

How Robust are the Economic, Political and Institutional Determinants of Seigniorage?*

Richard M. Jong-A-Pin
University of Groningen

Jakob de Haan
University of Groningen
CESifo Munich

29 december 2004

Abstract

In this paper we examine how robust economic, political and institutional variables are related to seigniorage. We use Leamer's Extreme Bounds Analysis to deal with model uncertainty and a factor analytic setup to cope with the imperfect measurement of alternative seigniorage measures. Our analysis shows that most variables are not robustly related to seigniorage including democracy and corruption. Besides the *de facto* exchange rate regime and the level of GDP per capita, we find that internal conflicts and the involvement of the military in the political process are robustly related to seigniorage. Furthermore, fiscal deficits and external conflicts are robust determinants of seigniorage in high inflation countries.

JEL code: C33, C52, E52

Keywords: seigniorage, inflation tax, outliers, sensitivity analysis, factor analysis

Please do not cite or quote

*We thank Jan Egbert Sturm for his support with the EBA. Comments on this draft are welcome and all remaining errors are our own. Corresponding author: Richard Jong-A-Pin, Department of Economics, University of Groningen, PO Box 800, 9700 AV Groningen, The Netherlands. E-mail: r.m.jong-a-pin@eco.rug.nl

1 Introduction

Over the last twenty years numerous papers have tried to find a link between seigniorage and various economic, political and institutional variables. The theoretical literature seems to provide clear-cut propositions. Optimal tax considerations (Phelps, 1973), political stability (Cukierman, Edwards and Tabellini, 1992), an independent monetary policymaker (Sargent and Wallace, 1981), or democracy (Desai, Olofsgard and Yousef, 2003) are only but a few factors explaining cross-country differences in seigniorage. These hypotheses are often, if not always, backed by some cross-country (panel) regressions.

However, there is no consensus about how a proper regression model should be specified, since many specifications seem reasonable given the plethora of institutional theories. Temple (2000), therefore, rightly argues that presenting only the regression results of a single (or a few) model(s) might lead to misleading conclusions, because no information is obtained about the sensitivity of parameter estimates when other plausible variables are included in the model.

A different issue that has hardly received attention in empirical work on the determinants of seigniorage is the existence of many reasonable seigniorage indicators. Although Drazen (1985) provides a general seigniorage measure, this measure is deemed useless in practice because several components of it cannot be measured (see Honohan, 1996). Cagan (1956) and Friedman (1971) show that seigniorage is a tax on real money holdings. Unlike other tax sources its revenue for the government cannot be readily measured. It does, however, like other taxes consists of a tax base and a tax rate. While the tax rate is often proxied by the inflation rate to measure seigniorage, the base is often neglected in empirical studies. A different aspect in the measurement of seigniorage is the way it is normalized to make cross country comparison possible. Existing studies use either GDP or total government revenue to scale, but the choice made is likely to affect the estimation results. These measurement issues further complicate comparison of the results obtained by different authors.

The aim of this paper is to examine which economic, political and institutional determinants are robustly related to seigniorage. We investigate this issue for a panel of 92 countries in the period 1980-1999. We start with the problem of model selection as addressed above. We investigate a set of 40 explanatory variables that are potentially related to seigniorage. We analyze these variables using Sala-i-Martin's (1997a, 1997b) variant of the Extreme Bounds Analysis (EBA). The central idea of EBA, which originates in the work of Leamer (1983, 1985) is to run a whole range of possible models and to examine how sensitive parameter estimates are to different model specifications. As will turn out, the use of different seigniorage measures affects the estimation results seriously. However, these seigniorage measures should reflect the same concept and can be regarded as noisy indicators of the true amount of seigniorage collected. One method to extract the most coherent part of the noisy seigniorage measures is a principal components analysis (PCA). The PCA allows us to find a linear combination of existing measures to construct a new seigniorage indicator which can be used

in the EBA.

Using the results obtained from the PCA we find that hardly any explanatory variable is robust. Only internal conflicts and the involvement of the military in the political process (and to a lesser extent external conflicts) are robustly related to seigniorage.

This paper proceeds as follows: the next section provides a discussion of the Extreme Bounds Analysis as well as methods to deal with measurement error. Section three is split up in three parts: first, we construct a so-called base model, which will be used in the EBA. Next, we provide the results of the four seigniorage measures. The last part of this section gives the results of the EBA when we have controlled for measurement error in our dependent variable. Section four provides a discussion and a provisional conclusion of this paper.

2 Methodological Issues

2.1 Model Uncertainty

The essence of model uncertainty in applied empirical work is that economic theory often does not provide enough guidance how to specify the ‘correct’ regression model. A problem with many economic theories is their open-endedness. That is, many model specifications seem plausible given the data. This problem also applies to the realm of *which* economic, political and institutional indicators are responsible for cross-country differences in the levels of seigniorage. The overview of empirical studies shown in table 9 (appendix) reveals that every single paper has focused on different aspects of seigniorage ignoring other potentially important aspects of seigniorage. For example, Cukierman, Edwards and Tabellini (1992) focus on the role of political instability in the explanation of seigniorage. While they take into account cross-country differences in the efficiency of tax systems, they ignore the disciplining role the exchange rate regime has in the collection of seigniorage. On the other hand, recent studies that focus on the institutional determinants of seigniorage (e.g. Desai et al. (2003)) largely ignore the ‘optimal tax’ considerations in their specification.

For this paper, we identify about 40 variables that have been suggested to be related to seigniorage. As said, the problem we encounter is that theories explaining seigniorage do not invalidate each other and hence many model specifications seem reasonable. The Extreme Bounds Analysis of Leamer (1983, 1985) is a useful tool to deal with the uncertainty regarding the specification of the true regression model.¹ The basic idea underlying this method is that a regression model is specified in which a few variables are always left in the model and one potential variable is included. This potential explanatory variable, in turn, is subject to a whole range of regressions in which for each specification a different linear combination of other doubtful regressors are taken up in the model. On the basis of all these regressions, the

¹Examples of applications in other areas of research are: Levine and Renelt (1992) and Sturm and de Haan (2005) for economic growth, Woo (2003) for public deficits and Baxter and Kouparitsas (2004) for business cycle synchronization.

parameter sensitivity of the potential variables is examined. Formally, the regression model in which the EBA is employed can be exemplified as follows:

$$S = \theta M + \beta F + \gamma Z + u \quad (1)$$

where S represents the seigniorage measure, M is a matrix of structural explanatory variables, F is (a vector with) the variable under investigation in the EBA, Z is a matrix containing three variables which are also suggested to be a determinant of seigniorage in the existing literature and u is an error term.

The parameter sensitivity of the doubtful variable can be examined in various ways. Levine and Renelt (1992) (L&R), for instance, use the ‘extreme bounds’ criterion as proposed by Leamer (1983, 1985). On the basis of all regressions for their potential variable(s) they take the smallest parameter estimate and subtract two times its standard error as well as the largest estimate and add two times its standard error. In case the range between the calculated bounds (which can be interpreted as a sort of confidence interval) does not include 0, the potential variable is said to be robustly related to the dependent variable. Sala-i-Martin (1997a, 1997b) argues that the ‘extreme bounds’ criterion is too strong for the potential variables to pass the robustness test. Instead, he proposes to examine the entire distribution of parameter estimates in order to evaluate whether the density function for all parameter estimates does not include 0 in 90% of all cases. We follow this approach and, therefore, report the unweighted parameter estimate of β and its standard error, as well as the outcomes of the cumulative distribution function (CDF) test. The CDF test is based on the fraction of the cumulative distribution function lying on each side of zero. $CDF(0)$ indicates the larger of the areas under the density function either above or below zero; in other words, regardless of whether this is $CDF(0)$ or $1-CDF(0)$. So $CDF(0)$ will always be a number between 0.5 and 1.0. This criterion is less strong than the L&R criterion.

We will use a variant of the criterion of Sala-i-Martin (1997a, 1997b). Instead of the 90% criterion as explained above, we advocate a more stringent criterion because of the one-sidedness of the t-test. As a complement to the Sala-i-Martin criterion, we also consider the percentage of significant parameter estimates of the potential variable.

2.2 Measurement Error

Governments obtain seigniorage as a source of revenue when they tax the real money holdings of the public by increasing the money supply (Cagan, 1956 and Friedman, 1971). As opposed to other tax sources, it is not clear how much revenue is raised when using the inflation tax source. As a crude approximation to the true amount of seigniorage collected, several indicators have been proposed by various authors (see table 9 in the appendix (second column) and Honohan (1996) for an overview of the ‘early’ seigniorage literature). Drazen (1985) discusses the various seigniorage indicators and provides a general framework to measure seigniorage. In

practice, however, this framework is deemed useless because several components of the general measure are not measurable. Although the various proxies differ, they also have some similar characteristics. Firstly, as seigniorage is a form of tax revenue most seigniorage indicators consists of a tax base and a tax rate. Furthermore, there seems to be consensus that the ‘best’ proxy for the tax base of seigniorage is the yearly increment of the monetary base in the country under consideration. As a proxy for the tax rate, the inflation rate seems to be the most likely candidate. However, various authors have proposed to use a monotonic transformation of the inflation rate, possibly to mitigate the problem of heteroscedasticity in regression analysis. Examples are a logarithmic transformation (e.g. Click (1998)) or $\frac{\pi}{1+\pi}$ as a proxy for the real annual depreciation of money, where π is defined as the annual inflation rate (e.g. Desai et al. (2003))² The crucial difference between the various proxies is the way they are normalized. While some authors advocate normalization against GDP (e.g. Cukierman et. al (1992)), others prefer to normalize seigniorage revenues against total government revenue (e.g. De Haan, Zelhorst and Roukens (1993)). It is noteworthy that the majority of scholars (especially in political science) only use the inflation rate as a proxy for seigniorage and no normalization. In our view this is only half of the story and hence, using the inflation rate, is a weak indicator for the true amount of seigniorage.³ It should be noted that if the economy is in a steady state with a 0% real interest rates, all proposed proxies are the same, or at least proportional to each other (in other words: they should have a correlation of 1).

From our literature survey and omitting the inflation rate as a separate proxy for seigniorage, we define the following four seigniorage indicators:⁴

$$\begin{aligned} S_t^A &= \frac{M0_t - M0_{t-1}}{R_t} \\ S_t^D &= \frac{\pi_t M0_t}{(1 + \pi_t) R_t} \\ S_t^E &= \frac{M0_t - M0_{t-1}}{Y_t} \\ S_t^H &= \frac{\pi_t M0_t}{(1 + \pi_t) Y_t} \end{aligned}$$

where $M0_t$ is the monetary base of a country in year t , π_t is the annual inflation rate in year t , R_t is the total amount of government revenue (inclusive of seigniorage) in year t and Y_t is a countries Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in year t .

²For more details on this proxy we refer to Cukierman, Webb and Neyapti (1992).

³As seigniorage can also be seen as a cheap alternative to government borrowing, the opportunity costs of these government bonds are also a source of revenue for the government. As a proxy for this source, T-bill rates are used as the ‘tax rate’. The main disadvantage of the latter proxy is that it is poorly available for most developing countries. Since our analysis focuses on both developed countries and developing countries we ignore the last proxy our analysis.

⁴A list of countries for which we have data can be found in table 11 (appendix)

The (pairwise) correlation matrix of the four seigniorage indicators below shows that all pairs of seigniorage measures have a positive correlation coefficient. The matrix also shows the correlation coefficients between the separate indicators and the inflation rate. It can be seen that the measures A , D and E form a group of indicators that have a strong correlation, while the H indicator correlates less with the other indicators; the H indicator only has a strong correlation with the inflation rate.

| | A | D | E | H | π |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| A | 1 | | | | |
| D | 0.885 | 1 | | | |
| E | 0.683 | 0.643 | 1 | | |
| H | 0.302 | 0.321 | 0.531 | 1 | |
| π | 0.398 | 0.420 | 0.430 | 0.711 | 1 |

It is not surprising that the various indicators have a positive correlation: they ought to measure the same phenomenon, i.e. seigniorage. It is also clear that no single pair of seigniorage measures has a correlation coefficient equal to 1. It seems that all indicators convey some information about the true amount of seigniorage collected, but none of them tells us the same story. Therefore, we consider the separate proxies for seigniorage as imperfect measures of the true amount of seigniorage.

A useful descriptive data reduction method to deal with imperfectly measured indicators of an unobserved (latent) variable is the so-called Principal Components Analysis (PCA). This method tries to find a vector containing the ‘latent variable’ (the true, but unobserved, data generating process) that explains as much of the variance of the separate indicators.

