

19-15 Measuring the Rise of Economic Nationalism

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Abstract

Since the mid-2000s, the platforms of major political parties in both advanced and emerging-market economies have increasingly emphasized policies that stress national sovereignty, reject multilateralism, and seek to advance national interests through measures that come at the expense of foreign interests. This paper documents this shift by evaluating the policy platforms of the largest political parties (about 55 in total) in the Group of Twenty (G-20) countries with regard to trade policy, foreign direct investment (FDI), immigration, and multilateral organizations. Preference shifts with respect to industrial policy, competition policy, and macroeconomic populism are also examined. In advanced economies, the biggest shifts were toward restrictions on immigration and trade and toward macroeconomic populism. In emerging-market economies, the largest preference shifts were toward industrial policies favoring specific sectors, macroeconomic populism, and industrial concentration. Trade protectionism and skepticism toward multilateral organizations and agreements have increased in both advanced and emerging-market economies. As of 2018, economic policy preferences in emerging-market economies were more nationalist and less liberal than in advanced countries, but the gap has narrowed. Right-wing parties tend to be more nationalist than left-wing parties in the areas of immigration restrictions, FDI restrictions, and antimultilateralism, but there is no significant difference with respect to trade protectionism.

JEL Codes: F5, F1, F2

Keywords: nationalism, populism, capitalism, trade policy, industrial policy, protectionism

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I. INTRODUCTION

Economic policies that seek to advance national interests at the expense of international integration and cooperation appear to have enjoyed a resurgence in recent years. Examples include the imposition of tariffs (United States), withdrawal from international fora or treaties (United States, United Kingdom), promotion of national industrial champions (China, France, Germany), more restrictive immigration policies (United States, many other advanced countries), and restrictions on inward foreign direct investment (United States, European Union). In keeping with a literature going back to the early 20th century, we refer to policies of this type as “economic nationalism.” Economic nationalism is correlated with political nationalism, populism, and what has been called “national populism” (Judis 2018, Eichengreen 2018, Eatwell and Goodwin 2018). President Donald Trump, for example, represents all of these. But the match is far from perfect: Some political nationalists, such as the government of Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, have so far embraced traditional free-market liberalism. Conversely, some economic nationalist ideas—for example, encouraging mergers to create large national champions—are being promoted by EU politicians that cannot be classified as either politically nationalist or populist (Zettelmeyer 2019b).

This paper takes a stab at measuring the resurgence in economic nationalism—or more precisely, the policy preferences underlying these nationalist policies, as articulated in the programs of political parties. How widespread is the shift in preferences? Is it taking place only in advanced countries or also in emerging-market countries? Which, if any, countries buck the trend? What policy areas are affected, and to what extent?

Unlike recent empirical literature on the sources of support for populist and extremist political parties (for example, Funke, Schularick, and Trebesch 2015; Guiso et al. 2018; and Mounk 2018), this paper does not attempt to investigate the causes of economic nationalism (except for confirming that economic nationalism and populist politics are correlated). And while we hope to lay the basis for research on the effects of nationalist economic policies, this is outside the scope of the present paper. As such, we take no position on whether preference shifts in the direction of economic nationalism are good or bad. While most economists would come down in favor of international integration and cooperation—that is, against economic nationalism—there is also a long and influential intellectual tradition arguing that policies such as tariffs can be good and even necessary at some stages of economic development (e.g., List 1841). Indeed, there is evidence suggesting that countries acquire capabilities in a wide range of industrial activity before specializing (Imbs and Wacziarg 2003). To the extent that some forms of economic nationalism help countries acquire such capabilities, they might conceivably be globally welfare improving in the long run. The same type of argument could be (and has been) made to justify “defensive” economic nationalism in advanced countries that see themselves at risk of losing industrial capabilities (Altmaier 2019). This is an important debate, to which this paper does not contribute; it focuses only on measurement.

To measure changes in policy preferences, we examine the manifestos (when available) of all major political parties in G-20 countries at two points in time: the mid-2000s and recent general elections (between 2015 and 2018). We focus on policy *preferences* rather than policies themselves because the former is a structural

determinant of the latter and arguably a leading indicator. There may be a groundswell of support for economic nationalism in a country, but whether and on what timetable this translates into actual policies is to some extent random—depending, for example, on the political costs of withdrawing from an international arrangement, or on whether the nationalist party only narrowly won a majority. The second reason for focusing on preferences is that they can be inferred from readily available sources, namely party manifestos or platforms.¹ The representativeness of the views expressed in a platform is measured by the success of the party in the subsequent election.

Our yardsticks for measuring policy preferences are eight scales, each focusing on one area of economic policy. In each case, policy preferences are assessed against a benchmark defined by the liberal economic consensus that had become almost universal after the collapse of the Soviet empire in the early 1990s. This consensus emphasized free markets in a strong competition framework, “horizontal” rather than “vertical” industrial policies, stability-oriented macroeconomic policy, free but rules-based trade, liberal immigration policies, openness to inward foreign direct investment (FDI), and international economic integration overseen by multilateral rules and institutions (see, for example, EBRD 1999, 2009; Besley, Dewatripont and Guriev 2010).

Four of our scales measure departures from the liberal benchmark for (increasingly) nationalist reasons: protectionist trade policies, restrictions on FDI, immigration restrictions, and the rejection of constraints imposed by multilateral arrangements (antimultilateralism). These quantify economic nationalism *stricto sensu*. The other four scales measure departures from the liberal consensus for reasons that might be motivated by economic nationalism but could also have other motives, such as left-wing politics (for example, distributional objectives) or capture by private interests. They involve competition policy, macroeconomic policy (macroeconomic populism), and (vertical) industrial policy, as well as a scale that measures antitrade sentiment for broader reasons than protectionism (trade restrictions).

The main result is that preferences have shifted in a nationalist and/or illiberal direction in most of the large advanced and emerging-market economies. In advanced economies, the biggest shifts were toward trade and immigration restrictions, as well as toward more populist macroeconomic policies. These occurred both within established parties and as a result of the entry of new parties, which on average tended to be more nationalist. In emerging-market economies, the largest preference shifts were toward industrial policies favoring specific sectors, macroeconomic populism, and greater industrial concentration. Both advanced and emerging-market economies experienced a shift toward more protectionism and greater skepticism toward multilateral organizations. As of 2018, policy preferences in emerging-market economies remain more nationalist and less liberal than in advanced countries in several dimensions: trade protectionism, FDI protectionism, industrial policies targeted at specific sectors, and macroeconomic populism. However, the gap has generally narrowed.

With respect to political ideology, right-wing parties tend to be more nationalist/illiberal than left-wing parties in the areas of immigration restrictions, FDI restrictions, and antimultilateralism, while left-wing parties

1. Data on policy actions are much harder to obtain. Notable exceptions include the *Global Trade Alert* database, which monitors a broad set of policies affecting trade (www.globaltradealert.org/), including immigration restrictions, but is available only since 2008. FDI restriction indices compiled by the IMF (www.elibrary-areaer.imf.org/Pages/ChapterQuery.aspx) and the OECD (www.oecd.org/investment/fdiindex.htm) are available for a longer period.

are more attached to vertical industrial policy and macroeconomic populism. But again, most of these gaps have narrowed. Particularly noticeable in the data is a rise in protectionism among left-wing parties; as a result, left-wing and right-wing party attitudes with respect to trade protectionism are no longer significantly different on average.

We begin by defining economic nationalism and putting that definition in the context of the literature. The subsequent sections explain the eight policy scales used in this paper, followed by our main results.

II. DEFINITION

The term “economic nationalism” goes back at least to the beginning of the 20th century. Figure 1 shows the frequency with which the term appears in books digitized by Google published in English, French, Spanish, and Italian since 1900; a related term, “national self-reliance” was used for Chinese books. In the Western languages, the term begins to appear around World War I. This is followed by a large peak in usage in the 1930s and 1940s, a long plateau in the postwar period, and a gradual decline since 1990. Recently, however, the online use of the term in English has soared (figure 2), perhaps related to the election of President Trump and the use of the term by his campaign manager and initial political advisor, Steve Bannon (see, for example, Drezner 2017).

There is a large literature on economic nationalism to which both economists and political scientists have contributed. The economics literature goes back more than a century: The first article that we could identify is by American economist Alvin Johnson (1917), one of the cofounders of the New School for Social Research.² This literature tends to be written in reaction to economic nationalist policies prevailing at the time and is often critical of these policies.³ The political science literature is more recent and discusses economic nationalism as a facet of nationalism (see Crane 1998, Abdelal 2001, Helleiner 2002, Pickel 2003, and Nakano 2004), in the context of international relations (Gilpin 1987), or both (Mayall 1990).⁴

These literatures are preceded by authors, going back to the late 18th century, who gave economic nationalism its intellectual foundation without calling it by that name. Seminal contributions include those of Alexander Hamilton (1791) and Friedrich List (1841). Both argued that there could be no national prosperity without industrialization and that industrial development justified—indeed, required—protection of domestic industry against foreign competition. Economic nationalism of a more radical kind is associated with German philosopher Johann Fichte (1800), whose *Closed Commercial State* provided a “blueprint for a complete collectivist society in which production, distribution and exchange would be planned as national activities,” and international trade would be eliminated altogether as the nation expanded to its “natural frontiers” (Mayall 1990, 80).

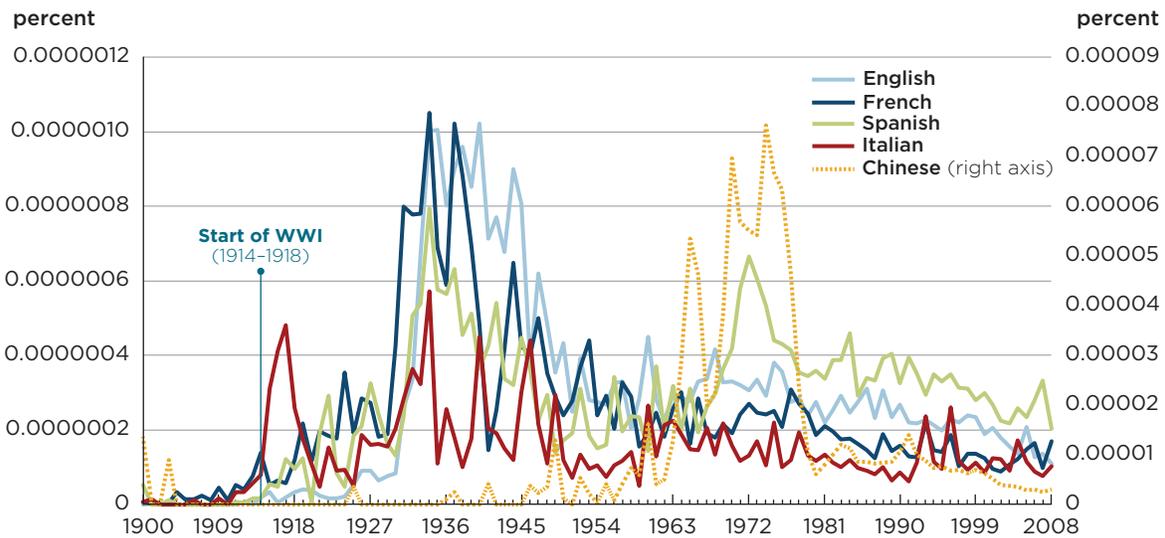
Economists and political scientists have not always agreed on the definition of economic nationalism. Economists have generally identified economic nationalism with specific policies—either those focused on

2. Other contributors in this tradition include Gregory (1931), Rappard (1937), Heilperin (1960), Johnson (1967), and Hieronymi (1980).

3. For example, Johnson (1917, 225) writes that “Economic nationalism may indeed be credited with important gains in industrial efficiency. These are no adequate compensation for the evils produced by its aggressions. It is national selfishness erected into a religion that menaces the peace and liberty of the world.”

4. Other contributions include those of Levi-Faur (1997), Shulman (2000), Abdelal (2001), Helleiner (2005), Helleiner and Pickel (2005), Pickel (2005), and Szlajfer (2012). For a survey, see Pryke (2012).

Figure 1
Mentions of the term “economic nationalism” in books in five languages, 1900–2008



WWI = World War I

Note: For books in French, this chart refers to the term “nationalisme économique.” For books in Spanish, “nacionalismo económico.” For books in Italian, “nazionalismo economico.” For books in Chinese, “自力更生”, which means “self reliance” in English. The units represent the proportion of each phrase (“economic nationalism” in English) in all two-word phrases contained in Google’s sample of books written in the same language.

Source: Google Books Ngram Viewer, books.google.com/ngrams.

limiting international integration and foreign influence (Rappard 1937, Heilperin 1960) or those designed to benefit domestic firms in their competition with foreign firms, not only through trade policies but also via subsidies, foreign investment restrictions designed to either accelerate industrial catchup or prevent competing nations from catching up, and measures allowing or fostering cartels (Gregory 1931, Johnson 1965, Kahan 1967, Hieronymi 1980).

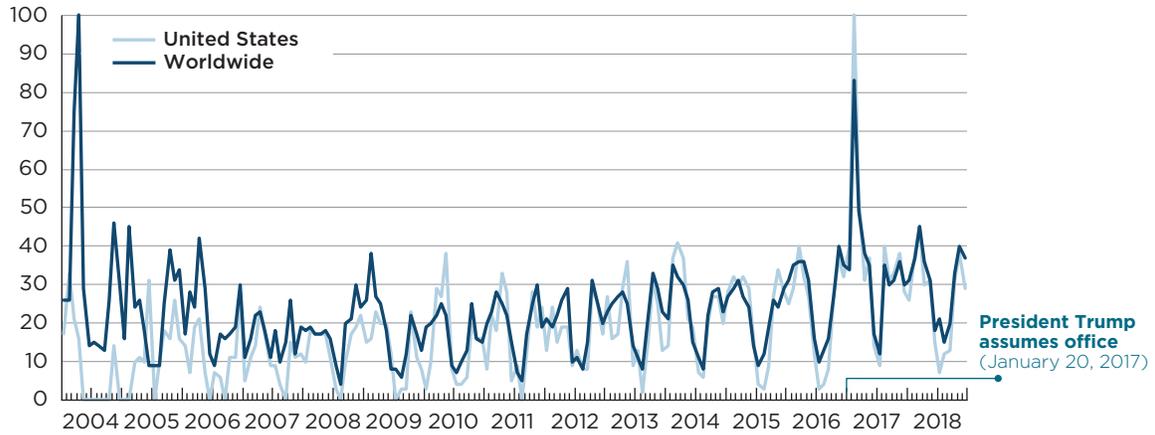
In the late 1990s and early 2000s, this definition came under fire from political scientists, who argued that it lacked rigor as well as historical understanding, allowing liberally minded economists to brand essentially any policy they did not like as nationalist (Crane 1998; Abdelal 2001, 2005; Helleiner 2002, 2005; Pickel 2003, 2005). In their view, economic nationalism should instead be defined in terms of motives—or as Helleiner (2005, 220) puts it, “nationalist content”: Antiliberal policies are not economic nationalism unless motivated by nationalist thought. This definition does not necessarily result in a specific set of policy prescriptions of the sort that economists have typically identified with economic nationalism, because in some settings even liberal economic policies may serve a nationalist purpose.

With this paper we hope to lay the ground for research that will establish whether policies of the kind that have been advocated by new nationalists such as President Trump—including protectionism, restrictions on inward foreign investment and immigration, and rejection of multilateral constraints—can make economic sense for the countries that pursue them, at least in some historical settings. As such, this paper cannot go all the way to adopting a definition of economic nationalism that is entirely context-specific and may thus include dramatically different policy choices—sometimes liberal, sometimes illiberal. At the same time, we agree with

Figure 2
Online use of the term “economic nationalism” in English

a. Google searches, 2004–18

interest over time

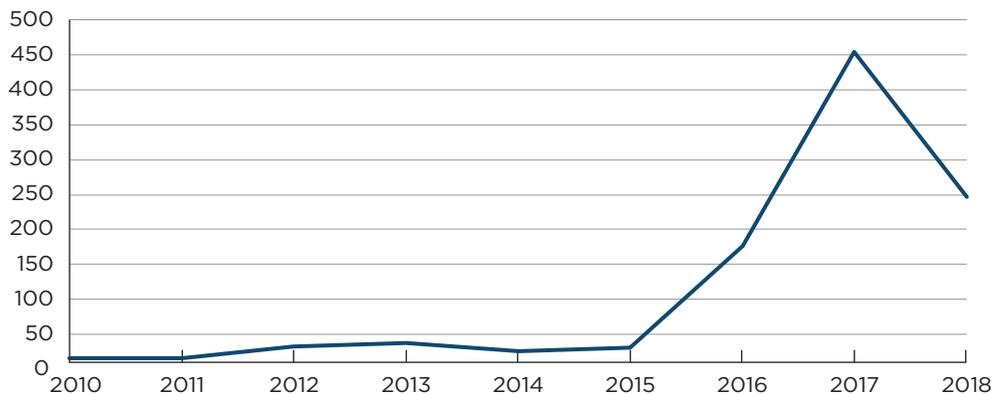


Note: Search interest relative to the maximum. A value of 100 denotes peak popularity. A value of 50 means that the term was half as popular.

Source: Google Trends.

b. Mentions in online news, 2010–18

mentions



Note: Number of nonduplicate articles in which the phrase “economic nationalism” is mentioned.

Source: NOW Corpus (News on the Web).

the political science literature that motives matter, in part because they help distinguish nationalist from statist or socialist policies. For example, for Harry Johnson (1965) “a preference for public enterprise over private enterprise” is part of the economic nationalism observed in the new postcolonial states. But this preference could be motivated by socialism, and as such is not necessarily nationalist. Even rejection of free trade could have nonnationalist motives. In the 2017 German parliamentary election, the Greens were opposed to multilateral free trade agreements because they believed that these agreements would benefit multinational corporations at the expense of workers and consumers, not because they wanted to protect domestic workers at the expense of foreign workers.

The approach taken in this paper is hence to adopt a motives-based definition of economic nationalism, but one that is sufficiently narrow to exclude liberal policies. Specifically, we define economic nationalism as *policies designed to further domestic economic interests* (the interests of domestic producers, consumers, and/or workers) *at the expense of foreign economic interests, at least in the short run*. The qualification “at least in the short run” allows us to include policies, such as the infant industry tariffs advocated by Hamilton and List, that do not attempt to give domestic interests a permanent advantage but are intended to level the playing field during a phase of catch-up. In the same vein, some US or EU advocates of FDI restrictions against Chinese companies would argue that these restrictions are needed only so long as China does not “play by market rules.”

This definition leads to the following policy classifications.

