029 (0.024)
Amount of Strikes		0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.008* (0.004)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Catholics in district			-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Share Industrial				-0.097 (0.350)			
Vote Share					0.031 (0.092)	0.032 (0.093)	0.034 (0.097)
Tenure							0.000 (0.000)
Liberal	0.500*** (0.047)	0.523*** (0.047)	0.436*** (0.060)	0.470*** (0.075)	0.436*** (0.060)	0.437*** (0.060)	0.438*** (0.060)
Socialist	0.629*** (0.061)	0.664*** (0.066)	0.536*** (0.081)	0.541*** (0.111)	0.539*** (0.081)	0.540*** (0.081)	0.542*** (0.083)
Law Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	313	295	285	209	285	285	285
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.45	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.48	0.48	0.48

Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ .

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 10: IV Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Fiscal Reforms

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.055 (0.037)	-0.051 (0.038)	-0.068* (0.039)	-0.087** (0.035)	-0.069* (0.040)	-0.069* (0.040)	-0.069* (0.039)
Amount of Strikes		0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.006 (0.004)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Catholics in district			-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Share Industrial				-0.012 (0.330)			
Vote Share					-0.010 (0.089)	-0.007 (0.089)	0.000 (0.091)
Tenure							0.001 (0.003)
Turnout						0.041 (0.140)	0.050 (0.142)
Socialist	0.601*** (0.070)	0.629*** (0.069)	0.478*** (0.085)	0.522*** (0.101)	0.477*** (0.085)	0.479*** (0.085)	0.487*** (0.083)
Liberal	0.528*** (0.047)	0.538*** (0.047)	0.439*** (0.057)	0.469*** (0.070)	0.440*** (0.058)	0.441*** (0.057)	0.443*** (0.058)
N	312	296	287	211	287	287	287
Law Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-Stat. First stage	36.81	34.51	32.05	43.18	30.7	30.59	32.02
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.45	0.46	0.47	0.43	0.46	0.46	0.46

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ , and instrumented by Fathers profession.

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$



Table II: IV Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Fiscal Reforms

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.055 (0.037)	-0.070** (0.034)	-0.058 (0.036)	-0.082** (0.040)	-0.086** (0.040)	-0.086** (0.040)	-0.087** (0.041)
Share Agricultural		-0.376 (0.254)					
Age of Vote			-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
Dutch Reformed in district				0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Nearest Competitor Margin					-0.059 (0.120)	-0.065 (0.178)	-0.081 (0.182)
Turnout					-0.052 (0.157)	-0.052 (0.158)	-0.027 (0.162)
Vote Share						0.006 (0.132)	0.011 (0.135)
Percentage Socialist Vote							-0.002* (0.001)
Socialist	0.601*** (0.070)	0.641*** (0.085)	0.576*** (0.065)	0.491*** (0.078)	0.479*** (0.080)	0.479*** (0.080)	0.562*** (0.088)
Liberal	0.528*** (0.047)	0.550*** (0.055)	0.537*** (0.046)	0.467*** (0.055)	0.464*** (0.056)	0.463*** (0.056)	0.502*** (0.064)
Law Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-Stat. First stage	36.81	46.24	41.13	32.96	32.34	32.16	30.07
N	312	215	312	287	287	287	285
Adj. R2	0.45	0.44	0.45	0.45	0.44	0.44	0.44

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ , and instrumented by Fathers profession.

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table 12: IV Estimates of Wealth on the Propensity to Vote for Fiscal Reforms

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Personal Wealth	-0.053** (0.025)	-0.052** (0.025)	-0.051* (0.028)	-0.050* (0.028)	-0.052* (0.030)	-0.050* (0.029)	-0.051* (0.027)
Amount of Strikes		0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.014 (0.013)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Catholics in district			-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Share Industrial				0.520 (0.419)			
Vote Share					0.054 (0.126)	0.055 (0.126)	0.059 (0.128)
Electoral Turnout						0.069 (0.194)	0.070 (0.193)
Tenure							0.045 (0.098)
Liberal	0.472*** (0.061)	0.476*** (0.061)	0.425*** (0.085)	0.457*** (0.117)	0.426*** (0.084)	0.426*** (0.084)	0.432*** (0.085)
Socialist	0.576*** (0.080)	0.577*** (0.083)	0.504*** (0.111)	0.572*** (0.155)	0.509*** (0.112)	0.510*** (0.111)	0.517*** (0.111)
Law Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F-Stat. First stage	36.81	34.51	32.05	43.18	30.7	30.59	32.02
N	182	175	167	119	167	167	167
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.49	0.50	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.49

The reference political allegiance is confessional. Vote is defined as 1 if the politician is in favor of the reform, 0 otherwise.

Personal Wealth is defined as  $\log(1 + \text{Wealth at Death})$ , and instrumented by Expected inheritance.

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors in parenthesis. Results for lower house voting outcomes.

