Dongkyu Kim, Mi-son Kim, and Cesar Villegas, Organized Labor Strikes and

Social Spending in Latin America: The Synchronizing Effect of Mass Protest. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 62, no.2 (Summer 2020).

**Online Appendix**

Table A.1. Labor Strikes versus Labor Strikes: The Concurrency of Mass Protests

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Social Security/Welfare Spending* | | *Human Capital Spending* | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| D Trade openness | 0.007\* | 0.006 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| L Trade openness | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.004 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| D FDI | -0.023 | -0.027\* | -0.022 | -0.022 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.015) | (0.020) | (0.020) |
| L FDI | -0.044\*\*\* | -0.049\*\*\* | -0.025 | -0.022 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.020) | (0.020) |
| D Log Inflation | -0.095\*\* | -0.096\*\* | -0.133\*\*\* | -0.141\*\*\* |
|  | (0.043) | (0.041) | (0.040) | (0.040) |
| L Log Inflation | -0.057\* | -0.072\*\* | -0.030 | -0.038 |
|  | (0.034) | (0.031) | (0.032) | (0.032) |
| D Log GDP | -2.130\* | -2.162\*\* | -0.371 | -0.414 |
|  | (1.113) | (0.981) | (0.699) | (0.699) |
| L Log GDP | -0.461\*\* | -0.437\* | -0.313\* | -0.328\*\* |
|  | (0.212) | (0.230) | (0.166) | (0.164) |
| D Urban population | -0.260\*\*\* | -0.279\*\*\* | -0.505\*\*\* | -0.509\*\*\* |
|  | (0.084) | (0.089) | (0.181) | (0.185) |
| L Urban population | 0.055\*\*\* | 0.058\*\*\* | 0.025 | 0.027\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.016) |
| D Aged (Youth) population | -0.731 | -0.080 | -0.029 | 0.050 |
|  | (1.292) | (1.377) | (0.330) | (0.318) |
| L Aged (Youth) population | 0.177 | 0.148 | 0.087\*\*\* | 0.086\*\*\* |
|  | (0.166) | (0.174) | (0.021) | (0.021) |
| D Democracy | 0.062 | -0.091 | **0.315\*\*** | 0.153 |
|  | (0.156) | (0.163) | (0.134) | (0.146) |
| L Democracy | -0.163 | -0.321\*\*\* | 0.167 | 0.154 |
|  | (0.106) | (0.117) | (0.129) | (0.151) |
| D Strikes-only | -0.023 | 0.092 | -0.049 | 0.050 |
|  | (0.081) | (0.153) | (0.056) | (0.168) |
| L Strikes-only | 0.010 | 0.021 | -0.042 | 0.373 |
|  | (0.113) | (0.230) | (0.080) | (0.248) |
| D Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.052 | -0.192 | -0.032 | -0.351\* |
|  | (0.075) | (0.167) | (0.063) | (0.187) |
| L Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.084 | **-0.715\*\*\*** | 0.037 | -0.140 |
|  | (0.097) | (0.241) | (0.092) | (0.285) |
| D Strikes-with-riots | -0.001 | **-0.237\*\*\*** | 0.076 | **-0.282\*** |
|  | (0.192) | (0.075) | (0.139) | (0.171) |
| L Strikes-with-riots | 0.384 | **-0.352\*\*\*** | -0.007 | **-0.421\*** |
|  | (0.291) | (0.115) | (0.189) | (0.248) |
| D Strikes-both-protests | -0.049 | **-0.188\*\*** | 0.014 | -0.024 |
|  | (0.056) | (0.089) | (0.068) | (0.085) |
| L Strikes-both-protests | 0.083 | **-0.346\*\*\*** | 0.196\*\* | 0.041 |
|  | (0.077) | (0.134) | (0.084) | (0.113) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-only |  | -0.148 |  | -0.087 |
|  |  | (0.175) |  | (0.182) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-only |  | 0.016 |  | -0.461\* |
|  |  | (0.245) |  | (0.262) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-demonstrations |  | 0.240 |  | **0.373\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.182) |  | (0.190) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-demonstrations |  | **0.824\*\*\*** |  | 0.215 |
|  |  | (0.254) |  | (0.293) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-with-riots |  | 0.326 |  | **0.638\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.299) |  | (0.258) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-with-riots |  | **1.275\*\*\*** |  | **0.652\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.418) |  | (0.330) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-both-protests |  | 0.185 |  | 0.018 |