First, we define four policy categories that clearly meet our definition of economic nationalism: trade protectionism, FDI protectionism, immigration restrictions, and rejection of multilateral constraints. The first three capture policies that seek to restrict—or influence the terms of—international integration to protect domestic interests at the expense of foreign interests. The last is concerned with protecting national autonomy from supranational or foreign interference, even at the expense of cooperation that may be collectively beneficial. Hence, these four policies reflect economic nationalism *stricto sensu*.

Second, we define four further policy categories in which a specific policy choice may or may not reflect economic nationalism, depending on how it is motivated: industrial policies, competition policies, macroeconomic populism, and restrictions on trade for any reason (not just protectionism). For example, industrial policies could be motivated by the desire to strengthen “strategic” industries against foreign competition—a nationalist motive—but they could also reflect a desire to address perceived market failures. The latter might make sense even in a world with just one country and no foreign competition, and as a result is not nationalist. Similarly, allowing or promoting anticompetitive mergers and cartels could reflect a desire to build national champions but could also reflect capture by special interests, or a version of Spencerian social Darwinism—the view that size reflects superiority and strength. Only the first of these motives is nationalist according to our definition. With respect to macroeconomic populism, we follow the definition of Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards (1991), namely, macroeconomic risk taking in pursuit of a specific social or political objective (with risks including high inflation, currency collapse, or financial crisis).⁵ This objective may be nationalist (for example, when the central bank or the treasury directs credit to strategic sectors), but it may also be to reduce inequality or benefit a particular group of producers. Finally, trade restrictions for any reason may combine protectionism with other motives to restrict trade, such as maintaining environmental or labor standards.

In the remainder of the paper we attempt to establish how preferences for these policies differ across G-20 countries and between two points in time: the mid-2000s and the time of a country’s most recent general election.

5. “For us, ‘economic populism’ is an approach to economics that emphasizes growth and income redistribution and deemphasizes the risks of inflation and deficit finance, external constraints, and the reaction of economic agents to aggressive nonmarket policies” (Dornbusch and Edwards 1991, 9).

III. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Several databases attempt to quantify the policy preferences of political parties. The Chapel Hill expert survey (www.chesdata.eu) measures the general ideological orientation of European parties and their position on European integration as well as several policy issues for about 30 European countries, based on expert panels for each country. The Comparative Manifesto Project Database (<https://manifesto-project.wzb.eu>) codes party electoral programs around the world (over 50 countries). Electoral programs are first “unitized” by dividing them into “statements”. In a second step, each statement is assigned a single code based on whether it refers positively or negatively to a specific policy goal or issue. The numbers of positive and negative mentions are subsequently counted and expressed as a percentage of the number of statements in the dataset.⁶

Unfortunately, neither of these databases is sufficiently rich to allow users to extract changes in economic nationalism in a broad cross-section of countries. The Chapel Hill survey is too limited in its coverage of both countries and policy issues, which include only one of the eight policy categories that we are interested in (immigration). The Manifesto Project is much broader in terms of country coverage, but limited in terms of policy categories, covering only three that relate to the definition of economic nationalism used in this paper: protectionism, internationalism (a negative proxy for the rejection of multilateral constraints), and economic orthodoxy (a negative proxy for macroeconomic populism). Furthermore, because the Manifesto Project’s coding criteria are defined quite narrowly—for example, obtaining a score on “negative protectionism” requires a statement opposing tariffs rather than just stating that free trade or trade agreements are desirable—many parties covered are assigned zero values in the categories that we are interested in. In addition, the Manifesto Project’s approach cannot help us decide whether opposition to trade liberalization reflects nationalist or green/progressive motives—a distinction that is important for the purposes of this paper.

As a result, the empirical work presented in this paper is based on our own coding of policy preferences for economic nationalism. Like the Manifesto Project, the raw material consists of party platforms and/or election programs. Unlike that project, however, we go beyond a binary coding (positive versus negative statements) approach. Instead, we define cardinal scales, from 1 to 5, for each of our eight policy categories. Party manifestos are coded using these scales, which are described in detail in appendix A. This approach provides for a much richer dataset in terms of both the policy categories covered and the granularity of classifications. The disadvantage is that it injects a degree of subjectivity in the policy ratings. We address this in three ways.

- Each policy manifesto was separately coded by two researchers—one of the coauthors and one of the research assistants—followed by a reconciliation to deliver a final set of scores. Initial disagreements were recorded and quantified. The Cohen kappa coefficient for interrater agreement, measured on a scale of -1 to $+1$, varied from 0.52 to 0.66, indicating moderate to strong agreement.⁷ The pairwise correlation coefficients

6. For example, for the 2006 electoral platform of the Conservative Party of Canada, variable 406, “protectionism: positive,” takes the value 0.523, while variable 407, “protectionism: negative,” takes the value 4.007. This means that 0.523 percent of the statements in the party platform contained favorable references to protectionist measures (tariffs, quotas, export subsidies) while 4 percent of the statements contained negative references.

7. A kappa of -1 corresponds to perfect disagreement, 0 is the agreement one would expect if the ratings had been produced randomly, and $+1$ represents perfect agreement. See McHugh (2012).

between the policy ratings of the two raters, in categories for which both raters found sufficient information to rate, was between 0.77 and 0.93 (see appendix B for details).

- All sources, as well as working files documenting and backing each individual rating decision, including extracts from party platforms on which decisions were based, are available in full on the PIIIE website, making it easy for other researchers to reproduce (or modify) our ratings.
- As a robustness check, we also examined preference shifts according to the Manifesto Project data in three categories: “protectionism,” comparable to our trade protectionism category; “internationalism,” which should be negatively correlated with our “antimultilateralism” category; and “economic orthodoxy,” which should be negatively correlated with macroeconomic populism.

The remainder of this section summarizes how our policy scales were constructed, which party manifestos were selected for coding purposes, and in which policy dimensions they contained sufficient information to allow coding.

Policy Scales

The construction of the policy scales was based on the following principles:

- Rating 1 describes what we view as a modern liberal consensus. By “consensus” we do not mean to imply that this view is necessarily consensual in societies, only that it is consensual among today’s economic liberals. This consensus does not necessarily describe free-market or laissez-faire views, but rather the views of mainstream economists in academia or international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Rating 1 can assign a significant role to the state, so long as this is justified by market failures or competition enforcement. Rating 1 is always nonnationalist in the sense defined above. While governments should of course worry about national prosperity, consensus liberalism believes that national prosperity generally benefits from international cooperation and does not require policies that come at the expense of other nations.
- Rating 5 is the farthest departure from this modern liberal consensus (in an illiberal direction) that can arguably be observed in history.
- The progression from 1 to 5 is based on some combination of ideology and policy proposals expressed by the party manifesto, explained below.

In what follows, we briefly state how these extremes, and the progression between them, are defined for each of the eight policy scales (for details, see appendix A).

Economic Nationalism

Trade Protectionism

Rating 1. Absence of protectionism. This could be either because the party embraces free trade subject to the rules of the multilateral trading system or because trade restrictions are justified with arguments that have nothing to do with protectionism (for example, that unfettered trade hurts the environment, that it benefits multinationals to the detriment of workers, or that it does not reflect the interests of developing-country trading partners).

Rating 5. Economy is closed to imports, except with respect to products that are deemed essential and cannot be produced at home.

Progression: defined both by the extent to which the party advocates using policy instruments that are intended to further domestic interests at the expense of foreign interests (e.g. tariffs, quotas, discriminatory procurement policies) and the extent to which international trade, and multilateral and bilateral agreements that facilitate it, are viewed with skepticism for nationalist reasons.

FDI Protectionism

Rating 1. No restrictions or regulatory impediments to FDI except for narrowly defined national security reasons as determined by a politically independent body.

Rating 5. FDI is not welcome except in specific areas of national interest (“positive list”).

Progression: defined by the extent and way in which FDI restrictions are employed. The motivation for these restrictions could include protecting a technological lead, creating know-how or jobs at home (via local content requirements), or simply maintaining national control of companies.

Immigration Restrictions

Rating 1. Country is open to immigration except for restrictions that are meant to protect health and public safety, avoid congestion of public services, and facilitate the integration of immigrants.

Rating 5. Country is closed to immigration except for immigrants that share the ethno-national background of the domestic population or have ties with the ruling elites.

Progression: defined by increasingly nationalist motivations for restricting immigration and the resulting extent of restrictions.

Rejection of Multilateral Constraints

Rating 1. Country is or wishes to be a member of virtually all international organizations whose mission it agrees with. In working within this organization, it puts the purpose of the organization ahead of narrowly defined national interest.

Rating 5. Country is a member of an international organization only if it effectively runs it or for propaganda purposes and only if membership poses no constraints on national policies.

Progression: focuses on how a government resolves the potential tension between national interest in specific instances and its support for the mission of the international organization.

Deviations from the Liberal Consensus for Any Reason, Nationalist or Not

Trade Restrictions

Rating 1. Free trade subject to the rules of the multilateral system. Trade is viewed as good, not just exports. Tariff barriers to trade are minimal (historical relics). Nontariff barriers to trade are a consequence of regulation that is justified by public policy aims extraneous to trade. Some state intervention in trade (e.g., export promotion) is consistent with this rating so long as it is justified by overcoming information failures or reducing fixed costs of trade.

Rating 5. Same as the trade protectionism scale (i.e., economy essentially closed to imports).

Progression: same as in the case of trade protectionism, except that deviations from the liberal baseline policy prescription could be motivated both by protectionism and by trade skepticism for reasons unrelated to protectionism.

Competition Policy (Tolerance of Market Power)

Rating 1. Competition law makes cartels illegal, aims to prevent abuse of economic power, and is effectively enforced by an independent competition authority.

Rating 5. No effective competition regime. Cartels or monopolies exist in many sectors of the economy, typically run or encouraged by the state (whether in the form of state enterprises or via state supervision of privately owned enterprises).

Progression: defined by effectiveness of competition enforcement and the degree to which the competition regime allows the suspension or restriction of competition to pursue other aims (for example, to create *national champions*).

Vertical Industrial Policy

Rating 1. Industrial policy is “horizontal” in the sense that the state provides public goods or services that are meant to encourage economic activity in general rather than in specific sectors, and state financial support for firms is provided competitively and based on the presumed externalities of the activities that benefit from support (e.g., R&D subsidies).

Rating 5. The state seeks to develop specific sectors with means that include nationalization, price controls, and/or direct state instructions.

Progression: defined by the extent to which the state seeks to promote specific sectors and the means it uses to do so (including the extent to which it seeks to exercise direct control).

Macroeconomic Populism

Rating 1. Monetary and fiscal policies are focused solely on economic stability: maintaining low and stable inflation, smoothing recessions and booms, and preventing financial or fiscal crises. Monetary policy is executed by an independent central bank.

Rating 5. Monetary and fiscal policies are subordinated to objectives other than sustainability or stabilization. The government will not compromise with respect to its preferred objectives, no matter what happens to macro stability.

Progression: defined by the willingness of the government to take macroeconomic risks in pursuit of other objectives such as (short-term) growth or redistribution.

PARTY SELECTION AND COVERAGE

This paper focuses on 18 of the G-20 countries (Saudi Arabia is excluded). Advanced and emerging-market economies are evenly split in this group, which contains the G7 countries, Australia, Korea, and nine emerging-market countries (Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, and Turkey). These 18 countries account for about three quarters of the world economy in terms of GDP.⁸

To get a sense of whether political preferences for economic nationalism have changed, we compared party platforms before a general (parliamentary or presidential) election in the mid-2000s and before the most recent general election (as of December 2018). This time interval includes the global financial crisis (GFC), which many analysts believe contributed to the rise of nationalism and populism in advanced countries (Eichengreen 2018, Eatwell and Goodwin 2018).

To keep the analysis manageable, we focused on political parties that secured at least 10 percent of votes cast in at least one of these elections.⁹ In the case of China, the 11th Five-Year Plan (2006–10) and 13th Five-Year Plan (2016–20) were used for pre- and post-GFC analysis, respectively. In the case of Italy, elections were contested by broad center-right and center-left coalitions (with the Five Star Movement running separately in 2018); hence, the electoral platforms of the coalitions were analyzed rather than those of individual parties (except for the Five Star Movement). In a few cases, listed in the note to table 1, written party platforms could not be obtained or were insufficiently informative to be rated. The parties or coalitions included in the analysis nonetheless captured over half of the votes cast, and normally much more, with two main exceptions: Indonesia, reflecting missing information, and Brazil, reflecting the extreme fragmentation of the Brazilian party system.¹⁰

Table 1 shows the parties (or electoral coalitions) analyzed. For the advanced countries, the sample contains 26 pre-GFC and 32 post-GFC parties/coalitions; for the emerging-market countries, 20 and 24 pre- and post-GFC parties, respectively. The post-GFC party count reflects six new entrants in advanced countries: La

8. In purchasing power terms, about 72 percent; at market exchange rates, about 77 percent.

9. We also analyzed the platforms of two parties that missed the 10 percent threshold in these elections, the German Greens and the UK Independence Party (UKIP). The Greens received nearly 10 percent in both elections, while UKIP was of interest because of its outsized influence on the Brexit vote. In the case of elections for bicameral legislative bodies, the selection was based on the election results for the lower chamber.

10. In Brazil's 2018 election, the largest five parties together captured less than 40 percent of the vote.

Table 1

Party platforms analyzed

Country	Pre-GFC		Post-GFC	
	Election	Parties	Election	Parties
Argentina	Chamber of Deputies, 2007	Frente para la Victoria Coalición Cívica	Chamber of Deputies, 2015	Frente para la Victoria Cambios United for a New Alternative (UNA)*
Australia	House of Representatives, 2007	Australian Greens Australian Labor Party Liberal Party of Australia	House of Representatives, 2016	Australian Greens Australian Labor Party Liberal Party of Australia
Brazil	Chamber of Deputies, 2006	Workers' Party (PT) Social Democracy Party (PSDB)	Chamber of Deputies, 2018	Workers' Party (PT) Social Democracy Party (PSDB) Social Liberal Party (PSL)
Canada	House of Commons, 2006	Conservative Party Liberal Party New Democratic Party	House of Commons, 2015	Conservative Party Liberal Party New Democratic Party
China	11th Five-Year Plan	Communist Party of China	13th Five-Year Plan	Communist Party of China
France	13th National Assembly, 2007	Front National Socialist Party (PS) Union for a Popular Movement (UMP)	15th National Assembly, 2017	Front National Socialist Party (PS) Les Républicains La France Insoumise La République En Marche!
Germany	16th Bundestag, 2005	Alliance 90/The Greens Christian Democratic Union (CDU)/ Christian Social Union (CSU) Free Democratic Party (FDP) Social Democratic Party (SPD)	19th Bundestag, 2017	Alliance 90/The Greens CDU/CSU Free Democratic Party (FDP) Social Democratic Party (SPD) Alliance for Germany (AfD)
India	14th Lok Sabha, 2004	Bharatiya Janata Party Indian National Congress	16th Lok Sabha, 2014	Bharatiya Janata Party Indian National Congress
Indonesia	People's Representative Council, 2004	Democratic Party (PD) Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar)	People's Representative Council, 2014	Democratic Party (PD) Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar) Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)
Italy	Chamber of Deputies, 2006	Center Left Coalition Center Right Coalition	Chamber of Deputies, 2018	Center Left Coalition Center Right Coalition Movimento Cinque Stelle
Japan	House of Representatives, 2005	Democratic Party Liberal Democratic Party	House of Representatives, 2017	Constitutional Democratic Party Liberal Democratic Party Kibō no Tō (Party of Hope)

Table continues

Table 1 (continued)

Party platforms analyzed

Country	Pre-GFC		Post-GFC	
	Election	Parties	Election	Parties
Mexico	Chamber of Deputies, 2006	Alliance for Mexico (PRI-led) National Action Party (PAN) Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD)	Chamber of Deputies, 2018	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) Por México al Frente (PAN-led) Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (MORENA)
Russia	5th State Duma, 2007	Communist Party Liberal Democratic Party of Russia United Russia	7th State Duma, 2016	Communist Party Liberal Democratic Party of Russia United Russia
South Africa	National Assembly, 2004	African National Congress Democratic Alliance	National Assembly, 2014	African National Congress Democratic Alliance
South Korea	18th National Assembly, 2008	Grand National Party (Hannara) United Democratic Party	20th National Assembly, 2016	Saenuri Party Democratic Party People's Party
Turkey	Grand National Assembly, 2007	AK Parti Nationalist Movement Republican People's Party	Grand National Assembly, 2018	AK Parti Nationalist Movement Peoples' Democratic Party Republican People's Party
United Kingdom	House of Commons, 2005	Conservative Party Labour Party Liberal Democrats UK Independence Party	House of Commons, 2017	Conservative Party Labour Party Liberal Democrats UK Independence Party
United States	Presidential election, 2004	Democratic Party Republican Party	Presidential election, 2016	Democratic Party Republican Party

GFC = global financial crisis

*Parties listed in semi-bold are new entrants.

Note: The table includes all parties that received at least 10 percent of the votes cast in one of the two elections, plus the German Greens and the UK Independence Party. Brazil's Democratic Movement (MDB) could not be rated for lack of a party platform. Canada's Bloc Québécois was excluded because its policies express preferences at the level of a region, making aggregation with other Canadian parties impossible. In the case of Australia's Liberal Party, pre- and post-GFC ratings were based on party or coalition materials covering several years (2002, 2004, and 2007; and 2013, 2016, and 2018, respectively) as party or coalition statements preceding the 2007 and 2016 elections were insufficiently detailed. For Indonesia, we were able to obtain and analyze the platform of only the Golkar party in the pre-GFC period, could not obtain the platform of the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the post-GFC period, and were not able to evaluate the struggle party in both periods because of lack of detailed information. For Japan, the Komeito party platform was not separately analyzed as Komeito was part of a coalition with the Liberal Democratic Party in both periods. For South Korea, the platform of the Pro-Park Coalition (Future Hope Alliance) was not analyzed because it joined the Grand National Party, later renamed Saenuri Party, in 2012. Parties or party platforms that are considered predecessor/successor organizations occupy the same line in the table even if they have different names. Specifically, France's Les Républicains is treated as the successor of UMP rather than as a new entrant. Similarly, Korea's Democratic Party is treated as the successor of the United Democratic Party. Mexico's MORENA is treated as the successor of the pre-GFC PRD on the grounds that it fielded the same presidential candidate. For Argentina, the 2015 electoral coalition Cambiemos is treated as successor of Coalición Cívica on the grounds that the latter was one of its members and both fielded the main challenger to Frente de la Victoria in the 2007 and 2015 elections.

Source: Authors' selection based on criteria described in the note.

