

## Appendix to

Nooruddin, Irfan, and Nita Rudra. 2014. "Are Developing Countries Really Defying the Embedded Liberalism Compact?" *World Politics* 66 (4): TBD.

(Please make available online)

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Country	Public Sector Empl.	Civilian Central Govt	SOE Empl.	Trade	Imports	Exports	Growth in GDP per capita	GDP per capita (Log)	Unemployment Rate	Age Dependency Ratio	Capital Account Openness	External Risk	Democracy	Openness Legacy	Under IMF Program
Afghanistan											-1.17		0.00		0.22
Albania	0.20										-0.05		0.11		0.24
Algeria											-1.41		0.00	0.00	0.21
Angola											-1.26		0.00	0.00	0.00
Antigua & Barbuda											2.15				0.00
Argentina	0.16	0.89	0.40	18.72	8.43	10.30	0.43	8.85	9.30	38.35	-0.24	1.87	0.51	0.00	0.69
Armenia	0.40										2.06		0.25		0.57
Australia											1.16		1.00	1.00	0.02
Austria											1.63		1.00	1.00	0.00
Azerbaijan	0.46										-0.68		0.00		0.57
Bahamas	0.20										-1.09				0.00
Bahrain	0.28										2.58		0.00	0.00	0.00
Bangladesh		0.38	0.21	23.40	15.28	8.12	1.42	5.62	2.23	44.36	-1.39	1.51	0.06	0.00	0.53
Barbados	0.26										-0.99			1.00	0.13
Belarus	0.61										-1.46		0.25		0.14
Belgium											1.65		1.00	1.00	0.00
Belize	0.23										-0.38			0.00	0.13
Benin	0.13										-0.39		0.02	0.00	0.33
Bhutan											-1.09		0.00	0.00	0.00
Bolivia		2.12	0.10	50.00	26.81	23.19	0.29	6.88	5.33	45.11	0.80	5.30	0.53	1.00	0.76
Bosnia & Herzegovina											1.57		0.00		0.43
Botswana		3.48	0.90	108.07	52.98	55.08	6.65	7.41	19.57	47.62	0.14	5.76	0.93	0.00	0.00
Brazil	0.11	0.31		19.22	9.48	9.74	1.86	8.04	5.85	39.76	-1.53	1.94	0.47	0.00	0.60
Brunei	0.31														0.00
Bulgaria	0.52										-1.00		0.36		0.31
Burkina Faso													0.00	0.00	0.00
Burundi											-1.11		0.00	0.00	0.42
Cambodia											-1.03		0.00		0.20
Cameroon		0.52	1.20	48.56	24.19	24.37	1.36	6.44	7.80	47.52	-0.57	11.49	0.00	0.00	0.36
Canada											2.62		1.00	1.00	0.00
Cape Verde											-1.09			0.00	0.20
Central African Republic													0.00	0.00	0.00
Chad											-0.81		0.00	0.00	0.32
Chile	0.14	0.75	0.24	53.30	26.47	26.84	2.70	8.04	8.29	37.42	-1.03	4.91	0.38	0.00	0.47
China	0.15	0.11	9.02	30.76	14.93	15.83	7.42	5.91	2.82	36.00	-1.23	1.82	0.00	0.00	0.07
Colombia	0.08	4.99		32.83	16.40	16.42	1.64	7.46	11.94	41.58	-1.53	3.69	1.00	0.00	0.47
Comoros											-1.09		0.03	0.00	0.13
Congo, Rep.													0.00	0.00	0.20
Congo, Dem.Rep.											-1.08		0.00	0.00	0.43
Costa Rica	0.14			77.17	40.60	36.57	1.73	8.10	5.84	40.99	-0.28	6.59	1.00	0.00	0.60
Cote d'Ivoire											-0.61		0.00	0.00	0.63
Croatia	0.52										0.32		0.44		0.79
Cuba													0.00		0.00
Cyprus	0.19			104.36	57.13	47.24	4.98	8.96	4.40	35.45	-0.90		0.89	1.00	0.00
Czech Republic													0.23		0.15
Czechoslovakia													0.00		0.00
Denmark											1.17		1.00	1.00	0.00
Djibouti											2.62		0.00	0.00	0.29
Dominica	0.33										-0.42			0.00	0.41
Dominican Republic	0.22		2.00	66.75	36.76	29.99	2.63	7.43	16.58	43.05	-1.38	6.62	0.27	0.00	0.28
Ecuador	0.13	1.11		54.93	28.28	26.65	1.34	7.17	8.85	43.71	0.10	7.04	0.47	1.00	0.64
Egypt, Arab Rep.	0.68	2.21	1.93	52.68	31.22	21.47	3.17	6.96	8.45	43.74	-0.76	4.25	0.00	0.00	0.42
El Salvador	0.09	1.01	0.43	59.66	34.41	25.25	0.30	7.54	8.54	45.06	-0.34	7.52	0.34	0.00	0.64
Equatorial Guinea													0.00		0.00
Eritrea											-0.89		0.00		0.00