|  |  | (0.122) |  | (0.129) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-both-protests |  | **0.617\*\*\*** |  | 0.159 |
|  |  | (0.169) |  | (0.167) |
| D Demonstrations | -0.019 | -0.037 | -0.013 | 0.006 |
|  | (0.023) | (0.024) | (0.025) | (0.029) |
| L Demonstrations | -0.026 | -0.038 | -0.056\* | -0.020 |
|  | (0.030) | (0.039) | (0.032) | (0.039) |
| D Riots | -0.013 | -0.002 | 0.078 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.036) | (0.044) | (0.050) | (0.067) |
| L Riots | **-0.135\*\*\*** | 0.041 | 0.018 | -0.047 |
|  | (0.046) | (0.056) | (0.067) | (0.080) |
| D Democracy × D Demonstrations |  | 0.047 |  | -0.026 |
|  |  | (0.039) |  | (0.044) |
| L Democracy × L Demonstrations |  | 0.062 |  | -0.042 |
|  |  | (0.048) |  | (0.055) |
| D Democracy × D Riots |  | -0.006 |  | 0.138 |
|  |  | (0.080) |  | (0.092) |
| L Democracy × L Riots |  | **-0.318\*\*\*** |  | 0.148 |
|  |  | (0.097) |  | (0.122) |
| L Dependent variable | -0.161\*\*\* | -0.156\*\*\* | -0.215\*\*\* | -0.220\*\*\* |
|  | (0.040) | (0.038) | (0.030) | (0.031) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 563 | 563 | 596 | 596 |
| R-squared | 0.233 | 0.276 | 0.237 | 0.253 |
| Number of countries | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |

Note: All models are estimated with both country and year fixed effects; The “Aged (Youth) population” variable is aged population ratio for social security/welfare equation and youth population ratio for human capital spending; “L” refers to a one-year lag and “D” a first difference; Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.2. Labor Strikes versus Labor Strikes: The Concurrency of Mass Protests (Long Run Multipliers)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Social Security/Welfare Spending* | | *Human Capital Spending* | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| L Trade openness | 0.007 | 0.006 | 0.020 | 0.022 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.014) | (0.014) |
| L FDI | -0.266\* | -0.306\*\* | -0.099 | -0.098 |
|  | (0.143) | (0.150) | (0.118) | (0.119) |
| L Log Inflation | -0.399\* | -0.507\*\* | -0.140 | -0.164 |
|  | (0.220) | (0.231) | (0.179) | (0.188) |
| L Log GDP | -4.136\*\* | -4.107\*\* | -0.729 | -1.043 |
|  | (1.721) | (1.791) | (1.223) | (1.279) |
| L Urban population | 0.272\*\* | 0.304\*\* | 0.140 | 0.137 |
|  | (0.120) | (0.125) | (0.089) | (0.091) |
| L Aged (Youth) population | 0.860 | 0.713 | 0.471\*\*\* | 0.421\*\*\* |
|  | (0.839) | (0.865) | (0.137) | (0.137) |
| L Democracy | -0.959 | -1.953\*\* | 0.818 | 0.682 |
|  | (0.737) | (0.933) | (0.597) | (0.718) |
| L Strikes-only | 0.120 | 0.251 |  | 1.653 |
|  | (0.668) | (1.710) |  | (1.429) |
| L Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.553 | -4.481\* |  | -0.569 |
|  | (0.672) | (2.599) |  | (2.084) |
| L Strikes-with-riots | 2.303\* | -2.118 |  | -1.918 |
|  | (1.364) | (2.090) |  | (1.703) |
| L Strikes-both-protests | 0.486 | -2.244\* |  | 0.205 |
|  | (0.735) | (1.335) |  | (1.041) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-only |  | 0.020 |  | -2.061 |
|  |  | (1.849) |  | (1.554) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-demonstrations |  | **5.198\*** |  | 0.900 |
|  |  | (2.670) |  | (2.131) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-with-riots |  | **7.814\*\*** |  | 2.962 |
|  |  | (3.052) |  | (2.223) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-both-protests |  | **3.976\*\*** |  | 0.703 |
|  |  | (1.725) |  | (1.273) |
| L Demonstrations | -0.191 | -0.272 |  | -0.080 |
|  | (0.230) | (0.346) |  | (0.275) |
| L Riots | -0.789 | 0.329 |  | -0.208 |
|  | (0.546) | (0.715) |  | (0.572) |
| L Democracy × L Demonstrations |  | 0.392 |  | -0.188 |
|  |  | (0.470) |  | (0.370) |
| L Democracy × L Riots |  | -2.112\* |  | 0.662 |