Table 2
Share of party platforms for which sufficient information was available to allow coding (percent)

Policy category	Pre-GFC		Post-GFC	
	Advanced economies	Emerging-market economies	Advanced economies	Emerging-market economies
Trade protectionism	85	85	88	75
FDI protectionism	19	45	27	71
Immigration restrictions	78	20	82	17
Antimultilateralism	93	90	97	79
Trade restrictions	85	85	88	75
Industrial policies toward specific sectors	89	95	94	96
Tolerance of concentration	67	75	67	58
Macroeconomic populism	89	80	94	96

GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Source: Authors' analysis based on platforms of parties identified in table 1.

République En Marche!, La France Insoumise, the Alliance for Germany (AfD), the Five Star Movement, the Party of Hope (Japan), and the People's Party (Korea, merged into Bareunmirae Party in 2018).¹¹ In emerging-market economies, new entrants were Argentina's United for a New Alternative (UNA), Turkey's People's Democratic Party, and Indonesia's Gerindra party. Jair Bolsonaro's Social Liberal Party (PSL) was also regarded as an entrant: Although it existed in the 2000s, it received no congressional seats in the 2006 election but became the largest party in the Brazilian congress in the 2018 election after becoming associated with the far right.¹²

Table 2 shows the extent to which the policy issues that we are interested in are discussed in the electoral platforms of these parties or coalitions. Four points stand out.

First, trade policy, immigration restrictions, industrial policy, antimultilateralism, and macroeconomic policy all gained salience in advanced country platforms over the period analyzed, in the sense that the coverage of these topics rose.

Second, among parties in emerging-market economies, there was a large rise in the salience of FDI policies and macroeconomic policy. In contrast, trade policy, antimultilateralism, and competition policy (tolerance of concentration) became *less* salient.

Third, immigration was and remains a side issue in the party platforms of emerging-market economies whereas it is a major issue in the platforms of advanced economies.

Fourth, the reverse is true for FDI policies. These are mentioned more frequently in the platforms of emerging-market parties—particularly in the post-GFC period—than those of advanced countries. Although the share of advanced country party platforms that refer to FDI has risen, it remains low—just 27 percent.¹³

11. Cases in which parties changed names—e.g., from Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) to Les Républicains (France), from United Democratic Party to Democratic Party (Korea)—were not treated as exits or new entries.

12. Mexico's MORENA and Argentina's Cambiemos were not considered new entrants; see note to table 1.

13. This reflects the following parties (in the post-GFC period): Conservative Party of Canada, La République En Marche!, the Alliance for Germany (AfD), the Five Star Movement, the Labour Party, the UK Conservative Party, and the Trump administration (which was rated separately from the 2016 Republican platform; see below).

We next turn from the question of what was discussed in party platforms to *how* it was discussed.

IV. RESULTS

The main results of the paper can be summarized under four headings, which describe the levels and changes in policy preferences in the categories listed in table 2 from various perspectives. We consider preference shifts among existing parties, differences between new and old parties, party-level correlations between economic nationalism, populism and political orientation, and country-level changes in economic nationalism. As a robustness check, we subsequently compare our findings with results based on the Manifesto Project Database.

Preference Shifts of Existing Parties or Coalitions

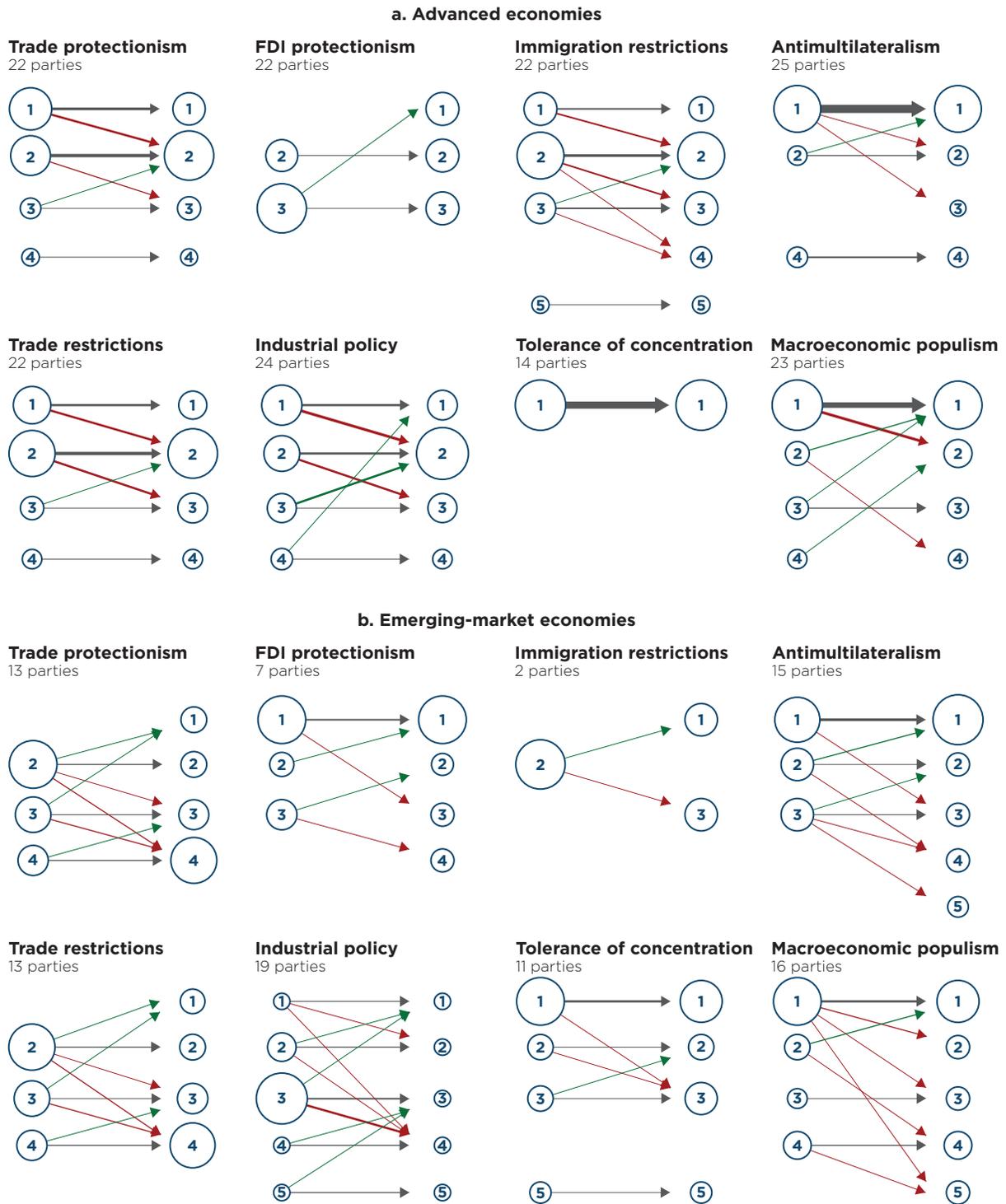
Figure 3 shows changes in policy preferences of parties that existed (and could be rated) in both the pre- and post-GFC periods (see appendix C for the party-level data underlying the figure). The top two rows show results for advanced-economy parties, the bottom two for emerging-market parties. For each group, the upper row shows ratings in policy categories regarding economic nationalism *stricto sensu*—trade protectionism, FDI protectionism, immigration restrictions, and the rejection of constraints imposed by multilateral organizations—while the lower row captures deviations from the liberal consensus in trade policy, industrial policy, competition policy, and macroeconomic policy, for reasons that may reflect both nationalist and other motives.

For each policy category, the size of the circles represents the number of party platforms with a specific rating. For example, in the trade protectionism category, nine advanced-economy parties were rated 1 in the pre-GFC period, ten were rated 2, two were rated 3, one was rated 4 (France’s Front National), and none was rated 5. The post-GFC distribution, in the same order, was six, twelve, three, one, and zero. That is, most parties continued to be rated 2, but whereas in the pre-GFC period nine parties were rated 1 and only two parties received a 3 rating, in the post-GFC period just six parties were rated 1 and three parties received a 3 rating.

The arrows between circles give a sense of the flow between ratings. The width of each arrow is proportional to the number of parties that switched from one to another rating. Gray arrows denote flows between the same ratings; dark red arrows denote flows from a lower (less protectionist) to a higher (more protectionist) rating, green arrows the reverse. For example, in the trade protectionism category, the gray arrow from rating 1 in the pre-GFC period to rating 1 post-GFC represents six parties that remained firmly antiprotectionist throughout the period: the Australian Liberals, the UK Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, and the German Free Democrats, Social Democrats, and Greens (the latter opposed trade agreements such as the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, but for nonprotectionist reasons). The two downward-sloping red arrows represent parties classified as moving toward protectionism: the Australian Greens, UKIP and the UK Labour Party (from 1 to 2), and the US Democratic and Republican Parties (from 2 to 3). The green upward-sloping arrow represents the only advanced-country party that was classified as less protectionist in the post-GFC period than pre-GFC: France’s UMP/Les Républicains (from 3 to 2).

The main result is that, depending on the policy category and the country group, the distribution of policy preferences either moved away from the liberal consensus or was roughly unchanged. For advanced economies,

Figure 3
Distribution of party policy ratings before and after the global financial crisis



FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: Ratings in circles: 1 = liberal/nonnationalist; 5 = illiberal/nationalist. Size of the bubbles to the left and right represents the share of parties with that rating before and after the global financial crisis (GFC), respectively. Size of arrows represents the volume of flows from one rating before the GFC to another after the GFC.

Source: Authors' calculations based on data shown in appendix C.

Table 3
Average changes in party ratings for existing parties
(p values shown in parentheses)

Policy category	Number of parties	Advanced economies	Emerging-market economies
Trade protectionism	35	0.18 (0.100)	0.23 (0.476)
FDI protectionism	10	-0.67 (0.305)	0.14 (0.741)
Immigration restrictions	23	0.29 (0.033)	0.00 (1.000)
Antimultilateralism	40	0.08 (0.425)	0.27 (0.319)
Trade restrictions	35	0.27 (0.027)	0.23 (0.476)
Industrial policy	43	0.13 (0.522)	0.26 (0.359)
Tolerance of concentration	25	0.00 (0.164)	0.18 (0.427)
Macroeconomic populism	39	0.04 (0.814)	0.56 (0.081)

GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: The table is based on eight regressions—one for each policy category—of the type $r(i,t) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot \text{AE} + b_2 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot \text{EME} + d(i)$, where $r(i,t)$ is the rating assigned to party i in the category at time t (before or after the GFC), postGFC is a dummy variable taking on the value one in the post-GFC period and zero otherwise, AE is a dummy variable for advanced economy parties, EME is a dummy variable for emerging-market parties, and $d(i)$ is a full set of dummy variables for specific parties. The number of observations for each regression is twice the number of parties shown in the second column. The coefficient estimates b_1 and b_2 are equal to the average change in policy ratings for advanced and emerging-market countries, respectively. The third and fourth columns of the table show the coefficient estimates for b_1 and b_2 , respectively, with p values in parentheses. Robust standard errors were used.

Source: Authors' calculations based on data presented in appendix C.

it moved toward more nationalist preferences and away from the liberal consensus in five of the eight policy categories: trade protectionism, immigration, trade restrictions, industrial policy, and macroeconomic populism. With respect to FDI protectionism, competition policy, and attitudes toward multilateralism there was little or no change on balance.¹⁴ In emerging-market economies, there was a shift toward nationalism/illiberalism in seven of the eight categories, the only exception being immigration restrictions.

Table 3 shows the average magnitude of these changes. In advanced countries, the largest average shift away from the liberal consensus was in the areas of immigration restrictions (0.29) and trade restrictions (0.27). The shift with respect to trade restrictions was larger than that with respect to trade protectionism (0.18) because the former, but not the latter, captures the antitrade shift among some left-of-center parties, such as the Australian and German Greens and the German Social Democrats. This is why the red, downward-sloping arrows in figure 3 are slightly wider, for the advanced countries, in the trade restrictions chart than in the trade protectionism chart.

14. The policies of President Trump are not reflected in this chart, which in the case of the United States compares Democratic and Republican platforms in the 2016 and 2004 elections. This is discussed separately below.

For the emerging-market parties, the largest changes were in the areas of macroeconomic populism (0.56), antimultilateralism (0.27), vertical industrial policy (0.26), and trade protectionism/trade restrictions (0.23). Note that trade protectionism and trade restriction ratings are identical among emerging-market parties: The phenomenon of trade skepticism for nonnationalist reasons does not (yet) appear to exist in these countries, at least not in the major parties.

Because of the small sample numbers involved, most of the average changes shown in table 3 are not statistically significant. The exceptions are increases in support for immigration restrictions, trade protectionism and trade restrictions in advanced economies ($p = 0.033$, $p = 0.1$, and $p = 0.027$, respectively) and macroeconomic populism in emerging-market economies ($p = 0.081$).

New versus Old Parties

As described in the previous section, the sample of post-GFC election platforms includes ten parties that did not exist before the GFC. In addition, we rated three sets of government policies or policy documents that turned out to be quite different from the preferences expressed by the preceding party platforms: Made in China 2025 (State Council 2015),¹⁵ the policies of the Trump administration, and the policies advocated in Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030 (Altmaier 2019).¹⁶ These policy preferences were treated as if they corresponded to those of new political parties, bringing the total of major new entrants to 13.

Figure 4 compares the distribution of ratings among these new entrants—eight in the advanced countries, five in the emerging markets—with those of the existing parties, both in the post-GFC period. In each policy category, the sum of shares of the old parties and new entrants sum to one, so that the charts give a sense of the number of new entrants relative to existing parties in addition to their policy preferences. Existing parties are represented in blue, new entrants in orange. In each policy category the bar of the group with the higher average rating is shown with a darker shading. For example, in the “trade protectionism” category, the bars corresponding to the new entrants are represented with a darker shade (dark orange) than those of the existing parties (light blue), reflecting the fact that the new entrants were, on average, more nationalist than the existing parties.

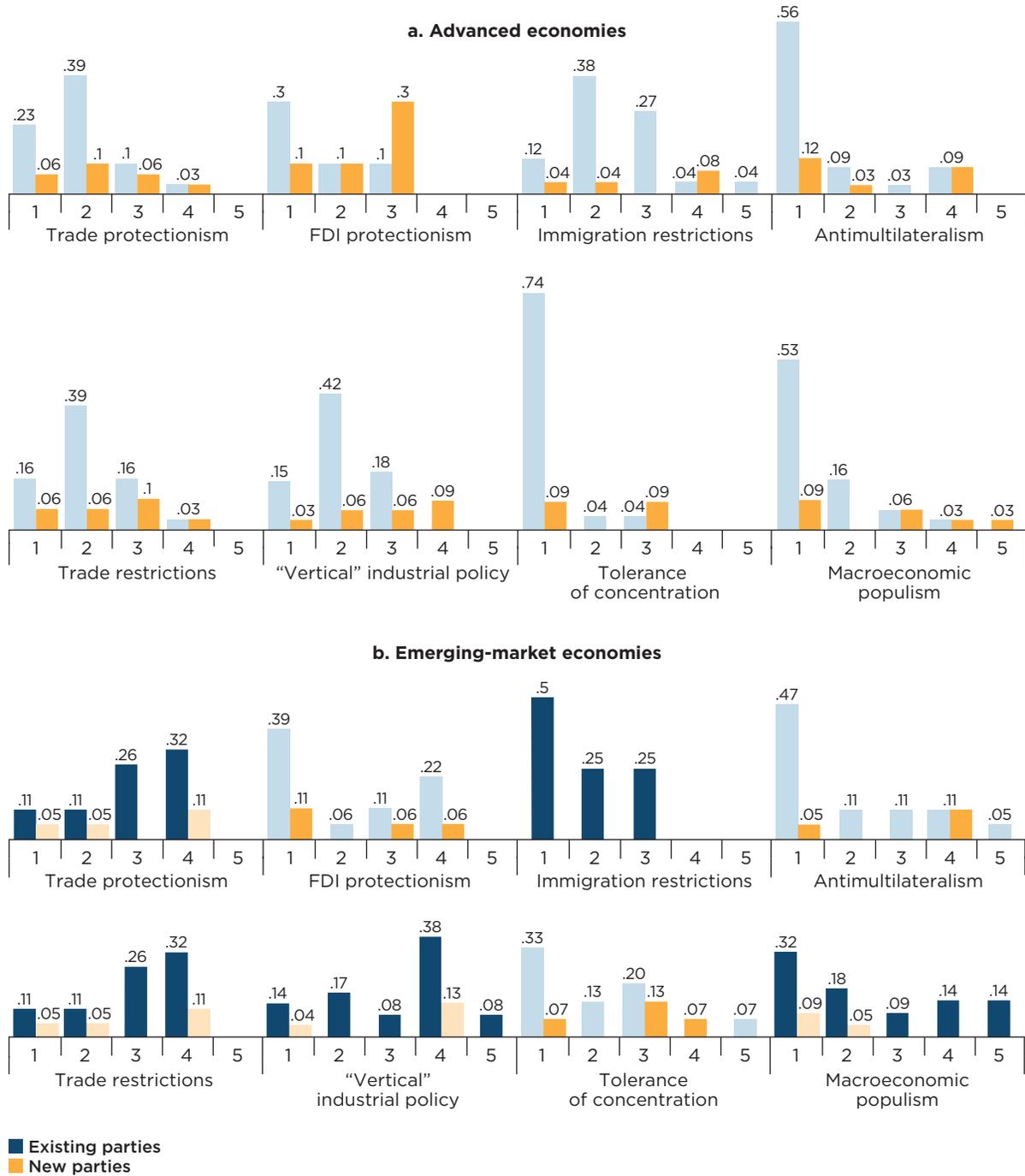
The main results are as follows:

- For the advanced countries, new entrants were, on average, more nationalist than existing parties. This is true for all policy categories (the mode and most of the probability mass of the distribution of ratings of the existing parties is to the left of that of the new entrants).
- For the emerging markets, the picture is more mixed. In three categories, existing parties were more nationalist than new entrants; in two the reverse was true, and in two (industrial policy and FDI restrictions) there is a virtual tie. That said, the number of new entrants among the emerging-market parties evaluated is so small that this comparison is not very meaningful.

15. See McBride and Chatzky (2018) for a description.

16. See Zettelmeyer (2019a) for an analysis.

Figure 4
Party distribution of policy ratings of existing and new parties, post-GFC



GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: Ratings: 1 = liberal/nonnationalist; 5 = illiberal/nationalist. Number above bars shows the proportion of existing and new parties. Within each category, the height of all bars sums to one and the bars of the group (existing or new parties) with the higher average rating are highlighted through a darker shading.

Source: Authors' calculations based on data shown in appendix C.

