The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same: Developing Countries' Unity in International Politics[*]

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Abstract

With the post-Cold War rise of major developing countries blurring the distinction between the industrialized "North" and the developing "South," it is unclear whether a state's development level remains a strong predictor of its stances in international politics. Observers debate whether Brazil, India, China, South Africa, and other major developing countries behave like members of the North, or the South? Having been left behind in some respects, do other parts of the global South still rally behind the major developing countries? We lay out six observable implications that should be in place if the Southern coalition is intact. Then we probe them with statistical analyses of over 3,600 paragraphs of text from states' negotiations concerning trade and environmental policy, a policy space that facilitates generalizability by representing fundamental sovereignty and wealth issues underlying North-South friction. Our finding – that overall, developing countries have maintained remarkable unity – weighs in on central debates in international relations, comparative politics, and political economy.

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1 Introduction

In contemporary international affairs, the dividing line between the industrialized "North" and the developing "South" is clouded. Traditionally, the specter of colonialism haunted North-South relations, and the South's shared response to Northern domination spawned a literature on the North-South divide (Krasner, 1985; Williams, 1993; Miller, 1995; Srinivasan, 1998; Voeten, 2000; Drahos, 2003; Narlikar, 2003; Najam, 2005). Yet today industrialized countries struggle, while major developing countries such as China and India regularly assert themselves in global governance in various ways – from obstructing Northern proposals, to pitching their own proposals and launching new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) (Bandeira, 2006; Hurrell and Narlikar, 2006; Bergsten, 2008; Hung, 2009; Armijo and Burges, 2010; Halper, 2010; Stephen, 2012; Hopewell, 2015; Radelet, 2015). Indeed, many scholars and practitioners perceive a transformational change in North-South politics (Barma, Ratner, and Weber, 2007; Haass, 2008; Chin, 2010; World Bank, 2010; Young, 2010; Ikenberry, 2011).

Thus, basic questions loom: is a state's development level a strong predictor for behavior in contemporary international politics? When expressing themselves in multilateral discussions, do major developing countries act like members of the North, or like members of the South? Having been left behind in some respects, do other parts of the global South still rally behind the major developing countries?

Some scholars and practitioners believe that growing economic disparities among developing countries have undermined Southern unity (Hampson and Heinbecker, 2011; Vihma, Mulugetta, and Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen, 2011; Allan and Dauvergne, 2013; Ciplet, Roberts, and Khan, 2015; Stokes, Giang, and Selin, 2016). For instance, dynamic emerging economies such as Brazil, India, China, and South Africa look less and less like the rest of the global South. In addition to creating new venues for themselves (e.g., the India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum), they are also operating distinctively in existing forums (e.g., voting together in the United Nations General Assembly) (Ferdinand, 2014).[1]

Others disagree that Southern unity has dissipated. Instead of leveraging their growing power to exit the ranks of the South, perhaps major developing countries use their growing power to defend poorer states and challenge richer ones – and perhaps poorer states are unifying behind these new leaders (Najam, 2005;

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[1]As Stokes, Giang, and Selin (2016) note in their case study of China and India in negotiations on the Minamata Convention on Mercury, these dynamic emerging economies sometimes even diverge markedly from one another.

Woods, 2008; Barma et al., 2009; Schweller, 2011; Thakur, 2014; Nayyar, 2016).[2] Although some members of the global South are no longer weak countries, their past vulnerabilities remain salient. All still share an interest in institutions and policies that protect the right of developing countries to pursue rapid economic growth and ward off sovereignty incursions by industrialized countries.

To address this important debate, we pinpoint six observable implications that should hold if the Southern coalition is intact. Then we probe those implications with statistical analyses of international negotiations at the nexus of trade policy and environmental policy – a policy space that touches on social and economic issues simultaneously. For the analysis, we coded 3,678 statements made by countries at the World Trade Organization (WTO) Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE) between the years 1995-2012. We thus know whether countries expressed prioritization of environmental protection or further trade liberalization; whether they advocated policies (e.g., technology transfer) that would benefit the South in general; and whether they explicitly supported statements made by various other countries.

This analytical approach has many advantages. First, it simultaneously considers several markers that would need to be in place if the South remains unified despite the growing economic and political clout of particular countries. Second, instead of awaiting countries' actual policy formulations, it examines statements, which are harbingers of policies that countries eventually will adopt.[3] Third, it explicitly allows for divisions not only between developing and industrialized countries but also among developing countries. Fourth, it devotes some special attention to potentially anomalous countries such as China but also uncovers patterns among major developing countries more broadly.

Fifth, our analytical approach facilitates generalizability. Many policy areas – including human rights, product safety, labor standards, or intellectual property – have hosted North-South cleavages. In these policy areas, developing countries with a shared experience of internal and external vulnerabilities are distinct from historically wealthy and powerful industrialized countries. Specifically, they contest whether Western norms of behavior are more important than national sovereignty (e.g., Krasner, 1985; Kahler, 2013). Similar concerns can affect the trade/environment nexus, and therefore while it is important on its own, it is also a worthy testing arena for North-South conflict more generally (Miller, 1995; Biermann, 2001; Esty, 2001;

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[2]Examining the case of climate, Jinnah (2016) proposes that the truth is in the middle: major emerging economies are both "norm-takers" and "norm-makers."

[3]In the discussion below, empirical checks demonstrate correlations between statements and policy choices.

Barkin, 2003; Drahos, 2003; Najam, 2005). Poorer countries often worry about environmental commitments that impose foreign standards and/or undermine economic growth. Richer countries worry about trade commitments that interfere with environmental protection and/or give a competitive edge to places with lax environmental standards. With their middling level of wealth, major developing countries could take either side.

Allowing for intra-South as well as North-South divisions, and considering major developing countries in particular, our statistical analyses uncover noteworthy Southern unity. Despite their growing disparities in economic and political might, overall the Southern coalition appears intact, possibly even enhanced. Both in terms of what and whom they support, developing countries behave like one another – and often in stark opposition to the North. The poorest countries support middle-income countries and *vice versa*, and emerging economies support their smaller counterparts. Moreover, by consistently rallying behind the leadership of major developing countries, poorer countries are in some sense rewarding them for "staying" with the group. This pattern is important theoretically, because it rejects the Southern fragmentation hypothesis and shows that the emerging economies have not lost the backing of other developing countries. Instead, as demonstrated by a host of statements expressing explicit support, countries such as Brazil or India are leaders in the traditional coalition of the global South.

These results from trade/environment policy offer new insights on the evolution of North-South politics. Even though the global South is no longer negotiating from a position of shared weakness, the historical grouping remains largely intact. Despite significant transformations in the global economy and the diversity of the more than 100 countries in the global South, developing areas retain their unity and defend what they perceive to be their common interest – an international political economy that respects national sovereignty and allows developing countries to pursue economic growth while holding the advanced industrialized countries responsible for environmental problems.

Our study enhances the extensive literature examining deliberations, non-binding votes, and debates in international organizations (e.g., Voeten, 2000, 2004; Schimmelfennig, 2001; Kelley, 2004). We show how high-level theories about the logic of North-South politics can be transformed into observable implications; then we conduct a broad and systematic test of these implications. Among our contributions to the literature, one is that we capture both the substantive content and the aligning references made by countries within

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international organizations, a strategy that allows us to assess two primary dimensions of international politics: what, and whom, countries support. Departing from the largely qualitative literature, our approach both offers a different way to evaluate claims about developing country unity. Future research can investigate the extent to which the unity we uncover here extends to other contexts, with different constellations of interests and norms.

These conclusions also weigh in on even broader debates in international relations and comparative politics. Some scholars and practitioners have argued that major developing countries threaten – or at least, present alternatives to – the "liberal world order" promulgated by the United States and its allies after World War II (Barma, Ratner, and Weber, 2007). This order rests on rule-based relations derived from liberal models of capitalism and democracy, and it is enshrined in institutions such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations (Drezner, 2014). Those who perceive a threat to this system see new structures such as the creation of the BRICS Development Bank or the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank as merely a first wave of direct challenges to Northern-dominated global governance. But others strongly disagree. These observers assert that countries such as Brazil, India, or China have no wish to contest the rules and institutions of the liberal world order, for those rules and institutions have enabled their rise (Ikenberry, 2011, 57). Our findings indicate that fears for the liberal world order may indeed be well founded. The cohesion and unity of the global South suggests that this increasingly powerful global majority is able to come together to defend their interests at a time of institutional and organizational turmoil.

2 Theoretical Context

Understanding North-South politics requires understanding developing countries. To realists who believe that the most powerful states drive international affairs, these areas host a concentration of weak states lacking enough military or economic capabilities to exert much influence (Waltz, 1979). To world systems theorists who perceive an industrialized core of rich colonizers exploiting other parts of the globe, these areas are the victimized periphery and the obsequious semi-periphery (Wallerstein, 1974). To liberals who view international institutions as a way for the United States to preserve its power by constraining itself, these areas benefit from global governance structures that provide more voice than their capabilities alone

would win (Ruggie, 1988; Ikenberry, 2000).

2.1 The North-South Divide in International Politics

To many other observers of the post-colonial context, however, developing areas today are neither feeble nor servile. While industrialized countries have historically been dominant in international institutions and advocated their preferred policies, developing countries can join forces to resist this dominance. They comprise a global South that jointly defends their rights and grievances against the wealthy North (Williams, 1993; Miller, 1995; Srinivasan, 1998; Voeten, 2000; Drahos, 2003; Narlikar, 2003). In fact, the so-called "Third World" defied historical expectations: when the demise of the Soviet Union dissipated tensions between the "First World" bloc in the West and the "Second World" bloc in the East, some observers believed that developing countries would lose their importance in international politics (Hurrell, 2013). Instead, the existing North-South divide seemed to deepen (Krasner, 1985; Jackson, 1990).