|  |  | (1.172) |  | (0.790) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 563 | 563 | 596 | 596 |

Note: All models are estimated with both country and year fixed effects; The “Aged (Youth) population” variable is aged population ratio for social security/welfare equation and youth population ratio for human capital spending; “L” refers to a one-year lag and “D” a first difference; Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.3. Labor Strikes versus Labor Strikes: The Concurrency of Mass Protests (with the CGV)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Social Security/Welfare Spending* | | *Human Capital Spending* | |
|  | Model 5 | Model 6 | Model 7 | Model 8 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| D Trade openness | 0.008\* | 0.007 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| L Trade openness | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| D FDI | -0.021 | -0.027\* | -0.024 | -0.024 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.015) | (0.020) | (0.020) |
| L FDI | -0.041\*\* | -0.044\*\*\* | -0.028 | -0.026 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.019) | (0.019) |
| D Log Inflation | -0.098\*\* | -0.094\*\* | -0.128\*\*\* | -0.128\*\*\* |
|  | (0.044) | (0.041) | (0.040) | (0.040) |
| L Log Inflation | -0.059\* | -0.067\*\* | -0.017 | -0.030 |
|  | (0.035) | (0.032) | (0.034) | (0.035) |
| D Log GDP | -2.213\* | -2.239\*\* | -0.317 | -0.352 |
|  | (1.138) | (1.051) | (0.711) | (0.697) |
| L Log GDP | -0.444\*\* | -0.395\* | -0.300\* | -0.352\*\* |
|  | (0.217) | (0.234) | (0.165) | (0.158) |
| D Urban population | -0.243\*\*\* | -0.196\*\* | -0.561\*\*\* | -0.527\*\*\* |
|  | (0.083) | (0.087) | (0.187) | (0.192) |
| L Urban population | 0.054\*\*\* | 0.054\*\*\* | 0.025 | 0.026 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.016) |
| D Aged (Youth) population | -0.573 | 0.253 | 0.011 | 0.099 |
|  | (1.336) | (1.409) | (0.327) | (0.317) |
| L Aged (Youth) population | 0.160 | 0.114 | 0.081\*\*\* | 0.094\*\*\* |
|  | (0.163) | (0.174) | (0.021) | (0.022) |
| D CGV (democracy) | 0.187 | 0.134 | 0.475\*\*\* | 0.317\* |
|  | (0.209) | (0.224) | (0.148) | (0.166) |
| L CGV (democracy) | -0.127 | -0.265\* | 0.319\*\* | 0.254\* |
|  | (0.122) | (0.149) | (0.135) | (0.153) |
| D Strikes-only | -0.022 | 0.150 | -0.059 | -0.076 |
|  | (0.078) | (0.286) | (0.056) | (0.213) |
| L Strikes-only | 0.014 | 0.126 | -0.052 | 0.416 |
|  | (0.110) | (0.410) | (0.079) | (0.304) |
| D Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.046 | -0.185 | -0.051 | -0.636\*\*\* |
|  | (0.075) | (0.227) | (0.062) | (0.212) |
| L Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.076 | -0.932\*\* | 0.006 | -0.333 |
|  | (0.098) | (0.385) | (0.091) | (0.304) |
| D Strikes-with-riots | -0.006 | -0.202 | 0.038 | -0.680\* |
|  | (0.193) | (0.131) | (0.141) | (0.384) |
| L Strikes-with-riots | 0.382 | -0.501\*\*\* | -0.081 | -1.187\*\* |
|  | (0.293) | (0.185) | (0.196) | (0.553) |
| D Strikes-both-protests | -0.043 | -0.174\* | 0.018 | -0.023 |
|  | (0.057) | (0.095) | (0.068) | (0.087) |
| L Strikes-both-protests | 0.088 | -0.332\*\* | 0.202\*\* | 0.049 |
|  | (0.081) | (0.140) | (0.083) | (0.115) |
| D CGV × D Strikes-only |  | -0.204 |  | 0.051 |
|  |  | (0.298) |  | (0.224) |
| L CGV × L Strikes-only |  | -0.112 |  | -0.467 |
|  |  | (0.409) |  | (0.313) |
| D CGV × D Strikes-demonstrations |  | 0.220 |  | **0.663\*\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.240) |  | (0.214) |
| L CGV × L Strikes-demonstrations |  | **1.022\*\*\*** |  | 0.387 |
|  |  | (0.396) |  | (0.314) |
| D CGV × D Strikes-with-riots |  | 0.258 |  | **0.821\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.233) |  | (0.404) |
| L CGV × L Strikes-with-riots |  | **1.144\*\*\*** |  | **1.241\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.346) |  | (0.572) |
| D CGV × D Strikes-both-protests |  | 0.176 |  | 0.018 |