The PCA can be exemplified as follows. Consider the following set-up:

$$S = \lambda\zeta' + E$$

where S is the matrix of (centered) seigniorage indicators with N rows (countries) and 4 columns (indicators). Hence a typical row i of S is:

$$s_i = \begin{bmatrix} s_i^a & s_i^d & s_i^e & s_i^h \end{bmatrix}$$

λ is the true, but unobserved, amount of seigniorage, ζ is a vector of factor loadings (to be explained below) and E is some error term.⁵ The idea of PCA is to find the vectors λ and ζ such that the sum of squared residuals is minimized. The solution of this problem is to find the largest eigenvalue of the covariance matrix $S'S$. The corresponding eigenvector is ζ and λ_i can be calculated as $\lambda_i = \zeta' s_i$. As can be seen λ (the principal component) is a linear

⁵It should be noted that we demeaned the seigniorage indicators so that we can forget about a constant term in our notation. Wansbeek and Meijer (2000) show that this has no consequences for the remainder of the analysis.

combination of the separate centered indicators weighted by the elements of the eigenvector ζ . That is, the vector with factor loadings reflects how much information each indicator conveys about the true level of seigniorage. (An elaborate discussion of PCA and its relationship with Factor Analysis can be found in Wansbeek and Meijer (2000)).

3 Data and Results

In order to analyze the determinants of seigniorage we construct a large dataset with 4 seigniorage indicators and 40 explanatory variables. The seigniorage measures are constructed using the *IMF International Financial Statistics CD ROM 2003*. The data sources and definitions of the explanatory variables can be found in table 10 (appendix). We have data for a maximum of 92 countries for the period 1980-1999. Since for many developing countries data are missing, we use 5-year averages for our data analysis. The periods are 1980-1984, 1985-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-1999. A similar approach can be found in Woo (2003).⁶

3.1 A Base Model with the Usual Suspects

The first step in the EBA is to select those variables making up the M matrix in our analysis. We start with a broad specification of our regression model using variables that are thought to be robustly related to seigniorage. The foremost candidate to include in the specification is an exchange rate indicator (PEG). As shown by Fischer (1983) a fixed exchange rate restrains governments from collecting seigniorage. A fixed exchange rate regime is expected to be a credible device to restrict seigniorage revenues (see also Giavazzi and Pagano, 1988). Henceforth, countries with a fixed exchange rate are expected to have lower seigniorage than countries with a (more) flexible exchange rate regime. To be sure that countries are really constrained from collecting seigniorage, we consider the Reinhart and Rogoff (2002) *de facto* exchange rate dummy as the best indicator for our analysis. The second variable we take up is the fiscal deficit of the central government (DEF). Fischer, Sahay and Vegh (2003), e.g., show that seigniorage is highly correlated with the fiscal stance of the central government. A third aspect which is considered to be a determinant of seigniorage is the efficiency of the tax system. Cukierman et. al (1992) use several proxies for the efficiency of the tax system: GDP per capita (GDPCAP), the level of urbanization (URBAN), the relative size of the manufacturing sector (MANU), the relative size of the agricultural sector (AGRI) and the log of the population density (LOGDENS), respectively. Using the general to specific approach of model selection and the following regression setup:

$$S_{itk} = \mu + \beta X_{it} + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

⁶We include a variable in a particular period if data for at least 3 out of 5 years is available. For the ICRG data, data for some variables start in 1984. Because of the stickyness of these institutional variables we consider the observation for 1984 as representative for the whole period 1980-1984.

where S_{itk} is the seigniorage measure ($k \in \{A, D, E, H\}$) for the i^{th} country in the t^{th} period ($t = 1, \dots, 4$), μ is a constant term, X_{it} is the set of explanatory variables and $\alpha_i + \epsilon_{it}$ is a composite error term where α_i is an individual specific component that does not vary over time and ϵ_{it} is a remainder component, we conclude that DEF, PEG and GDPCAP should be included in any regression model explaining seigniorage. Table 1 shows the results of the random effects model including DEF, PEG and GDPCAP as explanatory variables for the four seigniorage measures.⁷

[Insert table 1 about here]

For each measure the explanatory variables are of the expected sign and highly significant. Table 1 also contains the estimation results of the sample excluding the periods in which a particular country experienced an average inflation rate above 100%. The observations that are excluded from this sample can be found in table 2. It is clear that excluding these high inflation observations reduces the estimated parameter value of each explanatory variable. Furthermore, it can be seen that both the significance of GDPCAP and PEG is unchanged. However, excluding high inflation periods of the sample renders DEF insignificant for all seigniorage measures, indicating that fiscal deficits are only a robust determinant of seigniorage in high inflation countries. Similar findings were reported by de Haan and Zelhorst (1990).

[Insert table 2 about here]

3.2 Extreme Bounds Analysis

The next step is to do the EBA for DEF, PEG and GDPCAP (from now on these three variables are denoted as M). Using the notation of the previous sections, this implies the following regression model:

$$S_{itk} = \theta M_{it} + \gamma Z_{it} + u_{it}$$

$$u_{it} = \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

where the second equation refers to the random effects model with country specific effects.

The results of the EBA for the M -variables are shown in table 3. The results of the EBA of the base model show that the inclusion of all possible subsets of Z -variables do not have a large influence on the parameter estimates of the M variables, since the average (unweighted) β 's are close to the estimates shown in table 2. The calculated values of the (unweighted) CDF(0) indicate that PEG and DEF are robustly related to seigniorage for at least three of the seigniorage measures according to the criterion of Sala-i-Martin. In contrast, GDPCAP

⁷Here, we only show the results of the random effects models. The reason is that the null-hypothesis of the Hausman test (which states that the fixed effects estimates are not different from the random effects) could not be rejected for each specified base model. Since the random effects model leaves us more degrees of freedom and is generally more efficient under the null-hypothesis, we prefer this regression model above the fixed effects variant.

does not pass the robustness criterion. If one considers the EBA of the base model for the sample without the high inflation countries (periods), PEG and GDPCAP are found to be robustly related to the alternative seigniorage measures. In this subsample DEF is highly insignificant according to the Sala-i-Martin criterion as well as the percentage of parameter values significant at the 5% significance level. This finding confirms our previous that fiscal deficits are only a robust determinant of seigniorage in high inflation countries.

[Insert table 3 about here]

Now that the basemodel is specified, we investigate the robustness of 36 other potential determinants of seigniorage.⁸ These variables can be roughly classified into seven categories:⁹

1. variables reflecting the efficiency of the tax system
2. variables reflecting the polity of countries
3. variables reflecting the type of government in power
4. variables reflecting the strength of governance
5. variables reflecting the degree of political instability
6. variables reflecting the independence of the central bank
7. socioeconomic characteristics and regional dummies

Because we are now interested in the robustness of the other explanatory variables given the inclusion of the M -variables, our regression models are as follows:

$$S_{itk} = \theta M_{it} + \beta F_{it} + \gamma Z_{it} + u_{it}$$

$$u_{it} = \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

where we have used the same notation as above. The results of the EBA for the four seigniorage measures are shown in table 4.¹⁰

⁸In our original set-up we also included EXPROP as an explanatory variable. This variable is highly significant for all seigniorage measures (CDF = 0.999 and percentage of significant parameter values above 95% for all seigniorage measures). However, as seigniorage is a form of government expropriation (i.e. the expropriation of real money holdings) and the inclusion of EXPROP turns out to affect our results drastically, we omit this variable in the subsequent analysis.

⁹A full description of our the explanatory variables can be found in table 10 (appendix).

¹⁰The table also shows the average number of observations used in the regressions for the specific F -variable. As can be seen this number is rather low for some variables (GINI, TOR and CDEBT). This implies that for these variables 'on average' only a maximum of 25, 28 and 40 countries are examined, respectively. In order to mitigate this problem, we put several restrictions on the minimum amount (between 150 and 200) of observations to be used in the regressions. The consequence of these restrictions is that GINI, TOR and CDEBT are no longer robustly related with seigniorage for any seigniorage measure. It turns out that the same restrictions on the other F -variables leave our results unaffected.

[Insert table 4 about here]

It is clear from table 4 that the majority of the (unweighted average) regression coefficients of the variables under investigation are of the expected sign. CORRUPTION, FRAC and MANU are, however, notable exceptions. Moreover, the influence of TRADE, URBAN and POLARIZ is indeterminate and depends on the used seigniorage measure. Another result revealed by table 4 is that no single variable is robustly related to seigniorage for all 4 seigniorage measures according to the (adjusted) Sala-i-Martin criterion. Only AGRI (A), CDEBT(E, H), EXTCON (E), GROWTH (D, H), INTCON (A, D), LAW (D) and TOR (D) are robustly related to some of the seigniorage measures. The percentage of significant β 's of these robust variables for some of the indicators varies between 71% and 90% supporting the view that they are structurally related to some of the seigniorage indicators.

Table 5 displays the results of the EBA for the sample excluding high inflation observations. While the estimated signs of the explanatory variables (except MANU and INDUST) are as expected in case all signs are equal across seigniorage measures, we find altering signs for the variables AGRI, CDEBT, URBAN, TRADE, POLARIZ, GROWTH and GASTIL. Like the sample in which all observations are used no F -variable is robust for all 4 seigniorage measures. The variables that are robust for some seigniorage measures are: AGRI (D), EXECRLC (D), INDUST (E), INTCON (A), LAW (D), MANU (E), MILPOL (A, E) and SUBAFR (E). Now, the percentage of significant parameter estimates is much lower than for the full sample, indicating that some of the significance is largely driven by the high inflation observations.

[Insert table 5 about here]

The EBA thus far leaves us with a few variables that pass the ‘strong’ variant of the Sala-i-Martin criterion. Note that obviously more variables would pass the original Sala-i-Martin criterion. However, no single variable is found robust for all seigniorage indicators. One reason could be that these explanatory variables are indeed not very robustly related to seigniorage. However, another reason could be that the different seigniorage indicators are only crude approximations of the true amount of seigniorage raised and that (in fact) robust relationships between the political and institutional indicators are masked by the noise in the dependent variable. As explained in section 2.2, PCA provides us a tool to elaborate on this issue and to examine whether really no variable is robustly related to seigniorage.

3.3 A ‘New’ Seigniorage Proxy

In the previous subsection we presented the EBA results for the separate seigniorage measures. Now, we turn to the same analysis using a new seigniorage proxy obtained from a PCA. The

eigenvector corresponding to the largest eigenvalue (2.731) of the correlation matrix is:

$$\zeta_1 = \begin{bmatrix} 0.905 \\ 0.896 \\ 0.871 \\ 0.591 \end{bmatrix}$$

where the subscript 1 is used to denote that this eigenvector corresponds to the largest eigenvalue. This eigenvector reflects the factor loadings of the centered seigniorage measures. It is clear that indicator A receives the highest weight in the construction of the new seigniorage proxy and that indicator H receives the lowest weight. This implies that indicator A comes closest to the true level of seigniorage collected relative to the other indicators.¹¹ The variance that the principal component explains of the original data is 68.3%. Using the results of the PCA, we are able to predict the true amount of seigniorage collected. The results of the prediction can be found in table 6.

[Insert table 6 about here]

The newly obtained seigniorage indicator ($\hat{\lambda}$) is now used as the dependent variable in the EBA.¹² The EBA model alters into:

$$\hat{\lambda}_{it} = \theta M_{it} + \beta F_{it} + \gamma Z_{it} + u_{it}$$

$$u_{it} = \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it}$$

The results of the EBA using the new seigniorage indicator can be found in table 7. It is clear from table 7 that now only two variables pass the Sala-i-Martin criterion: INTCON and EXTCON. If one examines the results from the subsample without high inflation observations the results indicate that INTCON and MILPOL are robust determinants of seigniorage. The percentage of significant parameter values lies between 65% and 75% indicating that the variables are significant at the 5% significance level for the majority of the regressions.

[Insert table 7 about here]

¹¹We also did a PCA that included the inflation rate as an indicator for seigniorage. The analysis left us with two eigenvalues greater than 1, which implies that the variance of the indicators is best explained by two underlying factors. Regarding the first component, the H indicator as well as the inflation rate would both receive weights smaller than 0.1. This finding can be interpreted as evidence that the inflation rate may not be a good indicator for seigniorage.

¹²We also did the same investigation procedure for our base variables. The results, however, remain largely unaltered. For the full sample, the respective CDF's of PEG, GDPCAP and DEF are: 1.00, 0.92 and 0.98. For the sample excluding high inflation periods the CDF's of PEG, GDPCAP and DEF are: 1.00, 0.97, and 0.87, respectively.