North-South friction centers not only on resources, but also sovereignty (David, 1991). The global South has long demanded policies that enable redistribution of wealth from the North to the South (Krasner, 1985). More recently, developing countries also have emphasized the importance of state sovereignty: they are particularly wary of the imposition of Northern norms and adamant about their own inalienable right to pursue economic growth (Biermann, 2001). Collectively, they demand structural changes that would ensure their independence and their path to development.

2.2 North-South Politics and the Trade-Environment Nexus

Traditionally, the nexus of trade policy and environmental policy hosted North-South friction (Williams, 1993; Miller, 1995; Johnson and Urpelainen, 2012). In this policy space, one concern is green protectionism: perhaps environment-related trade restrictions would handicap economic growth by unfairly insulating markets or by extra-territorially foisting costly environmental standards on governments that cannot handle them (Srinivasan, 1998; Biermann, 2001; Barkin, 2003). Developing countries have a comparative advantage in resource-intensive production and low access to clean technology (Urpelainen, 2010) – therefore stringent environmental standards would threaten their economic competitiveness. Many view environmental consciousness as a luxury that poor countries cannot yet afford; some even view it as a ruse to hamper

their development. In recent decades, concerns about green protectionism have been a major theme in trade negotiations (Biermann, 2001; Neumayer, 2001).

A contrasting concern is about trade at all costs: perhaps international commitments to unrestricted trade would prevent governments from adopting progressive national policies to protect the environment (Esty, 2001). As countries grow richer, their policymakers gain space to think not only about trade's economic benefits but also its social costs. Industrialized countries are not uniform in opposing freer markets, but many have already opened their markets as far as it suited them – removing many barriers in manufacturing, for instance, but resisting liberalization of the agricultural sector. Much of their comparative advantage has moved from natural resources and heavy industry to services. Meanwhile, environmental consciousness has grown. Therefore, wealthy countries do not necessarily see great appeal in further trade liberalization, and instead they see how previous liberalization now constrains their policy leeway in other areas. They often call for environmental safeguards.

The WTO's founding document asserts that trade liberalization and environmental protection need not be at odds. Indeed, the 1994 Marrakesh Agreement's opening paragraph stipulates that governments should engage in freer trade with a view toward "allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development, seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and to enhance the means for doing so" (World Trade Organization, 1994*b*). Environmental protection and sustainable development are, in fact, objectives of the WTO (Johnson, 2015, 210-211).

Because the WTO was to have significant enforcement capacity, the possibility that trade rules or disputes would shape environmental policies was salient to industrialized and developing countries alike. To guarantee a platform for airing concerns about green protectionism and trade at all costs, the WTO's creators opted for an institutional innovation (Schultz, 1995; Tarasofsky, 1999). In their 1994 Decision on Trade and Environment, negotiators decreed the establishment of the CTE, open to all WTO members (World Trade Organization, 1994*a*). The CTE would "make appropriate recommendations on whether any modifications of the provisions of the multilateral trading system are required" (World Trade Organization, 1994*a*). The CTE's open membership and broad 10-point mandate makes it a forum where countries at all development levels express their views about an array of issues.

2.3 Major Developing Countries: North or South?

What and whom would different countries support in international fora like this? Traditional scholarship on the North-South divide offers expectations: the South would band together in a fear of green protectionism, while the North would band together in a fear of trade at all costs. Yearning for greater wealth and sensitive to historical incursions into their own sovereignty, poorer countries would prioritize further trade liberalization over environmental protection, and they would back fellow poor countries (Najam, 2005).[4] In contrast, worried about environmental degradation and low-cost foreign competitors, richer countries would prioritize environmental protection over trade liberalization, and they would back fellow rich countries (Biermann, 2001).

However, the rise of major developing countries muddies expectations by blurring the distinction between the "rich North" and the "poor South" (Armijo and Burges, 2010). Coosing the gap economically and otherwise, major developing countries assert themselves in international fora (Bandeira, 2006; Hurrell and Narlikar, 2006; Bergsten, 2008; Hung, 2009; Halper, 2010; Stephen, 2012; Hopewell, 2015; Radelet, 2015). Nevertheless, scholars and practitioners heatedly debate what they will support – or whom they will support or be supported by – when they assert themselves.

According to one view, the major developing countries are likely to be in league with policy areas and entities associated with the global North. Higher development endows them with greater clout in international policymaking and presents new options (Hurrell and Narlikar, 2006; Wade, 2003; Woods, 2006). At the same time, their increased wealth makes them think more like rich countries and prompts them to uphold the system in which they rose (Ikenberry, 2011). Consequently, they diverge from the rest of the global South and behave like the industrialized countries.

In a contrasting view, the major developing countries are likely to be in league with policy areas and entities associated with poor parts of the world (Barma, Ratner, and Weber, 2007; Chin, 2010). Perhaps a historic irony of development – that those who "succeed" unite with those they had been chasing – has been shattered (World Bank, 2010). If true, this would mean that the Southern coalition is not only intact but

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[4]Even when poorer states are preoccupied with the natural environment, they often focus on "brown" issues (e.g., the reversal of land degradation) rather than "green" issues (e.g., ozone depletion) (Najam, 2005). Issues such as climate change can be particularly contentious, because many developing countries perceive this as a problem produced by Northern overconsumption but used as an opening to gain control over the South's policies (Johnson and Urpelainen, 2012, 657).

also stronger. Instead of leveraging their growing power to exit the ranks of the South, major developing countries would use it to defend poorer states and challenge richer ones (Haass, 2008; Young, 2010). For real Southern unity, other developing countries would need to reciprocate, bandwagoning behind their leadership (Drahos, 2003; Schirm, 2010).

Such unity is far from assured, as the rest of the global South continues to face the option of embracing statements and proposals from industrialized countries (Narlikar, 2010; Mittelman, 2013). Moreover, poor countries could reject the overtures of major developing countries and industrialized countries alike, instead banding together in an attempt to counter-balance both groups (Mearsheimer, 2001). Or, to maintain cordial relations with potential donors from all countries, the poorest countries could refrain from supporting any position at all.

The debate about countries' behavior plays out in the particular arena of the trade-environment nexus, where the major developing countries might prioritize further trade liberalization over environmental protection, or vice versa. After all, green protectionism endangers the economic growth that would facilitate their continued rise. Yet economic growth also tends to produce a larger and more vocal middle class that, even in non-democratic states, pushes governments to pay greater attention to the natural environment and other quality-of-life issues rather than pursuing trade at all costs. If their growing economic power indeed prompts them to behave more like the North, then major developing countries would prioritize environmental protection more often than others in the global South. But if the emerging economies continue to identify with poorer countries despite their greater wealth, then we would see them pushing for further trade liberalization, alongside states at lower levels of development.

Anecdotal evidence about the major developing countries is inconclusive (Urpelainen and Vihma, 2015). Although some observers see India as a laggard in protecting the natural environment, its neighbor China has set ambitious environmental goals in its most recent five-year plan. South Africa and Brazil have not been as bold, but they have volunteered as hosts for global environmental conferences such as the 2002 Earth Summit and the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. Even in India – where there is a continued belief that richer countries should take the lead in addressing environmental problems – a recent media analysis finds that there is increasing interest in the environment overall (Dubash, 2013). In short, major developing countries seem to care about environmental protection as well as further trade

liberalization. It is unclear which they would prioritize.

2.4 A Continued Southern Coalition? Observable Implications

This debate uncovers a fundamental issue: whether a state's development level remains a strong predictor of behavior in international politics. Those who perceive continued Southern unity are suggesting that historical patterns do not hold in the post-Cold War era, arguing that although major developing countries have gained material capacity more like the North, factors such as shared identify or path dependence keep them from acting like the North (e.g., Williams, 1993; Hurrell and Sengupta, 2012). Instead, major developing countries consciously use their enhanced economic and political clout to challenge the North, backed by the South.

Evidence for or against this view is spotty. Some work simply presumes Southern unity (Najam, 2005). Other work tests the assumption but focuses on particular states – often, China – without investigating major developing countries more generally (Hurrell, 2006; Bergsten, 2008; Beeson, 2009; Narlikar, 2013; Scott and Wilkinson, 2013). Still other work looks at states' behavior in specific negotiations but does not link this to broader patterns in world politics (Narlikar, 2003; Narlikar and Tussie, 2004; Ban and Blyth, 2013; Hopewell, 2015). And most important: neither side has thoroughly delineated and tested observable implications of their claims.

We identify observable implications. While both industrialized countries' and developing countries' positions on different trade-environment issues exhibit remarkable diversity, their traditional cleavages provide us with a clear set of falsifiable hypotheses.[5] In terms of *what* is supported, continued Southern unity would entail major developing countries – despite their increased wealth and power – behaving like the South in prioritizing particular policy areas over others.

- *Implication 1*: Compared to industrialized countries, all developing countries (including major developing countries) are more likely to express support for further trade liberalization.

- *Implication 2*: Compared to industrialized countries, all developing countries (including major developing countries) are more likely to express support for measures that benefit the South in general.

[5]Our coding strategy below allows for heterogeneity among developing countries.

- *Implication 3*: Compared to industrialized countries, all developing countries (including major developing countries) are less likely to express support for environmental protection.

As to *whom* is supported, Southern unity would involve developing countries behaving similarly even though the wealth and power of particular countries have outpaced the rest. The major developing countries back developing states rather than industrialized ones – and developing states reciprocate by backing major developing countries rather than industrialized ones.

- *Implication 4*: Compared to industrialized countries, all developing countries (including major developing countries) are more likely to express support for statements made by non-major developing countries.

- *Implication 5*: Compared to industrialized countries, all developing countries (including major developing countries) are less likely to express support for statements made by industrialized countries.

- *Implication 6*: Compared to industrialized countries, all developing countries are more likely to express support for statements made by major developing countries.

