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Does Trade Exposure Explain Anti-Globalization Votes?

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ABSTRACT

Does Trade Exposure Explain Anti-Globalization Votes?*

We investigate the local effects of trade exposure and immigration on voting behavior in France from 1988 to 2022. We use the content of each candidate's manifesto to construct an anti-globalization voting index for each French presidential election. This index shows a significant increase in the anti-globalization positions of candidates, and a growing anti-globalization vote beyond the far right. We show that increasing local exposure to import competition and immigration increases anti-globalization votes, while increasing export exposure reduces them. We also find that imports have different effects depending on the products imported. While exposure to imports of final goods increases anti-globalization voting, exposure to imports of intermediate goods reduces it.

JEL Classification: D72, F6

Keywords: voting, trade, immigration, political economy

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1 Introduction

There is now large evidence that import competition leads to manufacturing job losses in high-income countries (Autor et al., 2013; Acemoglu et al., 2016; Autor et al., 2016; Feenstra and Sasahara, 2018; Caliendo et al., 2019). However it is still unclear how this has been translated into electoral outcomes. While imports from China or low-wage countries tend to increase far-right voting (Barone and Kreuter, 2021; Caselli et al., 2021; Edo et al., 2019; Dippel et al., 2022; Malgouyres, 2017), little is known about the overall impact of exports and of *all* imports on voting behavior.

This paper investigates the impact of local exposure to trade on anti-globalization voting using a comprehensive definition of trade. Specifically, we assess to what extent local exposures to import competition (imports from all origins) and export affect anti-globalization votes in the first round of seven French presidential elections from 1988 to 2022. We also make a distinction between imports of final and intermediate goods. Presidential elections have the advantage of higher voter turnout and ensure that all French citizens are exposed to the same programs and candidates, neutralizing the variation in candidate characteristics and expertise inherent in other types of elections, such as municipal or parliamentary. Moreover, using first rounds encompasses a much more diverse political offer than second rounds, and are less prone to strategic behaviors by candidates, such as aligning their ideology with that of their main opponent (Di Tella et al., 2023). Thus, voters are more likely to choose a platform that is closer to their beliefs in the first round than in the second.

To explore the trade impact on anti-globalization voting, we do not only focus on far-right voting as is commonly done in the existing literature. Instead, we measure anti-globalization voting by performing a textual analysis of each candidate’s manifesto during the first round of the presidential elections, and combining their anti- and pro-globalization content with their electoral score at the local level. For the purpose of our study, this measure is more accurate than simply using votes for extreme right-wing parties for three main reasons. First, the anti-globalization content of a given candidate’s platform varies across elections. Second, anti-globalization ideas have spread in the political arena, so that most candidates are now addressing the issue in their manifestos and discourse. Third, mainstream parties may respond strategically to the increasing vote for the far right by adjusting their policy positions on globalization. As a result, focusing only on the electoral performance of far-right parties would not accurately identify the impact of trade on anti-globalization voting, and could even potentially underestimate the rise in such voting in response to trade exposure.

We define trade exposure at the French department level as the variation in trade between two election

years across sectors, combined with the local employment structure in 1982. We distinguish import exposure (which measures a change in competition for local labor) from export exposure (which measures a positive change in economic opportunities for local workers). Specifically, we follow [Autor et al. \(2013\)](#) and define import or export exposures as the sum of changes in imports or exports across sectors between two elections, relative to the initial employment in that sector, and weighted by the initial sector’s share in total employment of the geographical area. Our econometric analysis includes the share of immigrants as an additional regressor of interest, and includes several demographic and socio-economic controls. We follow the existing literature and account for the endogeneity of exposure to imports and exports (as well as immigration) by using a shift-share instrumental variable (IV) strategy.