|  |  | (0.127) |  | (0.130) |
| L CGV × L Strikes-both-protests |  | **0.604\*\*\*** |  | 0.166 |
|  |  | (0.172) |  | (0.170) |
| D Demonstrations | -0.018 | -0.026 | -0.009 | 0.018 |
|  | (0.024) | (0.031) | (0.025) | (0.029) |
| L Demonstrations | -0.027 | -0.041 | -0.052\* | -0.016 |
|  | (0.032) | (0.045) | (0.031) | (0.040) |
| D Riots | -0.012 | -0.033 | 0.073 | -0.016 |
|  | (0.037) | (0.051) | (0.050) | (0.071) |
| L Riots | -0.129\*\*\* | 0.038 | 0.016 | -0.055 |
|  | (0.050) | (0.067) | (0.067) | (0.084) |
| D CGV × D Demonstrations |  | 0.027 |  | -0.047 |
|  |  | (0.042) |  | (0.044) |
| L CGV × L Demonstrations |  | 0.053 |  | -0.039 |
|  |  | (0.049) |  | (0.052) |
| D CGV × D Riots |  | 0.003 |  | 0.156\* |
|  |  | (0.075) |  | (0.093) |
| L CGV × L Riots |  | -0.303\*\*\* |  | 0.138 |
|  |  | (0.100) |  | (0.113) |
| L Dependent variable | -0.158\*\*\* | -0.145\*\*\* | -0.216\*\*\* | -0.229\*\*\* |
|  | (0.039) | (0.040) | (0.030) | (0.030) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 563 | 563 | 596 | 596 |
| R-squared | 0.234 | 0.271 | 0.243 | 0.263 |
| Number of countries | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |

Note: All models are estimated with both country and year fixed effects; The “Aged (Youth) population” variable is aged population ratio for social security/welfare equation and youth population ratio for human capital spending; “L” refers to a one-year lag and “D” a first difference; Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.4. Labor Strikes versus Labor Strikes: The Concurrency of Mass Protests with Mainwaring, Brinks, and Pérez-Liñán (2007)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Social Security/Welfare Spending* | | *Human Capital Spending* | |
|  | Model 9 | Model 10 | Model 11 | Model 12 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| D Trade openness | 0.008\* | 0.006 | 0.005 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| L Trade openness | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.004 | 0.005\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| D FDI | -0.022 | -0.030\*\* | -0.023 | -0.021 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.015) | (0.020) | (0.020) |
| L FDI | -0.043\*\* | -0.050\*\*\* | -0.028 | -0.022 |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.019) | (0.020) |
| D Log Inflation | -0.100\*\* | -0.102\*\* | -0.129\*\*\* | -0.131\*\*\* |
|  | (0.044) | (0.041) | (0.040) | (0.040) |
| L Log Inflation | -0.061\* | -0.075\*\* | -0.020 | -0.032 |
|  | (0.034) | (0.030) | (0.034) | (0.033) |
| D Log GDP | -2.178\* | -2.134\*\* | -0.302 | -0.283 |
|  | (1.141) | (0.998) | (0.698) | (0.692) |
| L Log GDP | -0.452\*\* | -0.401\* | -0.316\*\* | -0.361\*\* |
|  | (0.213) | (0.222) | (0.161) | (0.161) |
| D Urban population | -0.266\*\*\* | -0.250\*\*\* | -0.533\*\*\* | -0.529\*\*\* |
|  | (0.083) | (0.088) | (0.180) | (0.184) |
| L Urban population | 0.054\*\*\* | 0.055\*\*\* | 0.025 | 0.030\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.016) | (0.015) |
| D Aged (Youth) population | -0.531 | 0.305 | 0.095 | 0.148 |
|  | (1.304) | (1.323) | (0.326) | (0.325) |
| L Aged (Youth) population | 0.177 | 0.132 | 0.084\*\*\* | 0.086\*\*\* |
|  | (0.160) | (0.165) | (0.021) | (0.021) |
| D MBP (democracy) | 0.115 | -0.003 | 0.546\*\*\* | 0.353\*\* |
|  | (0.199) | (0.217) | (0.150) | (0.164) |
| L MBP (democracy) | -0.157 | -0.278\* | 0.361\*\* | 0.307\*\* |
|  | (0.143) | (0.155) | (0.147) | (0.156) |
| D Strikes-only | -0.020 | 0.105 | -0.056 | -0.072 |
|  | (0.076) | (0.332) | (0.056) | (0.242) |
| L Strikes-only | 0.014 | -0.139 | -0.048 | 0.533 |
|  | (0.108) | (0.491) | (0.079) | (0.341) |
| D Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.046 | -0.215 | -0.053 | -0.734\*\*\* |
|  | (0.074) | (0.268) | (0.062) | (0.252) |
| L Strikes-with-demonstrations | 0.080 | -1.099\*\*\* | 0.012 | -0.272 |