These markers enhance theoretical and empirical precision: while the first subset of implications considers the extent to which developing countries' expressed policy preferences look similar to one another, the second subset considers the extent to which developing countries at various wealth levels actively back one another. By looking at patterns in the support expressed for other states, we can probe not only whether developing countries act like one another but also whether the similarities result from actual efforts to band together. If they do, then there is compelling evidence of a coalition, rather than just coincidental overlap in policy positions.

3   The WTO's Committee on Trade and Environment

To assess whether a state's development level remains a strong predictor of behavior in international politics, we examine statements made by member-governments in meetings of the Committee on Trade and Environment within the World Trade Organization.[6] The trade-environment nexus has hosted stark divisions

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[6] Because most but not all members are governments of nation-states, WTO materials encompass members such as Hong Kong by carefully referencing "member-governments" rather than "member-states." In line with political science parlance, however, here

between the North and the South in the past (Williams, 1993; Miller, 1995), and therefore it is an ideal context for considering whether Brazil, China, and other major developing countries are in league with policy areas and entities associated with rich parts of the world – or with poor parts of the world (e.g., Biermann, 2001).

The Committee on Trade and Environment was established in 1995 to address various concerns related to trade liberalization and environmental protection (Schultz, 1995; Tarasofsky, 1999).[7] There, WTO members discuss environmental and trade issues in preparation for policy decisions made in general WTO meetings.[8] For our probe, it is advantageous that explicit votes about policies take place outside of the CTE: this dampens incentives for governments to strategically misrepresent their positions.

Indeed, the stances that countries take in the Committee align with their actual policy behavior domestically. For instance, we might wonder whether countries say that environmental protection is a priority, but then in practice they accumulate a record of lax environmental policies and/or a focus on trade liberalization. However, a check using the Yale Environmental Performance Index (Hsu, 2016) indicates that this is uncommon. There is a *positive* correlation between prioritizing environmental protection in CTE discussions and having high environmental performance in the index. There is a *negative* correlation between prioritizing trade liberalization in CTE discussions and having high environmental performance in the index (Table A2). What states are saying does not differ drastically from what states are doing, so we can analyze what they say in order to understand the policies they support now and in the near future.

As with many international fora – including the WTO itself – major decisions in the CTE require consensus (World Trade Organization, 1997). All participants matter and have a reason to express their views.

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we regularly use the term "state" or "country" as shorthand for WTO members.

[7]Comparing behavior in the CTE with behavior a similar pre-1995 forum is impossible because no such forum was active before the WTO. Nevertheless, a large volume of work agrees that as the Cold War progressed, the North-South axis of global politics became increasingly salient, with the Group of 77 insisting on structural changes in the world economy (Krasner, 1985; Thomas, 1987; David, 1991). This was also true in global environmental politics (Rowland, 1973; Williams, 1993; Miller, 1995). These works indicate that the "Third World coalition" had a relatively high degree of unity during the Cold War.

[8]Does the relatively low cost of making statements in CTE meetings results in a social desirability bias, with countries making statements that may be considered appropriate under a system of "organized hypocrisy" (Krasner, 1999)? Not overwhelmingly. Countries sometimes defy social niceties by delivering downright combative statements. In one meeting, for instance, India's representative dismissed the ongoing debate about the WTO's relationship with multilateral environmental agreements, calling this "a non-issue... [that] did not need fixing." Such a position is quite provocative, since the CTE mandate stipulates this as one of the Committee's key responsibilities. Even when countries' statements are less combative, they are not necessarily disingenuous: countries' decisions about *which* truths to emphasize can tell us about their preferences and alignments. Moreover, the wide range of possible statements means that countries have little incentive to stay quiet for strategic reasons: they can always make a neutral statement.

While some observers praise the CTE's achievements (Singha, 2013), others criticize the Committee for rarely producing explicit decisions (Shaffer, 2001). For our purposes, these differing assessments are inconsequential. Such disappointment is not unusual for international institutions, and therefore the CTE coincides with a larger pool. More important, our focus is elsewhere: on the positions of various countries. Indeed, in the consensus-based context in which much global governance takes place, focusing only on "successful" decisions would be misleading, because much of the action of international politics occurs where people do *not* reach agreement.

Three more features make the CTE an especially attractive arena for analysis. First, the Committee has a broad mandate. It has authority to offer recommendations on a wide variety of topics, from intellectual property to transparency to dispute settlement. Since all topics relate to the relationship between economic policy and environmental policy, this Committee is an ideal spot for observing how states at various development levels navigate these two policy areas.

Second, the CTE meets regularly. This boosts our ability to discern similarities and differences across countries and across time, for it translates into many opportunities to observe states' interactions in the post-Cold War era. It also ensures that the meetings showcase interactions among states but are not *driven* by those interactions, for the group does not convene only in times of conflict or conciliation.

Third, the CTE is open to all WTO members. We can examine states at multiple levels of development. As a forum in which any member-government can take positions, this Committee is a rich and useful context for examining bigger questions about dynamics in international politics.

4   Research Design

The CTE's first meeting initiated the practice of maintaining reports containing detailed minutes, where the statements of all participants are not only transcribed but also attributed to the delegation that made it. Since then, the Committee has convened 2-3 times per year, resulting in nearly 60 sets of minutes through 2012.[9] In these meeting minutes, a participant's speech can be one or several paragraphs long, capturing the fact that participants speak for different lengths of time and can cover several topics in a speech.

The unit of analysis, a "statement," could be each overall speech (possibly containing multiple para-

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[9]This does not include separate "special sessions" (CTESS) requested in the 2001 Doha Ministerial Declaration.

graphs), or each individual paragraph. For several reasons, we use the latter.[10] First, paragraphs are more directly comparable to one another. Word counts vary much more across speeches than across paragraphs: a 7-paragraph speech is quite different from a 1-paragraph speech. Second, for a given paragraph, it is straightforward to construct an additional variable capturing how many paragraphs a speaker has already uttered in that meeting. It is also straightforward to cluster standard errors by meeting. In these ways, the analyses can depict – and control for – paragraphs that are part of a larger speech and therefore not strictly independent. Third, in the meeting reports, paragraphs signal shifts in topics within a speech. When governments make multiple-paragraph speeches, they are bringing up somewhat different topics in a sequence. If we did not consider each paragraph, we would lose information about the multiple topics covered in separate paragraphs.

A typical report contains around 80 paragraphs. Hence, there are about 5,000 total possible observations spanning 1995 to 2012. Retaining only substantive statements made by an individual member-government – for instance, excluding paragraphs attributed to the WTO Secretariat, the Committee chair, or international organizations – yields 3,678 observations.

We analyze how strongly variables such as development level predict states' support for trade liberalization, environmental protection, measures that help the South, or particular types of countries. Industrialized countries are the basis for comparison. With i indexing statements clustered under meetings j, we estimate logistic regressions of the following kind:

$$\ln \left(\frac{y}{1-y} \right)_{i,j} = \alpha + \sum_k \beta_k X_{ij}^k + \sum_l \gamma_l Z_{ij}^l + \epsilon_{i,j}, \tag{1}$$

where y is the probability that the binary indicator (for *what* or *whom* states support) is positive, α is the constant, X^k is a key explanatory variable, Z^l is a control variable, and ϵ is the error term. Throughout, we cluster standard errors by meeting.[11] In the results tables, all coefficients are exponentiated to depict odds ratios, so that values higher (lower) than 1 indicate that a given behavior is *more* (less) likely among other types of countries than among industrialized ones. This provides a close conceptual fit with the six implications above, probing whether developing countries behave similarly to one another and differently

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[10]About 25% of speeches consist of only one paragraph; about 10% have eight or more.

[11]Table A5 shows standard errors clustered by country to account for serial correlation within each country unit; there is no change in the main results. Table A6 shows no change in results with linear probability models.

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from industrialized countries.

4.1 The Coding Process

Using a random number generator, we re-ordered the chronological CTE reports to prevent human-driven coding differences between meetings in earlier or later years. The first two randomly ordered reports were distributed to three coders. Following preliminary written guidelines, each person coded both sets of minutes independently. An aggregation of the six sets of coding revealed similarities and differences. At that point, the coders were permitted to communicate with one another, debating and justifying their individual coding choices.[12]

After the three coders reached consensus, the enhancements (in particular, key words) were added to the written guidelines.[13] Then, the coders received individual assignments from among the remaining randomly ordered reports and followed the updated guidelines to complete their respective allotments. Duplicate coder assignments at various points provided opportunities to spot-check continued coder agreement.

4.2 Key Explanatory Variable: Development Level

In all six observable implications, the development level of the speaking country serves as the key variable to explain what or whom the country supports. Although some early work on the North-South divide simply distinguished between industrialized and developing countries (Krasner, 1985), that dichotomy does not suffice in a post-Cold War world in which some developing countries possess notable capabilities. Therefore, we need a way to parse out different groups of developing countries.

A solution lies in the four mutually exclusive categories the World Bank uses in its lending operations: countries are classified as *High-Income*, *Upper Middle-Income*, *Lower Middle-Income*, or *Low-Income*. These categories fit our purposes conceptually as well as empirically. After all, rather than being preoccupied with modest fluctuations in gross domestic product (GDP), observers on both sides of the debate agree that

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[12]Consultations were only required for more nuanced variables, such as whether a paragraph expresses support for measures that benefit the South.

[13]For instance, support for measures that benefit the South in general could be indicated by general admonitions to appreciate challenges faced by poorer countries. But it also could be indicated in more specific ways, with particular key words – for instance, calls for technical assistance programs or references to international institutions (particularly the Group of 77 or the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) that represent the interests of developing areas.

major developing countries are at a threshold in North-South politics: capabilities, while exceeding those of some other developing countries, do not quite match those of the industrialized countries.[14]

Lending categories capture this, for they are associated with per capita GDP and also have real-world repercussions. Low-income countries are poor enough to access special WB lending such as grants. Lower middle-income countries have access to World Bank loans. Upper middle-income countries are approaching "graduation" from this access.[15] High-income countries are deemed too rich for loans.

