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Supplementary Materials to the articles on "Democracy of "Taxation-Redistribution" vs. Taxpayers' Democracy

Data description and Summary Statistics

***General Description***

***Sample:***  the countries experienced taxpayers democracy (competitive elections with voters' qualification: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, USA); Observation period: 1791-2011 (unbalanced). Observation period provides opportunity to compare institutions of taxpayers' democracy with the universal suffrage democracy.

To manage Missed values (data) problem Dataset with Imputed Data (see below) created. The Regressions' outcomes turned to be almost the same as before imputation.

***Government finances variables***: Budget Deficit; Inflation (CPI - consumer price Index); Cardoso, Lains, 2013; Mitchell, 2007; GDP per capita Growth Rate: Barro, Ursua Macroeconomic Data 2010 <http://rbarro.com/data-sets/> or <http://scholar.harvard.edu/barro/publications/barro-ursua-macroeconomic-data>

*Public debt* Carmen M. Reinhart, Kennet S. Rogoff Data Base (Central Government Debt to GDP; Germany – General Government Debt) <http://www.carmenreinhart.com/data/browse-by-topic/topics/9/>

Inflation Carmen M. Reinhart, Kennet S. Rogoff Data Base (Germany, 1920-1924 episode omitted)<http://www.carmenreinhart.com/data/browse-by-topic/topics/2/>

Central Government spending to GDP – see file OldDemocr\_Gov\_toGDP…xlsx

***Universal Suffrage*** (ordered categorical variable): "-1" qualified voters only; "0" male suffrage; "1" universal suffrage: Bartolini, 2007; Utter, Strickland, 2008.

***Taxpayers Democracy*** For the sample countries, means competitively elected both Legislative and Executive power by taxpayers (taxed persons are certainly represented in Parliament); Legislative bodies enjoy exclusive power to enact Laws, to approve budget and to establish (to impose) taxation. Values "1".

"-1" for following case: elected (census Democracy or male suffrage) Parliament; strong and active not elected executive dominates weak representative bodies (German Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire; for Japan situation unclear, currently not included in the category);

"0" - king-responsible government & census democracy OR sizable groups of taxpayers (property or income taxes) not qualified to vote (Great Britain before 1832 Great Reform) OR universal male suffrage introduced (seizable group of non-taxpayers vote);

Universal Suffrage = "-1"

We skip periods of foreign occupation or dictatorship (for example fascist regime in Italy, Nazi regime in Germany

***Wars***: Great wars dummy (World Wars and Civil War for the USA and 1870 for France; 1919, 1946 years included), local wars dummy (binary variable).

***Religion:*** Protestant or Catholic (binary variable). We country as protestant or catholic based on predominant culture[[1]](#footnote-1) (number of sources on National History).

***Electoral Statistics, Leftist*** electoral support measures electoral share for the parties, which promote ideology of "cradle to grave" care. Elections to Parliament Lower Chamber are considered. "Parties and Elections in Europe" <http://www.parties-and-elections.de/> ;

* Mackie T.T., Rose R. "The International Almanac of Electoral History", CQ, 1991
* A. Tanin-Lvov, "Elections around the World: Encyclopedic Reference Book," (Moscow: "Rosspen," 2001; in Russian);
* Official vote counts for federal elections from the official sources compiled by the Office of the Clerk, US House of Representatives: [http://clerk.house.gov](http://clerk.house.gov/) (<http://clerk.house.gov/member_info/electionInfo/index.aspx>)
* Data from national electoral committees (since 1990-ties).