We show that a variation in local exposure to import competition has a positive effect on anti-globalization voting, while a variation in exposure to exports has the opposite effect. The latter effect is larger in absolute terms and is in line with the fact that an increase in export performance improves economic opportunities ([Dauth et al., 2014](#)). Furthermore, we find that omitting exports from the analysis does not allow identifying the true impact of import exposure on anti-globalization voting. In addition, we show that imports have different effects depending on the products imported. While exposure to imports of final goods increases the vote for anti-globalization platforms, exposure to imports of intermediate goods decreases votes against globalization. This asymmetric result is consistent with the fact that imports of final goods may be in direct competition with goods produced domestically, whereas imports of intermediate goods should contribute to the competitiveness of local production through global value chains, leading to faster output growth ([Estevadeordal and Taylor, 2013](#); [Goldberg et al., 2010](#)). Finally, our results confirm that immigration has a positive impact on the anti-globalization voting ([Gurieva and Papaioannou, 2022](#)).

Our work directly relates to the literature on the impact of trade exposure on voting. For France, [Malgouyres \(2017\)](#) finds that exposure to import competition from low-wage countries increases the votes for the *Front National* over the 1995-2012 period. [Colantone and Stanig \(2018\)](#) find that a rise in import exposure to Chinese imports leads to an increase in the votes for the radical right in a panel of European countries between 1988 and 2007. [Barone and Kreuter \(2021\)](#) find that an increase in imports from China increases the populist vote in Italy. [Caselli et al. \(2021\)](#) also focus on the Italian case and look at the impact of import competition from China and immigration on the vote for the far right. Growing exposure to Chinese imports and immigration have a positive impact on voting for far-right and right political parties. For the United States, [Autor et al. \(2020\)](#) find that counties with an initial white majority are more likely to vote Republican after a rise in exposure to import competition from China.

After discussing the economics of the globalization backlash from a theoretical perspective and reviewing the empirical evidence, [Colantone et al. \(2022\)](#) therefore conclude that imports from low-wage countries are a significant driver through the distributional consequences of rising trade exposure. Focusing on Germany between 1987 and 2009, [Dippel et al. \(2022\)](#) extend the previous findings by showing that an increase in exports per worker to low-wage countries decreases the vote for the far right (while they also find that a rise in import exposure to low wage countries increases it). Finally, [Docquier et al. \(2023\)](#) jointly estimate the impact of imports and immigration on votes for populist parties across 55 countries over the 1960-2018 period. They find that an increase in imports of unskilled labor-intensive goods boosts electoral support for right-wing populism, while an increase in imports of skilled labor-intensive goods reduces it.

Our contribution to the literature is fourfold. First, we construct an overall indicator of anti-globalization voting by analyzing the policy content of all party manifestos in each presidential election. Instead, previous studies have focused on far-right ([Malgouyres, 2017](#); [Caselli et al., 2021](#); [Dippel et al., 2022](#)), right-wing ([Autor et al., 2020](#)), or populist parties ([Barone and Kreuter, 2021](#); [Docquier et al., 2023](#)). The voting measure used by [Colantone and Stanig \(2018\)](#) and [Colantone et al. \(2022\)](#) is the most similar to ours. They also develop a measure based on party vote shares and anti-globalization ideology scores, but it is based on data from the Manifesto Project, which only includes political parties that received more than 5% of the vote in the election. Second, our empirical analysis shows that accounting for exports is crucial to understand the overall impact of trade in shaping voting behaviors. While export exposure reduces anti-globalization votes, the inclusion of this additional regressor matters in identifying the true impact of import exposure on electoral outcomes. Third, we find that the positive impact of local import competition on anti-globalization voting is robust to considering imports from all origins. Fourth, we demonstrate that the impact of import exposure on votes is heterogeneous according to the type of imported product. While local exposure to imports of final goods increases anti-globalization votes, imports of intermediate goods have the opposite effect. Such goods are reintroduced in the production process and may complement some economic activities, thereby inducing local economic gains. Overall, our paper calls for a comprehensive definition of international trade to fully understand its electoral consequences.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. In section 2 we introduce the anti-globalization and trade exposure variables we used in the empirical framework. Section 3 describes our empirical strategy and identification issues. Section 4 presents the main empirical results. Section 5 shows that these results are heterogeneous by type of anti-globalization content (anti-migration vs. anti-trade) and by type of imported goods (final vs. intermediate). Section 6 concludes.