Although new entrants in the advanced countries had more nationalist policy preferences, on average, than existing parties, there was considerable variation. Three of the eight advanced country entrants—La République En Marche!, the Party of Hope (Japan), and the People’s Party (Korea)—were rated less nationalist, on average, than the incumbents. Among the remainder, two—the Alliance for Germany and the Five Star Movement—represent interesting mixes. The Alliance for Germany espouses a mix of ordoliberal and nationalist policies, the latter with respect to immigration (rated 4), antimultilateralism (rated 4 because of a “Germany first” attitude toward international fora), macroeconomic populism (rated 3, on the grounds of the party’s attacks on the European Central Bank in defense of the German saver), and FDI (rated 3 for emphasizing the need to protect German technology from acquisition by foreign state-owned companies). The Five Star Movement was rated 3 in trade protectionism and restrictions for its ambivalence about trade, and 4 in the antimultilateralism category, for making “sovereignty” vis-à-vis the European Union a central theme of its platform (including vowing to ignore EU fiscal rules), but 1 on FDI protectionism (by expressing very friendly views on FDI) and 2 on immigration. It was also rated 5 on macroeconomic populism (in part for arguing that the presence of a national bank could make fiscal constraints disappear).

The three documents or policy sets that were rated separately from party platforms in China, the United States, and Germany also received relatively high ratings. Made in China 2025 was rated in trade protectionism, FDI protectionism, trade restrictions, tolerance of concentration, and industrial policy toward specific sectors, and received 4, 3, 3 and 4, respectively. The policies of the Trump administration were rated 4 for trade protectionism, 2 for FDI restrictions, 4 for immigration, 4 for antimultilateralism, 3 for industrial policy toward specific sectors, and 3 for macroeconomic populism. German economy minister Peter Altmaier’s National Industrial Strategy 2030 was rated 3 for FDI protectionism, 4 for industrial policy, and 3 for tolerance of concentration, but just 1 for antimultilateralism and 2 for trade protectionism.

The figure also allows a comparison between the policy preferences of existing parties (blue bars) in advanced and emerging-market economies as well as between new entrants (orange bars) in advanced and emerging-market economies. As far as existing parties go, policy preferences in the advanced economies tend to be more liberal/less nationalist than those in emerging-market economies, except with respect to immigration (where advanced-economy parties tend to be more restrictive) and multilateralism (where the distributions are very similar). The differences are particularly stark in the categories of trade restrictions/protectionism and vertical industrial policies, where the mode of the preference distribution of existing advanced-economy parties is 2, and 4 for emerging-market parties. In contrast, the policy preferences of new entrants in advanced countries tend to be at least as nationalist as those of new entrants in emerging-market economies, and not very different from the traditional policy preferences of emerging-market parties.

Correlations with Political Orientation and Populism

Although this paper does not investigate the causes of economic nationalism, it is interesting to see to what extent party preferences for economic nationalism are correlated both with political orientation (left-wing versus right-wing) and with political populism as classified by other researchers. For right-/left-wing orienta-

tion, two measures were used: the Manifesto Project’s “right-left index” (RILE, a continuous variable defined between –100 and 100, calculated by subtracting the proportion of party manifestos designated as “left” from the proportion of those designated as “right”; see Mölder 2016); and a left-/right-wing dummy variable based on the Database of Political Institutions 2017 (Cruz, Keefer, and Scartascini 2018) as primary source, and the Comparative Political Data Set 1960–2016 (Armingeon et al. 2018) as secondary source. The classification of parties as populist or nonpopulist was based on the PopuList (Rooduijn et al. 2019, primary source) and Kyle and Gultchin (2018) (secondary source). Appendix table D1 shows the party classifications.

Consider first the correlations between RILE and current (post-GFC) economic nationalism (figure 5). The figure shows scatterplots with RILE on the horizontal axis and post-GFC ratings on the vertical axis. A positively sloped regression line means that more right-wing parties tend to have higher (more nationalist/illiberal) ratings, while a negatively sloped line indicates a correlation between left-wing parties and higher ratings. The figure indicates that FDI protectionism, immigration restrictions, and antimultilateralism tend to be correlated with right-wing orientation (the first two are statistically significant). Left-wing orientation is correlated with a preference for industrial policies toward specific sectors and (more weakly) for macroeconomic populism and tolerance of concentration. Interestingly, there is no significant correlation between RILE and attitudes toward trade.

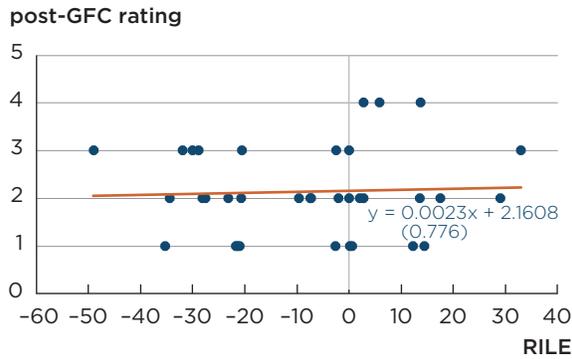
Figure 6 examines the correlation between post-GFC ratings and political orientation using a different set of party classifications, by running regressions of ratings on left-/right-wing dummy variables (based on Cruz, Keefer, and Scartascini 2018 and Armingeon et al. 2018) and plotting the difference in the coefficients (light green bars). The results are broadly consistent with those of figure 5: immigration restrictions, antimultilateralism, and FDI protectionism tend to be correlated with right-wing orientation and industrial policy with left-wing orientation. For example, with respect to immigration restrictions, the right-wing parties in our sample are 1.4 points more nationalist, on average, than the left-wing parties; for antimultilateralism, the average difference is 0.7 points. Figure 6 also suggests a correlation between left-wing orientation and trade protectionism/trade restrictions, but this is small and not statistically significant (see table D2 for details).

Figure 6 also shows the correlations of various policy preferences with populism, based on a similar regression (dark blue bars). Nationalist/illiberal policy preferences turn out to be positively correlated with populism in all policy categories, with statistically significant coefficients in most categories (see table D2). The average difference between populist and nonpopulist parties with respect to trade protectionism is almost 1 point, with respect to immigration restrictions 1.2 points, with respect to antimultilateralism 1.5 points, and with respect to macroeconomic populism 1.4 points.

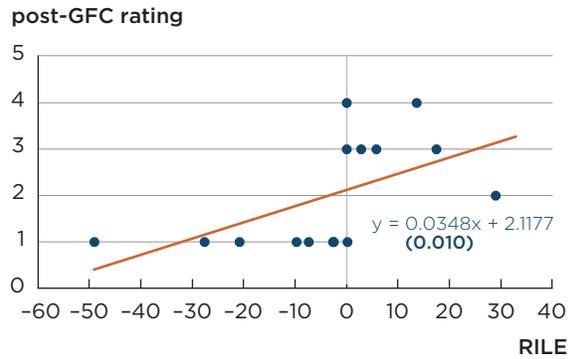
Figures 7 and 8 focus on the correlations between political ideology and populism with *changes* in (rather than levels of) policy preferences, using a similar regression-based approach (see notes to the figures and table D2). Figure 7 shows that parties that were classified as populist in 2018 (dark blue bars) shifted their preferences more in a nationalist/illiberal direction than parties classified as nonpopulist (light blue bars). Among the populist parties, a large shift toward trade protectionism stands out (by 0.6 point, as opposed to just 0.1 point on average among the nonpopulist parties).

Figure 5
Post-GFC party ratings and RILE

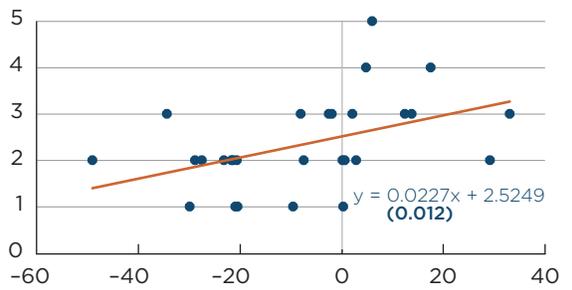
a. Trade protectionism



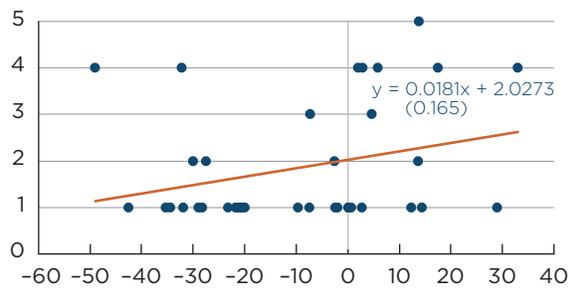
b. FDI protectionism



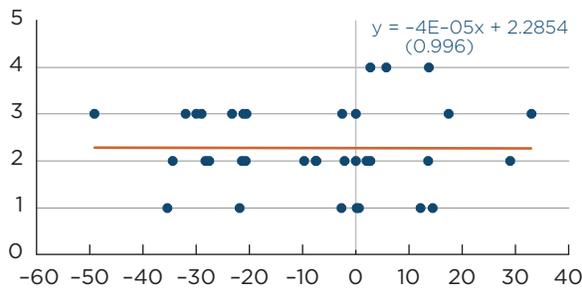
c. Immigration restrictions



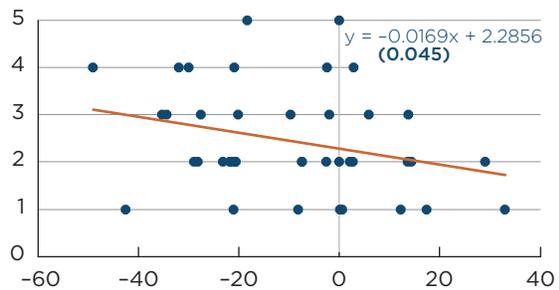
d. Antimultilateralism



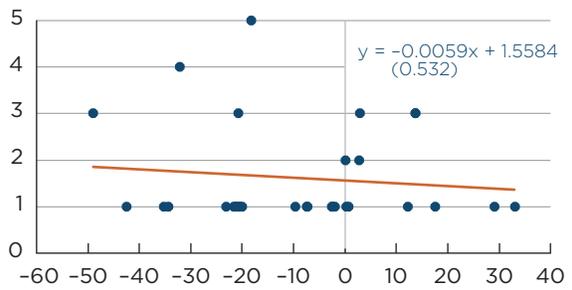
e. Trade restrictions



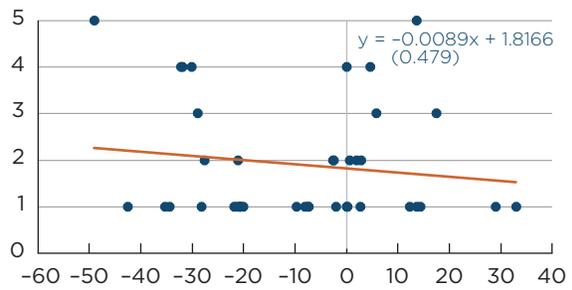
f. Industrial policies toward specific sectors



g. Tolerance of concentration



h. Macroeconomic populism



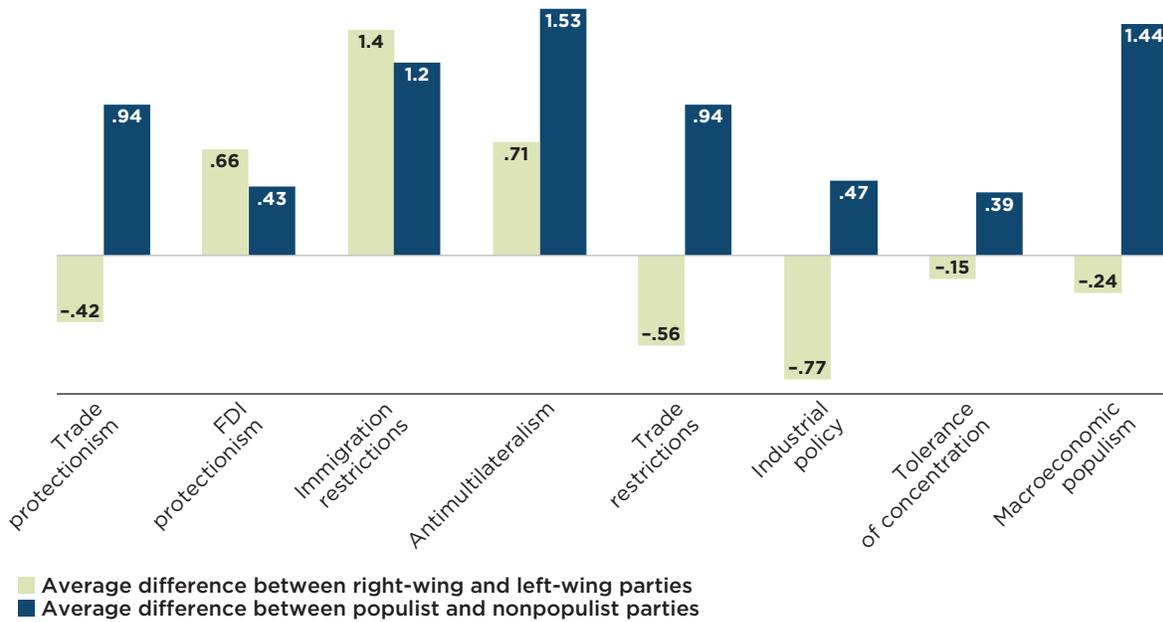
GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: Ratings on vertical axis: 1 = liberal/nonnationalist; 5 = illiberal/nationalist. RILE stands for the Manifesto Project's "Right-Left index" measuring political orientation on a scale of -100 to 100, where larger positive values mean more right-wing. *P* values of slope coefficients shown in parentheses (**bold** indicates $p \leq 0.05$).

Sources: Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2018b); authors' classification based on data shown in appendix C.

Figure 6

Average differences in post-GFC ratings, right-wing versus left-wing and populist versus nonpopulist parties



GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: The figure shows the average differences in rating, in each category, between right-wing and left-wing parties (left bar, in light green) and populist and nonpopulist categories (right bar, in dark blue). It is based on coefficients from the regressions $r(i) = b_0 + b_1L(i) + b_2R(i) + d(i)$ and $r(i) = c_0 + c_1P(i) + d(i)$ (see table D2 for details), where $r(i)$ is the rating assigned to party i and $R(i)$, $L(i)$, and $P(i)$ are dummy variables taking on the values one for right-wing, left-wing, and populist parties, respectively, and zero otherwise; and $d(i)$ is a full set of dummy variables for specific parties. The left bars show the difference between the coefficient b_2 and b_1 (i.e., $b_2 - b_1$), the right bars the coefficient c_1 . In the first regression, the residual category is center parties and unclassified parties, while in the second regression the residual category is nonpopulist parties.

Source: See note to table D2 in appendix D.

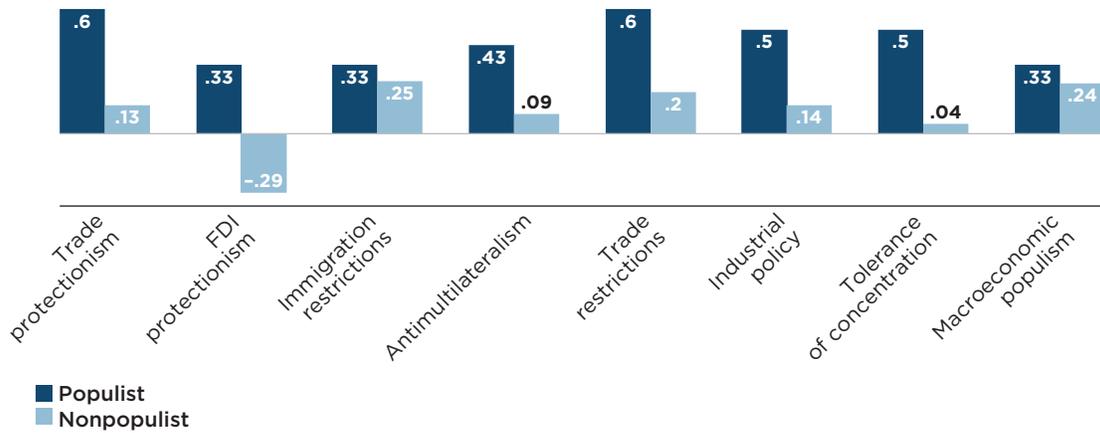
Figure 8 compares preference shifts between left- and right-wing parties. Whereas figure 6 indicated that right-wing parties are more nationalist/illiberal than left-wing parties in categories such as immigration restrictions, FDI restrictions, and antimultilateralism, figure 8 shows that the *shift* in the direction of nationalism/illiberalism since the GFC has in fact been larger among left-wing parties in almost all policy categories (FDI restrictions are the only exception). The shift was particularly pronounced with respect to macroeconomic populism (by 0.7 point) and in the trade policy areas (by 0.5–0.6 point), where differences with right-wing parties are no longer statistically significant in the post-GFC period (table D2).

Country-Level Changes

Combining shifts in preferences among existing parties with the preferences of new entrants, how did average preferences at the country level change in the eight policy categories studied in this paper? This question is answered in figure 9. The horizontal axis of each chart shows pre-GFC average country-level ratings, the vertical axis average country-level ratings in the most recent post-GFC elections. Averages were computed by weighting the party-level ratings with the share of the vote that the parties obtained in the elections listed in table 1. Advanced-economy averages are denoted by blue dots, emerging-market averages by dark red dots. The three

Figure 7

Average rating changes from pre- to post-GFC, populist versus nonpopulist parties



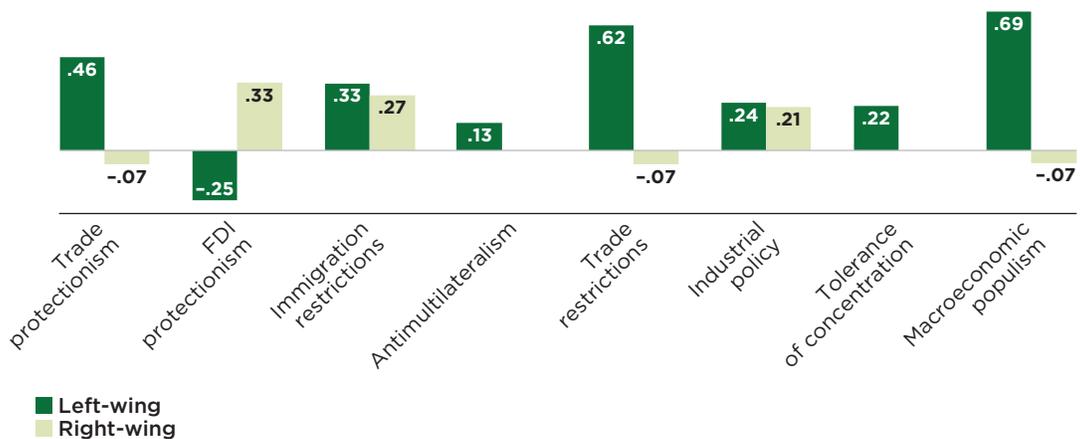
GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: The figure shows the average change in ratings, in each category, from the pre-GFC to the post-GFC period for parties classified as populist or nonpopulist. The left bars (dark blue) and right bars (light blue) plot the coefficients b_1 and b_2 , respectively, from the regression $r(i,t) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot P(i) + b_2 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot NP(i) + d(i)$, where $r(i,t)$ is the rating assigned to party i in each category at time t (before or after the GFC), postGFC is a dummy variable taking on the value one in the post-GFC period and zero otherwise and $P(i)$ and $NP(i)$ are dummy variables taking on the values one for populist and nonpopulist parties, respectively, and zero otherwise; and $d(i)$ is a full set of dummy variables for specific parties. See table D2 in appendix D for details.