***Political system variables***: Federation dummy, Rule of Law Democracy measure defined in Yanovskiy and Shulgin (2013), Power Rotations number (Tanin-Lvov, 2001; "Parties and Elections in Europe" web-site); Public Radio and TV (binary variable, "1" if Public TV or Radio historically enjoys monopoly in political news and events TV/radio coverage). (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; National Public TV & Radio web-sites; [http://www.journalism.org/http://www.journalism.org/](http://www.journalism.org/http%3A//www.journalism.org/))

***The legal system origin***

* University of Ottawa, World Legal Systems http://www.juriglobe.ca/eng/index.php ;
* LaPorta, Rafael, Florencio López-de-Silanes, Cristian Pop-Eleches, and Andrei Shleifer. 2004. Judicial Checks and Balances. Journal of Political Economy 112, http://scholar.harvard.edu/shleifer/publications

***Labor Statistics***:

Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of International Labor Comparisons "International Comparison of Annual Labor Force Statistics 1970-2011" June, 7, 2012 <http://www.bls.gov/fls/flscomparelf/lfcompendium.xls>

Olivetti Claudia "The Female labor force and Long-Run Development: the American Experience in comparative perspective" NBER Working Paper 19131, June 2013 <http://www.nber.org/papers/w19131>

**National Accounts, Government Spending, Deficit**

GDP: Mitchell (Mitchell, 2007: Mitchell R. International Historical Statistics: Europe 1750—2005. L.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007 6th Edition., etc), national statistics: indicators of economic development of the World Bank (WDI, WB); national statistical agencies (mainly for the US).

* Mitchell (2007),
* US federal budget historical tables,
* US census historical data <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/past_years.html>
* German national statistics <https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/NationalEconomyEnvironment/NationalAccounts/NationalAccounts.html>
* Sutch Richard, Carter Susan B., ed., *Historical Statistics of the United States*, Millennial Edition online <http://hsus.cambridge.org/HSUSWeb/toc/hsusHome.do>
* World Development Indicators of World Bank

Central Government Budget Deficit (see Table 1. below Central Government Budget Deficit (Balance)).

Central Government spending to GDP – see file OldDemocr\_Gov\_toGDP…xlsx

| Country | Central Government Budget Deficit (Balance) as GDP share |
| --- | --- |
| USA | US Budget Historical Tables; US Cambridge Historical Statistics; counted on Mitchell B.R. International Historical Statistics The Americas, 1750-2005Table Ea10-23 - Total government revenue and expenditure, by level: 1902–1995  |
| UK | B.R. Mitchell (2007), British Historical Statistics; Clark Tom, Dilnot Andrew, IFS briefing notes# 26, WB, WDIPESA data: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/public-expenditure-statistical-analyses-2013 |
| France | B.R. Mitchell (2007); INSEE (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, France) http://www.bdm.insee.fr  |
| Germany | Mitchell (2007), Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden 2013 Stand: 10.02.2013 - 22:33:03; 1872 – as aGDP rough estimate used Sum of Net national product indicator and Capital Formation; to assess deficit used simple difference of central government revenues and expenses (all data from Mitchell, 2007).  |
| Canada | calculations: Mitchell B.R. International Historical Statistics Europe 1750-2005 6th edition; WDI WB data; GNP (current prices) till 1925 missed values assessed by comparision acceptable data (of GNP current) and GNP fixed prices series   |
| Japan | calculations: Mitchell B.R. (2007); WB - WDI   |
| Austria | Cardoso J.L., Lains P. (ed.) Paying for the liberal state. The Rise of Public Finance in Nineteenth Century Europe, Cambridge University Press, 2010; Pammer M chapter "Public Finance in Austria-Hungary 1820-1913"), fig 5\_4; Austria General Government Revenue and Expenditure, annual figures http://www.statistik.at/web\_en/statistics/Public\_finance\_taxes/public\_finance/expenditure\_and\_revenue\_of\_government/index.html |
| Belgium | calculations: Mitchell B.R. (2007); WB - WDI   |
| Denmark | calculations: Mitchell B.R. (2007); WB - WDI   |
| Italy |  1862-1913: Paying for the Liberal State. The Rise of Public Finance in Nineteenth Century Europe; 1914-1923; 1945-1959 Mitchell; 1960-1994 - Mitchell & WDI WB; 1995 - WDI WB  |
| Netherlands | calculations: Mitchell B.R. (2007); WB - WDI GDP 1845-99 values assessment made on basis of 1900 value and growth rate (1845-1899) calculated on basis of Angus Maddison's times series in 1990 historical dollars |
| Sweden | calculations: Mitchell B.R. (2007); WB - WDI Mitchell B.R. International Historical Statistics Europe 1750-2005 6th edition |
| Switzerland | calculations: Mitchell B.R. (2007); WB - WDI   |