\*  $p < 0.1$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

## A Politicians & Reform

### A.1 Electoral and Institutional Reforms

Before 1848, Dutch government institutions were centralized around the figure of the King, who held most of the power, surrounded by technocrats and loyalists. The revolutions and turmoil elsewhere in Europe in 1848 frightened the King, after which he requested the leading liberal politician to write a blueprint for a new constitution, signifying the end of the absolute monarchy and the beginning of a liberal, more democratic era. From 1848 onward, government formation and legislative power were subjected to parliamentary control. Parliament, in turn, consisted of the lower and upper houses: the lower house being a representative body, its delegate charged with representing their district, whereas formally, the upper house would occupy itself with legal coherence and would serve as a buffer against demagoguery and rash policy-making (De Jong, 1999). Van den Berg and Vis (2013) characterize the period between 1848 and the first constitutional reforms in 1887 as a highly unpredictable period, where every roll call vote was crowded in uncertainty. Not only the case in laws attempting to extend the franchise, ministers could choose to either present the parliament with possibilities to introduce amendments, but they could also "try their luck", and mandate that the law would be subject to a vote right away. Both of these trajectories were frequently chosen. The relationship between parliament and executive government was yet to be fully established and norms were being developed. For example, only in the 1870's it became the norm that governments resigned following general elections (Van den Berg and Vis, 2013).

The political battle was far from over, however, in 1848. The 1848 Constitution marked a turning point after which it was anticipated that the country would embark on a trajectory towards suffrage expansion, and likely universal suffrage (van der Kolk et al., 2018). There were various law projects and attempts at constitutional revision that aimed at extending the franchise: the first attempt took place in 1872, and wanted to implement suffrage extension by lowering the census requirements. Mainly because the lower house could not agree on an adequate number, the proposal was rejected by the lower house. Plans were further complicated by the fact that suffrage extension and fiscal reform were intertwined, which I explain in section A.2.

The second attempt came to be only in 1887, after it became increasingly clear that the coupling of suffrage to the census excluded a too high proportion of the electorate. The attempt was hampered by the fact that confessional politicians required the position of Christian education to be taken into account into a new Constitutional revision, whereas the liberals wanted to only extend the franchise and decouple suffrage from taxation (Van den Berg and Vis, 2013). Furthermore, politicians wished to end the continued electoral calculus around a variable number of districts and politicians per district as a result of continued population growth. Finally, a motive for revision was to provide an answer with respect to eligibility and suffrage of women. When the reforms were finally adopted, it became clear that female enfranchisement was prevented. The 1887 reforms also fixed the number of seats in parliament: before, it was considered that each approx. 45,000 inhabitants should have their own delegate, whereas afterwards, the number of lower house members was fixed at 100, and the number of upper house members at 50 (De Jong, 1999), the criteria for suffrage were augmented by a host of other criteria, including the notoriously vague stipulations of "fitness" and "societal standing" (van der Kolk et al., 2018). The educational

question, however, was not yet resolved, although it was established that the new constitutional reforms did not contradict the ideas of confessional politicians.

Thirdly, plans by minister Tak van Poortvliet in 1892, aiming to address the vagueness of criterions by changing not the Constitution, but the electoral law (*Kieswet*), were subjected to fierce criticisms. His plans made the aforementioned criterion of "fitness" more concrete, by holding that in principle, all men who could read or write, and inhabited a living space ought to be enfranchised. In this conception, about 800,000 male inhabitants were estimated to be enfranchised under the purported changes, compared with 300,000 *ex ante* (van der Kolk et al., 2018). After a misunderstanding in parliament, an amendment unacceptable to the minister was accepted, and his plans were rejected. After new elections, similar plans, however, in 1896 have turned out to be more fertile. The proposals of the new minister of internal affairs Van Houten introduced two categories for suffrage: paying direct taxation, and a miscellaneous category called 'declaration', which included paying rent, passing certain exams, or having savings or a pension.

As the incomes of the Dutch population steadily rose, while the franchise requirements remained static, this also made that more and more inhabitants were enfranchised (van der Kolk et al., 2018). In the elections of 1897, about 575,000 men were enfranchised. This number rose to close to 1 million men in 1913, close to 50%. As a result, it became easier for opponents of universal suffrage to make concessions, and in 1917, confessional and liberal politicians were able to achieve a compromise by trading off universal male suffrage (wanted by liberals) and a constitutional foundation of the public funding of religiously-based schools (wanted by confessional politicians). A year later, without any significant controversy, women were also enfranchised.

## A.2 Fiscal Reforms

After the 1848 Constitution, the fiscal system of the Netherlands bore many inheritance of its 17th and 18th century past. In particular, the country had various protectionist institutions, and many (unharmonized) excises and other regulations that were hampering virtually all product markets. In contrast to many of its neighbours, the (mass) usage of the steam engine or other techniques of mass production made little sense, because markets were still very small and disposable income relatively low.

From the 1850's onward, the government oversaw liberalization and harmonization in all sorts of domains, economic, but also institutional (Knippenberg et al., 2000): a telegraph communication system was developed, coinage was standardized, railways and other infrastructural projects launched, and trade was liberalized, with less reliance on excise duties and toll payments, and more reliance on taxes on wealth and income. Nevertheless, government size was still very limited, and while defense spending slightly decreased following more modest geopolitical ambitions (Van den Berg and Vis, 2013), government expenditures per capita did not see a structural increase (van Riel, 2018). Starting from the 1870's, rising poverty and inequality brought about more and more social unrest, the ideological paradigm of *laissez-faire* started to crumble, and more and more politicians (particularly liberals), opinion leaders and public intellectuals convinced themselves of the necessity of government intervention. In the Netherlands, the 1854 Poor Laws and the 1874 law regulating child labor were earlier signs of this trend.

