

## **From Mobilization to Turnout: Evidence from Barcelona in the 1930s**

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Common wisdom, and a majority of the literature, has argued that newly enfranchised female voters as well as illiterate ones did turn out to vote significantly less upon franchise extension. However, much less is known with regards to the contextual variation of the gender and literacy gaps. In this paper we analyze to what extent these gaps were conditional upon individual and contextual factors such as social class, the constituency-level strength of the left and urbanization in 1930s Barcelona. This allows us to test some prominent theories on voter turnout and turnout inequality in a critical context of suffrage extension, democratization and political polarization. Most interestingly, we provide evidence according to which both the gender and the literacy gaps were overrated due to the high mobilization rates of the left. We use a combination of individual register-based data of turnout in elections held in Barcelona in 1934 and 1936 (female suffrage was adopted in 1932), sociodemographic data from the 1934 electoral census and local level data on election returns, geography and socioeconomic factors.