4 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

In this paper, we examined the robustness of the relationship between seigniorage and various economic, political and institutional variables. We dealt with (1) the robustness of the dependent variable using Principal Components Analysis as well as (2) the robustness of the specified model using the Extreme Bounds Analysis. Our analysis shows that the use of different seigniorage indicators results in different conclusions about which variables are robust and which are not. Using an efficient linear combination of the existing seigniorage indicators as a 'new' dependent variable in the EBA shows that hardly any variable is a robust determinant of seigniorage. Especially, polity and variables reflecting the type of government in power perform very poorly in the EBA. Moreover, indicators that cover the governance of countries as well as the turnover rate (TOR) of the central bank governor do not seem to be robustly related to seigniorage.

We do find that the exchange rate, GDP per capita, internal conflicts and the involvement of the military in the political process are robust determinants of seigniorage. Furthermore, in the restricted sample fiscal deficits and external conflicts are also found to be robust. The finding that fiscal deficits are not a robust determinant of seigniorage in low and moderate inflation countries supports the finding of earlier studies like Burdekin (1987), de Haan and Zelhorst (1990) and Fischer et. al (2003).

While earlier studies found evidence for some of the variables to be robust, we are the first to find that the military involvement in politics is a determinant of seigniorage. The channel through which these variables are related is not yet well understood. One reason why the two may be related is that, given the significance of internal (and to a lesser extent external) conflicts, a strong influence of the military induces politicians to raise funds (via seigniorage) to combat domestic and international tensions. A different interpretation is that the influence of the military is the ultimate reflection of a dependent monetary policymaker. That is, countries in which the military has much power in the political arena central bankers may be tempted to act according to the wishes of the military, because they might be afraid of (personal) repercussions.

A different remarkable finding is that political instability in general is not a robust determinant. While internal conflicts certainly reflect one aspect of instability, other variables like government fractionalization, the number of veto players who drop, democratic polarization or a strong legal framework are not sufficient nor necessary reasons that seigniorage revenues vary between countries. This finding provides us with a new perspective on the relevance of political instability as a determinant of seigniorage, which remains to be work for future research.

Other issues that deserve further attention are related to the fact that we did not allow for non-linear relationships between seigniorage and the explanatory variables and that we also ignored the possibility of interaction effects between the explanatory variables. Given

the increasing interest in the possible interaction between institutions, this seems a promising agenda to follow. Moreover, although we controlled for outliers in our dependent variables, we ignored the possibility of outliers in the explanatory variables. While applications of outlier robust estimation methods are still no standard practice in applied empirical work and its merits are not clear relative to ordinary regression methods, the exercise seems worthwhile (see Temple (2000) and Sturm and de Haan (2005)).

References

- Al-Marhubi, F. (2000). Corruption and inflation. *Economics Letters*, 66, 199-202.
- Baxter, M., & Kouparitsas, M. (2004). Determinants of business cycle comovement: a robust analysis. *NBER Working Paper*, 10725.
- Beck, T., Clarke, G., Groff, A., Keefer, P., & Walsh, P. (2001). New tools and new tests in comparative political economy. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 15, 165-176.
- Berument, H. (1998). Central bank independence and financing government spending. *Journal of Macroeconomics*, 20, 133-151.
- Burdekin, R. (1987). Cross-country evidence on the relationship between central banks and governments. *Journal of Macroeconomics*, 9, 391-405.
- Cagan, P. (1956). The monetary dynamics of hyperinflation. In M. Friedman (Ed.), *Studies in the quantity theory of money*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Caplan, B. (2002). How does war shock the economy? *Journal of International Money and Finance*, 21, 145-162.
- Click, R. (1998). Seigniorage in a cross-section of countries. *Journal of Money, Credit and Banking*, 30, 154-171.
- Cukierman, A., Edwards, E., & Tabellini, G. (1992). Seigniorage and political instability. *American Economic Review*, 82, 537-555.
- Cukierman, A., Webb, S., & Neyapti, B. (1992). Measuring the independence of central banks and its effects on policy outcomes. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 6, 353-398.
- Deininger, K., & Squire, L. (2000). A new dataset measuring income inequality. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 10, 565-591.
- Fischer, S. (1983). Seigniorage and fixed exchange rates: an optimal inflation tax analysis. In R. Dornbusch & M. Obstfeld (Eds.), *Financial policies and the world capital market: The problem of latin american countries*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Fischer, S., Sahay, R., & Vegh, C. (2002). Modern hyper- and high inflations. *NBER Working Paper*, 8930.
- Friedman, M. (1971). Government revenue from inflation. *Journal of Political Economy*, 79, 846-856.
- Giavazzi, F., & Pagano, M. (1988). The advantage of tying one's hands: Ems discipline and central bank credibility. *European Economic Review*, 32, 1055-1082.
- Haan, J. de, & Zelhorst, D. (1990). The impact of government deficits on money growth in developing countries. *Journal of International Money and Finance*, 9, 455-469.
- Haan, J. de, Zelhorst, D., & Roukens, O. (1993). Seigniorage in developing countries. *Applied Financial Economics*, 3, 307-314.
- Keefer, P., & Stasavage, D. (2003). The limits of delegation: veto players, central bank independence and the credibility of monetary policy. *American Political Science Review*, 97, 407-423.

- Kenny, L., & Winer, S. (2001). Tax systems in the world: an empirical investigation into the importance of tax bases, collection costs, and political regime. *Carleton Economic papers*.
- Leamer, E. E. (1983). Let's take the con out of econometrics. *American Economic Review*, 73, 31-43.
- Leamer, E. E. (1985). Sensitivity analysis would help. *American Economic Review*, 75, 31-45.
- Levine, R., & Renelt, D. (1992). A sensitivity analysis of cross-country growth regressions. *American Economic Review*, 82, 942-963.
- Phelps, E. (1973). Inflation in the theory of public finance. *Swedish Journal of Economics*, 75, 67-82.
- Reinhart, C., & Rogoff, K. (2004). The modern history of exchange rate arrangements: a reinterpretation. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119, 1-48.
- Sala-I-Martin, X. X. (1997a). I just ran four million regressions. *NBER Working Paper*, 6252.
- Sala-I-Martin, X. X. (1997b). I just ran two million regressions. *American Economic Review*, 87, 178-183.
- Sargent, T., & Wallace, N. (1981). Some unpleasant monetaristic arithmetic. *Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis Quarterly Review*, 5, 1-17.
- Sturm, J., & Haan, J. de. (2001). Inflation in developing countries: does central bank independence matter? *Ifo Studien*, 47, 389-403.
- Sturm, J., & Haan, J. de. (2005). Determinants of long-term growth: new results applying robust estimation and extreme bounds analysis. *Empirical Economics*, forthcoming.
- Temple, J. (2000). Growth regressions and what the textbooks don't tell you. *Bulletin of Economic Research*, 52, 181-205.
- Wansbeek, T., & Meijer, E. (2000). *Measurement error and latent variables in econometrics*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- White, H. (1980). A heteroskedasticity-consistent covariance matrix estimator and a direct test for heteroskedasticity. *Econometrica*, 48, 817-838.
- Woo, J. (2003). Economic, political and institutional determinants of public deficits. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87, 387-426.

Table 1: Random individual effects panel estimation results for the base model

| Measure | A ALL | A $\pi < 100\%$ | D ALL | D $\pi < 100\%$ | E ALL | E $\pi < 100\%$ | H ALL | H $\pi < 100\%$ |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Constant | 0.195 (12.146)** | 0.170 (10.887)** | 0.211 (12.587)** | 0.166 (12.816)** | 0.048 (9.106)** | 0.036 (9.635)** | 0.422 (3.008)** | 0.052 (8.568)** |
| DEF | -0.306 (-3.255)** | -0.106 (-1.088) | -0.342 (-3.097)** | -0.160 (-2.007)* | -0.162 (-4.809)** | -0.020 (-0.803) | -2.627 (-2.453)* | -0.060 (-1.426) |
| GDP CAP | -3.61e ⁰⁶ (-5.130)** | -3.45e ⁰⁶ (-5.600)** | -3.17e ⁰⁶ (-4.483)** | -2.92e ⁰⁶ (-5.580)** | -7.39e ⁰⁷ (-3.410)** | -7.17e ⁰⁷ (-4.761)** | -5.49e ⁰⁵ (-1.063) | -7.179e ⁰⁷ (-3.086) |
| PEG | -0.114 (-7.695)** | -0.084 (-5.699)** | -0.149 (-9.367)** | -0.099 (-8.217)** | -0.031 (-6.318)** | -0.016 (-4.369)** | -0.431 (-3.119)** | -0.034 (-5.777)** |
| \overline{R}^2 | 0.755 | 0.740 | 0.732 | 0.774 | 0.597 | 0.665 | 0.302 | 0.547 |
| Hausman statistic | 0.137 | 0.055 | 1.998 | 0.719 | 2.396 | 1.152 | 0.439 | 2.992 |
| Obs. | 261 | 239? | 252 | 240 | 290 | 263? | 280 | 264 |

t-statistics shown in parenthesis. *==significant at 5%, **==significant at 1%.

The results are based on White (1980) heteroscedasticity consistent standard errors.

Table 2: Observations with an inflation rate higher than 100%

| Country | Period | Average Inflation | Measure A | Measure D | Measure E | Measure H |
|-----------------|-----------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Argentina | 1980-1984 | 268% | 0.290 | 0.615 | 0.0978 | 0.405 |
| Argentina | 1985-1989 | 863% | 0.187 | 0.562 | 0.067 | 1.109 |
| Argentina | 1990-1994 | 505% | 0.186 | 0.242 | 0.0208 | 0.232 |
| Bolivia | 1985-1989 | 2414% | 0.253 | 0.224 | 0.035 | 2.091 |
| Brazil | 1980-1984 | 132% | 0.081 | 0.086 | 0.0215 | 0.057 |
| Brazil | 1985-1989 | 532% | 0.177 | 0.171 | 0.056 | 0.401 |
| Brazil | 1990-1994 | 1667% | 0.226 | 0.224 | 0.085 | 1.542 |
| Bulgaria | 1990-1994 | 124% | 0.135 | 0.226 | 0,057 | 0,230 |
| Bulgaria | 1995-1999 | 253% | 0,148 | 0.139 | 0.066 | 0.299 |
| Dem. Rep. Congo | 1990-1994 | 6425% | 0.658 | 0.642 | 0.123 | 4.081 |
| Israel | 1980-1984 | 178% | 0.336 | 0.327 | 0.303 | 0.941 |
| Nicaragua | 1985-1989 | 3358% | 0.494 | 0.511 | 0.268 | 11.190 |
| Nicaragua | 1990-1994 | 2096% | 0.161 | 0.156 | 0.114 | 5.173 |
| Peru | 1985-1989 | 879% | 0.419 | 0.428 | 0.092 | 0.790 |
| Peru | 1990-1994 | 1607% | 0.242 | 0.240 | 0.051 | 1.744 |
| Romania | 1990-1994 | 208% | 0.1424 | 0.194 | 0.058 | 0.235 |

Table 3: Extreme Bounds Analysis of the Basic Regression Model

| All Countries | $\pi < 100\%$ | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|
| | Variable | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. | Unw. CDF | Unw. β | Unw. stand. error | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. | Unw. CDF | Unw. β | Unw. stand. error |
| Measure: A | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEG | | -0,214 | -0,010 | 100,00 | 1,000 | -0,108 | 0,018 | -0,217 | 0,005 | 99,99 | 1,000 | -0,081 | 0,017 |
| GDPCAP | | 0,000 | 0,000 | 66,18 | 0,953 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 72,89 | 0,970 | 0,000 | 0,000 |
| DEF | | -0,967 | 0,670 | 78,80 | 0,969 | -0,295 | 0,119 | -0,695 | 0,717 | 0,13 | 0,782 | -0,093 | 0,115 |
| Measure: D | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEG | | -0,286 | -0,028 | 100,00 | 1,000 | -0,146 | 0,019 | -0,212 | -0,031 | 100,00 | 1,000 | -0,102 | 0,014 |
| GDPCAP | | 0,000 | 0,000 | 64,68 | 0,919 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 76,57 | 0,961 | 0,000 | 0,000 |
| DEF | | -1,011 | 0,440 | 79,50 | 0,980 | -0,321 | 0,133 | -0,893 | 0,342 | 11,85 | 0,934 | -0,149 | 0,095 |
| Measure: E | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEG | | -0,085 | -0,002 | 100,00 | 1,000 | -0,032 | 0,006 | -0,062 | 0,002 | 99,93 | 1,000 | -0,019 | 0,004 |
| GDPCAP | | 0,000 | 0,000 | 42,28 | 0,891 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 65,53 | 0,951 | 0,000 | 0,000 |
| DEF | | -0,484 | 0,233 | 85,11 | 0,965 | -0,148 | 0,041 | -0,173 | 0,193 | 1,81 | 0,766 | -0,024 | 0,031 |
| Measure: H | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PEG | | -2,407 | 0,252 | 92,68 | 0,991 | -0,444 | 0,174 | -0,155 | -0,016 | 100,00 | 1,000 | -0,041 | 0,007 |
| GDPCAP | | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,64 | 0,618 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 0,000 | 45,76 | 0,897 | 0,000 | 0,000 |
| DEF | | -13,809 | 4,602 | 47,56 | 0,925 | -2,435 | 1,304 | -0,272 | 0,419 | 7,18 | 0,857 | -0,055 | 0,049 |

A constant term is included in the regressions. The results are based on White (1980) heteroscedasticity consistent standard errors.