Two pieces of legislation have been subjected to major fiscal reform and revision in the period of interest: first, the establishment and later the reform of the income tax (*Inkomstenbelasting*), and the establish-

ment and reform of the inheritance tax (*Successiewet*). The income tax came into existence as a result of rising pressure on the government to reform the tax system, which, by then, consisted predominantly of taxes on real estate consumer goods, and entrepreneurial activity (a so-called *patent tax*), whereas shares and other financial assets were left virtually untouched (Vrankrijker 1967; Smit 2002). It turned out to be extremely difficult to change the fiscal system, partially because the question was intertwined with the question of suffrage - suffrage was principally granted only on the basis of paid taxation, so a change in the fiscal system would naturally have to address the way this change related to the suffrage question. The question proved to be particularly arduous in the 1870's and 1880's, after various attempts stranded.

In 1863, finance minister Betz attempted to reform the existing patent tax by making it a universal income tax, all while abolishing again many excises. The lower house ended up rejecting his plan, partially because it did not yet see the urgency, but also because compliance was dubious (Smit, 2002). In 1872, finance minister Blussé launched a similar attempt, which was rejected on the grounds that it could not unite various factions of parliament - some thought it too radical: it would tax real estate too heavily, according to some. Others thought it was too modest: there was too little progressivity in the proposal. In 1884, after a barrage of criticism, finance minister Grobbée had to withdraw a proposal that encompassed increasing excise duties, and he also failed to introduce a 'class tax', meaning progressive tax rates on income (Van den Berg and Vis, 2013).

Meanwhile, the abolition of the *Cultuurstelsel* stalled revenue coming from the colonies, and, whereas economic growth and consumption made it possible to partially compensate for this loss by the existing tax system, this was not considered enough (van Riel, 2018; Smits et al., 2000). The 1893 income tax changed that situation. Importantly, it was accomplished after 1887, the year in which constitutional reforms decoupled the question of fiscal reform from the question of suffrage expansion by adding more criteria on the basis of which suffrage was obtained - and effectively reducing the importance of the tax-based criterion. The 1893 income tax reform was introduced in two parts by its designer, the first of which encompassed taxation on (fictitious) income from wealth, and the second taxation on income from trade and profession (Fritschy, 1997). Nevertheless, the income tax remained very modest in its ambitions: the maximum tariff (for the highest incomes) implied liability of only 3,2% of yearly earned income, and the proceeds from the new taxation reached about 10% of government income in the first years after introduction.

The income tax was subsequently left intact for almost two decades, but during the First World War, in the Netherlands, a neutral country, government finances came under increasing pressure. In this context, the acting finance minister Treub managed to pass a proposal that increased the progressivity by (i) increasing the rates for higher taxable incomes, and (ii) combining the two previously separate categories, so that total taxable income would be taxed at a higher rate (Slijkerman, 2016).

The other major pillar in the Dutch fiscal system, the *Successiewet*, taxed inheritances, and was modified three times after a 1877 amendment made bequeathing to lineal descendants liable for taxation (which made it applicable to virtually everyone). Beforehand, inheritances were only taxable in case of bequeathing to more distant family members, which happened relatively rarely. According to the 1877 amendment, inheritances of a net value lower than 1,000 guilders were exempt from taxation, about four times the annual wage of a worker. The rates for direct descendants were set at 1% of net wealth, whereas for ascendants, the tariff was set at 3%. Tariffs for non-direct family members or unrelated individuals were

slightly higher. One characteristic of the amendment was that financial assets (debt and equity) were not subjected to the same rates, but under lower rates: 0.25% and 1% respectively.<sup>3</sup>

The *Successiewet* was changed three times over the course of the period of interest. In all cases, the primary reason behind this change was government finances: more taxes had to be raised with some urgency, and inheritance taxation was an easy way to accomplish this. In all occasions, tariffs were incrementally raised, but in some cases, some other tariffs were decreased, as a compensation. The first tariff hike occurred in 1911, which encompassed a sharp increase in rates for lineal descendants, to which the majority of wealth was bequeathed (Jacobs, 2003). The tariffs were again contingent on being a descendant or ascendant: descendants paid 1.5% of net wealth, and a higher tariff if inherited net wealth was higher than 50,000 guilders: the law thus implemented progressivity. This law change also changed the status of financial assets, so that they would be taxed under regular rates.

In 1916, the amendments integrated gifts into the inheritance tax. This amendment was implemented because the law-makers wanted to assure that individuals could not transfer assets as gifts to their heirs and thereby circumvent taxation. Additionally, the 1916 amendment also further increased the rates: the tariffs for direct descendants now ranged from 2% for the inheritance with the lowest net wealth (but above the 1,000 guilders threshold) to 6% for inheritances of over 500,000 guilders.