The two middle-income categories reflect a meaningful threshold: these countries remain behind the North but have progressed beyond other parts of the South. The lower middle-income category contains major developing countries such as China and India, while the upper middle-income category contains major developing countries such as Brazil and South Africa. But instead of fixating on these potentially anomalous countries, the two middle-income categories include all countries at these development levels. A separate indicator variable *BICS* allows us to perform additional analyses for Brazil, India, China, and South Africa – which have received much attention in case studies.[16] The lending categories enable us to investigate the behavior of major developing countries in general – or Brazil, India, China, and South Africa specifically – vis-a-vis countries at lower and higher levels of development.

As Table 1 shows, relatively populous countries – some industrialized, some developing – are particularly vocal. The analyses will control for this. The most active speaker overall is the European Community (EC), a supranational body which we group with high-income countries: in the CTE, the European Commission collectively represents all EC members, and those member-states are high-income countries. However, although the ten entities in Table 1 are very active, participation is spread among many countries. For instance, of the 3,678 paragraphs in the dataset, the portion contributed by countries at each development level are: low-income (10%), lower middle-income (11%), upper middle-income (19%), and high-income (59%). Each level contributes enough statements (378 or more) for statistical analyses.

[Table 1 about here.]

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[14]See Table A8 for the robustness of the results when using the continuous GDP measure.

[15]As a country's per capita GDP changes, its classification can change. In addition, the World Bank adjusts the category cutoffs to account for inflation. However, here we use constant dollars and criteria based on the year 2000, and therefore the cutoffs remain unchanged throughout our study period. Countries may shift between categories over time, but the categories themselves are fixed. In our data, there were only seven instances of graduation.

[16]Russia was not a WTO member until August 2012.

4.3 Outcome Variables: What or Whom Is Supported

Because the unit of analysis is a paragraph, the dependent variables capture the *content* of individual paragraphs. Implications 1-3 predict *what* will be supported by countries at various levels of development. To test these, we need information about the stance expressed in each observed paragraph.

First, a pair of indicator variables captures whether a paragraph exhibits prioritization of trade liberalization (*Pro-Trade*) or environmental protection (*Pro-Environment*). This is more than merely talking about the environment or trade – given the committee's mandate, almost all substantive statements somehow relate to one or both. Instead, this pair of indicator variables captures statements that clearly prioritize between the two.[17] For example, the paragraph containing the following excerpt is coded as 1 for *Pro-Environment*: "The representative of the European Communities welcomed the conclusion of the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, which contributed to strengthening the body of international environmental law... This was the first time that international environmental law had explicitly recognized the precautionary principle, and made it an operational article in [a multilateral environmental agreement]." Here, the EC is endorsing precautionary approaches, which could restrict trade not only if environmental harm has occurred but also if it is merely possible. In contrast, the paragraph containing the following excerpt is coded as 1 for *Pro-Trade*: "[The representative of Thailand said that] Thailand was one of the major agricultural exporting countries which had faced numerous environmental requirements from developed country trading partners. Thus, Thailand attached importance to market access [and] supported India's comments on compliance costs to developing countries." Here, Thailand is claiming that it and other poor countries require trade openness, which has been impeded by richer countries in the name of environmental protection.

Similarly, an indicator variable captures whether a paragraph exhibits a starkly pro-South stance (*Pro-South*). Markers of such a stance include claims that developing countries have been treated inappropriately, as well as calls for developing countries to receive particular kinds of help. For example, one excerpt from a pro-South statement is: "[The representative of India said that] developing countries should identify sector-specific examples of environmental requirements adversely impacting on exports. Having identified sectors and products, positive measures such as capacity building, technology transfer and technical assistance could

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[17]Paragraphs that do not exhibit any clear prioritization, and instead express similar levels of support for both, are coded as 0 for *Pro-Trade* as well as *Prioritize Environment*.

be strengthened." Another example is: "[The representative of Zimbabwe urged industrialized countries to get rid of trade-distorting measures, because they] contradicted: a) prescriptions for African economic recovery and integration into the multilateral trading system; b) the adoption of appropriate policy instruments for sustainable development; c) the diversification of African exports and realization of its comparative advantage; and d) the essence of the WTO, which was to enhance trade liberalization." There are instances of Pro-South statements by rich countries too.

Table 2 shows summary statistics for the outcome variables for Implications 1-3: *Pro-Trade*, *Pro-South*, and *Pro-Environment*. Intriguing patterns emerge. The portion of statements that prioritize environmental protection does not vary much with states' development levels: 7 percent for low-income countries, 8 percent for lower middle-income and upper middle-income countries alike, and 10 percent for high-income countries. On the other hand, as development level increases, the portion of statements that prioritize trade liberalization decreases: 24 percent for low-income countries, 18 and 17 percent for lower middle-income and upper middle-income countries, and 10 percent for high-income countries. A similar pattern emerges for the portion of statements that express support for the South in general: 36 percent for low-income countries, 31 and 22 percent for lower middle-income and upper middle-income countries, and 11 percent for high-income countries. Although the patterns concerning the environment are weaker, these summary statistics roughly align with traditional expectations about richer countries prioritizing environmental protection, while poorer countries prioritize further trade liberalization and pro-South support measures.

[Table 2 about here.]

Next, Implications 4-6 predict *whom* will be supported by different countries. Here, we need information about the entities endorsed in each paragraph. Because CTE meetings are a diplomatic context, speakers often pinpoint which entities they support, instead of which they oppose. Therefore, the coding notes any countries that a speaker mentions and whether the speaker explicitly agrees with the cited country. For instance, in one meeting, "[The representative of South Korea] supported the Japanese view that subsidies were one of many causes of overfishing capacity and [a] broader approach was needed to take into consideration all these factors." In another, "[The representative of Cuba] agreed with the European Communities on the importance of transparency in the application of environmental labels as a means of achieving mutual

support of trade, development and environmental objectives." Both illustrate supportive statements: South Korea explicitly backed Japan and and Cuba backed the EC.

Since the observable implications focus on types of countries, we created indicator variables that sort supported countries into broader groups. One set uses the World Bank categories again: *Support Low-Income Country*, *Support Lower Middle-Income Country*, *Support Upper Middle-Income Country*, *Support High-Income Country*. Another indicator variable, *Support BICS*, distinguishes Brazil, India, China, or South Africa – countries that the literature frequently proposes as leaders of the South. By identifying all supportive statements made in these trade/environment negotiations, we can offer a clear picture of what kinds of countries tend to support others, and whether those relationships are reciprocated.

Table 3 shows summary statistics for these outcome variables from Implications 4-6: *Support Low-Income Country*, *Support Lower Middle-Income Country*, *Support Upper Middle-Income Country*, *Support High-Income Country*, and *Support BICS*. Again, intriguing patterns emerge. Support for high-income countries is common at all development levels. Meanwhile, the portion of statements that support Brazil, India, China, or South Africa is greater among lower middle-income countries than among upper middle-income or high-income countries.

[Table 3 about here.]

4.4   Control Variables

The coding also includes several control variables, whose summary statistics appear in Table A1. First, *Year* captures when each observation occurred. As shown in Figure A2, some years host less activity than others – for example, the number of statements is very high in the Committee's early years but drops very low in 2008, around the time of the global financial crisis. The linear time trend of *Year* allows for the possibility that statements exhibit a secular pattern between 1995 and 2012.[18]

Second, *Polity IV Score* captures the regime type in a speaker's country at the time of the statement. The variable ranges from -10 (most autocratic) to +10 (most democratic). It accounts for the possibility that what or whom a state supports is driven not only by economic considerations but also by political ones.

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[18]Due to the incidental parameters problem, we do not include year fixed effects, but Table A3 shows that the results are robust to using year fixed effects. Similarly, the results are robust to the inclusion of meeting fixed effects, though the incidental parameters problem becomes increasingly severe (Table A4).

Third, *Speaker Pop(log)* is the logarithmized population of a speaker's country. Summary statistics already suggest that populous industrialized and developed countries dominate CTE discussions. This variable allows for the possibility that these countries also make different kinds of statements.

Fourth, because the unit of observation is a paragraph in the minutes from a particular meeting, the units of observation might not be completely independent. Therefore we include two additional control variables. *Speaker Paragraph Number* is a continuous variable capturing how many paragraphs have already been uttered by that particular speaker in the meeting. Meanwhile, *Paragraph Number* is a continuous variable capturing how many paragraphs have already been uttered by all speakers in the meeting.

Fifth, a set of indicator variables controls for the geographic region (Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe, Oceania) in which the speaker's country is located.[19] These account for the possibility that what or whom a state supports is driven not only by economic considerations but also factors related to the environmental, economic, or political context of a particular region.[20]

Finally, a set of indicator variables captures the broad topics of paragraphs: 1) climate change, 2) development, 3) domestically prohibited goods, 4) market access, 5) relations with IGOs, NGOs, multilateral environmental agreements, and regional trade agreements, 6) services, technology, or intellectual property, 7) trade measures with environmental purposes, 8) analysis of specific countries or sectors, and 9) administration. As mentioned above, the meeting reports indicate shifts in speakers and/or topics by starting a new paragraph. Hence, coding each paragraph's main topic according to mutually exclusive categories is a reasonable first cut. Table 4 displays these topics.

[Table 4 about here.]

5 Findings

We present the results separately for the observable implications about what, or whom, states support. The evidence is mixed on Implication 3 but is in line with the other five testable markers of Southern unity. Developing countries at all three levels are unlikely to make statements prioritizing environmental protection

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[19]Country fixed effects are not a compelling approach, because for many countries the World Bank income category does not change during the 1995-2012 period.

[20]See Table A7 for analysis including membership in two international organizations, OPEC and ASEAN. OPEC countries have a history of opposing environmental protection and ASEAN countries often join forces as a group in WTO meetings.