Source: See note to table D2 in appendix D.

Figure 8

Average rating changes from pre- to post-GFC, left-wing versus right-wing parties



GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

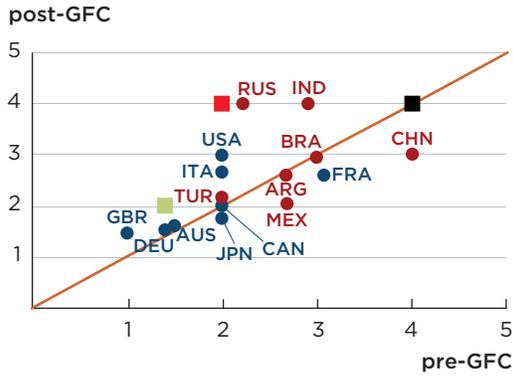
Note: The figure shows the average change in ratings, in each category, from the pre-GFC to the post-GFC period for parties classified as either left-wing or right-wing. The left bars (dark green) and right bars (light green) plot the coefficients b_1 and b_2 , respectively, from the regression $r(i,t) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot L(i) + b_2 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot R(i) + d(i)$, where $r(i,t)$ is the rating assigned to party i in each category at time t (before or after the GFC), postGFC is a dummy variable taking on the value one in the post-GFC period and zero otherwise and $L(i)$ and $R(i)$ are dummy variables taking on the values one for left-wing and right-wing parties, respectively, and zero otherwise; and $d(i)$ is a full set of dummy variables for specific parties. See table D2 in appendix D for details.

Source: See note to table D2 in appendix D.

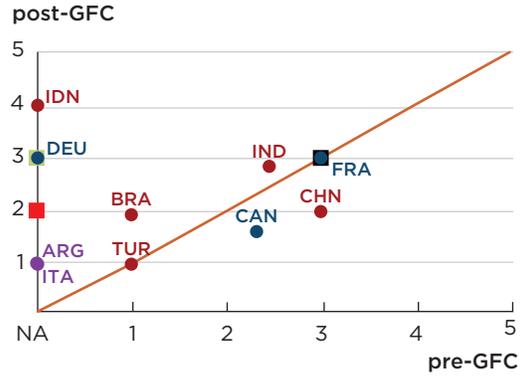
Figure 9

Country averages (including new parties), pre-GFC versus post-GFC

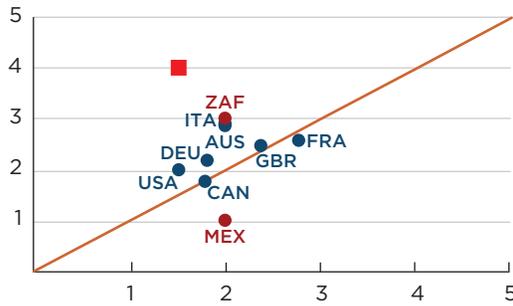
a. Trade protectionism



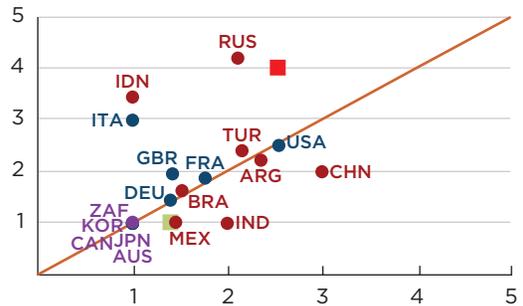
b. FDI protectionism



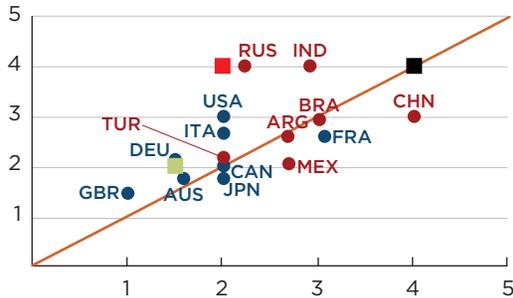
c. Immigration restrictions



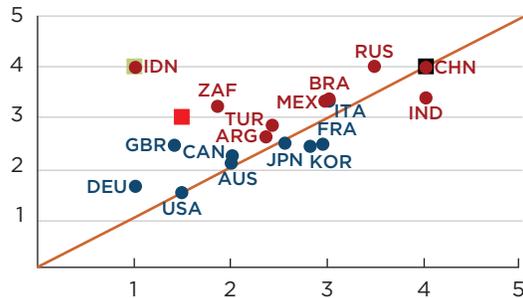
d. Antimultilateralism



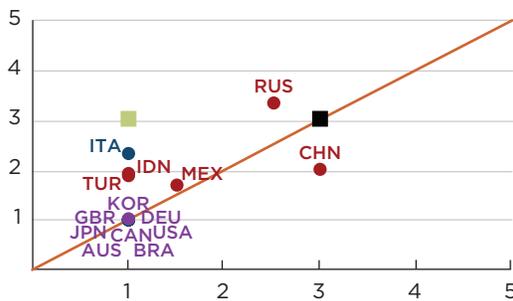
e. Trade restrictions



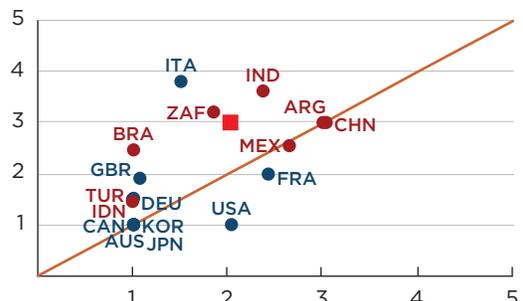
f. Industrial policies toward specific sectors



g. Tolerance of concentration



h. Macroeconomic populism



- USA-Trump
- Germany-NIS2030
- Made in China 2025
- Advanced economies
- Emerging-market economies
- Advanced and emerging-market economies sharing same data points

GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment

Note: Country averages computed by weighting party-level classifications by share of votes obtained. The three ratings for China, the United States, and Germany that refer to recent government pronouncements or policies rather than party platforms were not included in country averages and are shown separately, using squares (bright red for Trump, green for Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030, and black for Made in China 2025). In graph b, countries for which there was insufficient information to assign pre-GFC scores but sufficient information to assign post-GFC scores in a specific category were classified as "n.a." on the horizontal axis in order to be able to show a vertical axis score.

Source: Authors' classification based on data shown in appendix C.

ratings for China, the United States, and Germany that refer to recent government pronouncements or policies rather than party platforms were not included in country averages and are shown separately, using squares (bright red for Trump, green for Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030, and black for Made in China 2025).¹⁷

There are three main takeaways from the figure.

First, in all eight categories, most points are above the 45-degree line, indicating a rise in economic nationalism (figures 9a–9d) and/or a move away from the liberal consensus paradigm (figures 9e–9h). Among the advanced economies, the largest shifts occurred in Italy and the United States, particularly with respect to antimultilateralism, trade protectionism, immigration, and macroeconomic populism. Among the emerging-market economies, the largest shifts toward economic nationalism were in Russia, South Africa, and, on some policy dimensions, India.

Some countries bucked the trend, however. Among the advanced economies, these include Canada, Japan, and France; among the emerging markets, Mexico and China (measured based on the comparison between the 13th and 11th five-year plans). For the most part, these are countries that started out with fairly high (i.e., nationalist or illiberal) ratings in the pre-GFC period. France's recorded decline in economic nationalism reflects two facts: the nationalism of several party platforms in the pre-GFC period (more so than other advanced-economy parties at that time) and the entry and electoral success of the liberal *La République En Marche!* in the 2017 election. Canada, on the other hand, is a genuine outlier in the sense that its economic nationalism did not rise in spite of the fact that it was low to begin with. Between the 2006 and the 2015 general elections, neither of the country's two large parties, the Canadian Liberals and the Conservatives, shifted positions on the policy dimensions evaluated in this paper. Japan looks like Canada in the sense that none of the major parties seem to have changed their position in the direction of more economic nationalism, but, as in France, some of this may have to do with the fact that on some dimensions—immigration in particular¹⁸—they started out fairly far from the liberal consensus. For Mexico, the results are driven by the fact that the positions of the country's two large center-right parties, the PAN and the PRI, were *more* aligned with the liberal consensus in 2018 than in the mid-2000s—possibly, to more sharply differentiate themselves from the positions of current president Andrés Manuel López Obrador's *Movimiento Regeneración Nacional* (MORENA), which were much more nationalist.

Second, as one would expect based on the last section, emerging-market economies remain further from the liberal consensus than advanced economies in most policy categories (except on immigration and multilateralism). Most advanced economies continue to be less protectionist than emerging-market economies, although less so than pre-GFC. The United States is an exception in this respect: The 2016 platforms of the Democratic

17. To plot these on a two-dimensional plane, pre-GFC country average party preferences corresponding to China, the United States, and Germany were used as horizontal axis values.

18. A complication, in the case of Japan, is that there is not enough information to rate the immigration stance of parties in the pre-GFC period, perhaps because there was broad agreement with the country's comparatively restrictive immigration regime. There is a bit more information in the post-GFC period, which appears to go in the direction of liberalizing immigration and naturalization for highly skilled immigrants, with the 2017 Liberal Democratic Party manifesto stating that "If excellent foreign talents who live in Japan wish to naturalize to Japan, we will promote efforts to quickly make decisions about their permission."

and Republican parties were both rated 3, implying ambivalence about international trade, while the Trump administration was rated 4. Broadening the trade policy scale to incorporate nonnationalist antitrade views (figure 9e) does not change the overall picture: Its only effect is to raise the average ratings for Australia and (more noticeably) Germany, driven by (nonnationalist) skepticism about trade agreements among progressive parties in these countries.

With respect to inward FDI, emerging-market economies continue to be more nationalist than advanced economies, reflecting the embrace of local content requirements and policies intended to encourage technology transfer. Preferences about multilateral organizations vary widely in both groups. Italy and the United States are nationalist outliers among advanced economies, and Russia in the emerging-market group.

Finally, the policy preferences of the Trump administration, *Made in China 2025*, and the German National Industrial Strategy 2030 are much more nationalist—in the policy categories in which they provide information—than the most recent party platforms in the same countries.

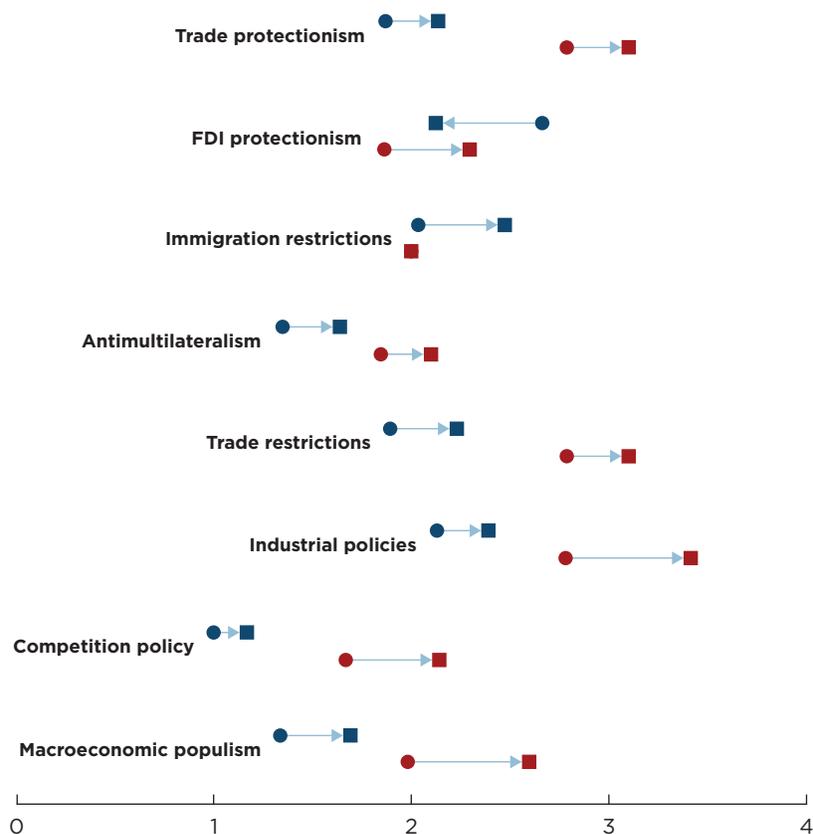
Figure 10 gives a sense of the overall magnitude of the shifts in policy preferences for advanced and emerging-market countries when the ratings of “new entrants” are included in the calculation of the post-GFC averages.¹⁹ Because most of these new entrants are more nationalist than existing parties (particularly in the advanced countries), the changes are somewhat larger than those shown in table 3.

- For the advanced countries, the largest shifts occurred with respect to preferences for immigration restrictions (0.44), macroeconomic populism (0.36), and trade restrictions (0.34). Most of the rise in trade skepticism is attributable to protectionism (0.27), the remainder to progressive parties opposing trade agreements on the grounds that they threaten workers or the environment. Attitudes toward FDI moved in the reverse direction on average, but this result should be discounted as it reflects the small sample (only three parties expressed preferences in this policy dimension ahead of the crisis) as well as an outlier.²⁰
- In the emerging-market countries, preferences have shifted the most with respect to industrial policies focused on specific sectors (0.63) and macroeconomic populism (0.61).
- Trade protectionism and antimultilateralism have risen in both emerging-market and advanced economies, by roughly similar amounts on average (by 0.32 and 0.25, respectively, in emerging-market economies, and by 0.27 and 0.29, respectively, in advanced economies).

19. Advanced-country and emerging-market averages were calculated as unweighted means of the country-level averages shown in figure 9, except for the United States and China, for which country averages were recomputed by substituting post-GFC party-based ratings with the policy/document-based ratings of Trump and *Made in China 2025*, where available (i.e., post-GFC ratings of the Republican Party and the Communist Party of China were replaced with ratings of Trump and *Made in China 2025*, respectively). These substitutions were motivated by the observation that, since 2017, the Republican Party has been supportive of President Trump’s policies and by an implicit notion that *Made in China 2025* reflects the views of China’s political leadership (i.e., the Communist Party of China). It is too early to judge whether the German National Industrial Strategy 2030 has received broad support in the CDU/CSU, which is why it was omitted from calculations.

20. Canada’s New Democratic Party took an anti-FDI stance in its 2006 platform (“Across the country, people are seeing Canada lose control of its own economic future as foreign ownership of Canadian businesses and resources reaches historic highs” (NDP 2006, 28) while arguing in its 2015 platform that Canada needed to attract more FDI.

Figure 10
Average change in policy preferences, including new entrants



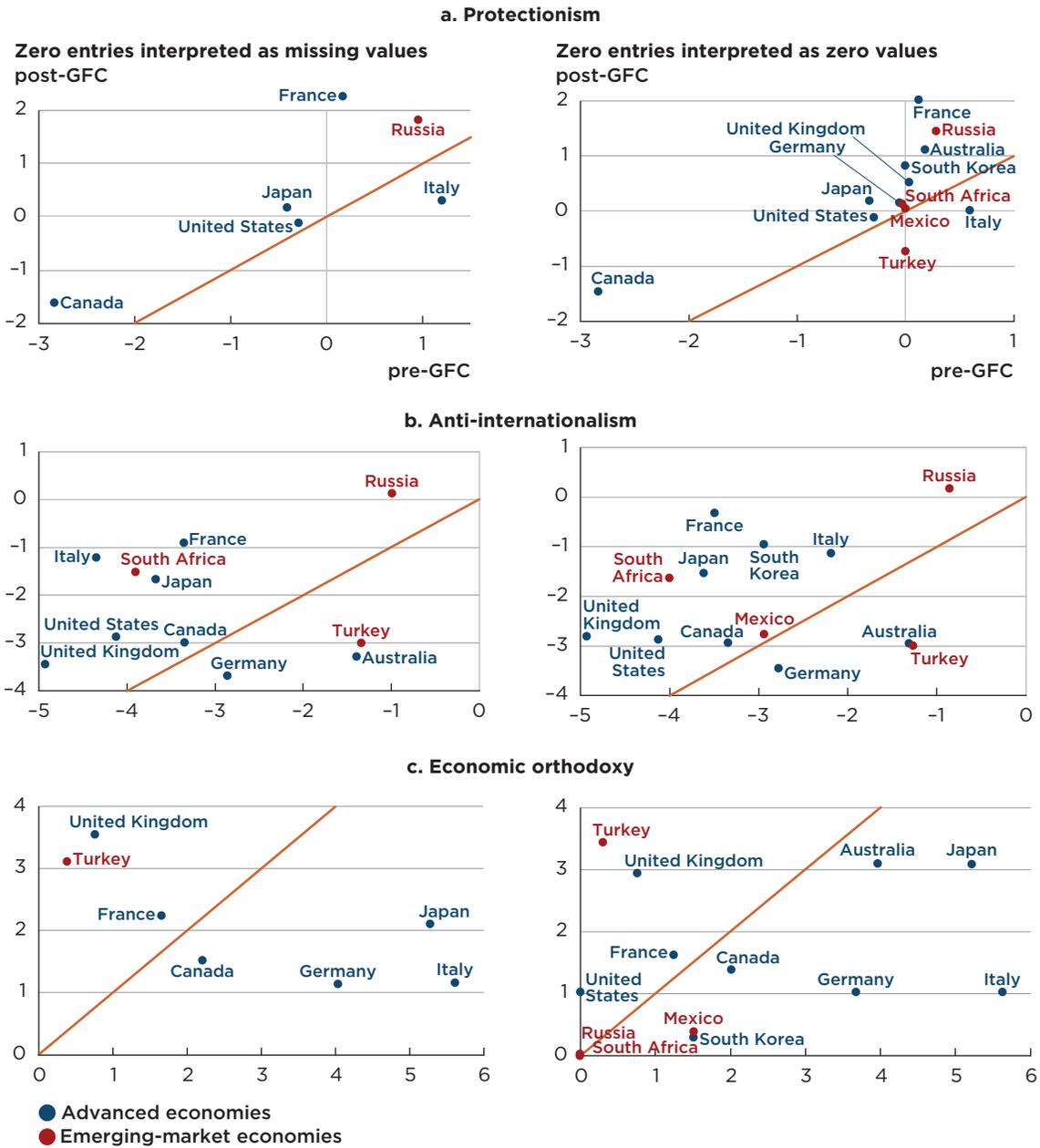
FDI = foreign direct investment; GFC = global financial crisis
 Note: Dark blue represents advanced economies and red represents emerging-market economies. Dots represent pre-GFC averages, squares post-GFC averages. Footnote 20 describes how these averages were constructed. Arrows show the direction of movement. A movement from left to right means that party policy preferences have become more nationalist and/or less liberal.
 Source: Authors' calculations based on data shown in appendix C.