Finally, in 1921, because government finances were in a dire state, a substantial hike in rates was again imposed: the hike meant that the minimal tariff was now set at 3.5%, even for inheritances worth less than 1,000 guilders, and, for direct descendants, could increase until 8% for inheritances worth more than 500,000 guilders. For non-direct descendants, rates were even higher. For example, if one bequeathed to brothers or sisters, the minimum rate (for inheritances worth less than 1,000 guilders) was 18%.

### A.3 Government Intervention

The period under consideration was marked by a paradigm shift from a paradigm that considered the state as a *nightwatchman*, to one that actively considered the state as an economic actor that has the right to intervene to advance the common good. Despite the fact that this paradigm shift was broadly shared by politicians from all factions, it did not mean that the state embarked on a journey to establish the welfare state. The piece of legislation that first marked this ideological shift concerned a ban on child labor, enacted in 1874. However, because of still fierce opposition, especially related to the financing, the established law could not arrange adequate inspection, so that child labor was still frequently employed some ten years later according to a parliamentary inquiry (Schenkeveld, 2003). Nevertheless, the law marked a turning point in government intervention, as evidenced by many laws and law projects that came afterwards.

Many of these subsequent laws share this characteristic: government intervention, without putting a strain on government financing. This is also the reason why these laws are characterized as not likely having a direct impact on politicians' personal finances: there is no likely impact on (future) taxation or government debt. For example, the 1901 compulsory education law implemented compulsory education for every child until age twelve (Veld, 1987). The roll call vote was preceded by many lengthy debates: most confessional politicians wanted to legislate the right of existence of Christian schools, and socialists

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<sup>3</sup>This link contains a description (in Dutch) of different tariffs throughout time.

deplored the absence of support for poor children in the law projects. Finally, the law was accepted with a vote count of 50-49, owing to the absence of one opponent of the law.

In 1903, following successful strikes in the railway sector, the government feared that strikes would evolve into a mass opposition movement undermining the stability of the country. Trade unions were, as of 1903, entirely led under the socialist banner. The Kuyper-government responded by making striking a criminal offense for certain civil servants, among which were railroad workers. The laws were accepted and implemented in real time, and workers engaging in strikes could risk up to 6 years in prison (Koch, 2020). In the future, Christian trade unions were established, so as not to channel all dissatisfaction to socialist organizations.

Abraham Kuyper, the most prominent Orthodox Protestant politician, and one of the most important architects in Dutch politics around the fin-de-siècle, was also a prominent advocate of sovereignty in one's own circle, meaning that different religious communities should make arrangements within their own community. In the economic domain, this meant that there was a limited role for the government, and that religiously-based organizations ought to provide necessary services for their communities (van Gerwen and van Leeuwen, 2000). This idea found its way to many of the pieces of legislation I investigate. One additional example concerns the 1913 *Ouderdom- en Invaliditeitswet*, in which the issue of government financing was heavily debated. Liberals opted for state-provided pensions, and made efforts to introduce this aspect in the law project, but confessional politicians thought out better to instigate a compulsory insurance-scheme for wage-earners, and a facultative insurance-scheme for self-employed workers. Since they were in the majority, the confessional politicians won, and managed to avert government-financed welfare provisions until after the second World War.



## B Variables and Sources

### B.1 Table with Sources

In table 13, I show all variables in the analysis and their respective primary sources, on the basis of which I calculated the variables used in the analysis.

<b>Panel A: Dependent variable:</b>	
<b>Description</b>	<b>Source</b>
Whether a politician voted in favor (1) or against (0) a law	Staten Generaal Digitaal
<b>Panel B: Wealth variables:</b>	
Wealth at the time of voting	Archival records + RoROE
Portfolio Share Real Estate (% of Total Assets)	Archival Records
Bond Share (% Total Assets)	Archival Records
Stock Share (% Total Assets)	Archival Records
Share of Domestic Assets (% Total Assets)	Archival Records
Share of Foreign Assets (% Total Assets)	Archival Records
<b>Panel C: Economic interest controls</b>	
Share of Tax-liable Individuals in Municipality	HDNG
Share of Labor Force in Industry (Nearest Year)	HDNG
Share of Labor Force in Agriculture (Nearest Year)	HDNG
Share of Labor Force in Services (Nearest Year)	HDNG
Share of District in Total Tax Rev.	HDNG
Total Labor Force in District	HDNG
Amount of strikes in district in year $t - 1$	IISG
<b>Panel D: Electoral controls</b>	
Vote Share = $\frac{\text{Number of Votes in Election Preceding Vote}}{\text{Total Votes}}$	Repositorium Elections
Days Elapsed since Last Election	Repositorium Elections
Dummy whether Socialist was Balloteering in the District	Repositorium Elections
Percentage of Vote Garnered by Socialist Candidates	Repositorium Elections
Turnout = $\frac{\text{Turned out voters}}{\text{Eligible voters}}$	Repositorium Elections
Nearest Comp. Margin = $\frac{\text{Number of votes runner-up} - \text{number of votes politician}}{\text{Turnout}}$	Repositorium Elections
<b>Panel E: Demographic controls</b>	
Political affiliation	PDC
Tenure (Time Active in Politics)	PDC
Days to Next Election (From Day of Vote)	PDC & Repositorium Elections
Years until Retirement from Politics	PDC
Age of Politician at the Time of Vote	PDC and Repositorium Elections
Age of Politician at First Entrance	PDC
Percentage Reformed (Hervormd) Protestants in district	HDNG
Percentage Reformed (Gereformeerd) Protestant in district	HDNG
Percentage Roman Catholic in district	HDNG
<b>Panel F: Instruments</b>	
Career information	Genealogy sites, Dutch Biographical Dictionary
Parental Wealth	Archival Records
# Siblings	Genealogy websites