Estonia	0.39										2.62		0.00		0.71
Ethiopia	0.03										-1.13		0.00		0.31
Fiji	0.47	3.01	1.65	104.72	53.95	50.77	1.35	7.53	6.90	40.29	-0.51	0.46		0.06	
Finland											1.46	1.00	1.00	0.09	
France											0.79	0.81	1.00	0.04	
Gabon	0.64										-0.39	0.00	0.00	0.47	
Gambia												1.00	0.00	0.00	
Georgia	0.29										1.46	0.19		0.64	
Germany Federal Republic of											2.62	1.00	1.00	0.00	
Germany, East												0.00		0.00	
Ghana		1.53	1.23	49.48	28.24	21.24	-0.03	5.44	6.45	46.79	-1.35	6.18	0.06	0.00	0.58
Greece	0.21	1.09	1.36	45.74	26.34	19.40	1.93	9.08	8.57	33.92	-0.28	1.78	0.68	1.00	0.00
Grenada											-1.33			0.00	0.27
Guatemala	0.17			41.99	23.69	18.30	0.90	7.34	2.56	48.30	0.67	8.09	0.23	0.00	0.53
Guinea											-1.13		0.00	0.00	0.47
Guinea-Bissau											-1.15		0.00	0.00	0.39
Guyana		0.74	3.26	168.88	90.44	78.44	0.83	6.68	10.40	41.74	-0.26		0.00	0.00	0.79
Haiti											0.62		0.13	0.00	0.76
Honduras		0.59	0.26	74.50	40.82	33.68	0.69	6.80	5.38	48.08	0.33	9.01	0.17	0.00	0.69
Hungary											0.05		0.36	0.00	0.31
Iceland											-0.39				0.09
India	0.70	0.28	0.68	18.50	9.93	8.58	2.95	5.70	3.08	41.30	-1.06	2.02	1.00	0.00	0.28
Indonesia		0.74	0.50	52.03	24.07	27.96	4.12	6.29	6.04	40.16	1.81	7.26	0.06	0.00	0.40
Iran	0.32		1.26	39.11	18.23	20.87	0.28	7.32	12.58	45.72	-0.87		0.00	0.00	0.07
Iraq											-1.03		0.00	0.00	0.00
Ireland											0.67		1.00	1.00	0.00
Israel		2.02	1.05	89.30	52.50	36.80	1.84	9.55	7.81	40.09	-0.11	2.39	1.00	0.00	0.09
Italy											0.50		1.00	1.00	0.09
Ivory Coast													0.00	0.00	0.00
Jamaica											-0.05		1.00	1.00	0.56
Japan											2.08		1.00	1.00	0.09
Jordan	0.36	1.59	0.40	119.69	75.92	43.77	2.16	7.46	14.40	47.72	-0.01	7.58	0.00	1.00	0.33
Kazakhstan	0.30										-1.09		0.00		0.57
Kenya	0.45	0.67	0.59	58.08	31.04	27.04	0.71	6.04	17.70	50.73	-0.57	4.59	0.11	1.00	0.64
Kiribati											1.98				0.00
Korea, Dem. Rep.													0.00		0.00
Korea, Rep.		0.47	0.47	63.99	32.53	31.46	6.13	8.58	3.28	33.96	-0.62	2.46	0.20	1.00	0.56
Kuwait		11.20	1.50	99.21	41.63	57.58	-3.51	9.84		36.83	2.33		0.00	0.00	0.00
Kyrgyz Republic	0.26										1.52		0.00		0.86
Lao PDR													0.00	0.00	0.00
Latvia	0.42										2.43		1.00		0.79
Lebanon											2.36		0.06		0.00
Lesotho		0.99		133.46	111.51	21.95	4.05	5.85	31.10	48.01	-0.62	13.82	0.34	0.00	0.33
Liberia		0.61		108.21	53.38	54.83	-3.27	5.74		49.02	1.67		0.00	0.00	0.51
Libya											-0.97		0.00		0.00
Lithuania	0.45										2.50		1.00		0.71
Luxembourg															0.00
Macedonia, FYR											-0.54		0.31		0.64
Madagascar											-0.84		0.33	0.00	0.52
Malawi	0.27	0.53		62.52	37.23	25.29	0.46	4.98	0.75	49.26	-1.07	6.42	0.00	0.00	0.59
Malaysia		1.79		141.51	67.68	73.84	4.18	7.79	4.49	41.41	1.26	8.55	0.20	1.00	0.00
Maldives	0.20										1.67				0.00
Mali		0.32	0.14	51.70	33.42	18.28	0.80	5.29		50.03	-0.41	3.96	0.11	0.00	0.67
Malta	0.36										-1.00				0.00
Marshall Islands											1.43				0.00
Mauritania											-1.09		0.00	0.00	0.51
Mauritius	0.19	4.66		117.19	60.44	56.74	4.31	7.88	6.80	36.37	-0.47	4.52	1.00	1.00	0.24
Mexico	0.16	0.82		37.39	18.73	18.66	1.61	8.51	3.11	44.48	1.01	3.44	0.15	0.00	0.47