|  | (0.096) | (0.372) | (0.089) | (0.366) |
| D Strikes-with-riots | -0.004 | -0.204\*\*\* | 0.065 | -0.342\*\* |
|  | (0.197) | (0.077) | (0.136) | (0.164) |
| L Strikes-with-riots | 0.374 | -0.329\*\*\* | -0.036 | -0.479\*\* |
|  | (0.296) | (0.104) | (0.187) | (0.244) |
| D Strikes-both-protests | -0.048 | -0.168\* | 0.018 | -0.035 |
|  | (0.057) | (0.096) | (0.067) | (0.085) |
| L Strikes-both-protests | 0.083 | -0.332\*\* | 0.206\*\* | 0.059 |
|  | (0.078) | (0.145) | (0.084) | (0.111) |
| D MBP × D Strikes-only |  | -0.150 |  | 0.048 |
|  |  | (0.336) |  | (0.252) |
| L MBP × L Strikes-only |  | 0.180 |  | -0.600\* |
|  |  | (0.487) |  | (0.352) |
| D MBP × D Strikes-demonstrations |  | 0.245 |  | **0.734\*\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.280) |  | (0.253) |
| L MBP × L Strikes-demonstrations |  | **1.182\*\*\*** |  | 0.315 |
|  |  | (0.370) |  | (0.372) |
| D MBP × D Strikes-with-riots |  | 0.293 |  | **0.702\*\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.309) |  | (0.257) |
| L MBP × L Strikes-with-riots |  | **1.229\*\*\*** |  | **0.695\*\*** |
|  |  | (0.427) |  | (0.334) |
| D MBP × D Strikes-both-protests |  | 0.172 |  | 0.041 |
|  |  | (0.127) |  | (0.128) |
| L MBP × L Strikes-both-protests |  | **0.611\*\*\*** |  | 0.159 |
|  |  | (0.177) |  | (0.161) |
| D Demonstrations | -0.014 | -0.031 | -0.010 | -0.017 |
|  | (0.022) | (0.033) | (0.024) | (0.031) |
| L Demonstrations | -0.020 | -0.028 | -0.057\*\* | -0.051 |
|  | (0.029) | (0.046) | (0.029) | (0.041) |
| D Riots | -0.016 | -0.008 | 0.079 | 0.033 |
|  | (0.038) | (0.053) | (0.050) | (0.075) |
| L Riots | -0.138\*\*\* | 0.035 | 0.033 | 0.016 |
|  | (0.051) | (0.070) | (0.066) | (0.089) |
| D MBP × D Demonstrations |  | 0.039 |  | 0.013 |
|  |  | (0.042) |  | (0.044) |
| L MBP × L Demonstrations |  | 0.042 |  | 0.007 |
|  |  | (0.050) |  | (0.056) |
| D MBP × D Riots |  | -0.010 |  | 0.068 |
|  |  | (0.078) |  | (0.097) |
| L MBP × L Riots |  | -0.302\*\*\* |  | 0.049 |
|  |  | (0.102) |  | (0.127) |
| L Dependent variable | -0.161\*\*\* | -0.155\*\*\* | -0.215\*\*\* | -0.218\*\*\* |
|  | (0.039) | (0.038) | (0.030) | (0.030) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 563 | 563 | 596 | 596 |
| R-squared | 0.233 | 0.278 | 0.245 | 0.265 |
| Number of countries | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |

Note: All models are estimated with both country and year fixed effects; The “Aged (Youth) population” variable is aged population ratio for social security/welfare equation and youth population ratio for human capital spending; “L” refers to a one-year lag and “D” a first difference; Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.5. Sensitivity Analysis: Labor Strikes versus Labor Strikes

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Social security & welfare spending | | | | | |
|  | Model 13 | Model 14 | Model 15 | Model 16 | Model 17 | Model 18 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| D Trade openness | 0.006 | 0.010\*\* | 0.005 | 0.010\*\* | 0.010\*\* | 0.010\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.004) |
| L Trade openness | 0.001 | 0.001 | -0.000 | -0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| D FDI | -0.027\* | -0.042\*\* | -0.024 | -0.032\* | -0.034\*\* | -0.015 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.017) | (0.016) | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.014) |
| L FDI | -0.049\*\*\* | -0.051\*\*\* | -0.046\*\*\* | -0.052\*\* | -0.058\*\*\* |  |
|  | (0.017) | (0.020) | (0.018) | (0.022) | (0.021) |  |
| D Log Inflation | -0.096\*\* | -0.052 | -0.088\*\* | -0.068\*\* | -0.049 | -0.043 |
|  | (0.041) | (0.038) | (0.041) | (0.031) | (0.039) | (0.039) |
| L Log Inflation | -0.072\*\* | -0.039 | -0.055\* | -0.056\*\* | -0.049 | -0.038 |
|  | (0.031) | (0.030) | (0.032) | (0.026) | (0.032) | (0.031) |
| D Log GDP | -2.162\*\* | -1.838\* | -2.275\*\* | -1.691\*\* | -1.802\* | -2.084\* |