Table 13: Variables used in the Analysis

### B.1.1 Wealth Data

I use hand-collected probate inventories, *Memories van Successie* from various Dutch provincial archival sources. Probate inventories were administered by the Dutch tax administration for the purpose of levying inheritance taxes (which was a universal tax burden from 1877 onward, although a small number of individuals qualified for an exemption). As a rule, the probate inventories had to be filed with the tax administration at the place of death. For each politicians who has voted on one of the laws in tables ?? and ??, I look for their probate inventories in the corresponding provincial archives. In total, these are 349 unique lower house politicians in these periods, making for 552 total votes. Out of these 349 unique politicians, I find 256 probate inventories, which makes the finding rate about 73%.<sup>4</sup> The proportions and finding rates for the other two categories are similar. In appendix ??, I show that there is no selection bias and that the politicians whom I was unable to find are a random subset of the politicians who voted on these laws.

The probate inventories contain an appraisal of an individual's (taxable) net wealth, as well as their assets and liabilities. Assets are appraised in various ways: first, stocks and bonds that are traded on public exchanges are appraised according to their market value. Secondly, real estate and private bonds are usually appraised in a more opaque manner. In general, however, real estate appreciations are close to their market value, and bonds are close to their nominal value. This is consistent with evidence by [Gelderblom et al. \(2021\)](#), who find that default rates on these bonds are relatively low. With respect to the sensitivity of the appraisals to inflation, I anecdotally observe that the falling market prices following the default on Russian bonds, or following the onset of the First World War, are rapidly incorporated into the appraisals. Similarly, the value of real estate also seems to be sensitive to changing market prices.

[Moes \(2012\)](#) provides an assessment of the trustworthiness of the probate inventories. The heirs of the recently deceased were legally obligated to file the inventory of the deceased to the local tax authority, usually within 6 to 12 months since the date of decease. There was also a control mechanism: every month, the fiscal authorities received notice of the deceased in their jurisdiction, and it was actively checked whether a deceased in a particular jurisdiction had filed the registration of the inheritance in another district. Finally, the assembled probate inventory had to be declared in front of a judge, and was legally binding. It could, however, still be possible that some assets were not declared, in order to avoid paying succession rights, or that some items were bequeathed as gift to heirs shortly before death. The law-makers attempted to tackle this problem by taxing gifts, which are also registered.

## B.2 Biographical Data

Furthermore, I obtain data regarding politicians' careers and social origin from the *Politiek Documentatie Centrum*, a private think-tank focused on Dutch national politics. This dataset contains information about all ministers, lower house, upper house members, as well as provincial executives and deputies. These data encompass information about politicians' party affiliation, location and times of birth and death, and all functions they occupied during their lifetimes (as far as they are known). These data allow me to determine when politicians were first, and last elected, and allow us to construct variables such as

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<sup>4</sup>This finding rate is a lower bound, as several politicians abstained from voting in one or more of the laws.

electoral horizon, and social class (by determining whether they have an aristocratic background), and allow me to condition on how soon a politician has died after leaving offices (an important source of variation, as will become clear below).

### B.3 Election Data

I obtain data about district-level elections from [a repository of historical Dutch Lower House elections](#). I retrieve data on all elections from 1860-1940. This allows me to identify (i) total voter turnout, (ii) vote share of the politician, and (iii) the margin with which an elected politician has won. In the period of investigation, the political landscape underwent a transformation from an individual to a party-based political system. Before political parties existed, politicians were often organized (although more loosely) in *Kiesverenigingen* (electoral associations) on the basis of political ideology, and newspaper recommendations serve as a good indication of partisanship in this era ([De Jong, 1999](#)). I use the data in this repository to extract a variety of measures, including the strength of socialists in particular districts, electoral competition, a politician's momentum, etc. The repository also contains data about the religious composition of the population in various years, of which I use the nearest year to a particular election to match an election to the religious composition of a particular district.

### B.4 Strikes Data

Secondly, it is often considered that pressure from socialist constituencies might also serve as an incentive to incumbent politicians to pass progressive legislation. In the context of the Netherlands, this is relatively less likely than in other Western European countries. Socialism was relatively late to take a foothold in the Netherlands, and after the introduction of universal suffrage, socialist parties ended up with fewer seats than before. Nevertheless, I take data from the [IISH](#), who provide data on strikes in the Netherlands throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and aggregate them to a municipality-year level, and subsequently electoral district-year level.