**Table 2 Left Parties in the Sample Countries**

"Leftist", "Lefts" definition for the paper is the following: parties or leaders, which prioritize mixed public goods provision over pure public goods; choosing "happiness promotion" vs. "simply to prevent evil" (formula coined by W. von Humboldt (1792)). Since F. Lassal they have promoted governmental "cradle to grave" care instead of "night watchman state".

| Country | Lefts - parties list | Country Specific Sources |
| --- | --- | --- |
| USA | 1914-1942: Socialist, other small socialist & communist groups; since 1964 "imputed value" 5%, since 2008 - imputed value 10% - see commentary |  |
| UK | Labour, Independent Labour, 1945 Communist, SDPL, Greens, "Respect" (2005) | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/election-2010/7544741/History-of-the-House-of-Commons.html |
| France | Socialist, Communist and Green parties: 1848 - Socialists, III Republic till 1889 - radical party faction rough assessment, Socialists, SIFO (Workers International French section), SFIC (ComIntern), PCF, ecologists, greens etc; for majoritarian system - 1st round data | http://www.roi-president.com/elections\_legislatives/accueil.php |
| Germany | Social-Democrats, Communist and Green parties: SPD, DKP, PDS, Linke (Lefts), GRÜNE (Greens)  | http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs\_e/artandhistory/history/factsheets/elections\_empire.pdf; http://www.gonschior.de/weimar/index.htm |
| Canada | Labour, Socialists, Coop. commonwealth, NDP, greens | http://www.elections.ca/home.aspx |
| Japan | Socialist Party, Mass Socialist Party (pre-WWII), Communist Party, Social Democratic Party, Leftist Socialist Party (after 1948-55), Democratic Socialist Party (1960-94); Democratic Party (since 1996) not included - still under discussion |  |
| Austria | SP, since 1986 - greens & SP |  |
| Belgium | Socialists, Communists, greens (ecologists) - both frankophones and flanders: BSP/PSB: Socialist Party of Belgium, KPB/PCB: Communist Party and their heirs; Groenen / Ecolo |  |
| Denmark | Social Democracy, Left Socialists, Communists, Socialist People party, Red Greens |  |
| Italy | Socialists, Communists, since 1987 - Greens (Verdi) |  |
| Netherlands | Labor (PvdA), Communist, Socialist, Pacifist Socialist, Democratis Socialists, Green Left, |  |
| Sweden | Social Democratic Workers Party, Left (Left party-communists), Environment Party The Greens |  |
| Switzerland | SP (Social Democratic party), Labor party (PdA - communists), SOL: Solidarities, AL - alternative lefts; GPS: Green Party of Switzerland |  |