(though in this respect, they are not much different from industrialized countries). In other respects, their similarities greatly contrast with industrialized countries: they are more likely to make statements prioritizing further trade liberalization or advocating policies that help the South in general. Moreover, this appears to be concerted behavior, not a mere coincidence of preferences. Rather than just advocating similar policies they are also explicitly backing one other, regularly expressing support for Brazil, India, China, South Africa, and many other fellow developing countries. What is more, that support is reciprocated.

5.1 What Is Supported

Table 5 shows the regression estimates for pro-South statements (Models 1 to 4) and statements that prioritize trade liberalization (Models 5 to 8). The models differ in their exclusion or inclusion of various control variables and fixed effects. As mentioned above, industrialized countries form the base category. The estimates then indicate the relative frequency with which developing countries in various World Bank lending categories make pro-South statements or statements that prioritize trade liberalization. Recall that coefficients are exponentiated to depict odds ratios: values higher than 1 indicate that a given behavior is *more* likely among other types of countries than among industrialized ones, while values lower than 1 indicate that a given behavior is *less* likely.

[Table 5 about here.]

The table offers firm evidence in favor of Implications 1 and 2. Relative to high-income countries, *all* developing countries are more likely to endorse pro-South policies or make statements prioritizing further trade liberalization. The substantive differences are large, too: the least developed countries have odds ratios between 2.1 and 4.8 times larger in comparison with the industrialized countries. For instance, according to the summary statistics, high-income countries have a 10% probability of making a statement prioritizing trade liberalization; against this baseline, the higher odds ratios for low-income countries would translate into up to a 35% probability of making such a statement.

In two models, the estimates of lower middle-income country positions on trade have wider confidence intervals, but overall the pattern is clear: in these negotiations, high-income countries are much less likely to make statements prioritizing further trade liberalization or advocating measures that help developing

countries in general. Interestingly, being one of the BICS countries does not change the likelihood of endorsing policies that benefit the South. After controlling for their levels of development, BICS countries behave like other countries in their respective World Bank categories. Developing countries are behaving in a largely unified way, despite wide variation in individual countries' economic and political clout.

In Table 6, we focus on statements that prioritize environmental protection. Here, the results contradict Implication 3: across countries at different levels of development, there are no real differences in the propensity to prioritize environmental protection. Most odds ratios are close to 1, the confidence intervals are wide, and several signs flip. Whether rich or poor, in their statements states exhibit similar views about environmental protection. Thus, while North-South cleavages are salient when it comes to debates related to further trade liberalization or measures that benefit developing countries, no such cleavage appears regarding the environment. Here developing countries are behaving like one another, but industrialized countries are behaving no differently.[21]

[Table 6 about here.]

In sum, in terms of what is supported, we observe several markers of a continuing Southern coalition. Low-income, lower middle-income, and upper middle-income countries express similar views. Those views coalesce with high-income countries in terms of environmental protection, but when it comes to trade liberalization or measures that benefit developing countries in general, the views of the Southern bloc starkly contrast with those of the North.

5.2 Whom Is Supported

Next we turn to whom is supported. Table 7 focuses on Implications 4 and 5 about patterns in statements supporting other countries. Again, the table presents odds ratios; the model labels indicate whether the dependent variable is support for low-income (L), lower middle-income (LM), upper middle-income (UM), or high-income (HI) countries.

[Table 7 about here.]

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[21]While one might suspect that this is because of cascading global norms regarding environmental protection in recent decades, a strong pro-environment norm probably is not driving this result. After all, the likelihood of a statement prioritizing environmental protection is at most 10% in every development level. Environmental protection is very important to some industrialized countries – but not all of them.

Strikingly, developing countries back low-income and lower middle-income countries much more often than do industrialized countries (upper panel). For example, compared to high-income countries, low-income countries have up to 10 times larger odds ratios for making statements in support of other low-income countries. In turn, the odds ratios for lower middle-income countries supporting other lower middle-income countries are up to about 5 times higher than those of high-income countries.

In the lower panel of Table 7, the pattern becomes weaker: although upper middle-income countries appear to support each other, they are not distinguishable from high-income countries in their probability of supporting less wealthy countries. Again, we see little evidence that the BICS countries play a special role in this process – their behavior blends with that of other developing countries.

Finally, Table 8 deals with Implication 6 about patterns of references that are supportive to Brazil, India, China, or South Africa in particular. The difference between developing countries and industrialized countries is strikingly large, but with the World Bank classification of each country already incorporated, BICS status itself does not seem to modify the relationship any further.[22] All three levels of developing countries support statements by the BICS countries, and this underscores the important role that these major emerging economies play in maintaining the South's unity.[23]

[Table 8 about here.]

Except for the finding about upper middle-income countries being no more likely than the North to support less wealthy countries, the results are consistent with Implication 5. Meanwhile, Implications 4 and 6 garner consistent support. In terms of whom is supported, the unity of the developing country bloc remains strong at the nexus of trade and environmental policy.

6   Conclusion

The rapid rise of particular developing countries complicates debates on whether a state's development level is a strong predictor of its behavior in global affairs. Are Brazil, China, and others converging with the

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[22]Confidence intervals are too wide to make credible inferences.

[23]In addition, Table A2 reveals a strong *negative* correlation between the Yale Environmental Performance Index (Hsu, 2016) and the likelihood of supporting BICS: on average, countries with weak environmental policies support the BICS countries, again consistent with the idea there is Southern unity and BICS countries play a leadership role in the bloc.

behavior of the industrialized North? Or do they take positions like those of the developing South, despite enjoying greater economic and political clout? Scholars and practitioners have been divided.

To adjudicate, we laid out six markers that ought to be in place if the South is unified in meaningful ways. We employ the nexus of trade and environmental policy as a generalizable context hosting sovereignty and wealth issues that traditionally undergird the North-South divide. Our statistical analyses find that the South exhibits notable cohesion versus the North for most of the six markers: developing countries at all three levels are much more likely than industrialized countries to support further trade liberalization and measures that benefit the South in general, and they also tend to endorse one another rather than backing industrialized countries. Moreover, the major developing countries are consistently in league with policy areas and entities associated with poor parts of the world, and much of the rest of the global South rallies behind their leadership.

Overall, the statistical analyses suggest that the more things have changed in North-South politics, the more things have stayed the same. Even with their increased economic and political clout, major developing countries do not seem to be abandoning their less prosperous Southern brethren. Both in terms of what and whom is supported, there is remarkable unity among developing countries. Countries such as Brazil, India, China, and South Africa are receiving Southern backing for their attempts to take more of a leadership role and challenge Northern positions in international politics.

For future studies, our results raise a puzzle. Why hasn't Southern unity been broken by the increased heterogeneity of the global South – particularly the rise of major developing countries such as China and India? One reason could be path dependency in negotiation coalitions (Hurrell and Sengupta, 2012). This suggests that the Southern unity observed today could eventually dissipate if countries update their understanding of their own interests and alignments. Another reason could be a shared rejection of colonialism and other sovereignty incursions by industrialized powers – and this would have more serious, sustained implications. Perhaps the continued Southern coalition demonstrates that defense of national sovereignty is a core value and a shared identity that remains in place despite a country's wealth level (Williams, 1993). Our systematic evidence for robust Southern unity underscores the importance of understanding why we see these patterns, and it develops an approach that other researchers can re-tailor to explore political contexts beyond trade and the environment

Understanding what is happening with the traditional North-South divide is crucial for understanding the applicability of convergence theory (Kahler, 2013; Narlikar, 2013), whether existing institutions will continue to "work" (Bremmer, 2009; Drezner, 2014), the delicate positions of particular countries (Ikenberry, 2008; Kasa, Gullberg, and Heggelund, 2008; Li, 2011; Hurrell and Sengupta, 2012), and the balancing or bandwagoning observed in international relations (Walt, 1987; David, 1991). But beyond that, it is crucial for discerning whether the developing South presents a largely unified front vis-a-vis the industrialized North (Hurrell, 2013). After all, countries' current behavior is a bellwether for their future activities.

Some scholars and practitioners declare that the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and other changes are deliberate South-led challenges to the North-dominated liberal world order. Yet if there are few similarities in what or whom major developing countries and poorer countries are supporting, and if there is little rallying behind the countries that have pulled ahead so quickly, then this claim is premature. Foundations for it are not actually in place. On the other hand, if multiple markers point in the same direction – indicating that developing countries function in tandem despite the increasing economic disparities among them – then this is a harbinger that the liberal world order truly could be approaching significant upheaval.

Our evidence supports the notion that members of the South position themselves as an important bloc, uniting increasingly powerful developing countries with the scores that remain behind. This, in turn, gives credence to the prediction that "by preferentially deepening their own ties among themselves and in so doing loosening relatively the ties that bind them to the international system centered on the West, rising powers are building an alternative system" (Barma, Ratner, and Weber, 2007, 23).

Our findings illuminate recent events but do not guarantee a particular future path. With more time, the relatively wealthy developing countries might behave more like industrialized countries, and whether a new system will be built to compete with or supplant the existing liberal world order. But what the analyses systematically show is that if the South indeed will attempt to construct novel sets of institutions, then the unity uncovered here offers a foundation for doing so.

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Speaker	Statements
EC	474
USA	341
Canada	273
India	261
Australia	227
Japan	195
New Zealand	165
Brazil	163
Norway	149
Argentina	144

Table 1: The ten most active speakers account for 2,392 of the 3,678 paragraphs.

All Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Pro-Env Statement	0.091	0.287	3678
Pro-Trade Statement	0.139	0.346	3678
Pro-North Statement	0.002	0.040	3678
Pro-South Statement	0.182	0.386	3678

Low-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Pro-Env Statement	0.066	0.249	378
Pro-Trade Statement	0.243	0.430	378
Pro-North Statement	0.000	0.000	378
Pro-South Statement	0.362	0.481	378

Lower Middle-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Pro-Env Statement	0.081	0.273	420
Pro-Trade Statement	0.171	0.377	420
Pro-North Statement	0.000	0.000	420
Pro-South Statement	0.314	0.465	420

Upper Middle-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Pro-Env Statement	0.079	0.269	712
Pro-Trade Statement	0.183	0.387	712
Pro-North Statement	0.001	0.037	712
Pro-South Statement	0.222	0.416	712

High-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Pro-Env Statement	0.101	0.301	2168
Pro-Trade Statement	0.100	0.300	2168
Pro-North Statement	0.002	0.048	2168
Pro-South Statement	0.113	0.316	2168

BICS Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Pro-Env Statement	0.064	0.244	440
Pro-Trade Statement	0.220	0.415	440
Pro-North Statement	0.000	0.000	440
Pro-South Statement	0.318	0.466	440

Table 2: Summary statistics for dependent variables: what countries support.

All Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Support Low-Income Country	0.008	0.091	3678
Support Lower Middle-Income Country	0.020	0.139	3678
Support Upper Middle-Income Country	0.047	0.211	3678
Support High-Income Country	0.094	0.292	3678
BICS Supported	0.055	0.253	3678

Low-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Support Low-Income Country	0.019	0.135	378
Support Lower Middle-Income Country	0.040	0.195	378
Support Upper Middle-Income Country	0.026	0.161	378
Support High-Income Country	0.066	0.249	378
BICS Supported	0.063	0.275	378

Lower Middle-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Support Low-Income Country	0.019	0.137	420
Support Lower Middle-Income Country	0.040	0.197	420
Support Upper Middle-Income Country	0.083	0.277	420
Support High-Income Country	0.105	0.307	420
BICS Supported	0.129	0.382	420

Upper Middle-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Support Low-Income Country	0.008	0.091	712
Support Lower Middle-Income Country	0.032	0.177	712
Support Upper Middle-Income Country	0.098	0.298	712
Support High-Income Country	0.139	0.346	712
BICS Supported	0.097	0.336	712

High-Income Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Support Low-Income Country	0.005	0.068	2168
Support Lower Middle-Income Country	0.008	0.091	2168
Support Upper Middle-Income Country	0.026	0.160	2168
Support High-Income Country	0.082	0.275	2168
BICS Supported	0.025	0.166	2168

BICS Countries

	Mean	SD	N
Support Low-Income Country	0.007	0.082	440
Support Lower Middle-Income Country	0.048	0.213	440
Support Upper Middle-Income Country	0.061	0.240	440
Support High-Income Country	0.091	0.288	440
BICS Supported	0.045	0.219	440

Table 3: Summary statistics for dependent variables: whom countries support.

Main Topic	Statements
Administration, agenda, mandate, report	234
Specific countries, sectors	615
Climate change	144
Development	135
Domestically prohibited goods	151
Market access	736
Relations with organizations, agreements	357
Services, technology, intellectual property	402
Trade measures with environmental purpose	904

$N = 3,678$

Table 4: Main topics of the paragraphs in the dataset.

	S	S	S	S	T	T	T	T
main								
Low Income	4.21***	4.82***	3.66***	4.08***	2.97***	3.14***	2.14*	2.07*
	(0.83)	(0.97)	(0.90)	(1.15)	(0.79)	(0.82)	(0.64)	(0.70)
Lower Middle-Income	3.59***	3.40***	2.52***	3.02***	1.87***	1.81**	1.19	1.25
	(0.57)	(0.54)	(0.50)	(0.70)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.25)	(0.29)
Upper Middle-Income	2.19***	2.15***	1.87***	1.98**	2.03***	2.00***	1.64**	1.78**
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.42)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.37)
BICS	1.11	1.07	1.31	1.45	0.96	0.95	1.26	1.28
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.29)	(0.33)
Year		1.06***	1.06***	1.05*		1.03	1.03	1.01
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Polity IV score			0.97**	0.96**			0.95***	0.96***
			(0.01)	(0.02)			(0.01)	(0.01)
Speaker Pop (log)			1.01	0.98			1.01	0.97
			(0.04)	(0.04)			(0.03)	(0.04)
Speaker Paragraph Number				0.97				1.00
				(0.02)				(0.02)
Paragraph Number				1.00				1.00
				(0.00)				(0.00)
Region Dummies	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Topics	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	3678	3678	3637	3637	3678	3678	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
Logistic regressions (odds ratios)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5: In Models 1 to 4, the dependent variable is exhibiting a starkly pro-South stance; in Models 5 to 8, it is prioritizing trade liberalization. Exponentiated coefficients indicate odds ratios, and standard errors are clustered by meeting.

	E	E	E	E
Pro-Env Statement				
Low Income	0.71	0.70	0.89	0.77
	(0.32)	(0.29)	(0.36)	(0.35)
Lower Middle-Income	0.80	0.80	1.00	0.98
	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Upper Middle-Income	0.80	0.80	0.78	0.89
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.23)
BICS	0.82	0.83	1.04	0.92
	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.38)	(0.41)
Year		0.99	1.00	0.97
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Polity IV score			1.02	1.01
			(0.02)	(0.03)
Speaker Pop (log)			0.86**	0.90
			(0.05)	(0.09)
Speaker Paragraph Number				1.04
				(0.03)
Paragraph Number				1.00
				(0.00)
Region Dummies	No	No	No	Yes
Topics	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	3678	3678	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
Logistic regressions (odds ratios)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6: The dependent variable is prioritizing environmental protection. Exponentiated coefficients indicate odds ratios, and standard errors are clustered by meeting.

Low income, lower-middle income

	L	L	L	L	LM	LM	LM	LM
main								
Low Income	7.10***	6.01**	9.01**	11.15***	3.39**	3.74**	4.01**	3.89**
	(3.69)	(3.28)	(7.19)	(7.29)	(1.50)	(1.64)	(1.74)	(2.05)
Lower Middle-Income	4.39***	4.83***	7.07***	5.98**	4.81***	4.56***	4.84***	4.18***
	(1.59)	(1.70)	(3.84)	(3.60)	(1.40)	(1.30)	(1.51)	(1.69)
Upper Middle-Income	2.22	2.37	2.46	2.17	3.37***	3.34***	3.38***	4.05***
	(1.09)	(1.14)	(1.28)	(0.89)	(0.85)	(0.84)	(0.98)	(1.46)
BICS	0.30	0.31	0.39	0.46	1.76	1.69	1.82	2.27
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.62)	(0.59)	(0.86)	(1.02)
Year		0.89	0.89	0.88		1.04	1.04	1.06
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Polity IV score			1.04	1.00			1.00	0.99
			(0.05)	(0.06)			(0.02)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)			0.82	0.93			0.97	0.92
			(0.16)	(0.20)			(0.10)	(0.10)
Speaker Paragraph Number				0.74***				0.78***
				(0.05)				(0.05)
Paragraph Number				1.01*				1.01**
				(0.00)				(0.00)
Region Dummies	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Topics	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	3678	3678	3637	3637	3678	3678	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
Logistic regressions (odds ratios)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Upper-middle income, high-income

	UM	UM	UM	UM	HI	HI	HI	HI
main								
Low Income	0.96	1.07	1.31	1.70	0.87	0.89	1.21	0.98
	(0.40)	(0.45)	(0.53)	(0.79)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.38)	(0.29)
Lower Middle-Income	3.35***	3.17***	3.99***	3.28***	1.32	1.30	1.73*	1.33
	(0.99)	(0.94)	(1.34)	(1.06)	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.37)	(0.33)
Upper Middle-Income	3.95***	3.90***	3.99***	2.62***	1.87***	1.86***	1.96***	1.67*
	(0.90)	(0.88)	(0.95)	(0.76)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.31)	(0.35)
BICS	1.09	1.04	1.11	1.28	0.86	0.85	0.93	0.92
	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.41)	(0.52)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.22)
Year		1.05*	1.05*	1.04		1.01	1.02	1.03
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Polity IV score			1.03	1.00			1.04*	1.05*
			(0.02)	(0.02)			(0.02)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)			0.92	0.92			0.89**	0.97
			(0.07)	(0.07)			(0.03)	(0.04)
Speaker Paragraph Number				0.84**				0.89***
				(0.05)				(0.02)
Paragraph Number				1.00				1.00
				(0.00)				(0.00)
Region Dummies	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Topics	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	3678	3678	3637	3637	3678	3678	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
Logistic regressions (odds ratios)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7: Supportive references to statements made by other countries. In the upper panel, Models 1-4 are for support of low-income countries and Models 5-8 for support of lower middle-income countries. In the lower panel, Models 1-4 are for support of upper middle-income countries and Models 5-8 for support of high-income countries. Exponentiated coefficients indicate odds ratios, and standard errors are clustered by meeting. For statements made in support of low-income countries, we do not include indicators for topics because several topics contain no supportive references.

	S	S	S	S
BICS Supported				
Low Income	3.57***	3.62***	2.94**	3.36**
	(1.26)	(1.29)	(1.12)	(1.33)
Lower Middle-Income	5.45***	5.41***	4.34***	3.19***
	(1.40)	(1.38)	(1.29)	(0.87)
Upper Middle-Income	4.34***	4.32***	3.98***	2.50**
	(1.09)	(1.08)	(1.12)	(0.73)
BICS	0.47**	0.47**	0.49	0.48
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.19)
Year		1.01	1.01	1.00
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Polity IV score			0.98	0.95*
			(0.02)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)			1.03	1.02
			(0.06)	(0.06)
Speaker Paragraph Number				0.83***
				(0.04)
Paragraph Number				1.00
				(0.00)
Region Dummies	No	No	No	Yes
Topics	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	3678	3678	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
Logistic regressions (odds ratios)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8: Supportive references to Brazil, India, China, or South Africa.

The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same:
Developing Countries' Unity in International Politics
Supporting Information

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December 20, 2016

Contents

A1 Data Description: Summary Statistics

- Table A1 shows summary statistics for the control variables.