Comparison with Results Based on the Manifesto Project Database

As a robustness check, in this section we examine whether the basic result reported in this paper—a rise in economic nationalism around the world since the mid-2000s—holds if an entirely different data source is used, the Manifesto Project Database. As briefly discussed above, this database does not allow analysis of all policy categories that are of interest in this paper, but it contains relevant information in three categories: protectionism (comparable to our trade protectionism category), internationalism (which should be negatively correlated with our antimultilateralism category), and economic orthodoxy (which is a proxy for the absence of macroeconomic populism). As discussed previously, the Manifesto Project Database creates measures for party preferences in these categories by counting the frequency of positive and negative mentions of protectionism and internationalism (for economic orthodoxy, only positive mentions are counted). From these, a “net” measure can be constructed by subtracting the frequency of negative mentions from the frequency of positive mentions.

In interpreting the Manifesto Project data, one difficulty is how to deal with instances in which there were neither positive nor negative mentions in party platforms. One approach is to treat them as missing values:

Figure 11
Country averages based on the Manifesto Project Dataset



GFC = global financial crisis

Note: Country averages computed by weighting party-level balance of positive and negative mentions by share of votes obtained.

Source: Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2018a).

This assumes that the party had no views in the corresponding category. Another is to treat them as zeros, i.e., as neutral views. Figure 11 shows country-level results for the three economic nationalism–related policy categories covered by the Manifesto Project, based on both approaches. As in figure 9, country-level average party ratings were computed using the proportion of votes obtained by the parties for which data were available both in the closest election before the GFC (x-axis) and in the most recent election (y-axis). To give the results

for internationalism the same interpretation as the antimultilateralism ratings shown in figure 9, the sign of net internationalism is reversed: Bigger numbers mean greater opposition to (or a less favorable view of) international cooperation, as in the antimultilateralism policy category. In contrast, the policy category economic orthodoxy, which shows only positive mentions, is plotted without change. The interpretation of this figure is thus different from the other two: In figures 11a and 11b, points above the 45-degree line imply an increase in economic nationalism; in contrast, in figure 11c, points *below* the 45-degree line imply a decline in economic orthodoxy, which we interpret as a proxy for an increase in macroeconomic populism.

The main result is that, consistent with figures 9a and 9d, most points in figures 11a and 11b lie above the 45-degree line, indicating an increase in economic nationalism. This is true regardless of how parties with zero ratings are treated. The two datasets also agree that Australia is one of the few countries to dodge that trend (there is no agreement on the remaining countries, which according to figures 11a and 11b are Italy and Turkey for protectionism and Germany and Turkey for anti-internationalism, while figures 9a and 9d indicate small increases in economic nationalism for these countries). Figure 11c is consistent with the view that macroeconomic populism has increased in most countries since the pre-GFC period, with France being one of the exceptions, in line with the results of figure 9h (again, there is no agreement on the remaining exceptions).

Although the magnitude of these changes is impossible to compare across the two datasets because of the different methods for generating policy ratings, the messages are broadly consistent. Most G-20 countries for which data are available in both datasets have experienced a rise in economic nationalism since the mid-2000s.

V. CONCLUSION

Economic nationalism, defined as a preference for economic policies that seek to promote national economic interests at the expense of foreign interests, has been on the rise since the mid-2000s. This rise is broad-based, encompassing advanced and emerging-market economies, right-wing and left-wing parties, and both existing parties and new entrants. While parties that are classified as populist by political scientists tend to have much more nationalist and illiberal economic policy preferences than parties classified as nonpopulist, preference shifts toward economic nationalism are visible in both groups.

At the same time, these shifts are not universal. Exceptions include some countries that were already relatively nationalist in their economic policy orientation prior to the GFC, such as France and several emerging-market economies, as well as Canada, where the main parties have not shifted their positions away from the liberal and multilateralist consensus.

This paper focused on the measurement of political preferences. It did not address two important questions. First, what are the causes for the increasing popularity of economic nationalism, which appears to be on the rise not just among populist parties and politicians but also in mainstream parties? How do shifts to economic nationalism relate to economic and social change? Second, to what extent are these changes in preferences translating into actual policies? In some countries, economic nationalism may be a paper tiger. But based on the experience in the United States, where the policies of the administration have been more nationalist than could have been inferred from the 2016 party platforms—in turn triggering economic nationalist responses in other countries—this cannot be assumed.

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APPENDIX A MEASURING ECONOMIC NATIONALISM: DEFINITION OF SCALES

The scales below define a modern liberal, “social market economy” consensus as well as increasing deviations from this consensus. A rating of 1 denotes adherence to the consensus, 5 the maximum deviation. Eight policy categories are covered.

- The first four—trade protectionism, FDI protectionism, immigration restriction, and rejection of multilateral constraints—describe deviations from the liberal consensus that occur for economic nationalist reasons (based on the definition proposed in the main text, that is, policy measures that seek to promote national interests at the expense of foreign interests, at least in the short run).
- Four further categories—trade restrictions, competition policy (tolerance of concentration), vertical industrial policy, and macroeconomic populism—describe deviations from the liberal consensus that might reflect a variety of motives, both nationalist and nonnationalist. The latter could include a desire to protect the interests of workers against big business, or the interests of business at the expense of consumers, or the poor against the rich.

One area where the distinction between nationalist and nonnationalist motives is important is with respect to trade policies. Because the liberal consensus has been criticized from two sides that otherwise have nothing in common—nationalists caring mainly about domestic business, and progressives caring about global environmental social objectives and the welfare of poorer countries—two trade-related scales are defined. “Trade protectionism” rates deviations that are specifically motivated to protect domestic interests; “trade restrictions” adds deviations from the consensus for any other motive, focused on the willingness to tolerate trade barriers or discourage trade agreements.²¹

Economic Nationalism *Stricto Sensu*

Trade Protectionism

This scale captures deviations from liberal trade preferences only to the extent that they are motivated by economic nationalism (in this context that means protectionism). Trade restrictions or rejection of trade agreements motivated by strengthening the interests of consumers vis-à-vis firms, labor vis-à-vis firms, small firms vis-à-vis multinationals, or noneconomic (e.g., environmental) versus economic objectives are disregarded in this scale and reflected in the “trade restrictions” scale below.

Because this scale is concerned with deviations from the liberal benchmark only to the extent that they are driven by protectionism, a rating of 1 can indicate not only the liberal consensus benchmark but also deviations from that

21. Note that the distinction between nationalist/protectionist motives and progressive motives does not unambiguously map to the right/left distinction.

- To the extent that the political left is opposed to free trade/trade agreements, it is usually for progressive reasons, but sometimes also for protectionist reasons (example: Democrats in the United States).
- When the political right does not embrace free trade, it is generally for protectionist reasons. But even here there are exceptions. In 2017, the AfD opposed bilateral trade agreements with essentially the same arguments as the German Greens: that they would reduce democracy/national sovereignty with respect to regulation. And like the Greens, the AfD argued that the developing countries require some tariffs to develop, while the European Union should open its markets further.

consensus motivated by nonnationalist objectives (e.g., protecting the interests of consumers and workers relative to the interests of business, small firms relative to multinationals) or noneconomic (e.g., environmental) relative to economic (e.g., growth) objectives.

1. EITHER:

Free trade subject to the rules of the multinational trading system:

- There is no stated preference of exports over imports (trade is viewed as good, not just exports).
- There are no tariffs, quotas, or export subsidies (except for purely defensive safeguards or countervailing duties that are justified within multinational trading rules).
- Any export promotion takes the form of lowering information costs and helping firms navigate foreign entry requirements, rather than financial incentives.
- Government procurement does not discriminate against foreign firms.
- Nontariff trade barriers are the consequence of regulation that is justified by public policy aims extraneous to trade (such as environmental or health standards) rather than the desire to keep out foreign firms. It is applied in the same way to domestic and foreign firms.
- Trade negotiations and agreements (whether multilateral, plurilateral, or bilateral) aim at reducing regulatory barriers to trade, including by aligning or coordinating regulation. The motivation for the latter, however, is solely the desire to lower trade barriers as much as possible while maintaining domestic regulatory preferences, reflected in consumer protection, labor standards, or environmental standards, not to “level the playing field” (i.e., to make other countries lose a competitive edge afforded by cheaper labor and lower regulatory cost).

OR:

- Some trade barriers are maintained, and/or plurilateral/bilateral trade agreements are opposed, on the grounds that some trade barriers are in the interests of developing countries, consumer protection, the environment, labor, or small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs); that trade arrangements would add to the power of multinational corporations; and that trade arrangements would weaken domestic regulation—particularly regarding environmental, health, and labor standards.

Note: To qualify for a 1 rating in this scale, any defense of trade barriers and/or rejection of trade deals or trade liberalization must not be motivated by a desire to put the interests of domestic entities (consumers, workers, firms) over those of the corresponding foreign entities. Resisting liberalization to protect domestic consumers from foreign firms or (the lack of) foreign regulation is consistent with a rating of 1; protecting domestic firms from foreign firms is not. Arguments for trade barriers or against trade agreements consistent with 1 either make no distinction according to nationality or residency or, if they make a distinction, emphasize the interests of foreign countries. For example, from the perspective of advanced countries, such arguments might state that developing countries

should have a right to impose tariffs to protect their industries but that advanced countries should lower tariffs and subsidies.

2. A view that emphasizes the value of free trade within a multilateral rules-based system, but at the same time argues for or defends one or several of the following:

- a preference for exports over imports;
- government procurement rules favoring domestic firms (except in cases where a free trade arrangement prohibits such discrimination);
- minimum labor and environmental standards as a way to create a “level playing field”—that is, ensuring that weaker regulatory standards do not give foreign firms a competitive edge over domestic firms. (Attempts to create minimum labor or environmental standards purely to limit the bargaining power of corporations—whether foreign or domestic—vis-à-vis workers and to protect workers’ rights or the environment are not regarded as nationalist in this scale; see 1.)

3. Ambivalence about free trade for nationalist reasons:

- Trade and international integration are viewed as good only if they create jobs and increase incomes at home. Imports are viewed with skepticism and are unambiguously supported only in the case of important intermediate inputs.
- New trade liberalization and bilateral/plurilateral trade agreements are opposed when viewed as unlikely to create net job or broad-based income gains for domestic workers and/or improve the trade balance, or if they excessively restrict national sovereignty.
- Persistent trade deficits and/or domestic job loss as a result of import competition are viewed as indicative of “unfair” trade practices that could justify trade policy actions.
- There is a view that negative domestic outcomes associated with free trade can and should be addressed through the vigorous use policy instruments such as tariffs, nontariff regulatory requirements, or the negotiation, or renegotiation, of free trade agreements (FTAs), but still within the rules of the multilateral system.

In spite of this ambivalence, the multilateral trading system continues to be viewed as having more benefits than costs because it prevents destructive trade wars. There is no intention to return to unilateralism or a purely “transactional” approach to trade policy.

4. Aggressive use of trade policies to increase exports and/or reduce imports, without, however, aiming at autarky in the long run. The motivation for this can differ but typically includes (a) mercantilist ideas and (b) the creation or defense of domestic productive capacity, in some combination.

- a. The objective of trade policy is to achieve a high market share in international export markets, both because this creates jobs at home and because it is viewed as conducive to long-run growth and developments

(learning by doing, leading to high domestic productivity and higher living standards). To achieve this, any combination of trade tools could be legitimate—tariffs, quotas or administrative/regulatory measures to protect domestic markets, subsidized credit, direct subsidies, export subsidies, foreign exchange intervention, and trade deals to open foreign markets and level the competitive playing field. The use of these policies is constrained only by the threat of protectionism or related tools on the other side that might defeat the objective of promoting exports.

- b. The primary objective of trade policy is to create or defend domestic productive capacity and protect domestic jobs, particularly in industrial sectors. Exports are viewed as desirable but increased market share abroad is not an intrinsic aim. Neither is autarky. Imports are fine so long as they do not threaten domestic jobs or preferred industries and do not sap valuable foreign exchange needed to import inputs essential for the preferred industries. As long as domestic objectives are met and preferred sectors are in external surplus or at least balance, the level of trade is a secondary concern (neither good nor bad). Protectionism is a legitimate tool but, unlike in 5, it is limited to preferred industries and generally sold as either temporary (the infant industry argument) or defensive (it offsets the unfair trade practices of others and is needed as long as these unfair practices are in effect). Protectionism can be in the form of tariffs, quotas or administrative/regulatory measures to protect domestic markets, subsidized credit, direct subsidies, export subsidies, foreign exchange intervention, or restrictions on outward FDI.

Examples: Japan from the 1950s to the 1970s, South Korea in the 1960s and 1970s, Argentina under the Kirchners, Brazil under Dilma Rousseff

5. The economy is closed to imports, using high tariffs, tight quotas, or outright prohibition, except for products that are deemed necessary either for domestic consumption or as intermediate inputs and that cannot be produced at home. This is viewed as a desirable—or at least necessary—long-run state of affairs, not just a temporary evil. The motivation for this is some combination of

- a more permanent version of the ideas underlying 4b: to build domestic industry in an environment where (1) domestic industry is not competitive abroad nor expected to become competitive anytime soon or (2) outside trade practices are viewed as unfair without much hope for improvement, and/or
- an effort to achieve autarky to make the country immune to trade disruptions associated with wars or trade embargos imposed by hostile foreign powers.

Examples: Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Francoist Spain during the 1940s and 1950s, Brazil from the Vargas administrations until the 1980s

FDI Protectionism

This scale describes restrictions with respect to FDI. As with the trade policy scale, each point on the scale describes the extent and manner in which restrictions are used. The specific motivation for these restrictions may differ, however. We focus on three: protecting a technological lead (for example, with respect to FDI motivated by the desire to acquire domestic technology), creating know-how or jobs in the domestic country, or simply maintaining national control.

1. There are no restrictions or regulatory impediments to FDI except for narrowly defined national security reasons (applying only to access to military technology, the protection of military secrets, and the protection of critical infrastructure). Any such restrictions are imposed by an independent agency. Restrictions apply only to majority control. There is no formal screening or mandatory notification process.

2. There is either formal screening or a mandatory notification process for FDI, and either:
 - *an attempt to protect a technological lead*: The national security test described in 1 above is widened with the aim of preventing majority control of firms operating in “strategic sectors” whose technologies or products are potentially relevant for defense, even if they have much broader applications (e.g., artificial intelligence). Minority shares continue to be fine in these sectors; or
 - *an attempt to catch up technologically*: To promote domestic development, or acquire technology or know-how from foreign firms, the country imposes restrictions on the employment of foreign personnel and/or a minimum local content requirement with respect to inputs (e.g., foreign firms must purchase at least 10 percent of inputs in the country). Employment restrictions are either time bound or subject to an economic needs test.

3. One of the following:
 - *Attempt to protect a technological lead*: There is no majority ownership in sectors in which the country wishes to protect its technological know-how for commercial purposes (i.e., even when there are no links to defense); OR
 - *Attempt to catch up technologically*: As in 2, but with unconditional or more stringent requirements (e.g., minimum local employment that is not time bound or needs tested, local content requirement exceeds 50 percent); OR
 - *Desire to maintain national control of the economy*: Restrictions on majority ownership of either large companies or companies in specific sectors, even without links to defense.

4. EITHER:
 - *Attempt to protect technological lead*: No majority or minority ownership in sectors in which the country wishes to protect its technological know-how, for any purpose; OR
 - *Desire to maintain national control of the economy*: Broad restrictions on majority ownership (i.e., even of small companies, and/or in many sectors); and/or restrictions on minority ownership of large companies or companies in specific sectors.

5. Foreign direct investment is not welcome except in specific areas of specific national interest (“positive list”). Existing foreign firms outside these sectors are nationalized.

Example: Venezuela under Hugo Chávez

Immigration Restrictions

This scale is organized in terms of both (increasingly nationalist) motivations for restricting immigration and the restrictions that typically follow from these motivations. The motivations include minimal protections of health and public safety, avoidance of congestion of public services, selection based on expected contribution to the national economy, selection based on expected ability to assimilate, protection of domestic jobs, and the desire to maintain society as ethnically and culturally homogeneous as possible.

1. Country is generally open to immigration. Some immigration restrictions may apply, but they are justified solely by concerns about public health (e.g., no immigrants with contagious diseases), safety and security (no criminals), or the desire to avoid congestion and maintain the ability to integrate immigrants, which may justify limits or quotas. There is no attempt to select immigrants on the basis of economic value or cultural fit, and limits are never applied to those seeking refugee or asylum status. Attempts to enforce immigration restrictions are (obviously) consistent with 1. To the extent that there is still illegal immigration, there is a path for illegal immigrants to apply for legal status.
2. In addition to criteria/mechanisms to facilitate integration and avoid congestion, immigration is regulated by criteria that aim to select immigrants expected to make a positive economic contribution to society and/or assimilate easily. Such criteria could include a points-based assessment, requiring an applicant to have a job offer, or requiring family ties. This category is consistent with concerns about and promises to crack down on illegal immigration, but the means of doing so consists only in the better or faster enforcement of existing laws.

Examples: Canada, Australia, some EU countries, the United States after 1917 but prior to Trump

3. In addition to concerns about the ability to assimilate and positively contribute to society, immigration criteria reflect a concern that immigrants will take away jobs from residents or threaten public safety. As a result,
 - there is a cap on the total number of immigrants (for all categories, including refugees) or the total number of asylum seekers/refugees that can be accepted in a given year (note: a cap on “economic migrants” may not yield a 3 rating if it can be justified by the desire to avoid congestion; see 1); or
 - high standards are imposed to qualify for immigrant/refugee/work-visa status, including an economic needs test: employers must prove that they cannot find a native for the job; or

In addition to better enforcement, there are calls to rethink the laws themselves and/or think about deterring illegal immigrants (e.g., through limited access to public services) or expanding enforcement measures, including better securing of the borders with physical means (fences, walls, large increases in border patrols).