**Table 3. Taxpayers' Democracy for the sample**

| Country | Taxpayers' democracy | Restricted Democracy | Universal Male Suffrage | Universal Suffrage Democracy |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| USA | "1" 1791 (start of observation period) by 1860; 0 1861-1963; "-1" since 1964 | - | 1860 | 1920 (XIX Amendment ratified); optional – since 1964 (XXIV Amendment ratified) |
| UK | "0" 1790 – 1832; "1" 1833- 1917; "0" 1918-1927 (partial census); since 1928 "-1" | - | 1918 | 1928 |
| France | "1" July Monarchy 1831-1847 | Since start of observations (1820) -1830; late II-nd Empire | 1793, 1848-1850; 1870- | 1944 |
| Germany | 1871-1918 "-1"; 1919-1932; 1945- "-1" 1933-1944 - skipped | 1871-1918 | 1871 | 1919 |
| Canada | 1868-1897 "1";  | - | 1897 | 1919 |
| Japan | "1" - 1885-1925; "0" 1926-1937; 1938 – 1945 skipped; 1946- "-1" | - | 1926 | 1945 |
| Austria | "-1" 1887-1937; 1938-1944 skipped; since 1945 "-1" again (Universal suffrage" | Since start of observations 1887-1918 | 1907 | 1918 |
| Belgium | 1830-1846 "0"; 1847 – 1893 "1"; 1894 – 1948 "0" again" (male suffrage) 1914-1918, 1940-1944 skipped; since 1948 – "-1" | - | 1893 | 1948 |
| Denmark | 1854-1881 "1"; 1882-1914 "0"; since 1915 (1940-1944 skipped) "-1" – universal suffrage | - | 1882 | 1915 |
| Italy | 1862-1912 "1"; 1913- 1921 "0", 1922-1944 skipped, since 1945- "-1" | - | 1913 | 1945 |
| Netherlands | 1845-1848 "0" 1849-1894 "1";  | - | 1895 | 1919 |
| Sweden | 1867-1875 "0"; 1876-1906 "1"; 1907- "0" | - | 1907 | 1921 |
| Switzerland | 1867-1970 "0"; since 1971- "-1" | - | 1848 | 1970 |

Table 4. Selected Peacetime cases of ugly behavior of leaders approved (not punished) by voters and voters' demand for self-disenfranchising for the period of observation

| Country | Treachery of allies (or another democracies), totalitarian dictator's appeasement on the allies (third countries') costs | totalitarian dictator's appeasement w/o bold treachery acts | Democracy surrender, endogenous authoritarian (totalitarian) regime's rising to the power | External Debt Default and Domestic Debt repudiation (Reluctance to live within their means) |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| USA | India aggression against Portugal (Goa, 1961) ignorance | Détente 1970-ties |  | -[[2]](#footnote-2) |
| UKUK | Munich pact responsibility, Portugal (British long time ally) betrayal, 1973 boycott[[3]](#footnote-3), Detente | Détente 1970-ties |  | - |
| France | Munich Pact principal responsibility, WWII specific participation, 1973 boycott, Algerian European and loyalists' population treachery (compare with gen. Franco solution in Spanish Marocco) | Détente 1970-ties |  | - |
| Germany | 1973 boycott | Détente 1970-ties | 1932 voting for totalitarian parties (50% for Nazi and communists combined)  | 1932, 1939 |
| Canada |  | Détente 1970-ties | Newfoundland (ex-dominion) case 1934 | - |
| Japan | Authoritarian regime established,  | Détente 1970-ties |  | - |
| Austria | Authoritarian regime established, 1973 boycott | Détente 1970-ties |  | 1938, 1940[[4]](#footnote-4) |
| Belgium | 1973 boycott | Détente 1970-ties |  | - |
| Denmark | 1973 boycott | Détente 1970-ties |  | - |
| Italy | 1973 boycott | Détente 1970-ties | Fascist regime (was more imposed than elected); | - |
| Netherlands | 1973 boycott | Détente 1970-ties |  | - |
| Sweden | Nazi regime extensive cooperation,  | Détente 1970-ties; partial dependence on USSR of SDP minority governments which relied on Left Party – Communists support in the Riksdag |  | - |
| Switzerland |  | Nazi regime trade and financial services profiteering |  | - |

All above mentioned cases attributed to the new type of voters / leaders of Universal Suffrage Epoch.