|  | (0.981) | (1.078) | (0.997) | (0.684) | (1.071) | (1.072) |
| L Log GDP | -0.437\* | -0.275 | -0.337 | -0.230 | -0.356 | -0.276 |
|  | (0.230) | (0.250) | (0.218) | (0.260) | (0.282) | (0.281) |
| D Urban population | -0.279\*\*\* | -0.232\*\*\* | -0.309\*\*\* | -0.109 | -0.148 | -0.154\* |
|  | (0.089) | (0.086) | (0.092) | (0.099) | (0.100) | (0.091) |
| L Urban population | 0.058\*\*\* | 0.053\*\*\* | 0.053\*\*\* | 0.054\*\*\* | 0.051\*\*\* | 0.050\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.015) | (0.017) | (0.015) | (0.017) | (0.017) |
| D Aged population | -0.080 | 0.805 | -0.587 | 1.866 | 0.289 | 0.733 |
|  | (1.377) | (1.462) | (1.484) | (1.665) | (1.578) | (1.550) |
| L Aged population | 0.148 | -0.021 | 0.078 | -0.114 | 0.039 | -0.016 |
|  | (0.174) | (0.188) | (0.165) | (0.204) | (0.206) | (0.206) |
| D Democracy (Polity IV) | -0.091 | -0.195 | -0.066 | -0.261\* | -0.218 | -0.205 |
|  | (0.163) | (0.168) | (0.172) | (0.156) | (0.181) | (0.172) |
| L Democracy (Polity IV) | -0.321\*\*\* | -0.319\*\* | -0.399\*\*\* | -0.329\*\*\* | -0.372\*\*\* | -0.324\*\* |
|  | (0.117) | (0.132) | (0.124) | (0.128) | (0.132) | (0.131) |
| D Strikes-only | 0.092 | 0.176 | 0.107 | 0.153 | 0.152 | 0.177 |
|  | (0.153) | (0.148) | (0.156) | (0.154) | (0.155) | (0.154) |
| L Strikes-only | 0.021 | 0.243 | 0.055 | 0.249 | 0.206 | 0.229 |
|  | (0.230) | (0.204) | (0.233) | (0.224) | (0.220) | (0.217) |
| D Strikes-with-demonstrations | -0.192 | -0.148 | -0.213 | -0.209 | -0.355\* | -0.175 |
|  | (0.167) | (0.188) | (0.176) | (0.183) | (0.208) | (0.182) |
| L Strikes-with-demonstrations | -0.715\*\*\* | -0.656\*\* | -0.769\*\*\* | -0.798\*\*\* | -0.794\*\*\* | -0.703\*\*\* |
|  | (0.241) | (0.271) | (0.254) | (0.264) | (0.297) | (0.259) |
| D Strikes-with-riots | **-0.237\*\*\*** | **-0.236\*\*\*** | **-0.218\*\*\*** | **-0.220\*\*** | **-0.169** | **-0.267\*\*\*** |
|  | (0.075) | (0.073) | (0.081) | (0.093) | (0.126) | (0.093) |
| L Strikes-with-riots | **-0.352\*\*\*** | **-0.350\*\*\*** | **-0.360\*\*\*** | **-0.363\*\*** | **-0.303\*\*** | **-0.420\*\*\*** |
|  | (0.115) | (0.109) | (0.126) | (0.151) | (0.151) | (0.136) |
| D Strikes-both-protests | -0.188\*\* | -0.040 | -0.025 | -0.014 | -0.012 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.089) | (0.083) | (0.096) | (0.078) | (0.082) | (0.081) |
| L Strikes-both-protests | **-0.346\*\*\*** | **-0.248\*\*** | **-0.229\*** | **-0.210\*\*** | **-0.213\*** | **-0.200\*** |
|  | (0.134) | (0.123) | (0.135) | (0.106) | (0.121) | (0.120) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-only | -0.148 | -0.253 | -0.162 | -0.238 | -0.214 | -0.251 |
|  | (0.175) | (0.174) | (0.179) | (0.181) | (0.181) | (0.180) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-only | 0.016 | -0.244 | -0.008 | -0.233 | -0.163 | -0.204 |
|  | (0.245) | (0.224) | (0.248) | (0.242) | (0.239) | (0.236) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-demonstrations | 0.240 | 0.193 | 0.253 | 0.217 | 0.400\* | 0.212 |
|  | (0.182) | (0.206) | (0.188) | (0.194) | (0.225) | (0.199) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-demonstrations | **0.824\*\*\*** | **0.789\*\*\*** | **0.876\*\*\*** | **0.925\*\*\*** | **0.937\*\*\*** | **0.818\*\*\*** |
|  | (0.254) | (0.288) | (0.260) | (0.271) | (0.308) | (0.272) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-with-riots | 0.326 | 0.334 | 0.251 | 0.274\* | 0.234 | 0.365 |
|  | (0.299) | (0.300) | (0.308) | (0.160) | (0.328) | (0.307) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-with-riots | **1.275\*\*\*** | **1.084\*\*\*** | **1.179\*\*\*** | **0.962\*\*\*** | **1.032\*\*** | **1.208\*\*\*** |
|  | (0.418) | (0.417) | (0.429) | (0.254) | (0.445) | (0.418) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-both-protests | 0.185 | 0.008 | -0.001 | -0.013 | -0.028 | -0.034 |