2 Data and descriptive statistics

2.1 Anti-globalization voting

2.1.1 Measuring the anti-globalization content of manifestos

To build our local measure of anti-globalization voting, we combine each candidate’s policy position on globalization in a given election year with local vote. We derive these positions from the 89 manifestos available from the first round of presidential elections held in 1981¹ and from 1988 to 2022, covering 56 candidates as some ran more than once.²

Manifestos are documents of usually 4 pages. Supposedly written by candidates, they present their vision of the society, their political program, and sometimes their curriculum vitae. In municipalities with more than 2,500 inhabitants, the *Commission de Propagande* (a public service) sends manifestos to each voter at the same time as the ballot papers.³ Candidates are responsible for their own mailings below this threshold. It is therefore possible that the manifestos of smaller parties are less accessible to voters throughout France compared to those of major parties, as the latter typically have greater financial resources. We do not assume that all voters read these manifestos, let alone the candidate’s platform. Yet, we assume that manifestos are representative of the candidate’s discourse and positions on the economic and social issues of the political debate, such that their contents should influence voters’ decisions.

For each manifesto, we calculate the number of sentences referring positively or negatively to globalization. To this end, we define a set of words or word sequences related to globalization, and identify the sentences containing these words.⁴ These sentences can express candidate positions either on globalization in general, or on three specific aspects of globalization: the free trade of goods and services, the free movement of people and workers (international migration) and the free movement of capital. We then

¹Most of our regressions are implemented over the 1988-2022 period. However, we extend our measure of anti-globalization voting back to 1981 to examine pre-regional trends, as explained in Section 3.2.3

²We developed our own measure based on the universe of manifestos because the data provided by the Manifesto Project (MP) or the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) are not suitable for this study. The MP does not provide data for 2022, does not consider parties that received less than 5% of the vote in the first round of the presidential election, and does not include parties that did not receive seats in the National Assembly. The CHES collects expert opinions on the political positions of European parties over a six-year period (1999, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2019), which do not systematically coincide with presidential election years in France.

³According to INSEE, the national statistical institute, in 2023, 74.2% of the French population was living in municipalities with more than 2,500 inhabitants.

⁴We use Python to transform all manifestos into a text format (.txt) and broke down into a set of sentences. We adopt the *Robert* dictionary definition of a sentence: "A sentence is made up of one or more words, of different natures and functions, linked together. It begins with a capital letter and ends with a strong punctuation mark (period, exclamation mark, question mark, suspension mark)". Sections, subsections or paragraphs often appear in these documents with titles, and these titles are often not punctuated. We count the title of a section, subsection or paragraph as a sentence. Enumerations of sentences following a colon are not systematically punctuated, or may be punctuated differently. We punctuate all these lists of sentences in the same way so as not to introduce any bias into the analysis. A manifesto contains an average of 93.3 sentences.

evaluate whether these statements reflect the candidate’s policy positions as being against or in favor of globalization. In particular, a candidate can make proposals that restrict or promote the free movement of goods and services, people and/or capital. A sentence in a manifesto can also make a positive or negative judgment about a general or these specific aspects of globalization.⁵ We end up with 319 sentences out of 8,304 in the 89 manifestos between 1981 and 2022, which means that 3.8% of sentences deal with globalization.⁶ Among these sentences, 83% reflect anti-globalization views. Nearly half deal with migration issues, 27% with trade in goods and services, and 19% with capital movements.⁷