Table 5. Summary Statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | N | Mean | Minimum | Maximum | Std. Dev. |
| Budget Deficit (Central Govt) | 1730 | 1.84396 | -47.1151 | 17.6596 | 5.63659 |
| Inflation (CPI) ((CPIt+1 / CPIt)\*100  - 100)  | 1866 | 4.14541 | -88.7427 | 516.114 | 18.2839 |
| Universal Suffrage | 2008 | 0.230578 | -1 | 1 | 0.851226 |
| Leftists | 2047 | 20.2092 | 0 | 73.5000 | 19.0159 |
| USA dummy | 2141 | 0.103286 | 0 | 1 | 0.304404 |
| Civil Law | 2135 | 0.725995 | 0 | 1 | 0.446116 |
| Religion | 2135 | 0.514286 | 0 | 1 | 0.499913 |
| Japan dummy | 2141 | 0.0594848 | 0 | 1 | 0.236585 |
| Govt Railway | 2136 | 0.640918 | 0 | 1 | 0.479844 |
| Public Radio or TV | 2137 | 0.465606 | 0 | 1 | 0.498932 |
| Power Rotation | 2141 | 0.053 | 0 | 1 | 0.224 |
| Neutral | 2135 | 0. 363466 | 0 | 1 | 0.4811101  |
| Great Wars | 2141 | 0.0527791 | 0 | 1 | 0.223644 |
| Local Wars | 2141 | 0.0583839 | 0 | 1 | 0.234523 |
| GDP, mln 1990 Historical dollars | 1945 | 359138 | 2638.00 | 9266360 | 898832 |
| GDP per capita growth, % | 2042 | 1.906 | -66.06 | 67.18 | 5.651 |
| Male Labor Force Participation | 500 | 75.34 | 58.7 | 99.4 | 7.61 |

Robustness check. Addressing the missed values problem

Description of the procedure from the official R package website.

Multiple imputation involves imputing m values for each missing cell in your data matrix and creating m "completed" data sets. (Across these completed data sets, the observed values are the same, but the missing values are filled in with different imputations that reflect our uncertainty about the missing data.) After imputation, Amelia will then save the m data sets. You then apply whatever statistical method you would have used if there had been no missing values to each of the m data sets, and use a simple procedure to combine the results. Under normal circumstances, you only need to impute once and can then analyze the m imputed data sets as many times and for as many purposes as you wish. The advantage of Amelia is that it combines the comparative speed and ease-of-use of our algorithm with the power of multiple imputation, to let you focus on your substantive research questions rather than spending time developing complex application-specific models for nonresponse in each new data set. Unless the rate of missingness is exceptionally high, m=5 (the program default) will usually be adequate. Other methods of dealing with missing data, such as listwise deletion, mean substitution, or single imputation, are in common circumstances biased, inefficient, or both. When multiple imputation works properly, it fills in data in such a way as to not change any relationships in the data but which enables the inclusion of all the observed data in the partially missing rows.

http://gking.harvard.edu/amelia

A1 Wars and Universal Suffrage are bad for budget. Data set contains imputed data

================================================================

 Dependent variable:

----------------------------------------------------------------

 Budget Deficit to GDP

 OLS OLS FE FE

 (1) (2) (3) (4)

----------------------------------------------------------------

GDPpc percentage change -0.048\* -0.052\*\*

 (0.026) (0.026)

Great War 17.385\*\*\* 17.180\*\*\* 17.087\*\*\* 16.866\*\*\*

 (1.280) (1.238) (1.255) (1.213)

Local War 1.103\*\* 1.173\*\*\* 1.188\*\*\* 1.266\*\*\*

 (0.444) (0.450) (0.448) (0.455)

Japan -6.721\*\*\* -6.670\*\*\*

 (0.489) (0.494)

Religion 0.015 0.004

 (0.284) (0.284)

Civil Law 1.557\*\*\* 1.549\*\*\*

 (0.288) (0.286)

GDP 0.388\*\* 0.399\*\* 0.531\*\*\* 0.544\*\*\*

 (0.155) (0.158) (0.164) (0.168)

Universal Suffrage 0.837\*\*\* 0.872\*\*\* 0.826\*\*\* 0.862\*\*\*

 (0.134) (0.137) (0.134) (0.136)

Constant 0.309 0.404

 (0.366) (0.364)

----------------------------------------------------------------

Observations 2141 2141 2141 2141

Adjusted R2 0.392 0.401 0.363 0.365

================================================================

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

 Robust standard errors in parentheses

A5 Left Parties increase Deficit more than Depression. Data set contains imputed data

================================================================

 Dependent variable:

 ----------------------------------------

 Budget Deficit to GDP

 OLS OLS FE FE

 (1) (2) (3) (4)