Micronesia, Fed.Sts.											1.86						0.00
Moldova	0.33										-1.06		0.88				0.71
Mongolia											1.24		0.32		0.00		0.29
Morocco		0.65	0.27	56.37	31.80	24.57	1.86	6.94	15.36	44.10	-1.25	3.66	0.00	1.00			0.51
Mozambique		0.21		47.17	33.76	13.41	2.08	5.16		47.69	-1.29	4.67	0.00	0.00			0.57
Myanmar	0.74										-1.26		0.04		0.00		0.22
Namibia											-1.15		0.00		0.00		0.00
Nepal		0.44	0.22	37.58	23.06	14.52	1.62	5.15	1.10	44.90	-1.07		0.00	0.00			0.29
Netherlands											2.32		1.00		1.00		0.00
New Zealand													1.00		0.00		0.20
Nicaragua		0.78		63.98	40.43	23.55	-1.37	6.84	10.47	48.50	0.57	9.84	0.26		0.00		0.60
Niger											-0.63		0.09		0.00		0.42
Nigeria		0.02		59.40	28.08	31.32	0.20	5.90	16.90	48.16	-1.13	17.40	0.24		0.00		0.16
Norway											0.78		1.00		1.00		0.00
Oman											2.36		0.00		0.00		0.00
Pakistan		0.54	0.33	33.61	19.94	13.67	2.23	6.01	4.80	46.05	-1.15	2.85	0.43		0.00		0.64
Palau																	0.00
Panama	0.33	2.00		155.57	74.70	80.86	1.18	8.12	13.19	41.63	2.62	13.85	0.38		0.00		0.71
Papua New Guinea	0.27										-0.41		1.00				0.27
Paraguay	0.07	3.10		55.62	31.88	23.73	1.35	7.23	5.91	45.79	-0.51	9.40	0.30		0.00		0.24
Peru		1.52		33.61	17.74	15.87	0.31	7.63	8.24	42.85	0.29	3.14	0.38		1.00		0.71
Philippines	0.08	0.65	0.14	67.13	35.12	32.01	1.18	6.83	7.79	44.26	-0.51	6.92	0.43		0.00		0.82
Poland											-0.66		0.34		0.00		0.16
Portugal											0.29		0.65		1.00		0.11
Qatar	0.31										2.62		0.00		0.00		0.00
Romania	0.40										-1.13		0.23		0.00		0.47
Russian Federation																0.00	0.00
Rwanda											-1.04		0.00		0.00		0.42
Samoa											-1.14						0.30
Sao Tome and Principe											-0.79						0.27
Saudi Arabia											2.35		0.00		0.00		0.00
Senegal											-0.39		0.15		0.00		0.56
Serbia and Montenegro													0.00				0.74
Seychelles	0.38										1.86				0.00		0.00
Sierra Leone											-1.02		0.00		0.00		0.60
Singapore		0.90					5.03	9.44	3.44	30.66	1.87		0.07		1.00		0.00
Slovak Republic											-0.72		1.00				0.25
Slovenia	0.32										0.84		1.00				0.00
Solomon Islands											-0.43		0.89				0.15
Somalia											-1.49		0.19		0.00		0.42
South Africa	0.34	1.57		51.16	23.88	27.28	0.17	8.06	24.39	41.72	-1.11	1.67	0.31		0.00		0.14
Spain											0.51		0.62		1.00		0.09
Sri Lanka				71.13	40.01	31.11	3.24	6.33	11.15	37.55	-0.49	5.23	0.36		0.00		0.63
St. Kitts and Nevis											-0.42				0.00		0.00
St. Lucia											-0.50				0.00		0.00
St. Vincent & the Grenadines											-0.62				0.00		0.00
Sudan											-1.24		0.15		0.00		0.33
Suriname	0.62										-1.25				0.00		0.00
Swaziland											-0.41		0.00		0.00		0.00
Sweden											1.64		1.00		1.00		0.00
Switzerland											2.62		1.00		1.00		0.00
Syrian Arab Republic	0.27	0.94	3.11	56.14	32.01	24.13	2.25	6.88	11.45	48.93	-1.67	4.29	0.00		0.00		0.07
Taiwan													0.43				
Tajikistan											-1.09		0.00				0.50
Tanzania		0.45		48.06	32.02	16.03	1.46	5.56	4.30	48.08	-1.06	3.20	0.00		0.00		0.52
Thailand	0.08	2.37	0.43	72.64	36.85	35.79	4.64	7.10	2.26	37.91	-0.05	3.61	0.30		1.00		0.24
Timor-Leste													0.20				
Togo											-0.91		0.00		0.00		0.44