Table 4: Extreme Bounds Analysis of the Doubtful Variables

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| AGRI A | 185.00 | -0.788 | 0.960 | 86.45 | 0.957 | 0.248 | 0.100 |
| AGRI D | 180.06 | -0.560 | 1.214 | 55.77 | 0.931 | 0.207 | 0.109 |
| AGRI E | 204.25 | -0.287 | 0.232 | 0.86 | 0.552 | -0.004 | 0.028 |
| AGRI H | 199.15 | -11.049 | 9.713 | 1.68 | 0.634 | 0.389 | 0.900 |
| ALLHOUSE A | 187.64 | -0.063 | 0.104 | 0.26 | 0.790 | 0.014 | 0.016 |
| ALLHOUSE D | 183.35 | -0.061 | 0.086 | 0.00 | 0.738 | 0.011 | 0.015 |
| ALLHOUSE E | 206.04 | -0.021 | 0.034 | 1.51 | 0.817 | 0.006 | 0.005 |
| ALLHOUSE H | 201.58 | -0.369 | 1.484 | 0.84 | 0.868 | 0.217 | 0.158 |
| BUREAU A | 192.71 | -0.059 | 0.059 | 17.91 | 0.866 | -0.009 | 0.007 |
| BUREAU D | 187.24 | -0.059 | 0.047 | 28.24 | 0.909 | -0.012 | 0.008 |
| BUREAU E | 212.03 | -0.017 | 0.022 | 5.06 | 0.757 | -0.002 | 0.002 |
| BUREAU H | 206.57 | -0.734 | 0.896 | 5.91 | 0.802 | -0.072 | 0.074 |
| CDEBT A | 134.21 | -0.473 | 0.157 | 16.59 | 0.792 | 0.019 | 0.020 |
| CDEBT D | 132.27 | -0.443 | 0.170 | 60.23 | 0.883 | 0.032 | 0.019 |
| CDEBT E | 144.72 | -0.089 | 0.096 | 82.00 | 0.952 | 0.030 | 0.006 |
| CDEBT H | 142.78 | -0.124 | 1.275 | 87.20 | 0.972 | 0.294 | 0.093 |
| CORRUPTION A | 192.71 | -0.109 | 0.053 | 2.06 | 0.588 | -0.002 | 0.007 |
| CORRUPTION D | 187.24 | -0.088 | 0.088 | 8.66 | 0.662 | 0.004 | 0.007 |
| CORRUPTION E | 212.03 | -0.024 | 0.026 | 21.48 | 0.791 | 0.003 | 0.002 |
| CORRUPTION H | 206.57 | -0.251 | 1.213 | 67.43 | 0.928 | 0.163 | 0.072 |
| DEMACC A | 192.71 | -0.045 | 0.076 | 16.46 | 0.819 | -0.007 | 0.007 |
| DEMACC D | 187.24 | -0.045 | 0.053 | 10.51 | 0.779 | -0.007 | 0.007 |
| DEMACC E | 212.03 | -0.015 | 0.015 | 2.00 | 0.656 | -0.001 | 0.002 |
| DEMACC H | 206.57 | -0.562 | 0.548 | 0.14 | 0.675 | -0.032 | 0.066 |
| EASIA A | 196.83 | -0.384 | 0.455 | 1.85 | 0.785 | 0.033 | 0.040 |
| EASIA D | 191.34 | -0.458 | 0.429 | 0.00 | 0.595 | -0.008 | 0.039 |
| EASIA E | 216.71 | -0.103 | 0.140 | 0.17 | 0.688 | 0.007 | 0.013 |
| EASIA H | 211.04 | -4.026 | 3.793 | 0.00 | 0.513 | -0.001 | 0.296 |
| ETHNIC A | 192.71 | -0.098 | 0.035 | 36.01 | 0.851 | -0.008 | 0.006 |
| ETHNIC D | 187.24 | -0.071 | 0.046 | 6.77 | 0.659 | -0.003 | 0.006 |
| ETHNIC E | 212.03 | -0.016 | 0.014 | 2.87 | 0.578 | 0.000 | 0.002 |
| ETHNIC H | 206.57 | -0.916 | 0.441 | 0.05 | 0.575 | -0.014 | 0.054 |
| EXECNAT A | 196.06 | -0.138 | 0.210 | 0.00 | 0.545 | -0.002 | 0.024 |
| EXECNAT D | 190.86 | -0.241 | 0.226 | 23.61 | 0.861 | -0.035 | 0.025 |
| EXECNAT E | 215.40 | -0.055 | 0.055 | 1.08 | 0.548 | -0.001 | 0.008 |
| EXECNAT H | 210.03 | -1.432 | 1.961 | 0.00 | 0.717 | -0.127 | 0.219 |
| EXECREG A | 196.06 | -0.548 | 0.515 | 0.00 | 0.593 | -0.019 | 0.070 |
| EXECREG D | 190.86 | -0.463 | 0.483 | 0.00 | 0.512 | -0.002 | 0.070 |
| EXECREG E | 215.40 | -0.234 | 0.207 | 0.00 | 0.646 | -0.011 | 0.024 |
| EXECREG H | 210.03 | -6.451 | 6.618 | 0.00 | 0.536 | -0.062 | 0.592 |

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| EXECRLC A | 137.79 | -0.191 | 0.212 | 0.03 | 0.589 | -0.004 | 0.016 |
| EXECRLC D | 134.04 | -0.187 | 0.113 | 0.05 | 0.535 | -0.003 | 0.017 |
| EXECRLC E | 150.34 | -0.048 | 0.061 | 0.15 | 0.545 | 0.001 | 0.006 |
| EXECRLC H | 146.41 | -1.853 | 1.150 | 0.02 | 0.730 | -0.141 | 0.198 |
| EXECRURL A | 196.06 | -0.516 | 0.329 | 0.00 | 0.517 | 0.001 | 0.080 |
| EXECRURL D | 190.86 | -0.492 | 0.459 | 0.35 | 0.797 | 0.086 | 0.082 |
| EXECRURL E | 215.40 | -0.095 | 0.045 | 0.00 | 0.714 | -0.014 | 0.019 |
| EXECRURL H | 210.03 | -3.371 | 2.473 | 0.00 | 0.523 | -0.058 | 0.587 |
| EXECSPEC A | 196.06 | -0.141 | 0.160 | 0.00 | 0.504 | 0.000 | 0.019 |
| EXECSPEC D | 190.86 | -0.120 | 0.236 | 0.28 | 0.700 | -0.011 | 0.019 |
| EXECSPEC E | 215.40 | -0.050 | 0.038 | 0.06 | 0.573 | -0.001 | 0.006 |
| EXECSPEC H | 210.03 | -1.846 | 1.457 | 0.02 | 0.727 | -0.111 | 0.179 |
| EXTCON A | 192.71 | -0.018 | 0.022 | 30.48 | 0.869 | -0.004 | 0.003 |
| EXTCON D | 187.24 | -0.017 | 0.024 | 59.16 | 0.940 | -0.006 | 0.003 |
| EXTCON E | 212.03 | -0.009 | 0.005 | 83.96 | 0.950 | -0.003 | 0.001 |
| EXTCON H | 206.57 | -0.324 | 0.125 | 48.20 | 0.862 | -0.055 | 0.031 |
| FRAC A | 186.82 | -0.312 | 0.310 | 11.08 | 0.892 | -0.041 | 0.030 |
| FRAC D | 181.62 | -0.337 | 0.325 | 0.02 | 0.766 | -0.023 | 0.031 |
| FRAC E | 205.16 | -0.093 | 0.098 | 0.02 | 0.528 | 0.000 | 0.010 |
| FRAC H | 199.79 | -5.958 | 2.389 | 0.57 | 0.508 | -0.024 | 0.302 |
| GASTIL A | 196.83 | -0.186 | 0.452 | 0.93 | 0.602 | -0.010 | 0.034 |
| GASTIL D | 191.34 | -0.106 | 0.393 | 10.51 | 0.838 | 0.041 | 0.035 |
| GASTIL E | 216.71 | -0.091 | 0.119 | 2.72 | 0.692 | -0.007 | 0.011 |
| GASTIL H | 211.04 | -3.606 | 1.560 | 1.22 | 0.556 | -0.078 | 0.307 |
| GINI A | 99.35 | -0.019 | 0.009 | 3.65 | 0.502 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| GINI D | 99.24 | -0.015 | 0.010 | 0.21 | 0.510 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| GINI E | 110.87 | -0.004 | 0.002 | 0.08 | 0.513 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| GINI H | 110.76 | -0.059 | 0.047 | 6.68 | 0.734 | 0.002 | 0.003 |
| GOVSTAB A | 192.71 | -0.021 | 0.030 | 21.15 | 0.856 | -0.004 | 0.003 |
| GOVSTAB D | 187.24 | -0.021 | 0.027 | 54.84 | 0.931 | -0.006 | 0.003 |
| GOVSTAB E | 212.03 | -0.006 | 0.007 | 0.66 | 0.630 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| GOVSTAB H | 206.57 | -0.199 | 0.423 | 0.09 | 0.623 | -0.009 | 0.037 |
| GROWTH A | 196.21 | -1.009 | 1.656 | 0.76 | 0.705 | -0.106 | 0.197 |
| GROWTH D | 190.72 | -1.693 | 1.296 | 84.26 | 0.963 | -0.679 | 0.210 |
| GROWTH E | 216.09 | -0.627 | 0.464 | 2.75 | 0.726 | -0.050 | 0.072 |
| GROWTH H | 210.42 | -34.350 | 3.760 | 90.47 | 0.974 | -7.140 | 2.186 |
| ILLIT A | 152.46 | -0.744 | 1.040 | 1.91 | 0.766 | 0.062 | 0.076 |
| ILLIT D | 146.99 | -0.586 | 1.158 | 0.57 | 0.652 | 0.037 | 0.081 |
| ILLIT E | 167.08 | -0.196 | 0.243 | 0.00 | 0.548 | -0.003 | 0.024 |
| ILLIT H | 161.44 | -9.477 | 6.789 | 0.17 | 0.578 | 0.147 | 0.626 |
| INDUST A | 185.00 | -0.787 | 1.100 | 0.02 | 0.683 | -0.050 | 0.105 |
| INDUST D | 180.06 | -0.908 | 0.724 | 0.58 | 0.648 | -0.044 | 0.110 |
| INDUST E | 204.25 | -0.168 | 0.235 | 3.15 | 0.842 | 0.032 | 0.030 |
| INDUST H | 199.15 | -11.035 | 6.509 | 0.02 | 0.714 | -0.578 | 0.972 |