### B.5 Municipality-level Data

Next, apart from their relevance in elections, districts were not administrative units in the Netherlands. They consisted of municipalities, the lowest administrative unit. I use the HDNG-database ([Boonstra et al., 2003](#))<sup>5</sup>, a database containing information about demographics, religion, political preferences, mobility, economic activity and development, assembled from various government sources from about 1850 to about 1950, on the municipality level. Districts usually consisted of multiple municipalities, but every major municipality was awarded its own district. I retrieve the key that allows me to match districts and municipalities from the [aforementioned repository](#) to compute average indicators per district (averaged on the basis of population size).

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<sup>5</sup>To make the data useable, I created an R package available [here](#)

## C Portfolio Composition and Asset Returns

As mentioned, I use the "Rate of Return on Everything" (Jordà et al., 2019) dataset to compute average returns on asset classes. The dataset features 16 countries in total: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the United States. In general, the overlap with the actual origin of assets is large. Because my portfolio decomposition only makes a distinction between Dutch and non-Dutch assets, I employ weights, according to which I estimate foreign portfolio's shares return. In the default setting, and in line with anecdotal and more systematic evidence (Gelderblom et al., 2021), I accord weights of 20% to German returns, 20% to French returns, 10% to Belgian returns, 10% to US returns, 10% to British returns, 10% to Italian returns and 20% equal-weighted to all other countries, which amounts to 2% per country. In general, the results are not sensitive to deviations in the weights employed.

I employ the following correspondence between the present portfolio decomposition and the portfolio decomposition of the RoROE dataset: Government bonds  $\rightarrow$  bond\_rate, Real estate  $\rightarrow$  housing\_rent\_rtn, Private bonds  $\rightarrow$  ltrate, Shares  $\rightarrow$  eq\_tr, Cash & Misc  $\rightarrow$  No rate. In other words, I assume that cash and miscellaneous assets, e.g. jewelry (in general, small parts of the portfolio) yield no returns. I interpolate missing values by the average return on safe assets in that year for each country. The dataset also features a variable that measures the average return on capital. In further robustness analyses, I employ this measure, instead of the more heterogeneous measure outlined above, but it has very little effects on coefficient magnitudes in the main analysis.

Then, I use these returns to compute the size of each asset class in the preceding year. I use continuously compounded returns. In the previous year, I use the corresponding returns to compute the size of each asset class in the year preceding that year. I start this procedure in the year of death, and end in the year of the vote.

## D Threats to Identification

In the instrumental variable estimates, the instrument might in itself suffer from endogeneity bias. For example, politicians whose fathers were politically active could share a latent encompassing ideology, say, statism, a penchant for increasing the size of the government, and could therefore be inclined to vote in favor of laws that expand government. If a similar explanation is true, there is a direct effect of the instrument on politicians' voting behavior, and the exclusion restrictions are violated. The account of [Van Kersbergen \(2009\)](#) strongly suggests that this is not the case, because confessional parties were generally anti-statist, whereas liberal parties took a more interventionist stance from the 1870s onward. Nevertheless, there can be other latent commonalities between politicians whose fathers were also politicians, such as a network ([van den Berg, 1983](#)), an interest in politics or a family culture of debate ([Besley, 2005](#)), or systematically higher human capital and a political vocation ([Dal Bó et al., 2009](#)).<sup>6</sup>

It is still unlikely that the aforementioned factors have a direct influence on the voting behavior of politicians, especially conditional on controlling for ideology, but I attempt to tackle this problem by comparing results of roll call votes on laws in wartime (1914-1918) vis-à-vis laws outside wartime. Since the First World War was generally unanticipated until shortly before its advent ([Broadberry and Harrison, 2005](#))<sup>7</sup>, and since preceding realities and loyalties made little sense, there was a shift among the entire parliament towards more government intervention, if only to provide more finance to the standing army ([Frey, 1997](#)). More generally, I assume that the first World War caused enough confusion and uncertainty for such latent factors that bind all members of such 'political families' to be a very minor role. The years 1914-1918 are also the years in which many laws which I analyze were enacted, partially because of such a shift in consensus ([Brok, 2012](#)). I perform this analysis in section ??

Secondly, it might be that richer politicians are also those politicians who inherently dislike expansion of the government, regardless of their own wealth. In other words, the relationship between wealth and voting behavior might reflect politicians' beliefs, which are coincidentally correlated with wealth. This explanation is indirectly tested by enacting several robustness checks. I conduct various analysis of other laws which do not have a direct impact on politicians' private wealth, but do involve government interference in the economy.

Thirdly, richer politicians might be better informed about the consequences for their own wealth than somewhat poorer politicians: the effect might be due to differences in information, and not self-interest. Again, considering the tradition of long debate and fine-tuning of laws in the Dutch parliaments, this seems unlikely. For example, the 1893 income tax took two years since the formation of a government that set out to implement it ([Smit, 2002](#)), and many politicians explicitly referred to tariffs and contingencies throughout the debates. In any case, I explicitly control for parliamentary experience in several regressions, which can reflect informedness, and in appendix ??, I limit the analysis to "high-profile" politicians, of whom it is certain, based on anecdotal evidence, that they were equally well-informed.