Tonga	0.27										-0.21				0.00
Trinidad and Tobago	0.33		2.53	85.04	39.20	45.84	1.83	8.65	15.61	38.07	0.45		1.00	0.00	0.07
Tunisia		1.76	2.05	81.11	42.77	38.34	2.99	7.32	15.27	42.20	-0.98	2.35	0.00	0.00	0.31
Turkey		1.75	0.80								-1.00		0.89	0.00	0.60
Turkmenistan											-1.56		0.00		0.00
Uganda	0.03										-0.35		0.09	0.00	0.56
Ukraine	0.46										-1.09		0.44		0.64
United Kingdom													1.00	1.00	0.80
United States													1.00	1.00	0.30
United Arab Emirates											2.62		0.00		0.00
United Kingdom											1.66		1.00	1.00	0.17
United States of America											2.62		1.00	1.00	0.00
Uruguay	0.18	3.92	1.20	39.89	19.75	20.14	1.30	8.53	11.12	37.50	0.86	3.56	0.70	0.00	0.82
Uzbekistan											-1.17		0.00		0.21
Vanuatu											2.57				0.00
Venezuela, RB	0.17	0.57		48.92	21.74	27.19	-0.74	8.57	10.63	42.00	0.65	9.66	0.70	0.00	0.20
Vietnam											-1.44		0.00		0.31
Yemen, Rep.													0.00	1.00	0.43
Zambia		0.47		71.20	37.25	33.95	-1.31	5.96	15.17	49.73	-0.39	15.03	0.00	0.00	0.56
Zimbabwe	0.26	0.05		53.62	27.63	26.00	-0.90	6.40	7.37	49.33	-1.47	2.03	0.00	0.00	0.28

#### VARIABLES

Public Sector Empl.  
Civilian Central Govt  
SOE Empl.  
Trade  
Imports  
Exports  
Growth in GDP per capita  
GDP per capita (Log)  
Unemployment Rate  
Age Dependency Ratio  
Capital Account Openness  
External Risk  
Democracy  
Openness Legacy  
Under IMF Program

#### DATA SOURCES

International Labor Organization website: <http://laborsta.ilo.org/applv8/data/sectore.html>  
International Labor Organization website: <http://laborsta.ilo.org/applv8/data/sectore.html>  
International Labor Organization website: <http://laborsta.ilo.org/applv8/data/sectore.html>  
World Bank's World Development Indicators 2010  
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Chinn and Ito 2006; available at [http://web.pdx.edu/~ito/Chinn-Ito\\_website.htm](http://web.pdx.edu/~ito/Chinn-Ito_website.htm)  
Rodrik 1998; constructed by authors using World Development Indicators  
Polity IV  
Sachs and Warner 1995; Dollar and Kraay 2000  
Vreeland 2003