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| INTCON A | 192.71 | -0.027 | 0.023 | 75.58 | 0.973 | -0.008 | 0.003 |
| INTCON D | 187.24 | -0.027 | 0.018 | 78.18 | 0.971 | -0.009 | 0.003 |
| INTCON E | 212.03 | -0.009 | 0.006 | 54.93 | 0.913 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| INTCON H | 206.57 | -0.450 | 0.143 | 26.11 | 0.896 | -0.052 | 0.032 |
| LATINCA A | 196.83 | -0.462 | 0.445 | 6.77 | 0.813 | 0.027 | 0.027 |
| LATINCA D | 191.34 | -0.377 | 0.442 | 61.04 | 0.949 | 0.053 | 0.027 |
| LATINCA E | 216.71 | -0.104 | 0.074 | 17.59 | 0.866 | 0.010 | 0.008 |
| LATINCA H | 211.04 | -1.939 | 2.530 | 28.91 | 0.933 | 0.313 | 0.195 |
| LAW A | 192.71 | -0.059 | 0.039 | 64.09 | 0.949 | -0.013 | 0.006 |
| LAW D | 187.24 | -0.062 | 0.027 | 77.17 | 0.971 | -0.016 | 0.006 |
| LAW E | 212.03 | -0.017 | 0.015 | 37.20 | 0.851 | -0.003 | 0.002 |
| LAW H | 206.57 | -0.488 | 0.763 | 0.23 | 0.612 | -0.016 | 0.062 |
| LOGDENS A | 195.97 | -0.216 | 0.207 | 0.40 | 0.644 | -0.006 | 0.012 |
| LOGDENS D | 190.48 | -0.231 | 0.243 | 0.93 | 0.734 | -0.009 | 0.012 |
| LOGDENS E | 215.85 | -0.041 | 0.035 | 0.00 | 0.630 | -0.002 | 0.004 |
| LOGDENS H | 210.18 | -1.205 | 1.567 | 0.00 | 0.598 | -0.018 | 0.099 |
| MANU A | 159.74 | -0.700 | 1.169 | 1.63 | 0.534 | 0.032 | 0.157 |
| MANU D | 154.66 | -0.820 | 0.883 | 0.05 | 0.550 | 0.028 | 0.159 |
| MANU E | 177.75 | -0.237 | 0.291 | 3.24 | 0.833 | 0.047 | 0.045 |
| MANU H | 172.50 | -16.989 | 5.405 | 0.64 | 0.695 | -0.849 | 1.531 |
| MILITARY A | 196.06 | -0.170 | 0.083 | 1.85 | 0.555 | 0.001 | 0.022 |
| MILITARY D | 190.86 | -0.175 | 0.073 | 8.53 | 0.571 | -0.008 | 0.023 |
| MILITARY E | 215.40 | -0.073 | 0.042 | 9.76 | 0.711 | 0.005 | 0.008 |
| MILITARY H | 210.03 | -1.194 | 2.052 | 17.28 | 0.817 | 0.272 | 0.211 |
| MILPOL A | 192.71 | -0.037 | 0.040 | 48.11 | 0.915 | -0.009 | 0.005 |
| MILPOL D | 187.24 | -0.030 | 0.049 | 23.61 | 0.808 | -0.006 | 0.006 |
| MILPOL E | 212.03 | -0.011 | 0.014 | 15.98 | 0.863 | -0.002 | 0.002 |
| MILPOL H | 206.57 | -0.354 | 0.424 | 5.15 | 0.682 | -0.030 | 0.051 |
| POLARIZ A | 189.99 | -0.061 | 0.107 | 0.46 | 0.507 | 0.000 | 0.010 |
| POLARIZ D | 184.79 | -0.058 | 0.078 | 0.84 | 0.514 | 0.001 | 0.011 |
| POLARIZ E | 207.29 | -0.022 | 0.034 | 7.78 | 0.560 | -0.001 | 0.004 |
| POLARIZ H | 202.09 | -0.684 | 0.742 | 1.62 | 0.516 | -0.017 | 0.104 |
| PRTYIN A | 171.88 | -0.004 | 0.004 | 0.08 | 0.826 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
| PRTYIN D | 166.68 | -0.006 | 0.003 | 0.11 | 0.664 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| PRTYIN E | 188.79 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.00 | 0.778 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| PRTYIN H | 183.42 | -0.038 | 0.060 | 0.26 | 0.545 | 0.001 | 0.007 |
| RELPOL A | 192.71 | -0.056 | 0.076 | 9.15 | 0.796 | -0.006 | 0.006 |
| RELPOL D | 187.24 | -0.054 | 0.073 | 27.84 | 0.854 | -0.009 | 0.007 |
| RELPOL E | 212.03 | -0.021 | 0.022 | 16.82 | 0.860 | -0.003 | 0.002 |
| RELPOL H | 206.57 | -0.845 | 0.456 | 0.00 | 0.543 | -0.012 | 0.061 |
| STABNS A | 195.75 | -0.247 | 0.234 | 0.50 | 0.764 | 0.030 | 0.038 |
| STABNS D | 190.56 | -0.236 | 0.254 | 45.35 | 0.891 | 0.062 | 0.039 |
| STABNS E | 214.91 | -0.071 | 0.062 | 0.52 | 0.540 | 0.001 | 0.014 |
| STABNS H | 209.72 | -2.654 | 2.973 | 0.38 | 0.588 | 0.097 | 0.427 |

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|----------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| SUBAFR A | 196.83 | -0.489 | 0.354 | 5.62 | 0.713 | -0.022 | 0.033 |
| SUBAFR D | 191.34 | -0.522 | 0.401 | 3.18 | 0.817 | -0.034 | 0.034 |
| SUBAFR E | 216.71 | -0.135 | 0.081 | 53.60 | 0.940 | -0.017 | 0.010 |
| SUBAFR H | 211.04 | -4.034 | 4.672 | 0.08 | 0.668 | -0.097 | 0.236 |
| TOR A | 114.91 | -0.072 | 0.326 | 6.10 | 0.813 | 0.028 | 0.027 |
| TOR D | 112.89 | -0.069 | 0.269 | 71.23 | 0.977 | 0.062 | 0.029 |
| TOR E | 124.22 | -0.040 | 0.076 | 2.15 | 0.685 | 0.005 | 0.010 |
| TOR H | 122.20 | -2.194 | 1.347 | 15.31 | 0.607 | 0.063 | 0.360 |
| TRADE A | 196.83 | -0.331 | 0.202 | 0.00 | 0.664 | -0.010 | 0.020 |
| TRADE D | 191.34 | -0.350 | 0.115 | 2.22 | 0.714 | -0.015 | 0.021 |
| TRADE E | 216.71 | -0.068 | 0.056 | 30.88 | 0.874 | 0.009 | 0.007 |
| TRADE H | 211.04 | -3.877 | 1.565 | 0.00 | 0.555 | 0.019 | 0.192 |
| URBAN A | 196.83 | -0.618 | 0.394 | 2.96 | 0.760 | -0.052 | 0.064 |
| URBAN D | 191.34 | -0.565 | 0.347 | 1.30 | 0.562 | -0.014 | 0.068 |
| URBAN E | 216.71 | -0.181 | 0.151 | 24.46 | 0.852 | 0.024 | 0.020 |
| URBAN H | 211.04 | -5.492 | 6.937 | 0.09 | 0.761 | 0.355 | 0.471 |

For each seigniorage measure, the results are based on 6545 regressions. A constant term is included in the regressions. The results are based on White (1980) heteroscedasticity consistent standard errors.

Table 5: Extreme Bounds Analysis of the Doubtful Variables: No outliers

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| AGRI A | 171.10 | -0.810 | 0.976 | 66.72 | 0.938 | 0.192 | 0.096 |
| AGRI D | 171.94 | -0.505 | 0.824 | 70.79 | 0.961 | 0.170 | 0.079 |
| AGRI E | 186.93 | -0.288 | 0.187 | 0.40 | 0.659 | -0.011 | 0.024 |
| AGRI H | 187.76 | -0.204 | 0.263 | 0.00 | 0.695 | -0.015 | 0.031 |
| ALLHOUSE A | 173.77 | -0.074 | 0.078 | 0.00 | 0.569 | -0.002 | 0.014 |
| ALLHOUSE D | 174.61 | -0.064 | 0.050 | 1.33 | 0.849 | -0.011 | 0.010 |
| ALLHOUSE E | 188.74 | -0.019 | 0.025 | 0.00 | 0.510 | 0.000 | 0.004 |
| ALLHOUSE H | 189.57 | -0.028 | 0.032 | 0.02 | 0.788 | -0.005 | 0.006 |
| BUREAU A | 177.10 | -0.036 | 0.113 | 2.48 | 0.662 | -0.003 | 0.006 |
| BUREAU D | 177.94 | -0.039 | 0.091 | 16.52 | 0.761 | -0.005 | 0.005 |
| BUREAU E | 193.17 | -0.010 | 0.016 | 0.28 | 0.576 | 0.000 | 0.002 |
| BUREAU H | 194.00 | -0.020 | 0.025 | 0.28 | 0.690 | -0.001 | 0.003 |
| CDEBT A | 130.49 | -0.479 | 0.157 | 10.42 | 0.762 | -0.020 | 0.022 |
| CDEBT D | 131.32 | -0.448 | 0.124 | 1.02 | 0.547 | -0.003 | 0.017 |
| CDEBT E | 137.74 | -0.091 | 0.047 | 2.73 | 0.685 | 0.003 | 0.005 |
| CDEBT H | 138.58 | -0.132 | 0.163 | 57.02 | 0.805 | 0.019 | 0.009 |
| CORRUPTION A | 177.10 | -0.100 | 0.031 | 43.35 | 0.942 | -0.011 | 0.006 |
| CORRUPTION D | 177.94 | -0.099 | 0.029 | 33.74 | 0.881 | -0.008 | 0.005 |
| CORRUPTION E | 193.17 | -0.020 | 0.009 | 28.43 | 0.876 | -0.002 | 0.002 |
| CORRUPTION H | 194.00 | -0.024 | 0.022 | 3.13 | 0.508 | 0.000 | 0.002 |
| DEMACC A | 177.10 | -0.043 | 0.103 | 11.44 | 0.685 | -0.004 | 0.006 |
| DEMACC D | 177.94 | -0.028 | 0.074 | 3.06 | 0.556 | -0.001 | 0.005 |
| DEMACC E | 193.17 | -0.012 | 0.020 | 3.62 | 0.716 | -0.001 | 0.002 |
| DEMACC H | 194.00 | -0.012 | 0.025 | 4.48 | 0.768 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
| EASIA A | 181.20 | -0.439 | 0.575 | 4.52 | 0.793 | 0.034 | 0.040 |
| EASIA D | 182.03 | -0.363 | 0.515 | 0.00 | 0.590 | -0.006 | 0.034 |
| EASIA E | 197.64 | -0.101 | 0.177 | 0.06 | 0.709 | 0.006 | 0.010 |
| EASIA H | 198.48 | -0.206 | 0.224 | 0.00 | 0.663 | -0.005 | 0.016 |
| ETHNIC A | 177.10 | -0.111 | 0.036 | 47.62 | 0.877 | -0.007 | 0.005 |
| ETHNIC D | 177.94 | -0.068 | 0.029 | 16.99 | 0.730 | -0.003 | 0.004 |
| ETHNIC E | 193.17 | -0.014 | 0.013 | 8.16 | 0.529 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| ETHNIC H | 194.00 | -0.015 | 0.016 | 2.28 | 0.592 | -0.001 | 0.002 |
| EXECNAT A | 180.72 | -0.136 | 0.198 | 0.00 | 0.551 | -0.003 | 0.022 |
| EXECNAT D | 181.56 | -0.148 | 0.169 | 0.95 | 0.564 | 0.003 | 0.018 |
| EXECNAT E | 196.63 | -0.039 | 0.050 | 11.11 | 0.700 | 0.004 | 0.006 |
| EXECNAT H | 197.46 | -0.051 | 0.071 | 0.20 | 0.542 | -0.001 | 0.009 |
| EXECREG A | 180.72 | -0.657 | 0.852 | 0.00 | 0.536 | -0.006 | 0.065 |
| EXECREG D | 181.56 | -0.586 | 0.842 | 0.00 | 0.540 | 0.007 | 0.055 |
| EXECREG E | 196.63 | -0.149 | 0.186 | 0.00 | 0.581 | -0.004 | 0.017 |
| EXECREG H | 197.46 | -0.296 | 0.402 | 0.00 | 0.500 | 0.000 | 0.026 |