|  | (0.122) | (0.110) | (0.121) | (0.112) | (0.110) | (0.111) |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-both-protests | **0.617\*\*\*** | **0.402\*\*\*** | **0.465\*\*\*** | **0.381\*\*\*** | **0.375\*\*** | **0.353\*\*** |
|  | (0.169) | (0.153) | (0.166) | (0.147) | (0.156) | (0.156) |
| D Demonstrations | -0.037 | -0.046\* | -0.054\*\* | -0.047\*\* | -0.040 | -0.048\* |
|  | (0.024) | (0.025) | (0.025) | (0.023) | (0.029) | (0.026) |
| L Demonstrations | -0.038 | -0.065 | -0.049 | -0.060\* | -0.074 | -0.067\* |
|  | (0.039) | (0.040) | (0.040) | (0.033) | (0.045) | (0.040) |
| D Riots | -0.002 | 0.005 | -0.023 | 0.019 | -0.006 | 0.017 |
|  | (0.044) | (0.048) | (0.046) | (0.047) | (0.051) | (0.046) |
| L Riots | 0.041 | 0.054 | 0.034 | 0.063 | 0.059 | 0.070 |
|  | (0.056) | (0.061) | (0.061) | (0.064) | (0.071) | (0.058) |
| D Democracy × D Demonstrations | 0.047 | 0.050 | 0.070\* | 0.073\* | 0.045 | 0.057 |
|  | (0.039) | (0.041) | (0.040) | (0.039) | (0.044) | (0.042) |
| L Democracy × L Demonstrations | 0.062 | 0.073 | 0.076 | 0.076 | 0.083 | 0.085 |
|  | (0.048) | (0.053) | (0.051) | (0.052) | (0.057) | (0.055) |
| D Democracy × D Riots | -0.006 | -0.011 | 0.045 | -0.024 | 0.017 | -0.021 |
|  | (0.080) | (0.091) | (0.081) | (0.084) | (0.089) | (0.086) |
| L Democracy × L Riots | -0.318\*\*\* | -0.089 | -0.222\*\* | -0.077 | -0.077 | -0.113 |
|  | (0.097) | (0.123) | (0.103) | (0.115) | (0.122) | (0.116) |
| D IMF Agreement |  | 0.161\* |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.095) |  |  |  |  |
| L IMF Agreement |  | 0.053 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.065) |  |  |  |  |
| D Age of social security system |  |  | 0.032\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |  |  |  |
| L Age of social security system |  |  | -0.006 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.006) |  |  |  |
| D Debt service |  |  |  | 0.006\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.003) |  |  |
| L Debt service |  |  |  | -0.003 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.003) |  |  |
| D State repression (political terror scale) |  |  |  |  | -0.000 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.060) |  |
| L State repression (political terror scale) |  |  |  |  | -0.005 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.035) |  |
| D Capital account openness |  |  |  |  |  | 0.085 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.064) |
| L Capital account openness |  |  |  |  |  | -0.004 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.043) |
| L Social security & welfare spending | -0.156\*\*\* | -0.138\*\*\* | -0.152\*\*\* | -0.132\*\*\* | -0.137\*\*\* | -0.129\*\*\* |
|  | (0.038) | (0.037) | (0.037) | (0.036) | (0.038) | (0.037) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 563 | 514 | 563 | 496 | 493 | 513 |
| R-squared | 0.276 | 0.249 | 0.299 | 0.272 | 0.249 | 0.243 |
| Number of countries | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |

Note: All models are estimated with both country and year fixed effects; “L” refers to a one-year lag and “D” a first difference; Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A.6. Sensitivity Analysis: A Multicollinearity Issue?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Social security & welfare spending | | | |
|  | Model 19 | Model 20 | Model 21 | Model 22 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| D Trade openness | 0.007 | 0.008\* | 0.007\* | 0.006 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| L Trade openness | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| D FDI | -0.019 | -0.019 | -0.021 | -0.026\* |
|  | (0.015) | (0.016) | (0.014) | (0.015) |
| L FDI | -0.036\*\* | -0.037\*\* | -0.036\*\* | -0.048\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.018) |
| D Log Inflation | -0.103\*\* | -0.107\*\* | -0.105\*\* | -0.103\*\* |
|  | (0.048) | (0.051) | (0.041) | (0.049) |