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<sup>6</sup>It is known that the role of networks declined over time, with the entry of newer generations of politicians in the lower house ([Machielsen, 2021](#)). Secondly, human capital can come from many sources, for example, many parents of politicians were members of the clergy or educated as theologians, and not politicians. Hence, it is unlikely that human capital systematically differs between politicians whose fathers were politicians and those whose fathers weren't, and even if it did, it is unclear how that would translate into systematic voting behavior.

<sup>7</sup>[Fouka \(2019\)](#) and [Gay \(2019\)](#) use the First World War as an exogenous shocks in their empirical designs

## E Data Linking

### E.1 Introduction

In this section, I describe how I proceed from the data on voting outcomes to a dataset with control variables as described in section ???. This serves two purposes. First, reproducibility: this guide serves as a walkthrough through the code on the [Github Repository](#) of this paper. The reader has only to fork the Github repository for this paper, and execute the R code to reproduce all analyses that are found in this paper. Additionally, all functions have been programmed such as to incorporate a large set of parameters, with the default set of parameters that give the results as reported in this paper. Secondly, I attempt to be as transparent as possible by showing what data I combined, and how.

Since the datasets used in the empirical analysis come from various sources and are available on various levels, at various frequencies, and at various points in time, this appendix serves as an overview of the steps taken from every separate analysis of a roll call vote. The rest of this appendix is structured as a guide, indicating which functions present in the code should be executed at what moment to arrive at a data set suitable for a specific model roll call.

### E.2 Primary Data

For an analysis of each and every law, I find the document which contains the voting outcome on the law in question, and I code this information into three variables: `vote`, an indicator variable defined as 1 if a politician voted for the law, 0 otherwise, `name`, the politician's last name as mentioned in the primary data available on [Staten Generaal Digitaal](#), and finally, `date`, the date of the roll call vote. The date is important so as to calculate an estimate of politicians' personal wealth at the time (in the year) of the vote, and the name is important so as to match the politician to an identifier that allows the voting data to be merged with the data on personal wealth.

### E.3 Find Politician ID

The first step is to match the politician's name as written in the voting records to an identifier that contains the information necessary to find the politicians' wealth, district they represent, their demographic characteristics and all other controls. To do this, I need to employ name matching. Some names, particularly those of aristocrat politicians are not written out in full and therefore do not exactly match the names as used in the database provided by the *Politiek Documentatiecentrum*. Hence, I have to employ a fuzzy name matching strategy. The issue is further complicated by the presence of brothers, fathers/sons in the same house, so that it is impossible to match using surnames only. To minimize potential errors, we use fuzzy name matching on a filter "list of candidate matches" for each name in the voting records. This procedure is implemented in the function `find_politician_id`, which consists of (i) filtering the list of all available politicians to the politicians which could have been active on the day of the roll call vote (based on political career starting and ending points), and (ii) of using the `stringdist` package to match these politicians names to their ids. In this step, it might occur that politicians have identical surnames. In the primary data, those politicians are usually distinguished by district they are representing.

The only way to solve this is either by finding out which politician belongs to which district, and coding the data more refined, by e.g. adding initials, or by manually replacing the matched id's of politicians with identical surnames. The first idea is implemented in the function, and the results are checked afterwards.

## E.4 Find District

After having obtained politicians' id numbers, I match politicians to their district at the point in time of the roll call vote by feeding both the politician id and the date of the vote to the function `find_district`. This is done by merging the politician's id with a dataframe containing information about politicians' districts over time obtained from the *Politiek Documentatiecentrum*. Their information, in turn, is compiled from primary sources, such as the *Handelingen* which also contain the voting outcomes. For example, a query to `find_district` of two politicians at a given date might result in the following (fictional) return:

```
polid | district
00001 | 1870-1880 Rotterdam, 1890-1892 Amsterdam
00002 | Utrecht
```

Parsing this information requires evaluating the string, particularly, whether there is more than one district, and secondly, relating the parsed years to the variable indicating when the vote took place, so as to determine which was the district the politician was representing at the time of the vote. I also analyze several laws which took place under proportional representation (1918 onwards). For these observations, there are no districts, hence, there are no district-level control variables and this function does not apply.

## E.5 Number of Strikes

Next, on the basis of politicians' id numbers, the date of vote, and the district they represented at that time, I can extract several other control variables. Firstly, I proceed by extracting various control variables based on the district-time data that we have. The function `find_strikes` looks up the number of strikes in a district in a given year. To do so, it makes use of the IISG strikes database ([van der Velden, 2016](#)), which provides information about strikes, number of lockouts and other conflicts on a municipality-year level from 1573-2014. I use information on the Huygens-ING Lower House repository (elaborated on in section ??) to match the municipalities to districts (these change over time), and then aggregate municipality-level strikes to district-level strikes. The actual function `find_strikes` uses this information and the key from municipalities to districts to merge a variable containing the total number of strikes, lockouts and other conflicts in a given year in a given district to the main dataset using the district the politician is representing during a particular vote.