4. In addition to reflecting the concerns described above, immigration criteria place substantial value on maintaining the nation’s ethnic and/or cultural homogeneity. As a result, immigration is significantly restricted, but tradeoffs between ethnic/cultural homogeneity and expected economic benefits are allowed. Individuals who are viewed as ethnically or culturally fitting face few restrictions; all others are granted work visas only

temporarily (seasonal workers) or when their skills are in short supply. In addition to the stance on illegal immigration as in 3 above, there are calls for deporting undocumented migrants.

5. With few exceptions, immigration is prohibited unless immigrants/refugees share the ethnic background of or have family ties with the ruling elites. Same stance on illegal immigration as in 3 above.

Rejection of Multilateral Constraints

International organizations and fora such as the United Nations, WTO, IMF, Financial Stability Board, or Basel Committee on Banking Supervision aim to solve international collective action problems and/or set international standards by exposing a country to international influence and sometimes by imposing hard constraints. Efforts may involve attempts at influencing, and sometime constraining, national policy. This scale describes how a government resolves tensions between narrowly defined national interests and potential interest in supporting an organization that can solve collective problems.

1. Country is or wishes to be a member of all international organizations whose mission it supports. In its work within an organization, it generally puts the purpose of the organization ahead of narrowly defined national interest. When the organization adopts a policy or view that is viewed as conflicting with the national interest, the country nonetheless implements the policy. When a country wishes to leave or not be part of a specific multilateral organization, it is not because the organization impinges on the country's sovereignty but because the country fundamentally disagrees with the mission of the organization, while it still sees the need for multilateralism in other policy dimensions.
2. Country is or wishes to be a member of virtually all international organizations except those whose governance and mission are viewed as undesirable (rather than because the country does not wish to lose sovereignty). In its work within this organization, the country generally puts narrowly defined national interest ahead of the purpose of the organization. When the organization adopts a policy or view that is viewed as conflicting with the national interest, the country may drag its feet and put up resistance within the rules of the organization but not go so far as to break those rules.
3. Country is or wishes to be a member of all international organizations whose mission it supports. However, when the organization adopts a policy or view that is viewed as conflicting with the national interest, the country does not comply with this policy, even if this involves breaking the rules of membership, while attempting to minimize the fallout for the credibility of the organization.
4. Country is a member of some international organizations but refuses to join (or wishes to withdraw from) others, even when it is not ideologically opposed to them, on the grounds that they would constrain national policymaking or national courts. With respect to the organizations in which it is a member, the country refuses to comply with a decision or policy adopted by the organization that is viewed as conflicting with the national interest, even if doing so might threaten the organization's credibility and ultimately its existence.
5. Country is not a member of any international organization that could meaningfully constrain national policies. It joins or remains in an international organization only if it effectively runs it or for propaganda purposes, so long as membership poses no constraints on national policies.

DEVIATIONS FROM CONSENSUS CAPITALISM BASED ON VARIOUS MOTIVES— INCLUDING NATIONALISM

Trade Restrictions

This scale describes a spectrum of policies between free trade subject to the rules of the multilateral system and autarky. The motives for why countries or parties prefer points above 1 on this scale may include nationalism (strengthening domestic jobs/firms/economic development at the expense of foreign jobs/firms) and other motives (protecting the interests of consumers and workers relative to the interests of business, small firms relative to multinationals), or noneconomic (e.g., environmental) relative to economic (e.g., growth) objectives. The former maps onto what is commonly known as protectionism, whereas the latter does not.

Because deviations from the liberal baseline policy prescription could be due to both protectionist and nonprotectionist motives, a party receiving a 1 or 2 rating under the trade protectionism scale might still receive a higher rating (2 or 3) under the trade restrictions scale (this would typically be the case for a “progressive” party that does not like free trade but not because it wants to protect national producers). However, protectionist motives tend to be the main driver of large deviations (points 4 and 5 on the scale).

1. Free trade subject to the rules of the multilateral trading system:

- There is no stated preference of exports over imports: trade is viewed as good, not just exports.
- There are no tariffs, quotas, or export subsidies (except for purely defensive safeguards or countervailing duties that are justified within multinational trading rules).
- Export promotion is fine (only) as long as it takes the form of lowering information costs and helping firms navigate foreign entry requirements, rather than financial incentives.
- Government procurement does not discriminate against foreign firms.
- Any nontariff trade barriers are the consequence of regulation that is justified by public policy aims extraneous to trade (such as environmental or health standards) rather than the desire to keep out foreign firms. It must be applied in the same way to domestic and foreign firms.
- Trade negotiations and agreements (whether multilateral, plurilateral, or bilateral) aim to reduce regulatory barriers to trade, including by aligning or coordinating regulation. The motivation for the latter is to lower trade barriers as much as possible while maintaining domestic regulatory preferences, reflected in consumer protection, labor standards, or environmental standards. Importantly, the motivation for these standards is neither to help workers and the environment in other countries nor to “level the playing field” (i.e., to make other countries lose the competitive edge afforded by cheaper labor and lower regulatory cost); any of these motives would warrant a 2 rating (see 2c).

2. Like 1, except that one or several of the following apply:

- a. A preference for exports over imports;

- b. Government procurement rules favor domestic firms (except in cases where a free trade arrangement prohibits such discrimination);
- c. Bilateral and multilateral trade arrangements carry provisions that embody labor and environmental standards beyond what can be justified by merely attempting to reduce nontariff trade barriers, which may reflect either nationalist motives (protecting domestic producers and workers) or progressive motives (protecting the environment, protecting workers everywhere, or limiting the power of multinational corporations).
Examples: The European Union versus “third countries,” the United States during most of the postwar period

3. Ambivalence about free trade

- While “fair” trade is viewed as good, there are concerns that trade could lead to domestic job loss (nationalist perspective) or favor either business at the expense of workers or large corporations at the expense of small ones (progressive perspective).
- New trade liberalization and bi-/plurilateral trade agreements are opposed when these are viewed as:
 - unlikely to create net gains in jobs or income for domestic workers (nationalist perspective),
 - conducive to a regulatory “race to the bottom” (progressive perspective), or
 - implying excessive restrictions on national sovereignty (in particular, with respect to setting domestic regulatory standards and undercutting or bypassing domestic courts) (this could have both nationalist and progressive motives).
- There is a view that negative outcomes associated with free trade can and should be addressed through policy instruments such as safeguards, countervailing duties, nontariff regulatory requirements, or the negotiation, or renegotiation, of FTAs that are viewed as inadequate from either a nationalist or progressive perspective, but still within the rules of the multilateral system.

In spite of this ambivalence, the view remains that the multilateral trading system has more benefits than costs because it prevents destructive trade wars. There is no intention to return to unilateralism or a purely “transactional” approach to trade policy.

4. Trade policies are aggressively used to increase exports and/or reduce imports, but without aiming at autarky in the long run. The motivation for this stance can differ but typically includes (a) mercantilist ideas and (b) the creation or defense of domestic productive capacity, in some combination.

- a. The objective of trade policy is to achieve a high market share in international export markets, both because this creates jobs at home and because it is viewed as conducive to long-run growth and developments (learning by doing, leading to high domestic productivity and high living standards). To achieve this, any combination of trade tools could be legitimate—tariffs, quotas or administrative/regulatory measures to protect domestic markets, subsidized credit, direct subsidies, export subsidies, foreign exchange intervention, and trade deals to open foreign markets and level the competitive playing field. The use of these

policies is constrained only by the threat of protectionism or related tools on the other side that might defeat the objective of promoting exports.

- b. The primary objective of trade policy is to create or defend domestic productive capacity and protect domestic jobs, particularly in industrial sectors. Exports are viewed as desirable but increased market share abroad is not an intrinsic aim. Neither is autarky. Imports are fine so long as they do not threaten domestic jobs or preferred industries nor sap valuable foreign exchange needed to import inputs essential for the preferred industries. As long as domestic objectives are met, and preferred sectors are in external surplus or at least balance, the level of trade is a secondary concern (neither good nor bad). Protectionism is a legitimate tool, but unlike in 5, it is limited to preferred industries and generally sold as either temporary (the infant industry argument) or defensive (to offset the unfair trade practices of others and needed so long as these unfair practices are in effect). Protectionism can be in the form of tariffs, quotas or administrative/regulatory measures to protect domestic markets, subsidized credit, direct subsidies, export subsidies, foreign exchange intervention, or restrictions on outward FDI.

Examples: Japan from the 1950s to the 1970s, South Korea in the 1960s and 1970s, Argentina under the Kirchners, Brazil under Dilma Rousseff

5. The economy is closed to imports, using high tariffs, tight quotas, or outright prohibition, except for products that are deemed necessary for domestic consumption or as intermediate inputs and that cannot be produced at home. This is viewed as a desirable—or at least necessary—long-run state of affairs, not just a temporary evil. The motivation for this is some combination of

- a more permanent version of the ideas underlying 4b: to build domestic industry in an environment where it is not competitive abroad and not expected to become competitive anytime soon, or outside trade practices are viewed as unfair without much hope for improvement;
- efforts to achieve autarky to make the country immune to trade disruptions associated with wars or trade embargos imposed by hostile foreign powers.

Examples: Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Francoist Spain during the 1940s and 1950s, Brazil from the Vargas administration until the 1980s

Competition Policy (Tolerance of Market Power)

This scale describes the continuum between the view that competition between firms is all-important, regardless of nationality, and the view that national policy aims—such as support for preferential sectors, building national champions that can compete globally, or state control over strategic industries—can justify limiting or even completely abandoning competition between firms.

1. Competition law makes cartels illegal and explicitly aims to prevent abuse of economic power (market dominance) by requiring approval for mergers and monitoring other potentially anticompetitive behavior. An independent competition authority effectively enforces this law.

Examples: best practices in industrial countries—the United States after passage of the Sherman Act (1890) and dismantling of trusts in the 1920s; Germany after World War II; EU competition law and institutions

2. Like 1 but with weak or mixed enforcement, either because competition authority is weak or lacks independence or because the authority (or the party program or the government, if that's what is being rated) takes a permissive view on market dominance for nationalist reasons—for example, based on the argument that national champions are good for competing in international markets.
3. Either (1) there is no effective competition law and/or no effective competition authority, but the state stops short of encouraging cartels or national champions, or (2) competition law/enforcement exists and is enforced for some areas of the economy but is suspended in others to allow cartels or national champions.
4. There is no effective competition law and/or competition authority. In addition, the state encourages cartels or oligopolies in some sectors.

Examples: Japan in the 1950s and 1960s (keiretsu), Korea in the 1970s (chaebols), Nazi Germany (1933–36)

5. There is no effective competition law and/or competition authority. In addition, cartels or monopolies exist in many sectors of the economy, either run or encouraged by the state (whether in the form of state enterprises or via state supervision of privately owned enterprises).

Examples: Nazi Germany (1937–45), Francoist Spain in the 1940s and 1950s²²

Vertical Industrial Policy

This scale describes whether the state wishes to support specific sectors of the economy and what means it is willing to use.

1. There is no preference for specific sectors of the economy. Any industrial policy is “horizontal”: the state provides public goods or services that are meant to encourage economic activity in general, including infrastructure, education, health care, and access to finance. SME credit takes the form of revolving and self-sustained credit lines. R&D subsidies or tax breaks, and grants or subsidized credit for startups, are also consistent with this category, provided they are sector-neutral and subsidies are provided competitively. So are advisory or “extension” services and public-private consultation and coordination efforts (for example, with respect to infrastructure, education, and public services).
2. Some policies promoting specific sectors or companies exist in the form of subsidies, deregulation, tax breaks, or subsidized credit. Typically, this category includes limited subsidies to agriculture and/or specific industrial sectors (such as the airline industry) that are viewed as worthy of support for national prestige or technological development purposes.

Example: Some EU countries

22. It is unclear whether Italy during Fascism also belongs here or whether it is in category 4—the Italians invented the ideas but may have taken them less seriously than the Germans or Spaniards.

3. Use of vertical policies such as sector-, firm-, or goods-specific subsidies (including export subsidies), tax breaks, preferential access to credit, selective price controls, and trade protection to benefit specific sectors or firms—without, however, trying to set targets for the development of that sector, and without nationalization or a policy of partial state ownership of firms considered “strategic.” The state tilts the playing field, but leaves it to the sector to develop.

Example: Argentina under Néstor Kirchner

4. EITHER:

- a. Like 3 (i.e., a stated preference for and promotion of specific sectors and/or firms) but with the aim of achieving predefined developmental targets, such as growing a sector or firm to a certain size or achieving a specific investment volume in a particular area. The targets are typically laid out in a four- or five-year development plan.

Examples: Japan in the 1950s–60s, Korea in the 1960s and 1970s

OR

- b. Like 3 (and unlike 4a without the planning element), but enhanced by additional instruments that go beyond taxes, subsidies, and preferential access to credit, to include nationalizations, a policy of direct state participation in firms that are considered strategic, and/or direct instructions to industry captains.

Examples: Argentina under Perón, Brazil under Vargas

5. BOTH 4a and 4b. The execution of plans involving targets for the development of specific sectors through means that include nationalization, price controls, and direct state instructions. Full state planning is a specific case, but this categorization is broader in that it does not require state ownership and can include indirect means of achieving production or investment targets, such as preferential access to credit and/or special tax or subsidy regimes, so long as these indirect means allow the state to steer most of the economy.

Examples: Nazi Germany after 1936, Francoist Spain in the 1940s and 1950s

Macroeconomic Populism

This scale is defined in terms of the aims of macroeconomic policy—specifically, the extent to which stability objectives are subordinated to other objectives that may conflict with stability; willingness to take macroeconomic risks.

1. Monetary and fiscal policies are constrained by the desire to maintain economic stability: smoothing recessions and booms, maintaining low and stable inflation, and preventing financial or fiscal crises. Monetary policy is executed by an independent central bank. The government is committed to fiscal sustainability (this may, but does not have to, include the use of fiscal rules). This does not preclude increases in public debt, e.g., for fiscal stimulus or public investment purposes, so long as the debt remains clearly sustainable. Fiscally relevant forecasts are either undertaken or monitored by independent institutions.
Examples: the United States during most of its postwar history, several EU countries today

2. Without openly questioning the premise that monetary and fiscal policy should be stability-oriented, or that the central bank should be independent, the government occasionally uses fiscal policy, or encourages the central bank to use monetary policy, to meet other aims even when this creates stability risks (e.g., by pushing inflation beyond the central bank's policy objective or by creating fiscal risks).
3. Monetary and fiscal policies aim to balance stability objectives with other objectives that may conflict with macroeconomic and financial stability, such as supplying credit to preferred sectors, achieving redistribution through deficit-financed social spending, or reducing the tax burden (without equivalent spending cuts).
4. Monetary and fiscal policies are primarily devoted to objectives that may conflict with macroeconomic and financial stability. However, the government still cares about macro stability (just a lot less than it cares for the other objectives) and acknowledges that there could be a tradeoff: for example, catastrophic macroeconomic outcomes (such as a hyperinflation) may lead governments to refocus on stability to the detriment of objectives that would normally be preferred. Budget constraints are ignored until the economy is close to or in a crisis.
5. Monetary and fiscal policies are subordinated to objectives other than sustainability or stabilization. Unlike 4, there is no tradeoff: The government will not compromise with respect to its preferred objectives, no matter what happens to macro stability, because it either (1) cares about macro stability only in a lexicographic sense (or not at all), or (2) is convinced that there is never a tradeoff. Budget constraints are always ignored so long as the primary objectives are not met.

**APPENDIX B
MEASURING DISAGREEMENT ACROSS RATERS**

The coding of party manifestos was performed by the two authors and two research analysts (RAs). Each party manifesto was separately rated by one of the authors and one of the RAs. Differences in coding were subsequently resolved and final grades assigned. To gauge the degree of initial agreement among raters (interrater reliability), Cohen’s kappa coefficients were computed based on the original scores for each pair of raters. Results are reported in table B1.

Based on the standard interpretation of kappa coefficients (McHugh 2012), the reported coefficients indicate moderate agreement among raters for pairs Author 1–RA 1, Author 2–RA 1, and Author 2–RA 2 and substantial agreement for pair Author 1–RA 2.

An alternative measure for describing agreement between raters is to compute correlation coefficients. Unlike the kappa statistic, this requires dropping observations in which one or both raters viewed the information in the party platforms as insufficient to come up with a rating (“not enough information”). Both standard (Pearson) and Spearman rank correlation coefficients were between 0.77 and 0.93 (table B2). The pattern of correlation across the four pairs of raters is more or less the same as that of Cohen’s kappa coefficients.

Table B1 Cohen’s kappa coefficients		
	RA 1	RA 2
Author 1	0.544	0.658
Author 2	0.520	0.532

Note: The formula used to compute Cohen’s kappa coefficients is $\kappa = (p_o - p_e) / (1 - p_e)$, where p_o is the relative observed agreement and p_e is the hypothetical probability of chance agreement between raters. All original scores, including “not enough Information,” were included in the calculations.

Source: Authors’ calculations based on raters’ original grades.

**Table B2
Correlation coefficients**

	Pearson correlation coefficients		Spearman correlation coefficients	
	RA 1	RA 2	RA 1	RA 2
Author 1	0.840	0.926	0.854	0.923
Author 2	0.772	0.775	0.791	0.791

Note: The Pearson correlation coefficient is the standard linear correlation computed using the formula: $r_{xy} = \sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})(y_i - \bar{y}) / (\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \bar{x})^2} \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (y_i - \bar{y})^2})$. The Spearman correlation is a correlation coefficient computed using variables’ ranks.

Source: Authors’ calculations based on raters’ original grades.