**Descriptive Statistics for Country-Level Variables (Table 1, Baseline Model)**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Public employment (% total emp)	130	22.87	17.00	6.90	70.04
Civilian central govt employment	52	1.56	1.27	0.02	5.36
SOE employment	25	1.20	1.77	0.10	9.02
Trade (% GDP)	130	68.73	36.21	16.29	175.81
Imports (% GDP)	130	35.25	18.17	9.18	85.71
Exports (% GDP)	130	33.49	18.65	7.12	90.10
GDP Growth	130	1.75	3.65	-11.68	11.13
GDP per capita (log)	130	7.71	0.86	5.97	9.24
Unemployment (%)	108	9.67	5.51	0.9	25.8
Age Dependency Ratio	130	38.56	4.52	30.99	48.50
Capital account openness	130	0.42	1.38	-1.75	2.62
External Risk	130	3.73	2.69	0.53	19.67
Democracy (dichotomous)	130	0.84	0.37	0	1
Openness 1963-1973 (Sachs-Warner)	130	0.28	0.45	0	1
IMF Program	130	0.45	0.50	0	1

**Descriptive Statistics for Individual-Level and Country-Level Variables (Table 4, Full Sample Model)**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Favor Imports	11385	0.42	0.49	0	1
Public Employment Ratio	11385	41.62	15.78	11.29	70.35
Social Spending (% GDP)	11385	7.27	5.68	0	17.6
Lower Class	11385	0.12	0.33	0	1
Middle Class	11385	0.72	0.44	0	1
Married?	11385	0.62	0.49	0	1
Number of children	11385	1.59	1.58	0	20
Age (3-category)	11385	1.79	0.77	1	3
Female	11385	0.68	0.47	0	1
Chief Wage Earner Employed?	11385	0.82	0.38	0	1
Education Level	11385	1.94	0.67	1	3

Table A1. Trade and Government Consumption in the Developing World

DV →	Change in Government Consumption (% GDP)				Level of Govt Cons.
Variable	Baseline	1	2	3	4
Government Consumption <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.24*** (0.05)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	
Δ Trade (% GDP)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)			
Trade (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.00 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)			
Δ Exports (% GDP)			-0.07** (0.03)		
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>			-0.003 (0.01)		
Δ Imports (% GDP)				-0.05 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>				-0.003 (0.01)	0.02 (0.04)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.14 (0.08)
GDP per capita (Log)		1.14 (0.76)	1.16 (0.78)	1.14 (0.75)	2.57 (3.05)
Unemployment Rate (%)		-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.12 (0.18)
Age Dependency Ratio		-0.01 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.08)	0.28 (0.38)
Capital Account Openness		0.13 (0.08)	0.12 (0.08)	0.13 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.46)
External Risk	-0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.08)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.06 (0.06)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	0.11 (0.23)	0.18 (0.26)	0.18 (0.25)	0.18 (0.26)	-0.59 (1.44)
Under IMF Program		-0.22 (0.16)	-0.22 (0.15)	-0.21 (0.15)	-1.39 (0.79)
N	1009	592	592	592	593
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.12
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.



Table A2. Multiple Imputation Results

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	0.41 *** (0.05)	0.41 *** (0.05)
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	0.18** (0.08)	
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>		0.001* (0.001)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
External Risk	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.003** (0.001)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
No. of Imputations	5	5
No. of Observations	2979	2979
No. of Countries	155	155
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

*Note:* \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses. Multiple imputation estimation conducted using the `mi` routine in Stata 12.1.

Table A3. Results using 2-year and 3-year lags for Trade Variables

(Note: Models included a full set of controls, the coefficients for which are suppressed since they do not change from previous results. Available upon request).