## E.6 Religious Composition of District

Afterwards, I use the function `find_religion`, which takes district-year information to look up the religious composition in the *nearest* year in which census data about religious composition per district



is available. The raw data is again taken from the Huygens-ING Lower House repository, and is not balanced: information from various districts is missing at some points in time, but available at others. The function has a parameter that specifies how far from the specified date on should look for a census relative to a given year: by default, the function looks for census as far back (or in the future) as possible until it finds an entry. The reason for no cut-off point, after which the observation will become an NA is the relatively small variance over time. The census data contains absolute as well as relative measures of the religious composition, consisting of Catholics, Protestants, and others (i.e. unaffiliated and Jewish individuals), but the function uses only relative shares.

## E.7 Politician Demographics

In addition, I use the function `find_demographics` to look up several variables related to the demographics of politicians. This function makes use of the politician ID and the date of vote to extract several variables, some of which use information of the day of vote. It returns an array of demographic variables: gender, starting date of political career, end date of political career, date of death, tenure, age of death, age of entrance in politics, age at the time of the vote, time until end of political career, time until the next election, and political affiliation.

All these variables come straight from the *Politiek Documentatiecentrum*, with the exception being political affiliation (political party) and time until the next election. More precisely, for the time until the next selection, the function is taking the district and the date, and uses the elections database (mentioned hereafter) to find out when the next election in that district will take place, on the basis of which the time until the next election is computed. The political affiliation is taken from the *PDC*, and I use the *PDC* data and a key for political affiliation to construct a political affiliation variable, relating about 50 different (combinations of) political parties to three main ideological currents, i.e. confessional parties, liberal parties and socialist parties.

## E.8 Electoral Data

I use the database [Repositorium Tweede Kamerverkiezingen](#), which contains data on all election candidates and all election results from 1848-1917 to retrieve various characteristics of the latest election in which the politician took part, based on the districts and the date of the roll call vote. In particular, I start out by finding the latest election before the roll call vote, and for this election, I look up the amount of people eligible to vote, the number of days since the last election in the same district, and the voter turnout. Afterwards, I look up all the candidates that took part in this election to retrieve the names of all contenders, and retrieve the margin of the winning candidate to the runner-up, the percentage of votes received by the winning politician, an indicator whether a socialist was running (using the electoral recommendations by the largest socialist organ, the SDAP), and the amount and percentage of socialist votes in a particular district, as measured by the amount and percentage of votes for the candidates that were the object of those recommendations).

Voter turnout has been shown in recent research ([Lijphart, 1997](#); [Fumagalli and Narciso, 2012](#)) to drive government expenditures, welfare spending and government revenues in a contemporary context.



Grossman and Helpman (1996) and Lizzeri and Persico (2005) show theoretically that electoral competition might influence politicians' decision-making in various ways, and Griffin (2006) provides a review and critique of many empirical studies that address this question. The various variables proxying for a socialist contender are motivated by the so-called 'threat of revolution' hypothesis Aidt and Jensen (2014); Aidt and Franck (2019), which holds that a threat of civil unrest or revolution motivates incumbent politicians to enact reforms.

## E.9 District Economic Controls

Next, I retrieve information from the [Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities](#) with the purpose of finding district aggregates of various demographic statistics. This idea is implemented in the function `find_econcontrols`, which merges the data with several variables that proxy for the economic characteristics of the district politician  $i$  is representing. The database is based on many primary sources, in particular, censuses (*Volkstellingen*), and the *Uitkomst der Beroepstellingen* (Profession Counts). I retrieve two subsets of variables: first, the decomposition of employment into various sectors, and second, a measure of relative wealth of the municipality. The first measure, a decomposition, is calculated by using the aforementioned available *Beroepstellingen* from surveys the Dutch government took at three relevant moments in time. The surveys have featured slight modifications over time, so they are not intertemporally comparable (Peeters, 2021), but they are cross-sectionally comparable. Because there is no intertemporal comparability, I have to use the data for the municipalities coming from the same year. I choose the year that is closest in absolute value to the year of voting. This also makes the data more scarce, since missing data cannot be replaced by data from another point in time.

The survey features count variables of around 50 professions on a municipality level. I aggregate these professions into three categories: agriculture, industry, and services, and then compute the share of the active labor force in these sectors. Afterwards, I aggregate the outcomes to the district level. Second, I use a measure of municipal wealth. I extract from the dataset a variable on the municipality level containing the share of taxes from residents of a municipality in total taxes in a given year. Similarly, the survey closest to the date of voting is used. The idea behind these variables is to proxy for the economic interest of different sectors, and originates with Peltzman (1984), who controls for district economic characteristics in a contemporary setting.

## E.10 Politician Wealth

Finally, I implement the idea described in equation 2 in the function `find_wealth`, which first finds and extracts the years between the politician's death and the vote, and then, from year  $t + 1$  to year  $t$  computes the continuously compounded return on the politician's portfolio weighted by asset class in the portfolio. This function recursively applies that calculation, so that portfolio shares grow in proportion to the returns provided in the Jordà et al. (2019) database. At the year of vote, the value of all asset classes is summed together, yielding an approximation of wealth at the time of voting if the politician were an average investor. In section C, I explain in detail how this is done.