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| EXECRLC A | 127.22 | -0.098 | 0.213 | 0.18 | 0.774 | 0.011 | 0.014 |
| EXECRLC D | 128.05 | -0.108 | 0.156 | 69.08 | 0.962 | 0.023 | 0.011 |
| EXECRLC E | 136.33 | -0.024 | 0.062 | 0.57 | 0.848 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
| EXECRLC H | 137.16 | -0.049 | 0.044 | 4.86 | 0.776 | 0.006 | 0.007 |
| EXECRURL A | 180.72 | -0.209 | 0.129 | 0.00 | 0.626 | -0.016 | 0.040 |
| EXECRURL D | 181.56 | -0.187 | 0.117 | 0.00 | 0.604 | 0.009 | 0.033 |
| EXECRURL E | 196.63 | -0.068 | 0.029 | 0.00 | 0.758 | -0.010 | 0.011 |
| EXECRURL H | 197.46 | -0.073 | 0.062 | 0.00 | 0.554 | -0.003 | 0.019 |
| EXECSPEC A | 180.72 | -0.125 | 0.167 | 0.00 | 0.502 | 0.001 | 0.016 |
| EXECSPEC D | 181.56 | -0.069 | 0.182 | 1.10 | 0.756 | 0.011 | 0.013 |
| EXECSPEC E | 196.63 | -0.029 | 0.034 | 2.89 | 0.720 | 0.003 | 0.004 |
| EXECSPEC H | 197.46 | -0.031 | 0.054 | 0.02 | 0.581 | 0.002 | 0.007 |
| EXTCON A | 177.10 | -0.020 | 0.022 | 20.43 | 0.827 | -0.003 | 0.002 |
| EXTCON D | 177.94 | -0.015 | 0.019 | 49.75 | 0.916 | -0.004 | 0.002 |
| EXTCON E | 193.17 | -0.004 | 0.006 | 64.69 | 0.929 | -0.001 | 0.001 |
| EXTCON H | 194.00 | -0.009 | 0.010 | 66.92 | 0.921 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| FRAC A | 172.04 | -0.414 | 0.179 | 11.95 | 0.882 | -0.036 | 0.027 |
| FRAC D | 172.88 | -0.320 | 0.128 | 0.73 | 0.725 | -0.014 | 0.021 |
| FRAC E | 186.95 | -0.083 | 0.050 | 0.00 | 0.659 | 0.003 | 0.007 |
| FRAC H | 187.78 | -0.137 | 0.062 | 0.50 | 0.549 | -0.002 | 0.011 |
| GASTIL A | 181.20 | -0.177 | 0.409 | 5.88 | 0.721 | -0.021 | 0.031 |
| GASTIL D | 182.03 | -0.125 | 0.297 | 1.99 | 0.733 | 0.019 | 0.025 |
| GASTIL E | 197.64 | -0.051 | 0.088 | 7.88 | 0.700 | -0.005 | 0.008 |
| GASTIL H | 198.48 | -0.087 | 0.158 | 6.77 | 0.765 | 0.011 | 0.012 |
| GINI A | 95.09 | -0.021 | 0.009 | 1.47 | 0.521 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| GINI D | 95.93 | -0.011 | 0.012 | 0.52 | 0.721 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
| GINI E | 104.11 | -0.004 | 0.002 | 0.15 | 0.549 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| GINI H | 104.94 | -0.003 | 0.004 | 0.00 | 0.672 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| GOVSTAB A | 177.10 | -0.017 | 0.028 | 9.37 | 0.757 | -0.002 | 0.003 |
| GOVSTAB D | 177.94 | -0.016 | 0.024 | 24.54 | 0.816 | -0.003 | 0.002 |
| GOVSTAB E | 193.17 | -0.005 | 0.006 | 13.69 | 0.763 | -0.001 | 0.001 |
| GOVSTAB H | 194.00 | -0.008 | 0.011 | 37.27 | 0.847 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| GROWTH A | 180.58 | -0.603 | 1.729 | 20.76 | 0.895 | 0.280 | 0.189 |
| GROWTH D | 181.41 | -1.019 | 1.235 | 4.39 | 0.716 | -0.114 | 0.156 |
| GROWTH E | 197.02 | -0.173 | 0.447 | 23.27 | 0.906 | 0.080 | 0.051 |
| GROWTH H | 197.86 | -0.476 | 0.681 | 0.89 | 0.550 | -0.009 | 0.083 |
| ILLIT A | 133.59 | -0.573 | 1.297 | 21.10 | 0.875 | 0.116 | 0.088 |
| ILLIT D | 134.43 | -0.320 | 1.187 | 38.96 | 0.939 | 0.134 | 0.073 |
| ILLIT E | 148.05 | -0.147 | 0.332 | 0.57 | 0.641 | 0.009 | 0.021 |
| ILLIT H | 148.88 | -0.173 | 0.379 | 5.55 | 0.706 | 0.023 | 0.033 |
| INDUST A | 171.10 | -0.763 | 1.719 | 3.15 | 0.594 | 0.047 | 0.103 |
| INDUST D | 171.94 | -0.732 | 0.905 | 11.02 | 0.640 | -0.034 | 0.083 |
| INDUST E | 186.93 | -0.086 | 0.255 | 43.22 | 0.961 | 0.048 | 0.025 |
| INDUST H | 187.76 | -0.236 | 0.262 | 0.84 | 0.792 | 0.028 | 0.032 |

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| INTCON A | 177.10 | -0.021 | 0.022 | 67.20 | 0.956 | -0.006 | 0.003 |
| INTCON D | 177.94 | -0.021 | 0.017 | 65.53 | 0.941 | -0.005 | 0.002 |
| INTCON E | 193.17 | -0.008 | 0.006 | 60.64 | 0.923 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| INTCON H | 194.00 | -0.010 | 0.007 | 55.83 | 0.915 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| LATINCA A | 181.20 | -0.462 | 0.550 | 6.68 | 0.740 | 0.019 | 0.028 |
| LATINCA D | 182.03 | -0.388 | 0.331 | 31.95 | 0.895 | 0.032 | 0.024 |
| LATINCA E | 197.64 | -0.075 | 0.082 | 6.59 | 0.785 | 0.006 | 0.007 |
| LATINCA H | 198.48 | -0.189 | 0.135 | 3.90 | 0.772 | 0.008 | 0.011 |
| LAW A | 177.10 | -0.040 | 0.041 | 48.42 | 0.904 | -0.008 | 0.005 |
| LAW D | 177.94 | -0.039 | 0.027 | 66.71 | 0.953 | -0.010 | 0.004 |
| LAW E | 193.17 | -0.009 | 0.014 | 33.78 | 0.821 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| LAW H | 194.00 | -0.019 | 0.012 | 39.14 | 0.885 | -0.004 | 0.002 |
| LOGDENS A | 180.34 | -0.238 | 0.185 | 4.86 | 0.772 | -0.016 | 0.016 |
| LOGDENS D | 181.17 | -0.240 | 0.144 | 14.04 | 0.839 | -0.020 | 0.015 |
| LOGDENS E | 196.78 | -0.066 | 0.028 | 4.17 | 0.796 | -0.004 | 0.004 |
| LOGDENS H | 197.62 | -0.104 | 0.045 | 4.84 | 0.816 | -0.008 | 0.007 |
| MANU A | 147.77 | -0.777 | 1.598 | 17.89 | 0.724 | 0.142 | 0.147 |
| MANU D | 147.77 | -0.697 | 1.050 | 5.06 | 0.511 | 0.011 | 0.117 |
| MANU E | 162.35 | -0.120 | 0.362 | 45.01 | 0.950 | 0.070 | 0.036 |
| MANU H | 162.35 | -0.275 | 0.353 | 4.39 | 0.858 | 0.054 | 0.046 |
| MILITARY A | 180.72 | -0.148 | 0.145 | 0.24 | 0.554 | 0.003 | 0.021 |
| MILITARY D | 181.56 | -0.132 | 0.131 | 4.89 | 0.567 | -0.005 | 0.018 |
| MILITARY E | 196.63 | -0.043 | 0.045 | 26.89 | 0.799 | 0.007 | 0.006 |
| MILITARY H | 197.46 | -0.108 | 0.052 | 0.21 | 0.634 | 0.003 | 0.009 |
| MILPOL A | 177.10 | -0.047 | 0.030 | 70.24 | 0.967 | -0.011 | 0.005 |
| MILPOL D | 177.94 | -0.051 | 0.037 | 25.81 | 0.835 | -0.005 | 0.004 |
| MILPOL E | 193.17 | -0.012 | 0.009 | 67.81 | 0.956 | -0.003 | 0.001 |
| MILPOL H | 194.00 | -0.016 | 0.015 | 24.95 | 0.837 | -0.003 | 0.002 |
| POLARIZ A | 175.27 | -0.098 | 0.109 | 0.52 | 0.521 | -0.001 | 0.009 |
| POLARIZ D | 176.11 | -0.083 | 0.080 | 2.29 | 0.599 | 0.003 | 0.007 |
| POLARIZ E | 189.31 | -0.021 | 0.030 | 7.10 | 0.650 | -0.001 | 0.002 |
| POLARIZ H | 190.15 | -0.033 | 0.036 | 7.49 | 0.743 | 0.003 | 0.004 |
| PRTYIN A | 157.72 | -0.003 | 0.005 | 0.02 | 0.684 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
| PRTYIN D | 158.55 | -0.004 | 0.004 | 0.00 | 0.532 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| PRTYIN E | 171.20 | -0.001 | 0.001 | 0.00 | 0.533 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| PRTYIN H | 172.03 | -0.001 | 0.002 | 0.02 | 0.618 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| RELPOL A | 177.10 | -0.071 | 0.052 | 27.55 | 0.865 | -0.008 | 0.006 |
| RELPOL D | 177.94 | -0.078 | 0.029 | 32.85 | 0.882 | -0.007 | 0.005 |
| RELPOL E | 193.17 | -0.019 | 0.013 | 35.00 | 0.908 | -0.002 | 0.001 |
| RELPOL H | 194.00 | -0.021 | 0.019 | 48.42 | 0.943 | -0.005 | 0.002 |
| STABNS A | 180.41 | -0.214 | 0.245 | 2.98 | 0.789 | 0.030 | 0.033 |
| STABNS D | 181.25 | -0.183 | 0.200 | 51.75 | 0.948 | 0.051 | 0.027 |
| STABNS E | 196.32 | -0.055 | 0.068 | 0.58 | 0.520 | 0.001 | 0.009 |
| STABNS H | 197.15 | -0.074 | 0.070 | 1.97 | 0.741 | 0.010 | 0.014 |

| Variable | Mean Obs. | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unweighted CDF | Unweighted β | unw. stand. error |
|----------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| SUBAFR A | 181.20 | -0.558 | 0.387 | 12.30 | 0.879 | -0.044 | 0.034 |
| SUBAFR D | 182.03 | -0.590 | 0.386 | 19.04 | 0.886 | -0.039 | 0.029 |
| SUBAFR E | 197.64 | -0.157 | 0.122 | 74.03 | 0.969 | -0.016 | 0.008 |
| SUBAFR H | 198.48 | -0.258 | 0.167 | 34.50 | 0.926 | -0.018 | 0.012 |
| TOR A | 104.34 | -0.119 | 0.329 | 0.03 | 0.765 | 0.021 | 0.028 |
| TOR D | 104.34 | -0.103 | 0.203 | 0.02 | 0.658 | 0.010 | 0.024 |
| TOR E | 113.65 | -0.023 | 0.077 | 0.03 | 0.584 | 0.002 | 0.007 |
| TOR H | 113.65 | -0.046 | 0.077 | 0.00 | 0.532 | -0.001 | 0.009 |
| TRADE A | 181.20 | -0.295 | 0.209 | 0.00 | 0.714 | -0.011 | 0.018 |
| TRADE D | 182.03 | -0.240 | 0.141 | 3.97 | 0.813 | -0.016 | 0.016 |
| TRADE E | 197.64 | -0.052 | 0.049 | 19.34 | 0.869 | 0.007 | 0.005 |
| TRADE H | 198.48 | -0.087 | 0.096 | 0.03 | 0.554 | 0.001 | 0.008 |
| URBAN A | 181.20 | -0.800 | 0.340 | 26.37 | 0.886 | -0.089 | 0.063 |
| URBAN D | 182.03 | -0.799 | 0.231 | 24.71 | 0.859 | -0.076 | 0.056 |
| URBAN E | 197.64 | -0.187 | 0.113 | 0.98 | 0.540 | 0.001 | 0.016 |
| URBAN H | 198.48 | -0.211 | 0.249 | 10.01 | 0.750 | 0.018 | 0.025 |

For each seigniorage measure, the results are based on 6545 regressions. A constant term is included in the regressions. The results are based on White (1980) heteroscedasticity consistent standard errors.