2-year Lag of Trade

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.60*** (0.15)	-0.58*** (0.15)
Δ Exports (% GDP)	0.091* (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	0.08* (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-2</sub>	-0.02 (0.06)	
Δ Imports (% GDP)		0.11** (0.05)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>		0.02 (0.06)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-2</sub>		0.04 (0.09)
N	108	108
R <sup>2</sup>	0.73	0.73
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Control variables, country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A3 continued

3-year Lag of Trade

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.60*** (0.15)	-0.57*** (0.15)
$\Delta$ Exports (% GDP)	0.09* (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	0.09* (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-2</sub>	0.003 (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-3</sub>	-0.06 (0.05)	
$\Delta$ Imports (% GDP)		0.12** (0.05)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>		0.02 (0.05)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-2</sub>		0.06 (0.06)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-3</sub>		-0.03 (0.08)
N	108	108
R <sup>2</sup>	0.74	0.73
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Control variables, country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A4. Results with a control for Exchange Rate Regime

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.62*** (0.15)	-0.57*** (0.14)
Δ Exports (% GDP)	0.11** (0.04)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	0.09* (0.05)	
Δ Imports (% GDP)		0.02** (0.05)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>		0.04 (0.04)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.09* (0.05)
GDP per capita (Log)	-0.65 (3.98)	0.28 (3.53)
Unemployment Rate (%)	-0.09 (0.12)	0.11 (0.10)
Age Dependency Ratio	0.17 (0.36)	-0.28 (0.34)
Capital Account Openness	0.43 (0.33)	0.24 (0.33)
External Risk	0.10 (0.09)	0.16* (0.08)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	1.94** (0.93)	0.85 (0.69)
Openness Legacy (Sachs-Warner)	-28.09* (14.01)	-32.00** (12.06)
Under IMF Program	-0.22 (0.36)	-0.06 (0.43)
Exchange Rate Regime	-0.01 (0.33)	0.35 (0.33)
N	104	104
R <sup>2</sup>	0.77	0.77
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A5. Results without a Lagged Dependent Variable

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Baseline	1	2	3
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>			--	--
$\Delta$ Trade (% GDP)	0.05*	0.04**		
	(0.03)	(0.02)		
Trade (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.01	-0.02		
	(0.02)	(0.03)		
$\Delta$ Exports (% GDP)			0.07**	
			(0.03)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>			-0.01	
			(0.06)	
$\Delta$ Imports (% GDP)				0.06
				(0.04)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>				-0.06
				(0.04)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.01**	-0.07	-0.05	-0.09**
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.04)
GDP per capita (Log)		-1.27	-1.65	-1.39
		(3.64)	(4.19)	(3.18)
Unemployment Rate (%)		-0.08	-0.08	-0.07
		(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Age Dependency Ratio		0.10	0.02	-0.13
		(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.39)
Capital Account Openness		0.32	0.41	0.26
		(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)
External Risk	0.01	0.14	0.13	0.15
	(0.01)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	-0.30	0.11	0.03	-0.12
	(0.59)	(0.71)	(0.92)	(0.60)
Openness Legacy (Sachs-Warner)		2.06	4.85	6.73
		(3.93)	(12.73)	(5.67)
Under IMF Program		0.03	0.04	-0.09
		(0.60)	(0.64)	(0.56)
N	129	108	108	108
R <sup>2</sup>	0.43	0.58	0.57	0.58
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A6. Results using Random Effects

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Baseline	Trade	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
$\Delta$ Trade (% GDP)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.04*** (0.01)		
Trade (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)		
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>			0.06** (0.02)	
$\Delta$ Imports (% GDP)				0.06** (0.02)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>				-0.02 (0.02)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.07*** (0.03)
GDP per capita (Log)		0.02 (0.43)	0.01 (0.44)	-0.01 (0.43)
Unemployment Rate (%)		0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)
Age Dependency Ratio		0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)
Capital Account Openness		0.01 (0.11)	0.01 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.11)
External Risk	0.07 (0.04)	0.11* (0.01)	0.11* (0.01)	0.11* (0.06)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	0.69** (0.33)	0.32 (0.44)	0.31 (0.45)	0.32 (0.46)
Openness Legacy (Sachs-Warner)		0.38 (0.55)	0.29 (0.48)	0.49 (0.61)
Under IMF Program		-0.19 (0.36)	-0.15 (0.37)	-0.25 (0.35)
Latin America Indicator	-0.40 (0.31)	-0.58 (0.64)	-0.55 (0.59)	-0.55 (0.65)
Constant	-0.21 (0.57)	-0.24 (4.60)	-0.52 (4.67)	0.16 (4.64)
$\sigma_u$	0.004	0.01	0.01	0.01
$\sigma_e$	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
$\rho$	0.16	0.57	0.59	0.54
N	129	108	108	108
R <sup>2</sup>	0.20	0.24	0.21	0.58