APPENDIX C

Table C1

Ratings by country, category, and period

Country	Party	Trade protectionism		FDI protectionism		Immigration restrictions		Antimultilateralism		Trade restrictions	
		Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC
Advanced economies											
Australia	Australian Labor Party	2	2	—	—	2	3	1	1	2	2
	Liberal Party of Australia	1	1	—	—	2	3	1	1	1	1
	Australian Greens	1	2	—	—	2	2	1	1	2	3
Canada	Liberal Party	2	2	—	—	2	2	1	1	2	2
	Conservative Party	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2
	New Democratic Party	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
France	Socialist Party (PS)	3	3	—	—	2	2	1	1	3	3
	Les Républicains (UMP)	3	2	—	—	3	3	2	2	3	2
	Front National	4	4	3	3	5	5	4	4	4	4
	La France Insoumise	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	3
	La République En Marche!	—	2	—	3	—	2	—	1	—	2
Germany	Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU)	2	2	—	—	3	2	2	1	2	2
	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	1	1	—	—	1	2	1	1	1	2
	Alliance 90/The Greens	1	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	2	3
	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	1	1	—	—	1	2	1	1	1	1
	Alliance for Germany (AfD)	—	2	—	3	—	4	—	4	—	3
	Center Right Coalition	3	—	—	—	3	4	1	3	3	—
	Center Left Coalition	2	2	1	—	1	2	1	1	2	2
Italy	Movimento Cinque Stelle	—	3	—	1	—	2	—	4	—	3
	Liberal Democratic Party	2	2	—	—	—	3	1	1	2	2
	Constitutional Democratic Party	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	2
Japan	Kibō no Tō (Party of Hope)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
	Democratic Party	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
South Korea	Saenuri Party (Hannara)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
	People's Party	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
United Kingdom	Labour Party	1	2	—	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
	Conservative Party	1	1	—	1	3	3	2	2	1	1
	Liberal Democrats	1	1	—	—	2	2	1	1	1	1
United States	UK Independence Party	1	2	—	—	3	3	4	4	1	2
	Democratic Party	2	3	—	—	1	1	1	1	2	3
	Republican Party	2	3	—	—	2	3	4	4	2	3

Table continues

Table C1 (continued)

Ratings by country, category, and period

Country	Party	Industrial policy		Tolerance of concentration		Macroeconomic populism		Party vote share (percent)	
		Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC
Advanced economies									
Australia	Australian Labor Party	3	3	1	1	1	1	43.4	34.7
	Liberal Party of Australia	1	1	1	1	1	1	36.6	28.7
Canada	Australian Greens	1	2	1	1	—	—	7.8	10.2
	Liberal Party	2	2	1	1	1	1	30.2	39.5
	Conservative Party	2	2	1	1	1	1	36.3	31.9
	New Democratic Party	2	3	1	1	1	1	17.5	19.7
France	Socialist Party (PS)	3	2	—	—	3	3	24.7	7.4
	Les Républicains (UMP)	3	2	—	3	2	1	39.5	15.8
	Front National	2	3	3	—	3	3	4.3	13.2
	La France Insoumise	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	11.0
	La République En Marche!	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	28.2
Germany	Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU)	1	2	—	2	1	1	35.2	32.9
	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	1	2	—	1	1	1	34.2	20.5
	Alliance 90/The Greens	1	1	1	1	1	2	8.1	8.9
	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	1	1	1	1	1	2	9.8	10.7
	Alliance for Germany (AfD)	—	1	—	1	—	3	—	12.6
Italy	Center Right Coalition	—	—	1	—	2	4	49.7	41.5
	Center Left Coalition	3	2	1	1	1	1	49.8	17.0
	Movimento Cinque Stelle	—	4	—	3	—	5	—	32.7
Japan	Liberal Democratic Party	3	3	1	1	1	1	38.2	33.3
	Constitutional Democratic Party	2	2	1	—	1	1	31.0	19.9
South Korea	Kibō no Tō (Party of Hope)	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	17.4
	Democratic Party	4	1	1	1	—	1	25.2	25.5
	Saenuri Party (Hannara)	2	3	—	1	1	1	37.5	33.5
United Kingdom	People's Party	—	3	—	1	—	1	—	26.7
	Labour Party	2	3	1	—	1	2	35.2	40.0
United States	Conservative Party	1	2	1	1	1	2	32.4	42.4
	Liberal Democrats	1	2	1	1	1	1	22.0	7.4
United States	UK Independence Party	2	2	—	—	4	2	2.2	1.8
	Democratic Party	2	2	1	1	1	1	46.5	47.3
	Republican Party	1	1	—	1	3	1	49.3	48.3

Table continues

Table C1 (continued)

Ratings by country, category, and period

Country	Party	Trade protectionism		FDI protectionism		Immigration restrictions		Antimultilateralism		Trade restrictions	
		Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC
Emerging-market economies											
Argentina	Frente para la Victoria	3	4	—	4	—	—	3	4	3	4
	Cambios (Coalición Cívica)	2	2	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	2
Brazil	United for a New Alternative (UNA)	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
	Workers' Party (PT)	3	4	1	3	—	1	2	2	3	4
China	Social Liberal Party (PSL)	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Social Democracy Party (PSDB)	2	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	2	—
India	Communist Party of China	4	3	3	2	—	—	3	2	4	3
	Bharatiya Janata Party	4	4	3	4	—	—	2	1	4	4
Indonesia	Indian National Congress	2	4	2	1	—	—	—	1	2	4
	Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar)	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	3
Indonesia	Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)	—	4	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	4
	Democratic Party (PD)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mexico	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) (Alliance for Mexico (PRI-led))	2	1	—	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
	MORENA (Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD))	3	3	—	4	1	—	1	—	3	3
Russia	Por México al Frente (PAN-led) (National Action Party (PAN))	3	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	3	1
	United Russia	2	4	—	3	—	—	2	4	2	4
Russia	Communist Party	4	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	4	—
	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	4	4	—	4	3	—	3	5	4	4
South Africa	African National Congress	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	3
	Democratic Alliance	1	—	1	—	2	3	2	—	1	—
Turkey	AK Parti	2	2	1	1	—	—	3	3	2	2
	Republican People's Party	2	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	—
Turkey	Nationalist Movement	2	3	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	3
	People's Democratic Party	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—

Table continues

Table C1 (continued)

Ratings by country, category, and period

Country	Party	Industrial policy		Tolerance of concentration		Macroeconomic populism		Party vote share (percent)	
		Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC	Pre-GFC	Post-GFC
Emerging-market economies									
Argentina	Frente para la Victoria	3	4	1	—	4	5	31.1	37.4
	Cambios (Coalición Cívica)	1	2	—	—	1	2	14.9	34.5
Brazil	United for a New Alternative (UNA)	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	19.9
	Workers' Party (PT)	3	4	—	—	1	5	15.0	10.3
China	Social Liberal Party (PSL)	—	4	—	1	—	1	—	11.7
	Social Democracy Party (PSDB)	3	1	1	1	1	1	13.6	6.0
India	Communist Party of China	4	4	3	2	3	3	100.0	100.0
	Bharatiya Janata Party	4	3	—	—	4	4	22.2	31.0
Indonesia	Indian National Congress	4	4	1	—	1	3	26.5	19.3
	Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar)	1	4	1	1	1	1	21.6	14.8
Mexico	Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)	—	4	—	3	—	2	—	11.8
	Democratic Party (PD)	—	2	—	—	—	2	7.5	10.2
Russia	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) (Alliance for Mexico (PRI-led))	2	1	1	1	2	1	28.9	16.5
	MORENA (Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD))	5	5	2	2	4	4	29.7	37.3
South Africa	Por México al Frente (PAN-led) (National Action Party (PAN))	2	2	1	—	2	1	34.3	17.9
	United Russia	3	4	2	3	—	2	64.3	54.2
Turkey	Communist Party	5	5	5	5	—	—	11.6	13.3
	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	5	3	3	3	—	5	8.1	13.1
Turkey	African National Congress	2	4	—	—	2	4	69.7	62.2
	Democratic Alliance	1	1	1	—	1	1	12.4	22.2
Turkey	AK Parti	2	2	1	1	1	1	46.6	42.6
	Republican People's Party	3	4	1	3	1	1	20.9	22.6
Turkey	Nationalist Movement	3	4	1	1	1	2	12.9	8.2
	People's Democratic Party	—	—	—	4	—	4	—	11.2

Table continues

Table C1 (continued)

Ratings by country, category, and period

Policies/documents	Trade protectionism		FDI protectionism		Immigration restrictions		Antimultilateralism		Trade restrictions	
	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC
President Donald Trump	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4
Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030	2	2	3	3	—	—	1	1	2	2
Made in China 2025	4	4	3	3	—	—	—	—	4	4

Policies/documents	Industrial policy		Tolerance of concentration		Macroeconomic populism	
	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC	Post-GFC
President Donald Trump	3	3	—	—	3	3
Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030	4	4	3	3	—	—
Made in China 2025	4	4	3	3	—	—

Note: Table shows the ratings given to each party, for each policy category, before and after the global financial crisis (GFC). Party vote shares represent the share of votes gained by parties in the general elections identified in table 1. In each category, party-level weights used in calculations of weighted country-level averages were computed by dividing a vote share of a party with an assigned rating by the sum of vote shares of parties with available ratings (parties with no rating were excluded from weighting). “—” means not enough information.

Source: Authors' coding of party platforms identified in table 1.

APPENDIX D

Table D1
RILE index and party classifications

Country	Party	RILE index	Right/Left classification	Populism classification
Advanced economies				
Australia	Australian Labor Party	-34.397	Left	Nonpopulist
	Liberal Party of Australia	12.240	Right	Nonpopulist
	Australian Greens	-23.218	—	Nonpopulist
Canada	Liberal Party	-20.683	Left	Nonpopulist
	Conservative Party	29.016	Right	Nonpopulist
	New Democratic Party	-9.674	Left	Nonpopulist
France	Socialist Party (PS)	-28.947	Left	Nonpopulist
	Les Républicains (UMP)	13.619	Right	Nonpopulist
	Front National	5.814	Right	Populist
	La France Insoumise	-30.019	Left	Populist
	La République En Marche!	0.000	—	Nonpopulist
Germany	Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU)	2.757	Right	Nonpopulist
	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	-21.437	Left	Nonpopulist
	Alliance 90/The Greens	-21.058	Left	Nonpopulist
	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	0.578	Right	Nonpopulist
	Alliance for Germany (AfD)	17.430	Right	Populist
Italy	Center Right Coalition	4.670	Right	Populist
	Center Left Coalition	-7.505	Left	Nonpopulist
	Movimento Cinque Stelle	-49.032	—	Populist
Japan	Liberal Democratic Party	-2.036	Right	Nonpopulist
	Constitutional Democratic Party	-28.205	Left	Nonpopulist
	Kibō no Tō (Party of Hope)	—	—	Nonpopulist
South Korea	Democratic Party	-42.508	—	Nonpopulist
	Saenuri Party (Hannara)	-20.069	—	Nonpopulist
	People's Party	-35.328	—	Nonpopulist
United Kingdom	Labour Party	-27.560	Left	Nonpopulist
	Conservative Party	-2.607	Right	Nonpopulist
	Liberal Democrats	-21.751	Right	Nonpopulist
	UK Independence Party	2.037	Right	Populist
	Democratic Party	-20.578	Left	Nonpopulist
United States	Republican Party	32.969	Right	Nonpopulist

Table continues

Table D1 (continued)

RILE index and party classifications

Country	Party	RILE index	Right/Left classification	Populism classification
Emerging-market economies				
Argentina	Frente para la Victoria	—	Left	Nonpopulist
	Cambiamos (Coalición Cívica)	—	Right	Nonpopulist
	United for a New Alternative (UNA)	—	—	Nonpopulist
Brazil	Workers' Party (PT)	—	Left	Nonpopulist
	Social Liberal Party (PSL)	—	—	Nonpopulist
	Social Democracy Party (PSDB)	—	Left	Nonpopulist
China	Communist Party of China	—	—	Nonpopulist
India	Bharatiya Janata Party	—	Right	Populist
	Indian National Congress	—	Left	Nonpopulist
Indonesia	Party of the Functional Groups (Golkar)	—	—	Nonpopulist
	Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)	—	—	Nonpopulist
	Democratic Party (PD)	—	—	Nonpopulist
Mexico	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) (Alliance for Mexico (PRI-led))	0.155	Center	Nonpopulist
	MORENA (Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD))	0.000	—	Nonpopulist
	Por México al Frente (PAN-led) (National Action Party (PAN))	14.416	Right	Nonpopulist
Russia	United Russia	2.793	Center	Populist
	Communist Party	-18.297	Left	Nonpopulist
	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	13.693	—	Nonpopulist
South Africa	African National Congress	-31.926	Left	Populist
	Democratic Alliance	-8.120	—	Nonpopulist
Turkey	AK Parti	-7.381	—	Populist
	Republican People's Party	-20.851	Left	Nonpopulist
	Nationalist Movement	-2.496	—	Nonpopulist
	People's Democratic Party	-32.163	—	Nonpopulist
Policies/documents				
	President Donald Trump	—	Right	Populist
	Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030	—	Right	Nonpopulist
	Made in China 2025	—	—	—

Note: Table shows the RILE (Right-Left) index, right/left dummy variables and populism classifications for each party. When the RILE index was not available for the elections to which the manifesto analyses in this paper referred, the most recent RILE index available in the Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2018b) was used. For Italy's Center Left and Center Right coalitions, an average RILE index was computed by weighting the available party RILE indices of coalition members by share of votes obtained. All data presented in the table pertains to the post-GFC period. "—" means not enough information.

Source: See sources of table D2.

Table D2

Average changes from pre- to post-GFC and differences post-GFC in party ratings
 (ρ values shown in parentheses, followed by the number of observations)

Policy category	Correlation with changes from pre- to post-GFC				
	Regression 1		Regression 2	Regression 3	
	Left	Right	RILE	Populist	Nonpopulist
	1	2	3	4	5
Trade protectionism	0.46** (0.016) 68	-0.07 (0.715) 68	-0.01 (0.451) 58	0.60 (0.113) 70	0.13 (0.359) 70
FDI protectionism	-0.25 (0.774) 18	0.33 (0.316) 18	0.01 (0.474) 12	0.33 (0.305) 20	-0.29 (0.576) 20
Immigration restrictions	0.33* (0.056) 46	0.27 (0.176) 46	0.00 (0.778) 46	0.33 (0.255) 46	0.25 (0.101) 46
Antimultilateralism	0.13 (0.147) 78	0.00 (1.000) 78	0.00 (0.397) 66	0.43 (0.299) 80	0.09 (0.418) 80
Trade restrictions	0.62*** (0.002) 68	-0.07 (0.715) 68	-0.01 (0.260) 58	0.60 (0.113) 70	0.20 (0.188) 70
Industrial policy	0.24 (0.320) 84	0.21 (0.252) 84	0.00 (0.791) 70	0.50 (0.219) 86	0.14 (0.457) 86
Tolerance of concentration	0.22 (0.321) 48	0.00 (N/A) 48	0.00 (0.668) 44	0.50 (0.188) 50	0.04 (0.671) 50
Macroeconomic populism	0.69** (0.020) 76	-0.07 (0.814) 76	-0.02** (0.030) 62	0.33 (0.566) 78	0.24 (0.177) 78

Table continues

Table D2 (continued)

Average changes from pre- to post-GFC and differences post-GFC in party ratings
(ρ values shown in parentheses, followed by the number of observations)

Policy category	Correlation with post-GFC ratings			
	Regression 4		Regression 5	Regression 6
	Left	Right	RILE	Populist
	6	7	8	9
Trade protectionism	0.13 (0.731) 47	-0.28 (0.469) 47	0.00 (0.776) 35	0.94*** (0.004) 48
FDI protectionism	-0.47 (0.468) 26	0.19 (0.737) 26	0.03*** (0.010) 15	0.43 (0.400) 27
Immigration restrictions	-0.33 (0.353) 31	1.07*** (0.010) 31	0.02** (0.012) 28	1.20** (0.028) 31
Antimultilateralism	-0.90** (0.041) 51	-0.19 (0.697) 51	0.02 (0.165) 39	1.53*** (0.000) 52
Trade restrictions	0.27 (0.458) 47	-0.29 (0.461) 47	0.00 (0.996) 35	0.94*** (0.002) 48
Industrial policy	0.15 (0.710) 54	-0.62* (0.092) 54	-0.02** (0.045) 40	0.47 (0.210) 55
Tolerance of concentration	-0.20 (0.697) 36	-0.35 (0.363) 36	-0.01 (0.532) 31	0.39 (0.476) 37
Macroeconomic populism	0.23 (0.644) 53	-0.01 (0.988) 53	-0.01 (0.479) 40	1.44*** (0.001) 54

GFC = global financial crisis; FDI = foreign direct investment; N/A = not available

Note: The table presents regression coefficients that relate the measures of right/left-wing orientation and political populism to both changes in economic nationalism from before to after the global financial crisis (GFC) (columns 1-5) and levels of economic nationalism ratings in the post-GFC period (columns 6-9), based on the following specifications:

- Columns (1) and (2): coefficients b_1 and b_2 from the specification: $r(i,t) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot R(i) + b_2 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot L(i) + d(i)$
- Column (3): coefficient b_3 from: $r(i,t) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{postGFC} + b_2 \cdot \text{RILE}(i) + b_3 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot \text{RILE}(i) + d(i)$
- Columns (4) and (5): coefficients b_1 and b_2 from $r(i,t) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot P(i) + b_2 \cdot \text{postGFC} \cdot NP(i) + d(i)$
- Columns (6) and (7): coefficients b_1 and b_2 from $r(i) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot L(i) + b_2 \cdot R(i)$
- Column (8): coefficient b_1 from $r(i) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot \text{RILE}(i)$
- Column (9): coefficient b_1 from $r(i) = b_0 + b_1 \cdot P(i)$

$r(i,t)$ denotes the rating assigned to party i in each category at time t (before or after the GFC), postGFC is a dummy variable taking on the value one in the post-GFC period and zero otherwise, $R(i)$, $L(i)$, $P(i)$, and $NP(i)$ are dummy variables taking on the values one for right-wing (R), left-wing (L), populist (P), and nonpopulist (NP) parties, respectively, and zero otherwise; and $d(i)$ is a full set of dummy variables for specific parties.

China was excluded from regressions using L and R dummies. The RILE index is an estimate of right-left positions of parties, calculated by subtracting the proportion of party manifestos designated as "left" from the proportion of party manifestos designated as "right." It can theoretically range from -100 to +100 (Mölder 2016). P -values are presented in parentheses, followed by the number of observations.

* denotes $p \leq 0.1$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$. Robust standard errors were used.

For regressions using both L and R or both P and NP , a test was performed to see if the corresponding coefficients are statistically different from each other. Coefficients that are statistically different from each other at the 10% level (in each category) are shown in bold.

Sources: For the RILE index: Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2018b); for classification of parties as right or left: Database of Political Institutions 2017 (Cruz, Keefer, and Scartascini 2018, primary source), Comparative Political Data Set 1960–2016 (Armingeon et al. 2018, secondary source), The PopuList (Rooduijn et al. 2019, tertiary source); for classification of parties as populist or nonpopulist: The PopuList (Rooduijn et al. 2019, primary source), Kyle and Gultchin (2018) (secondary source). President Trump and Germany's National Industrial Strategy 2030 were both classified as right, and as populist and nonpopulist, respectively, based on authors' judgment. Italy's Center Left and Center Right coalitions were classified as left and right, respectively, based on their coalition names.