- Figure A1 plots what or whom is supported by countries at various development levels across the 1995 to 2012 period. There are a few stark changes that fit with major events – for instance, statements supporting policies that benefit the South in general increase after 2001, when the WTO's Doha Development Agenda began. But in general, there are no stark time trends for these dependent variables.

- Figure A2 shows the number of statements made by countries in each year between 1995 and 2012. The overall pattern highlights the importance of controlling for time effects in the analysis.

	Mean	SD	N
Polity IV score	7.428	4.933	3642
Speaker Pop (log)	17.962	1.718	3673
Speaker Paragraph Number	3.965	3.583	3678
Paragraph Number	56.523	38.053	3678
Year	2000.614	4.540	3678
Asia	0.235	0.424	3678
Americas	0.359	0.480	3678
Europe	0.097	0.296	3678
Africa	0.077	0.267	3678

Table A1: Summary statistics for control variables.

Statements in support of other countries
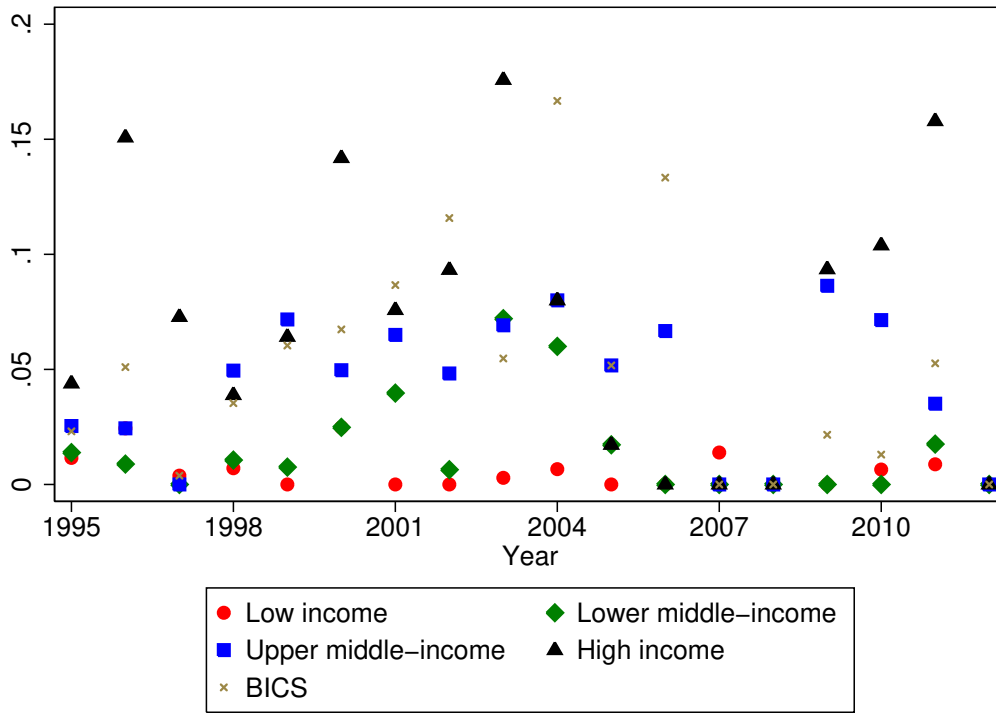
Substantive statements
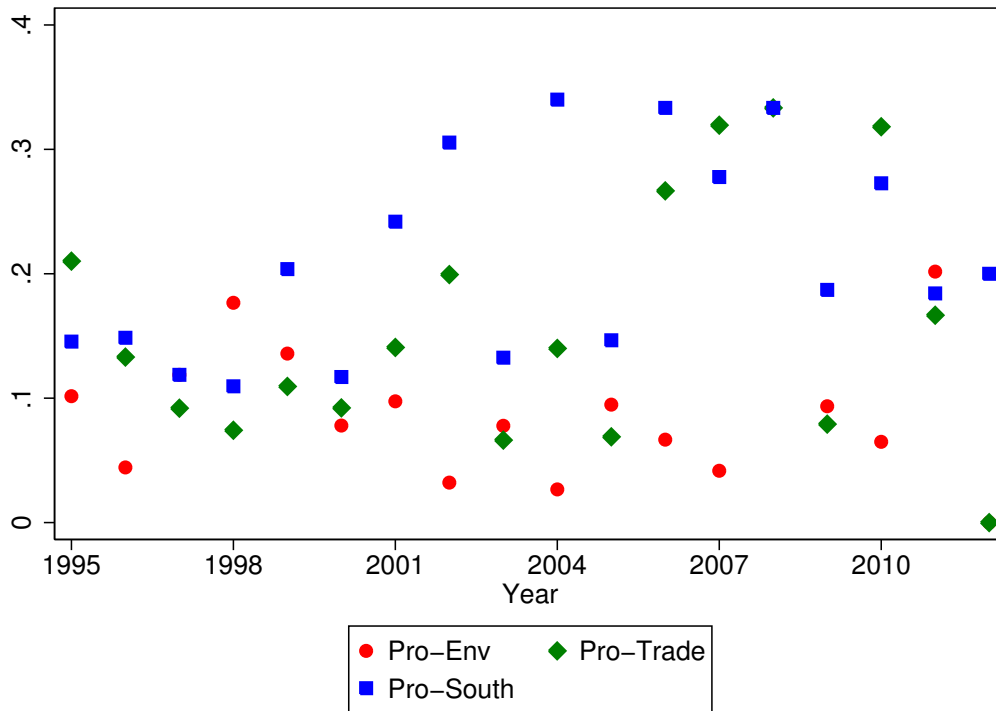
Figure A1: Temporal variation in substantive statements and in support of other countries. The y-axis indicates the proportion of all statements that belong to different categories.

Substantive statements made by countries
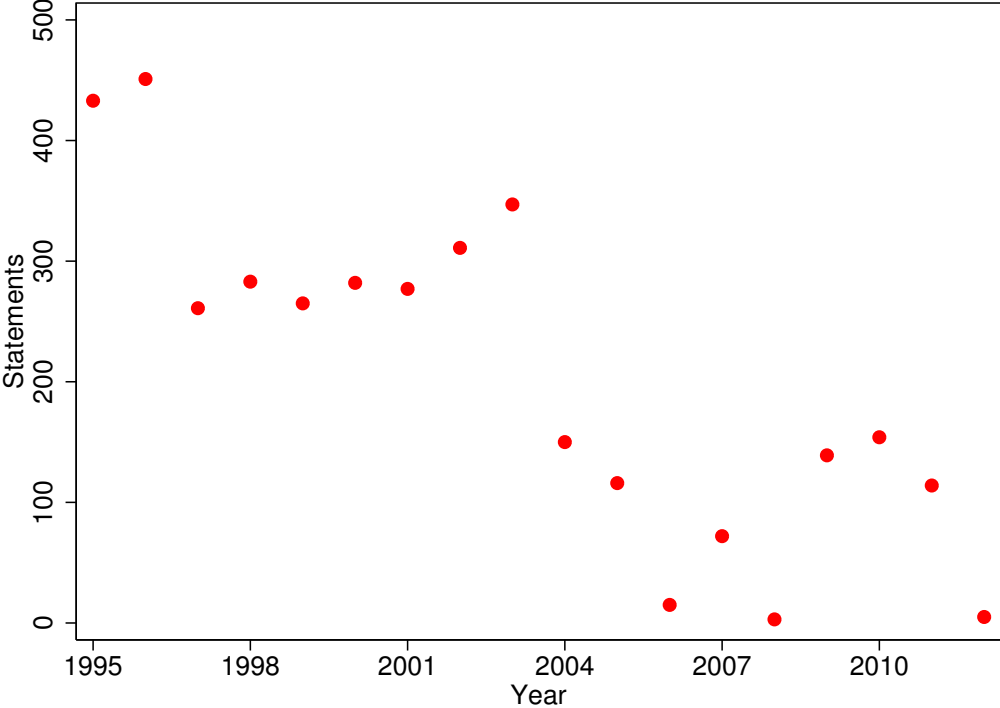
Figure A2: Temporal variation in substantive statements made by countries.

A2   Correlation with Environmental Performance Index

- Table A2 shows the correlation between the 2016 Yale Environmental Performance Index (EPI) and the dependent variables at the country level. Note that the European Communities are excluded because the EPI is not available at the supranational level.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
EPI	1.00									
Pro-Env	0.02	1.00								
Pro-Trade	-0.17	-0.30	1.00							
Pro-North	0.17	-0.05	-0.08	1.00						
Pro-South	-0.45	-0.27	0.44	-0.16	1.00					
Low Support	-0.21	-0.10	0.05	-0.04	0.14	1.00				
LM Support	-0.12	-0.12	0.01	-0.05	0.20	0.39	1.00			
UM Support	0.02	-0.13	0.11	-0.02	0.03	-0.06	0.16	1.00		
HI Support	0.19	-0.15	0.28	-0.04	0.14	0.07	0.15	0.28	1.00	
BICS Support	-0.24	-0.15	-0.08	-0.01	0.27	0.25	0.78	0.20	0.10	1.00

Table A2: Correlation matrix for EPI and dependent variables. The unit of analysis is a country.

A3 Robustness: Year and Meeting Fixed Effects

- Table A3 adds year fixed effects, instead of a linear time trend. As the table shows, the results are robust. The table also shows that in some models, the inclusion of year fixed effects significantly reduces the sample size.

- Table A4 adds meeting fixed effects, instead of a linear time trend. As the table shows, the results are robust. The table also shows that in some models, the inclusion of meeting fixed effects significantly reduces the sample size.