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A7. Results excluding Latin American countries from sample

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.79*** (0.13)	-0.75*** (0.13)
Δ Exports (% GDP)	0.15*** (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	0.13** (0.05)	
Δ Imports (% GDP)		0.14* (0.08)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>		0.10 (0.06)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.08 (0.06)
GDP per capita (Log)	1.23 (3.43)	-2.48 (4.27)
Unemployment Rate (%)	0.45** (0.16)	0.41* (0.22)
Age Dependency Ratio	-0.29 (0.56)	-0.05 (0.59)
Capital Account Openness	0.29 (0.51)	-0.04 (0.36)
External Risk	0.11 (0.07)	0.15* (0.08)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	47.32*** (9.60)	39.98*** (10.48)
Openness Legacy (Sachs-Warner)	9.45 (8.89)	7.54 (9.97)
Under IMF Program	-0.61 (0.84)	-0.27 (0.95)
N	63	63
R <sup>2</sup>	0.69	0.78
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A8. Trade Openness and Public Employment in the Developing World (LDC Baseline model)

DV = Change in Public Employment

Variable	Exports	Imports
Level of Public Employment <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.49*** (0.16)	-0.45*** (0.14)
Δ Exports (% GDP)	0.06* (0.03)	
Exports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>	0.03 (0.03)	
Δ Imports (% GDP)		0.06 (0.04)
Imports (% GDP) <sub>t-1</sub>		-0.01 (0.03)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)
External Risk	0.19** (0.08)	0.22** (0.09)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	0.33 (0.29)	0.16 (0.34)
N	130	130
R <sup>2</sup>	0.58	0.59
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

*Note:* \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Country and year fixed effects excluded to preserve space. Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.



Table A9. Civilian Central Government and Trade Openness (With Additional Controls)

Independent Variable	1	2	3
Δ Trade (% GDP)	0.001 (0.04)		
Trade (% GDP)	0.01 (0.01)**		
Δ Exports (% GDP)		0.03 (0.05)	
Exports (% GDP)		0.02 (0.01)**	
Δ Imports (% GDP)			-0.04 (0.07)
Imports (% GDP)			0.03 (0.01)**
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
GDP per capita, Log	-0.10 (0.22)	-0.11 (0.21)	-0.06 (0.21)
Unemployment Rate	0.12 (0.04)***	0.13 (0.04)***	0.12 (0.04)***
Age Dependency Ratio	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.06)
Capital Account Openness	0.09 (0.09)	0.10 (0.10)	0.0457 (0.10)
External Risk	-0.15 (0.06)***	-0.16 (0.06)***	-0.13 (0.05)**
Democracy (Dichotomous)	0.37 (0.32)	0.41 (0.33)	0.28 (0.30)
Openness Legacy (Sachs-Warner)	0.11 (0.34)	0.22 (0.35)	0.12 (0.37)
Under IMF Program	0.66 (0.36)*	0.64 (0.35)	0.71 (0.36)
Constant	3.20 (3.34)	2.99 (3.06)	3.34 (3.45)
N	51	51	51
R <sup>2</sup>	0.52	0.54	0.50
Country Fixed Effects	No	No	No
Year Fixed Effects	No	No	No

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A10. SOE Employment and Trade Openness (With Additional Controls)