Table 6: Factor score predictions

| 1980-1984 | | 1985-1989 | | 1990-1994 | | 1995-1999 | |
|---------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| Country | Factor Score | Country | Factor Score | Country | Factor Score | Country | Factor Score |
| ISRAEL | 4.76944 | NICARAGUA | 8.34844 | CONGO. (DR) | 5.57711 | CHINA.P.R.: | 0.97463 |
| ARGENTINA | 3.07865 | PERU | 2.96661 | NICARAGUA | 2.91656 | BULGARIA | 0.90146 |
| CONGO. (DR) | 2.95571 | ARGENTINA | 2.48751 | BRAZIL | 1.94799 | ALBANIA | 0.67298 |
| MEXICO | 1.63416 | IRAN. I.R. OF | 2.04727 | CHINA.P.R.: | 1.77788 | IRAN. I.R. OF | 0.51234 |
| GHANA | 1.63257 | CHILE | 1.84175 | PERU | 1.7282 | TURKEY | 0.4074 |
| PERU | 1.53092 | BOLIVIA | 1.63581 | CHILE | 1.50234 | HAITI | 0.3078 |
| CHILE | 1.45333 | URUGUAY | 1.62409 | BULGARIA | 1.00774 | COSTA RICA | 0.22698 |
| UGANDA | 1.23315 | SYRIAN ARAB REP. | 1.27738 | ROMANIA | 0.93503 | CHILE | 0.21867 |
| EGYPT | 1.15141 | BRAZIL | 0.99902 | JORDAN | 0.88714 | ROMANIA | 0.18796 |
| IRAN. I.R. OF | 1.11071 | ZAMBIA | 0.86131 | COSTA RICA | 0.80016 | VENEZUELA. REP. | 0.18428 |
| COSTA RICA | 0.99268 | CONGO. (DR) | 0.82772 | ARGENTINA | 0.79989 | NEPAL | 0.16414 |
| NICARAGUA | 0.90928 | ISRAEL | 0.72897 | SYRIAN ARAB REP. | 0.77537 | INDONESIA | 0.09413 |
| URUGUAY | 0.65666 | PARAGUAY | 0.70965 | NEPAL | 0.56644 | NICARAGUA | 0.08831 |
| CYPRUS | 0.58111 | COSTA RICA | 0.70892 | TURKEY | 0.44488 | CZECH REP. | -0.02394 |
| GREECE | 0.56081 | TURKEY | 0.70613 | IRAN. I.R. OF | 0.43235 | INDIA | -0.03123 |
| TURKEY | 0.52994 | JORDAN | 0.41977 | PARAGUAY | 0.40718 | URUGUAY | -0.0596 |
| JORDAN | 0.45254 | GHANA | 0.39956 | EGYPT | 0.33421 | PERU | -0.07792 |
| SPAIN | 0.43545 | NEPAL | 0.33531 | VENEZUELA. REP. | 0.274 | PAKISTAN | -0.12336 |
| ICELAND | 0.42203 | MEXICO | 0.3296 | KENYA | 0.23521 | EGYPT | -0.13581 |
| MALTA | 0.40349 | EGYPT | 0.30475 | DOMINICAN REP. | 0.23003 | PHILIPPINES | -0.15887 |
| PHILIPPINES | 0.39354 | NIGERIA | 0.12796 | INDIA | 0.1721 | THAILAND | -0.16398 |
| PORTUGAL | 0.29849 | INDIA | 0.11959 | PAKISTAN | 0.16375 | ESTONIA | -0.16968 |
| PARAGUAY | 0.29789 | PORTUGAL | 0.07951 | MALTA | -0.03323 | GREECE | -0.17791 |
| NEPAL | 0.18153 | PAKISTAN | -0.02367 | MALAYSIA | -0.04944 | MEXICO | -0.18669 |
| HAITI | 0.067 | GREECE | -0.03221 | GHANA | -0.07353 | ISRAEL | -0.19989 |
| INDIA | 0.02804 | SPAIN | -0.09103 | GREECE | -0.07828 | ZIMBABWE | -0.21929 |
| PAKISTAN | -0.00054 | MAURITIUS | -0.18883 | PHILIPPINES | -0.1156 | SYRIAN ARAB REP. | -0.30021 |
| BRAZIL | -0.00445 | PHILIPPINES | -0.20748 | SRI LANKA | -0.12001 | COLOMBIA | -0.30301 |
| ITALY | -0.09704 | MOROCCO | -0.27359 | CYPRUS | -0.12162 | SLOVAK REP. | -0.30448 |
| SRI LANKA | -0.11961 | ICELAND | -0.28507 | MAURITIUS | -0.1663 | BURUNDI | -0.31194 |
| SINGAPORE | -0.29418 | SRI LANKA | -0.30785 | HUNGARY | -0.1694 | LITHUANIA | -0.32312 |
| MOROCCO | -0.30222 | VENEZUELA. REP. | -0.32398 | ECUADOR | -0.22745 | DENMARK | -0.34107 |

| 1980-1984 | | | 1985-1989 | | | 1990-1994 | | | 1995-1999 | | |
|----------------|--------------|--|----------------|--------------|--|----------------|--------------|--|----------------|--------------|--|
| Country | Factor Score | | Country | Factor Score | | Country | Factor Score | | Country | Factor Score | |
| MAURITIUS | -0.33563 | | ITALY | -0.3344 | | ZIMBABWE | -0.28609 | | POLAND | -0.34476 | |
| SWITZERLAND | -0.38586 | | KENYA | -0.33447 | | MOROCCO | -0.28824 | | HUNGARY | -0.35463 | |
| INDONESIA | -0.40481 | | CYPRUS | -0.38745 | | ISRAEL | -0.35219 | | MOROCCO | -0.37677 | |
| THAILAND | -0.4089 | | THAILAND | -0.39636 | | THAILAND | -0.36811 | | KENYA | -0.40899 | |
| MALAYSIA | -0.42116 | | SINGAPORE | -0.42504 | | MEXICO | -0.42336 | | SRI LANKA | -0.41683 | |
| ZIMBABWE | -0.43312 | | JAPAN | -0.44933 | | SWEDEN | -0.43294 | | BOLIVIA | -0.44342 | |
| CAMEROON | -0.43641 | | MALAYSIA | -0.4498 | | SINGAPORE | -0.44256 | | TUNISIA | -0.45517 | |
| IRELAND | -0.47949 | | HUNGARY | -0.45368 | | CONGO, REP. OF | -0.44469 | | IRELAND | -0.46391 | |
| JAPAN | -0.48558 | | HAITI | -0.46578 | | INDONESIA | -0.4565 | | CROATIA | -0.49535 | |
| GUATEMALA | -0.48825 | | ZIMBABWE | -0.47241 | | TUNISIA | -0.52064 | | MALAYSIA | -0.50098 | |
| KENYA | -0.4937 | | INDONESIA | -0.47767 | | SWITZERLAND | -0.54193 | | COTE D IVOIRE | -0.50702 | |
| ECUADOR | -0.56206 | | TUNISIA | -0.53355 | | GERMANY | -0.60863 | | SWITZERLAND | -0.52525 | |
| KUWAIT | -0.56571 | | ECUADOR | -0.57806 | | BOTSWANA | -0.62105 | | MAURITIUS | -0.54356 | |
| AUSTRALIA | -0.57156 | | SWEDEN | -0.59 | | DENMARK | -0.62884 | | SLOVENIA | -0.55808 | |
| FRANCE | -0.59872 | | GERMANY | -0.60456 | | JAPAN | -0.64717 | | SPAIN | -0.56306 | |
| UNITED STATES | -0.60503 | | UNITED STATES | -0.60472 | | AUSTRALIA | -0.66022 | | BELGIUM | -0.56846 | |
| NORWAY | -0.62784 | | AUSTRALIA | -0.60718 | | ITALY | -0.66177 | | SINGAPORE | -0.56927 | |
| CANADA | -0.63283 | | IRELAND | -0.61737 | | IRELAND | -0.68511 | | CONGO, REP. OF | -0.59013 | |
| BELGIUM | -0.64759 | | BOTSWANA | -0.62242 | | NETHERLANDS | -0.69084 | | UNITED STATES | -0.59486 | |
| SWEDEN | -0.65714 | | DENMARK | -0.6286 | | CANADA | -0.69129 | | NORWAY | -0.60844 | |
| GERMANY | -0.67347 | | UNITED KINGDOM | -0.63906 | | NORWAY | -0.69228 | | CYPRUS | -0.61365 | |
| DENMARK | -0.67921 | | CAMEROON | -0.64403 | | UNITED KINGDOM | -0.70158 | | ICELAND | -0.62221 | |
| NEW ZEALAND | -0.68154 | | CANADA | -0.65467 | | NEW ZEALAND | -0.73014 | | CANADA | -0.64695 | |
| BOTSWANA | -0.71443 | | MALTA | -0.65744 | | FRANCE | -0.73863 | | AUSTRALIA | -0.66321 | |
| UNITED KINGDOM | -0.71562 | | FRANCE | -0.66576 | | ICELAND | -0.74304 | | NEW ZEALAND | -0.66616 | |
| LUXEMBOURG | -0.79615 | | NETHERLANDS | -0.67632 | | BELGIUM | -0.74492 | | CAMEROON | -0.67617 | |
| | | | NORWAY | -0.69061 | | CAMEROON | -0.76286 | | FRANCE | -0.68378 | |
| | | | NEW ZEALAND | -0.69596 | | SPAIN | -0.83547 | | PORTUGAL | -0.69308 | |
| | | | BELGIUM | -0.70361 | | PORTUGAL | -0.83893 | | GERMANY | -0.70235 | |
| | | | LUXEMBOURG | -0.72822 | | | | | KUWAIT | -0.70581 | |
| | | | CHAD | -1.2139 | | | | | ARGENTINA | -0.74549 | |
| | | | | | | | | | NETHERLANDS | -0.75427 | |
| | | | | | | | | | JORDAN | -0.75771 | |
| | | | | | | | | | ITALY | -0.85616 | |
| | | | | | | | | | MALTA | -0.89366 | |
| | | | | | | | | | SWEDEN | -0.97865 | |

Table 7: Extreme Bounds Analysis using PCA

| All Countries | $\pi < 100\%$ | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|
| | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. | Unw. CDF | Unw. β | Unw. stand. error | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. | Unw. CDF | Unw. β | Unw. stand. error |
| AGRI | -7.685 | 11.310 | 9.44 | 0.830 | 1.241 | 1.116 | -6.522 | 7.321 | 13.14 | 0.870 | 0.948 | 0.745 |
| ALLHOUSE | -0.515 | 1.260 | 8.92 | 0.881 | 0.232 | 0.174 | -0.539 | 0.613 | 0.00 | 0.663 | -0.044 | 0.104 |
| BUREAU | -0.783 | 0.641 | 22.03 | 0.886 | -0.122 | 0.085 | -0.287 | 0.900 | 4.83 | 0.704 | -0.030 | 0.047 |
| CDEBT | -4.141 | 1.772 | 69.20 | 0.923 | 0.627 | 0.193 | -4.168 | 1.301 | 0.69 | 0.542 | -0.030 | 0.170 |
| CORRUPTION | -0.898 | 0.970 | 27.29 | 0.783 | 0.097 | 0.078 | -0.803 | 0.270 | 49.52 | 0.937 | -0.086 | 0.044 |
| DEMACC | -0.504 | 0.538 | 5.06 | 0.780 | -0.068 | 0.076 | -0.315 | 0.763 | 6.08 | 0.669 | -0.023 | 0.043 |
| EASIA | -3.747 | 3.676 | 0.00 | 0.615 | 0.136 | 0.392 | -3.000 | 5.223 | 0.18 | 0.669 | 0.147 | 0.321 |
| ETHNIC | -0.741 | 0.435 | 4.66 | 0.686 | -0.038 | 0.063 | -0.720 | 0.327 | 34.18 | 0.794 | -0.041 | 0.036 |
| EXECNAT | -1.989 | 2.090 | 0.73 | 0.696 | -0.157 | 0.265 | -1.160 | 1.547 | 0.31 | 0.641 | 0.065 | 0.168 |
| EXECREG | -5.258 | 4.273 | 0.00 | 0.598 | -0.208 | 0.725 | -5.314 | 7.155 | 0.00 | 0.542 | -0.051 | 0.514 |
| EXECRLC | -1.861 | 1.303 | 0.02 | 0.555 | -0.044 | 0.214 | -0.820 | 1.319 | 15.57 | 0.903 | 0.153 | 0.108 |
| EXEURL | -5.815 | 4.917 | 0.00 | 0.643 | 0.367 | 0.937 | -3.291 | 2.159 | 0.00 | 0.573 | 0.076 | 0.485 |
| EXECSPEC | -1.737 | 1.754 | 0.00 | 0.611 | -0.065 | 0.210 | -0.855 | 1.343 | 0.34 | 0.757 | 0.101 | 0.125 |
| EXTCON | -0.234 | 0.196 | 71.09 | 0.955 | -0.079 | 0.033 | -0.140 | 0.185 | 50.65 | 0.924 | -0.035 | 0.019 |
| FRAC | -4.360 | 3.709 | 0.20 | 0.759 | -0.264 | 0.351 | -3.190 | 1.449 | 0.15 | 0.731 | -0.137 | 0.208 |
| GASTIL | -2.705 | 4.246 | 0.60 | 0.536 | -0.041 | 0.381 | -1.296 | 3.319 | 1.19 | 0.593 | -0.061 | 0.236 |
| GINI | -0.163 | 0.093 | 0.63 | 0.539 | 0.000 | 0.010 | -0.140 | 0.083 | 0.24 | 0.589 | 0.002 | 0.011 |
| GOVSTAB | -0.227 | 0.289 | 9.30 | 0.814 | -0.039 | 0.038 | -0.132 | 0.239 | 24.98 | 0.821 | -0.024 | 0.020 |

A constant term is included in the regressions. The results are based on White (1980) heteroscedasticity consistent standard errors.