| L Log Inflation | -0.045 | -0.053 | -0.067\*\* | -0.049 |
|  | (0.039) | (0.043) | (0.033) | (0.040) |
| D Log GDP | -1.925 | -1.864 | -1.801\* | -2.171 |
|  | (1.357) | (1.381) | (1.073) | (1.339) |
| L Log GDP | -0.410\* | -0.420\* | -0.436\*\* | -0.404\* |
|  | (0.222) | (0.240) | (0.220) | (0.232) |
| D Urban population | -0.226\*\*\* | -0.264\*\*\* | -0.213\*\* | -0.264\*\*\* |
|  | (0.080) | (0.085) | (0.085) | (0.082) |
| L Urban population | 0.046\*\* | 0.049\*\*\* | 0.050\*\*\* | 0.046\*\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.019) | (0.017) | (0.018) |
| D Aged (Youth) population | -0.348 | -0.160 | -0.325 | -0.417 |
|  | (1.210) | (1.208) | (1.241) | (1.298) |
| L Aged (Youth) population | 0.191 | 0.198 | 0.201 | 0.184 |
|  | (0.158) | (0.178) | (0.172) | (0.180) |
| D Democracy (Polity IV) | 0.114 | 0.049 | 0.050 | 0.042 |
|  | (0.190) | (0.180) | (0.137) | (0.176) |
| L Democracy (Polity IV) | -0.088 | -0.179 | -0.132 | -0.161 |
|  | (0.130) | (0.130) | (0.102) | (0.133) |
| D Strikes-only | 0.127 |  |  |  |
|  | (0.175) |  |  |  |
| L Strikes-only | -0.005 |  |  |  |
|  | (0.236) |  |  |  |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-only | -0.171 |  |  |  |
|  | (0.193) |  |  |  |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-only | 0.026 |  |  |  |
|  | (0.249) |  |  |  |
| D Strikes-with-demonstrations |  | -0.169 |  |  |
|  |  | (0.186) |  |  |
| L Strikes-with-demonstrations |  | -0.698\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  | (0.256) |  |  |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-demonstrations |  | 0.223 |  |  |
|  |  | (0.201) |  |  |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-demonstrations |  | **0.814\*\*\*** |  |  |
|  |  | **(0.276)** |  |  |
| D Strikes-with-riots |  |  | -0.195\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  | (0.057) |  |
| L Strikes-with-riots |  |  | -0.286\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  | (0.096) |  |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-with-riots |  |  | 0.322 |  |
|  |  |  | (0.316) |  |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-with-riots |  |  | **1.012\*\*** |  |
|  |  |  | **(0.440)** |  |
| D Strikes-both-protests |  |  |  | -0.266\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.095) |
| L Strikes-both-protests |  |  |  | -0.343\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.109) |
| D Democracy × D Strikes-both-protests |  |  |  | **0.289\*\*** |
|  |  |  |  | **(0.124)** |
| L Democracy × L Strikes-both-protests |  |  |  | **0.462\*\*\*** |
|  |  |  |  | **(0.151)** |
| L Social security & welfare spending | -0.175\*\*\* | -0.178\*\*\* | -0.180\*\*\* | -0.169\*\*\* |
|  | (0.039) | (0.043) | (0.038) | (0.043) |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 563 | 563 | 563 | 563 |
| R-squared | 0.213 | 0.220 | 0.227 | 0.223 |
| Number of countries | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 |

Note: All models are estimated with both country and year fixed effects; The “Aged (Youth) population” variable is aged population ratio for social security/welfare equation and youth population ratio for human capital spending; “L” refers to a one-year lag and “D” a first difference; Standard errors in parentheses; \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Figure A.1. Coefficients of Strikes Variables by Regime: CGV democracy



Note: The points are coefficient estimates from Error Correction model with country and year fixed effects (Model 2 in Table 2) and the lines provide 95% confidence interval. Coefficients for other variables were suppressed.

Figure A.2. Coefficients of Strikes Variables by Regime: Mainwaring et al (2007) democracy

Note: The points are coefficient estimates from Error Correction model with country and year fixed effects (Model 2 in Table 2) and the lines provide 95% confidence interval. Coefficients for other variables were suppressed.