	L	LM	UM	H	PRO-S	PRO-T	PRO-E	BICS
main								
Low Income	11.57***	2.76	1.59	0.99	4.09***	2.19*	0.86	3.25**
	(6.99)	(1.48)	(0.76)	(0.31)	(1.07)	(0.67)	(0.39)	(1.43)
Lower Middle-Income	8.41**	2.72**	3.00**	1.39	2.89***	1.37	0.87	2.82**
	(5.95)	(1.04)	(1.05)	(0.38)	(0.59)	(0.29)	(0.22)	(0.89)
Upper Middle-Income	2.64	3.61***	2.44**	1.77**	1.81**	1.62**	1.08	2.45**
	(1.39)	(1.34)	(0.71)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.29)	(0.18)	(0.74)
BICS	0.47	3.00*	1.39	0.95	1.52*	1.31	0.72	0.43
	(0.48)	(1.39)	(0.60)	(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.19)
Polity IV score	1.01	0.97	0.98	1.05*	0.95**	0.96**	1.02	0.94**
	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)	0.93	0.96	0.94	0.98	0.98	0.96	0.93	1.08
	(0.20)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Speaker Paragraph Number	0.73***	0.80***	0.85**	0.90***	0.98	0.99	1.03	0.86***
	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Paragraph Number	1.01*	1.01	1.00	1.01	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	0.04	0.08	0.29	0.04***	0.04**	0.11*	0.25	0.01**
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.38)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.12)	(0.43)	(0.02)
Year Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2528	2995	3303	3547	3637	3637	3637	3562

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

Logistic regressions (odds ratios)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A3: Full models with all control variables and year fixed effects included. Models 1-4 and 8 focus on whom is supported; models 5-7 focus on what is supported. The patterns are quite similar to those in the main analysis.

	L	LM	UM	H	PRO-S	PRO-T	PRO-E	BICS
main								
Low Income	8.77***	3.28*	1.73	0.97	4.25***	2.26*	0.87	2.70*
	(5.34)	(1.95)	(0.83)	(0.33)	(1.15)	(0.78)	(0.42)	(1.17)
Lower Middle-Income	7.86*	2.33*	3.21***	1.34	2.97***	1.44	0.93	2.73**
	(6.39)	(0.99)	(1.14)	(0.39)	(0.63)	(0.35)	(0.26)	(0.87)
Upper Middle-Income	3.16*	3.63**	2.39**	1.73**	1.72**	1.57*	1.07	2.23*
	(1.70)	(1.50)	(0.71)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.30)	(0.18)	(0.70)
BICS	0.55	3.22*	1.34	0.88	1.57*	1.47	0.78	0.49
	(0.63)	(1.63)	(0.59)	(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.37)	(0.33)	(0.21)
Polity IV score	1.03	0.96	0.97	1.04*	0.95***	0.95**	1.04	0.93**
	(0.08)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)	0.93	0.98	0.95	1.00	0.98	0.94	0.95	1.06
	(0.23)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Speaker Paragraph Number	0.75***	0.79***	0.85**	0.89***	0.98	1.00	1.02	0.84**
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Paragraph Number	1.02*	1.01**	1.00	1.01*	1.00	0.99**	1.00	1.00
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	0.20	0.03	1.20	0.03***	0.06*	0.03***	0.18	0.09
	(0.88)	(0.07)	(1.59)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.32)	(0.15)
Meeting	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Region Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1039	1775	2973	3355	3617	3562	3501	3094

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

Logistic regressions (odds ratios)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A4: Full models with all control variables and report fixed effects included. Models 1-4 and 8 focus on whom is supported; models 5-7 focus on what is supported. The patterns are quite similar to those in the main analysis.

A4 Robustness: Clustering Standard Errors by Country

- Table A5 shows the results when standard errors are clustered by country instead of meeting.

	L	LM	UM	H	PRO-S	PRO-T	PRO-E	BICS
main								
Low Income	11.15***	3.89*	1.70	0.98	4.08***	2.07*	0.77	3.36**
	(8.17)	(2.10)	(0.91)	(0.31)	(1.26)	(0.64)	(0.32)	(1.57)
Lower Middle-Income	5.98**	4.18*	3.28***	1.33	3.02***	1.25	0.98	3.19***
	(3.53)	(2.37)	(1.02)	(0.36)	(0.72)	(0.34)	(0.46)	(0.80)
Upper Middle-Income	2.17	4.05*	2.62**	1.67**	1.98**	1.78*	0.89	2.50**
	(1.14)	(2.44)	(0.79)	(0.32)	(0.50)	(0.49)	(0.31)	(0.74)
BICS	0.46	2.27*	1.28	0.92	1.45	1.28	0.92	0.48*
	(0.29)	(0.74)	(0.33)	(0.18)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.31)	(0.17)
Polity IV score	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.05*	0.96*	0.96**	1.01	0.95**
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)	0.93	0.92	0.92	0.97	0.98	0.97	0.90	1.02
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.07)
Speaker Paragraph Number	0.74**	0.78**	0.84***	0.89***	0.97	1.00	1.04	0.83***
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Paragraph Number	1.01*	1.01*	1.00	1.00*	1.00	1.00**	1.00	1.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Year	0.88*	1.06*	1.04*	1.03	1.05**	1.01	0.97	1.00
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Region Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

Logistic regressions (odds ratios)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A5: Full models with all control variables and standard errors clustered by country. Models 1-4 and 8 focus on whom is supported; models 5-7 focus on what is supported. The patterns are quite similar to those in the main analysis.

A5   Robustness: Linear Probability Models

- Table A6 shows the results with linear probability models.

	L	LM	UM	H	PRO-S	PRO-T	PRO-E	BICS
Low Income	1.03*	1.03	1.04	1.01	1.24***	1.10	0.98	1.11***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Lower Middle-Income	1.02*	1.03*	1.08**	1.03	1.17***	1.02	1.00	1.11***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Upper Middle-Income	1.01	1.02*	1.06***	1.06*	1.08**	1.06*	0.99	1.07**
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
BICS	0.99	1.02	1.00	0.99	1.05	1.03	1.00	0.93**
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Polity IV score	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00*	0.99*	0.99**	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Speaker Pop (log)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Speaker Paragraph Number	1.00*	1.00***	1.00**	0.99***	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.99**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Paragraph Number	1.00	1.00*	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Year	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.01*	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Region Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

Linear probability models

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A6: Full models with all control variables and linear probability estimation. Models 1-4 and 8 focus on whom is supported; models 5-7 focus on what is supported. The patterns are quite similar to those in the main analysis.

A6 Robustness: International Organization Membership

- Table A7 shows the results with time-invariant indicators included for OPEC and/or ASEAN membership.

	L	LM	UM	H	PRO-S	PRO-T	PRO-E	BICS
main								
Low Income	9.49***	4.89*	1.95	1.05	3.94***	2.09*	0.70	3.42**
	(6.23)	(3.43)	(0.97)	(0.31)	(1.12)	(0.72)	(0.31)	(1.42)
Lower Middle-Income	6.10*	2.08	2.70*	1.41	2.95***	1.48	0.76	2.20*
	(4.30)	(1.06)	(1.10)	(0.42)	(0.81)	(0.34)	(0.24)	(0.68)
Upper Middle-Income	2.07	2.19	2.33**	1.75*	1.92**	1.92**	0.80	1.91*
	(1.00)	(0.88)	(0.65)	(0.39)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.26)	(0.51)
BICS	0.54	3.27**	1.37	0.86	1.52*	1.19	1.05	0.62
	(0.59)	(1.39)	(0.56)	(0.21)	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.48)	(0.24)
Polity IV score	1.01	0.95	0.98	1.05*	0.96*	0.96**	1.01	0.93***
	(0.08)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)	0.91	1.01	0.93	0.97	0.98	0.95	0.91	1.06
	(0.20)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Speaker Paragraph Number	0.74***	0.76***	0.84**	0.89***	0.97	1.00	1.04	0.82***
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Paragraph Number	1.01*	1.01**	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Year	0.88	1.06	1.04	1.03	1.05*	1.01	0.96	1.00
	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)
OPEC Member	1.65	0.87	0.90	0.73	1.17	1.09	1.13	1.18
	(1.00)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.53)	(0.28)
ASEAN Member	0.89	7.32**	2.02	0.88	1.10	0.53	1.87	3.31**
	(0.98)	(4.49)	(1.00)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.17)	(1.35)	(1.33)
Region Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637	3637

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses
Logistic regressions (odds ratios)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A7: Full models with all control variables plus OPEC, ASEAN memberships. Models 1-4 and 8 focus on whom is supported; models 5-7 focus on what is supported. The patterns are quite similar to those in the main analysis.

A7   Robustness: Continuous GDP Per Capita

- Table A8 shows the results with a continuous GDP per capita measure.

	L	LM	UM	H	PRO-S	PRO-T	PRO-E	BICS
main								
Speaker GDP pc (USD 1,000)	0.96*	0.95***	0.96**	0.99	0.96***	0.97***	1.01	0.95***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
BICS	0.96	2.23*	0.96	0.96	1.79**	1.45	1.08	0.49
	(0.68)	(0.90)	(0.40)	(0.26)	(0.34)	(0.42)	(0.63)	(0.21)
Polity IV score	1.00	0.99	0.99	1.04*	0.97*	0.97*	1.01	0.96*
	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Speaker Pop (log)	0.84	0.98	1.02	0.96	0.95	0.90	0.79	1.00
	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.15)	(0.07)
Speaker Paragraph Number	0.69***	0.70***	0.82**	0.87***	0.96	1.00	1.04	0.83***
	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Paragraph Number	1.01	1.01**	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Year	0.90	1.06	1.05	1.03	1.04*	1.00	0.97	1.00
	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)
Region Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Topics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	3168	3168	3168	3168	3168	3168	3168	3168

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

Logistic regressions (odds ratios)

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A8: Full models with all control variables, using the continuous GDP per capita measure. Models 1-4 and 8 focus on whom is supported; models 5-7 focus on what is supported. GDP per capita is negatively correlated with supporting low-income, lower-middle income, and upper-middle income countries, as expected. GDP per capita is also negative correlated with statements that support the South or prioritize trade liberalization, as well as statements in support of BICS countries. All these patterns are as expected.