Table 8: Extreme Bounds Analysis using PCA

| All Countries | $\pi < 100\%$ | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|
| | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unw. CDF | Unw. β | Unw. stand. error | Lower bound | Upper bound | % with sign. β | Unw. CDF | Unw. β | Unw. stand. error |
| GROWTH | -24.834 | 14.282 | 74.35 | 0.924 | -5.505 | 2.396 | -5.236 | 13.242 | 9.81 | 0.737 | 1.192 | 1.451 |
| ILLIT | -8.193 | 9.369 | 0.41 | 0.596 | 0.222 | 0.848 | -3.725 | 9.586 | 26.98 | 0.886 | 0.959 | 0.680 |
| INDUST | -8.268 | 6.763 | 0.00 | 0.589 | -0.261 | 1.173 | -4.722 | 10.467 | 8.89 | 0.714 | 0.637 | 0.790 |
| INTCON | -0.353 | 0.212 | 72.86 | 0.967 | -0.090 | 0.036 | -0.192 | 0.180 | 75.28 | 0.955 | -0.052 | 0.021 |
| LATINCA | -3.441 | 3.480 | 44.61 | 0.941 | 0.473 | 0.272 | -3.302 | 3.373 | 9.29 | 0.799 | 0.196 | 0.227 |
| LAW | -0.567 | 0.531 | 46.04 | 0.907 | -0.120 | 0.069 | -0.322 | 0.326 | 55.83 | 0.909 | -0.070 | 0.039 |
| LOGDENS | -1.937 | 1.572 | 0.41 | 0.673 | -0.058 | 0.115 | -1.961 | 1.109 | 15.42 | 0.839 | -0.178 | 0.134 |
| MANU | -12.218 | 9.351 | 0.26 | 0.577 | 0.375 | 1.701 | -5.337 | 11.896 | 18.93 | 0.746 | 1.104 | 1.128 |
| MILITARY | -1.809 | 1.259 | 3.71 | 0.695 | 0.144 | 0.251 | -1.266 | 1.147 | 3.85 | 0.639 | 0.066 | 0.162 |
| MILPOL | -0.323 | 0.503 | 21.10 | 0.840 | -0.076 | 0.061 | -0.436 | 0.249 | 63.99 | 0.958 | -0.081 | 0.036 |
| POLARIZ | -0.727 | 0.901 | 1.38 | 0.520 | -0.009 | 0.119 | -0.717 | 0.872 | 1.73 | 0.568 | -0.010 | 0.071 |
| PRTYIN | -0.050 | 0.047 | 0.00 | 0.770 | 0.006 | 0.007 | -0.025 | 0.036 | 0.00 | 0.600 | 0.001 | 0.004 |
| RELPOL | -0.606 | 0.895 | 10.40 | 0.815 | -0.079 | 0.073 | -0.593 | 0.399 | 43.30 | 0.905 | -0.075 | 0.044 |
| STABNS | -2.214 | 2.158 | 0.72 | 0.753 | 0.328 | 0.450 | -1.697 | 1.891 | 4.63 | 0.814 | 0.256 | 0.252 |
| SUBAFR | -4.147 | 3.615 | 6.74 | 0.876 | -0.416 | 0.346 | -4.986 | 3.559 | 34.36 | 0.940 | -0.441 | 0.276 |
| TOR | -1.188 | 2.756 | 11.87 | 0.825 | 0.337 | 0.333 | -0.955 | 2.413 | 0.02 | 0.679 | 0.103 | 0.207 |
| TRADE | -3.257 | 1.512 | 0.02 | 0.619 | 0.053 | 0.210 | -2.250 | 1.416 | 0.00 | 0.521 | 0.007 | 0.143 |
| URBAN | -5.370 | 4.680 | 0.99 | 0.657 | 0.280 | 0.649 | -6.850 | 2.762 | 11.37 | 0.803 | -0.520 | 0.507 |

A constant term is included in the regressions. The results are based on White (1980) heteroscedasticity consistent standard errors.

Table 9: Summary of the Empirical Literature (provisional, incomplete version)

| Study: | Seigniorage measure: | Economic Variables: included: | Effect: | Political Variables included: | Effect: |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Al Marhubi (2000) | π | trade gdpcap | - 0 | corruption tor asia latinca | + + - 0 |
| Aisen and Vega (2002?) | $\log \pi_t - \log \pi_{t-1}$ | agriculture trade growth overvalue currency oil prices | 0 + - - + | size of government cabinet change secure property rights access to sound money freedom to exchange with foreigners regulation of credit labor and business government crisis polity | 0 0+ 0 + - - + + |
| Berument (1998) | $\log M0$ growth $\log \pi$ | growth tax income log government expenditures | + + - | legal cbi | - |
| Bhattacharya et al. (2004) | E | gdp level 1960 financial depth | 0 + | gini $gini^2$ literacy gastil government fractionalization socialist government fraction elderly | - + 0 0 0 0 0 0 |
| Caplan (2002) | | | | | |
| Click (1998) | $\log A, \log E$ | gnpcap log agricultural employment log industrial employment income taxes trade taxes log government expenditures creditworthiness index central government debt | - 0 + 0 0 + + 0 | tor legal cbi political instability | + 0 + |

| Study: | Seigniorage measure: | Economic Variables: included: | Effect: | Political Variables included: | Effect: |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Cukierman et al. (1992) | A (D, E, H) | agriculture manufacturing trade gdpcap urbanization industry | + 0 - - + - | political instability coups government transfers asia | + + + 0 |
| De Haan et al. (1993) | E,H | agriculture trade gdpcap government expenditures cdebt indebtedness dummy peg | + - + + + + 0 | | |
| Desai et al. (2003) | $\frac{\pi}{1+\pi}$ | log gdpcap trade growth fiscal deficits financial depth | 0 0 - - 0, - | tor political instability gini democracy gini*democracy gini/democracy with interaction | 0 0 + + + - |
| Fischer et al. (2003) | E | fiscal deficits | + | | |
| Gasiorowski (2000) | | | | | |
| Kenny and Winer (2001) | A | total revenue trade gdp per capita urbanization female labor participation log density oil prices | - - 0 +, 0 +, 0 0 - | coups gastil socialism | 0 + 0 |

Table 10: Variable Definitions and Data Sources

| Variable: | Definition and Source: |
|------------|--|
| AGRI | Agriculture, value added (% of GDP) Source: World Bank Development Indicators (WDI) |
| ALLHOUSE | Dummy whether the executive's party controls all houses Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| BUREAU | Bureaucracy quality. Assesment of the institutional strength and quality of the bureaucracy. Range: 0-4. Source: ICRG |
| CDEBT | Central government debt, total (% of GDP). Source: WDI |
| CORRUPTION | Corruption. Assesment of corruption within the political system. Source: ICRG |
| DEF | Overall budget balance, including grants (% of GDP). Range: 0-6. Source: WDI |
| DEMACC | Democratic accountability. Measure of how responsive a government is to its people. Range: 0-6. Source: ICRG |
| DUM80 | Dummy variable for the period 1980-1984 |
| DUM85 | Dummy variable for the period 1985-1989 |
| DUM90 | Dummy variable for the period 1990-1994 |
| EASIA | Dummy variable for East Asian countries (according to World Bank definition). |
| ETHNIC | Ethnic Tensions. Assesment of the degree of tension within a country attributable to racial, nationality or language divisions. Range: 0-6. Source: ICRG |
| EXTCON | External conflict. Risk to incumbent government from foreign action components:war, cross-border conflict, foreign pressures. Range: 0-12. Source: ICRG |
| EXECNAT | Dummy variable taking the value 1 if the party of the chief executive is nationalistic and 0 otherwise. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| EXECRLC | Dummy variable taking the value 1 if the party of the chief executive is a right-wing party and 0 if the party is left. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| EXECRURL | Dummy variable taking the value 1 if the party of the chief executive is rural and 0 otherwise. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| EXECSPEC | Dummy variable taking the value 1 if the party of the chief executive is a special interest party and 0 otherwise. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| EXPROP | Risk of exproptiation by the government Source: ICRG |
| FRAC | Total Fractionalization, probability that 2 random draws will produce legislators from different parties. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| GASTIL | Gastil index. (14 - civil liberties - political freedom)/12. Source: www.freedomhouse.org |
| GDPCAP | GDP per capita (constant 1995 US\$). Source: WDI |
| GINI | Gini coefficient of income inequality. Source: Deininger and Squire (1996) |
| GOVSTAB | Government Stability. Ability of governments declared program and ability to stay in office. Range: 0-12. Source: ICRG |
| GROWTH | Real GDP growth (in %) |
| ILLIT | Illiteracy rate adult total (% of people ages 15 and above). Source: WDI |
| INDUST | Industry, value added (% of GDP). Source: WDI |

| Variable: | Definition and Source: |
|-----------|---|
| INTCON | Internal conflict. Political violence within countries and (potential) impact on governance. Components are: civil war/coup threat, political violence/terrorism, civil disorder. Range: 0-12. Source: ICRG |
| LATINCA | Dummy variable for Latin-America and the Carribean (according to World Bank definition). |
| LAW | Law and order. Measures strength and impartiality of the Law system + assesment of popular observance of the law. Range: 0-6. Source: ICRG |
| LDC | Dummy variable for Least Developed Countries (according to World Bank definition). |
| LOGDENS | Log of Population density (people per sq km). Source: WDI |
| MANU | Manufacturing, value added (% of GDP). Source: WDI |
| MILPOL | Military in politics. Assesment of the involvement of the military in politics. Range: 0-6. Source: ICRG |
| MILITARY | Dummy variable taking the value 1 if the chief executive is a military officer and 0 otherwise. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| OECD | Dummy variable for High Income OECD countries (according to World Bank definition). |
| OPEC | Dummy variable for OPEC countries. Source: www.opec.org |
| PEG | Indicator for de facto exchange rate regime. 0=flexible, 1= not or less flexible. Source: Reinhart and Rogoff (2004). |
| POLARIZ | Polarization: maximum difference of orientation between government parties range: 0-2. Source: DPI (Beck et al. 2001) |
| PRTYIN | Number of years that the chief executives' party is in office. |
| RELPOL | Religion in politics. Measure indicates to what extent religious groups try to dominate other religious groups in politics. Range: 0-6. Source: ICRG |
| STABNS | Political stability. % of veto players dropping from government assuming Senate does not change. Source: Database of Political Institutions (Beck et al. (2001)) |
| SUBAFR | Dummy variable for Sub-Saharan African Countries (according to World Bank definition). |
| TAX | Tax revenue (% of GDP). Source: WDI |
| TOR | Turnover rate. Average amount of Central Bank Governor turnovers per year. Source: Sturm and de Haan (2001) |
| TRADE | Total exports and imports (% of GDP). Source: WDI |
| URBAN | Urban population is the share of the total population living in areas, defined as urban in each country. Source: WDI |

Table 11: List of Countries per Seigniorage Measure

| |
|--|
| Measure: A. (85 countries) |
| Albania, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Dem. Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cote D'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Phillipines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia, Zimbabwe |
| Measure: D. (82 countries) |
| Albania, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Dem. Rep. of Congo, Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cote, D'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Phillipines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia, Zimbabwe |
| Measure: E. (95 countries) |
| Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Dem Rep. of Congo, Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cote D'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Phillipines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Senegal, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia, Zimbabwe |
| Measure: H. (92 countries) |
| Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Camroon, Canada, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Dem Rep. Congo, Republic of Congo, Costa Rica, Cote D'Ivoire, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Gabon, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Phillipines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Senegal, Singapore, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zambia, Zimbabwe |