----------------------------------------------------------------

GDPpc percentage change -0.051\* -0.051\*

 (0.026) (0.026)

Leftists 0.059\*\*\* 0.061\*\*\* 0.050\*\*\* 0.051\*\*\*

 (0.007) (0.007) (0.007) (0.007)

GDP 0.426\*\*\* 0.438\*\*\* 0.503\*\*\* 0.515\*\*\*

 (0.141) (0.145) (0.160) (0.165)

Great Wars 17.185\*\*\* 16.974\*\*\* 17.048\*\*\* 16.830\*\*\*

 (1.243) (1.202) (1.231) (1.190)

Local Wars 1.236\*\*\* 1.317\*\*\* 1.345\*\*\* 1.428\*\*\*

 (0.445) (0.452) (0.447) (0.454)

Japan -6.264\*\*\* -6.202\*\*\*

 (0.450) (0.457)

USA -0.435 -0.411

 (0.361) (0.361)

Constant 0.429\*\* 0.492\*\*

 (0.196) (0.197)

----------------------------------------------------------------

Observations 2141 2141 2141 2141

Adjusted R2 0.382 0.392 0.377 0.380

================================================================

A7 Left parties lasting support negatively correlates with male Labor Force participation. Data set contains imputed data

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 Dependent variable:

---------------------------------------------------------

 Male Labor Force Participation

 OLS OLS OLS OLS

 (1) (2) (3) (4)

---------------------------------------------------------

Leftists -0.345\*\*\*

 (0.048)

Leftists (-20) -0.032

 (0.071)

Leftists (-30) -0.400\*\*\*

 (0.043)

Leftists (-40) -0.425\*\*\*

 (0.043)

GDP 0.930\*\* 0.891\* 0.646 0.320

 (0.423) (0.472) (0.433) (0.436)

Local Wars 0.404 2.311\*\* -0.712 -0.193

 (0.783) (1.047) (0.656) (0.651)

Japan 5.126\*\*\* 6.101\*\*\* 4.904\*\*\* 4.142\*\*\*

 (0.865) (1.018) (0.766) (0.732)

USA -6.793\*\*\* 0.783 -6.265\*\*\* -5.852\*\*\*

 (1.831) (1.207) (1.589) (1.557)

Constant 91.521\*\*\* 83.478\*\*\* 91.124\*\*\* 90.655\*\*\*

 (1.984) (0.907) (1.685) (1.633)

-------------------------------------------------------

Observations 2141 2141 2141 2141

Adjusted R2 0.128 0.038 0.264 0.276

=======================================================

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

 Robust standard errors in parentheses

**Table B1. Wars and Universal Suffrage are bad for budget**. USA Universal Suffrage = "0" by 1964 (1921-1963 marked "0" instead of "1" because of censuses in the Dixie states)

|  |
| --- |
| Dependent variable: Budget deficit to GDP |
|   | OLS |  OLS | FE | FE |
|   | (1) | (2) | (4) | (5) |
| GDP per cap. Growth rate, %  | 0.031 (0.056) | -0.029(0.056) | 0.020 (0.020) | -0.036\* (0.022) |
| GDP |  | 0.408\* (0.221)  |  | 0.695\*\*\*(0.145) |
| Great Wars | 17.470\*\*\*(1.908) | 16.71\*\*\*(2.158)  | 17.436\*\*\*(0.571) | 16.727\*\*\*(0.599) |
| Local Wars | 1.098\*\*(0.394) | 1.118\*\*(0.392) | 1.351\*\*(0.434) | 1.288\*\*(0.416) |
| Japan dummy | -6.294\*\*\*(0.627) | -6.395\*\*\*(0.740)  |  |  |
| Civil Law | 1.292\*\*\*(0.204) | 1.247\*\*\*(0.213)  |  |  |
| Neutral | 0.520\*\* (0.188) |  | 0.825\*\* (0.320) |  |
| Religion |  | -0.102(0.246) |  |  |
| UniversalSuffrage | 0.790\*\*\*(0.121) | 0.661\*\*\*(0.120) | 0.865\*\*\*(0.127) | 0.563\*\*\*(0.121) |
| Const | 0.198 (0.173) | 0.364\*\*(0.172) | 0.557\*\* (0.176) | 0.708\*\*\* (0.121) |
| Number of obs. | 1669 | 1518 | 1669 | 1518 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0.421 | 0.404 | 0.342 | 0.318 |