Independent Variable	1	2	3
$\Delta$ Trade (% GDP)	-0.37 (0.34)***		
Trade (% GDP)	0.03 (0.02)**		
$\Delta$ Exports (% GDP)		-0.33 (0.17)*	
Exports (% GDP)		-0.01 (0.04)	
$\Delta$ Imports (% GDP)			-0.45 (0.20)**
Imports (% GDP)			0.07 (0.05)
Growth of GDP per capita	0.18 (0.09)*	0.49 (0.21)**	0.11 (0.14)
GDP per capita, Log	-0.65 (0.36)*	-0.45 (0.35)	-0.66 (0.39)
Unemployment Rate	-0.03 (0.08)	0.14 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.11)
Age Dependency Ratio	-0.50 (0.10)***	-0.38 (0.12)***	-0.51 (0.16)***
Capital Account Openness	0.46 (0.23)*	0.38 (0.29)	0.24 (0.26)
External Risk	-0.24 (0.05)***	-0.21 (0.09)**	-0.30 (0.08)***
Democracy (Dichotomous)	-0.89 (0.59)	-0.54 (0.64)	-1.81 (0.85)**
Openness Legacy (Sachs-Warner)	-0.58 (0.55)	-0.73 (0.84)	-0.77 (0.54)
Under IMF Program	1.59 (0.68)**	1.50 (0.92)	1.48 (0.83)*
Constant	24.89*** (5.80)	18.17*** (6.11)	25.58*** (8.25)
N	22	22	22
R <sup>2</sup>	0.90	0.84	0.83
Country Fixed Effects	No	No	No
Year Fixed Effects	No	No	No

Note: \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

**Table A11. Public Employment's Effect on Support for Trade (Multilevel model with random effects)**

Variable	Full Sample	By Social Class		
		Lower	Middle	Upper
Total Public	0.68***	0.65***	0.69***	0.61**
Employment	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Social Spending	0.01	0.001	0.01	0.01
(% GDP)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Married?	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.03*	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
No. Children	-0.001	-0.01	-0.002	0.02
	(0.004)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
R's Age	-0.06***	-0.03*	-0.07***	-0.07***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Female	-0.01	-0.04*	-0.03**	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Social Class	0.02***			
	(0.01)			
Chief Wage	0.04***	0.03	0.03*	0.06*
Earner Employed	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Education Level	0.04***	0.01	0.04***	0.04**
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Constant	0.02	0.14	0.09	0.07
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.15)
No. Observations	11385	1393	8217	1775
No. Countries	15	15	15	15
Random Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Note:* \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests). Standard errors reported in parentheses are corrected for clustering by country.

**Table A12. Public Employment's Effect on Riots and Demonstrations**

Independent Variable	1	2	3
Total Public Employment	-1.03 (1.41)		
Civilian Central Govt Employment		-0.96*** (0.36)	
State-owned Enterprise Employment			1.67* (1.01)
GDP per capita, Log	-0.28 (0.29)	0.35* (0.19)	-0.56 (0.88)
Growth of GDP per capita	-0.08** (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)	-1.26* (0.73)
Democracy (Dichotomous)	-0.33 (0.38)	0.08 (0.39)	2.40 (2.49)
$\Delta$ Imports (% GDP)	0.02** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.14** (0.06)
Imports (% GDP)t-1	0.003 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.09)
Constant	2.63 (2.38)	-1.59 (1.34)	0.69 (5.37)
No of Observations	163	37	12
R2	0.22	0.21	0.21
Country Fixed Effects	No	No	No
Year Fixed Effects	No	No	No

Note: \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*  $p < 0.10$  (two-tailed tests). Robust standard errors corrected for clustering by country are reported in parentheses.

Table A13. Public Employment and Poverty in the Developing World (LDCs)

Independent Variable	Immunization	Infant Mortality
Public Employment	-21.478 (13.913)	31.273** (13.356)
Trade (% GDP)	0.100 (0.064)	-0.062 (0.061)
Democracy	-19.419*** (5.802)	-0.953 (5.570)
Spending (% GDP)	74.105* (40.277)	-12.947 (38.664)
GDP per cap Growth	-0.900 (1.435)	-1.319 (1.378)
GDP per capita, Log	-0.876 (7.405)	-13.746* (7.108)
Urbanization rate	-0.404 (14.427)	-0.785 (13.849)
Population Under 14	-1.593** (0.637)	0.373 (0.611)
Aid (% Govt Spending)	0.079 (0.327)	0.144 (0.313)
Constant	137.786*** (46.982)	132.594*** (45.100)
No. of Observations	29	29
No. of Countries	29	29

*Note #1:* \*\*\* p<0.01; \*\* p<0.05; \* p<0.10 (two-tailed tests).

*Note #2:* The results hold if we estimate a pared-down model that controls only for public employment, GDP per capita, and economic growth, increasing confidence that the null effect for public employment is not just due to too few degrees of freedom (GDP per capita and economic growth are both significant and negatively correlated with poverty). Results available by request.