All standard errors are robust. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

***Comparison of Table 1 (the Article) and Tables A1, B1; Tables 5 (The Article) and A5; Tables 7 (The Article) and A7 shows: the different datasets for the same regressions not caused any considerable change in outcomes.***

 Universal Conscription as probable precondition for Universal (Male) Suffrage

| **Female Suffrage**  | **Universal Male Suffrage**  | **Universal Conscription**  | **Country**  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1918 (1929)  | 1918  | 1916-20; 1939-  | United Kingdom |
| 1919 (1964)  | 1870—1890 (1964)  | 1862; 1917; 1940- | USA  |
| 1945  | (1793) 1870  | 1793 Decree Establishing the "Levée en Masse"  | France  |
| 1920 (1940, Quebec)  | 1919  | 1917  | Canada  |
| 1945-46  | 1882  | 1861 (Modern Italy, apart Napoleonic Decree)  | Italy  |
| 1919  | 1917  | 1811  | Netherlands  |
| 1921 (1948 )  | 1919 (plural vote system benefited the taxpayers repealed[[5]](#footnote-5))  | 1913  | Belgium  |
| 1921  | 1907  | 1901  | Sweden  |
| 1971  | 1848  | 1871 (1874)  | Switzerland  |
| 1919  | 1871 - 25 years old male (1919 – 20 years old male)  | 1814  | Germany (Prussia)  |

1793 – The French Constitution of 1793 was approved by a referendum in the summer of 1793 which held via universal male suffrage[[6]](#footnote-6)

Switzerland adopted universal conscription by 1874, but never applied it actually, AND delays of the Universal Suffrage till 1971 not caused any detectable political troubles.

In most cases Universal conscription was introduced by national Governments (with few exemptions – Netherlands and Italy by Napoleon Bonaparte).

So, universal conscription could fuel demands for universal (male) suffrage (with Switzerland exemption; as it pretty hard to deny franchise for person contributing so much in public affair). Causal relation is especially clear for Sweden, where Social Democrats promoted their claim for universal suffrage through campaign "one man – one vote – one rifle" (“En man, en röst, ett gevär!”).

1. Austria, Belgium, marked as Catholic; Canada, Denmark - Protestant; France - catholic; Germany - Protestant; Italy - Catholic; Japan nor Catholic, not Protestant, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, USA – Protestant. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. We deliberately ignore sub-national governments' defaults because of poor compatibility of the most transparent (US, Canada) and less transparent (Germany, Austria) countries, not mention countries not included in our sample. We also exclude Germany post-WWII monetary reform episode. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. We mean 1973 all European NATO country-members but Portugal ban for use of US ammunition from local US bases to resupply Israel Defense Forces during Yom Kippur War and ban for landing and refuel of US transport carriers for the same end. Formally European countries weren't obliged to support the "Nickel Grass" airlift operation. European government regularly present themselves as Israel ally to support their claim for involvement in Middle East conflict solution and to support their double standard position in this conflict, see for example: <http://www.jpost.com/Diplomatic-Conference/Danish-ambassador-JPosts-Caroline-Glick-exchange-verbal-blows-over-EU-attitude-toward-Israel-384438> . So the EU countries' claim on "informal alliance" is poor compatible with 1973 story. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Reinhart Carmen M., Rogoff Kenneth S., "This Time is different" Princeton University Press, 2009 Sovereign External Debt Defaults see Tables 6.2 – 6.6; Domestic Debt repudiation – see tables 7.2.-7.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. See for ex. <http://www.ibzdgip.fgov.be/result/fr/doc.php> (in French) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/histoire/suffrage_universel/suffrage-1789.asp#1793> [↑](#footnote-ref-6)