As with all manifesto-based classifications, our own classification strategy has some limitations. First, it implicitly assigns equal weight to all sentences and does not account for varying intensities across them. For example, we classify likewise a sentence presenting a moderate policy orientation (e.g., "We have taken a firm but humane approach to controlling excessive and disorderly immigration" by Edouard Balladur in 1995) and a sentence supporting a strong measure (e.g., "I will put an end to immigration" by Eric Zemmour in 2022). Second, our classification of sentences into two main distinct groups (anti- or pro-globalization), introduces an element of subjectivity. Note however that each manifesto was read six times by four different persons. In the event of a discrepancy in the interpretation of a sentence, it was classified as neutral and excluded from the computation of our anti-globalization voting index. In addition, we test the robustness of our results by using an alternative strategy based on artificial intelligence (AI) to identify and classify each sentence into the the two main categories (pro vs. anti). Specifically, each manifesto was evaluated by ChatGPT-4o which was requested to identify anti- and pro-globalization sentences according to the method described in [A.3](#).

2.1.2 The anti-globalization voting index

To measure anti-globalization voting at the local level, we combine the share of anti-globalization statements of each of the 89 candidacies in the French presidential elections in 1981 and 1988-2022 with local vote. Specifically, this measure is built as follows:

$$NAGI_{dt} = \sum_c Score_{cdt} \cdot NAGR_{ct}, \quad (1)$$

where $Score_{cdt}$ is the share of valid votes for a given candidate c in the department d the election year

⁵For example, unemployment can be associated with imports or offshoring and crime with immigration. [A](#) provides more details on our methodology, the list of words used to identify sentences, as well as all anti- and pro-globalization sentences selected to build our anti-globalization voting index.

⁶This percentage is increasing over time from 1.0% in 1981 to 4.7% in 2022. This may reflect the growing importance of international relationships with France.

⁷As shown in Appendix-Figure [A.5](#), these average shares have changed over time.

t , and $NAGR_{ct}$ is the net anti-globalization rating of the candidate c the election year t .⁸ It is defined as follows:

$$NAGR_{c,t} = \frac{NAG_{c,t} - NPG_{c,t}}{N_{c,t}}, \quad (2)$$

where $NAG_{c,t}$ and $NPG_{c,t}$ are the number of anti- and pro-globalization sentences in the manifesto of candidate c the year t , respectively. $N_{c,t}$ is the total number of sentences in a given manifesto. $NAGR_{ct}$ thus captures the share of anti-globalization sentences (net of pro-globalization sentence) in the manifesto of candidate c the year t . The anti-globalization content varies greatly from manifesto to manifesto. Out of 89 manifestos from the period 1981-2022, 18 have a rating of zero (i.e., they do not contain any sentences related to globalization or are neutral toward globalization), 16 have a negative rating (i.e. depicting a positive picture of globalization), and 9 have a net anti-globalization rating above 10 (i.e. depicting a very negative picture of globalization).⁹

Figure 1 compares the evolution of the net share of anti-globalization sentences in the manifestos with the anti-globalization index, both computed at the national level. Overall, there has been an increase in anti-globalization voting over time, rising from 0.9% in 1981 to 6.3% in 2022.¹⁰ Between 1981 and 2002, our voting measure follows the same trend as the anti-globalization rating index. The manifestos become more and more anti-globalization between 1981 and 1995, before declining in 2002, which is mainly due to the evolution of the discourse of the far right. Specifically, the share of anti-globalization sentences in *Front National*'s manifestos decreased from 13.3% in 1995 to 8.8% in 2002 (Appendix-Tables B.1 and B.2). Since 2007, the anti-globalization voting index has risen much faster than the anti-globalization rating of manifestos for two main reasons. First, extreme right-wing parties, which have traditionally been the most opposed to globalization, have seen an important rise in their electoral scores (e.g. the share of valid votes for the *Front National* more than doubled from 10.4% in 2007 to 21.3% in 2017 as shown

⁸The electoral results of the first round of the presidential election at the departmental level (France has 96 departments) come from the French government website. The electoral data can be downloaded from the following website <https://www.data.gouv.fr/fr/pages/donnees-des-elections/>. The dataset records the number of registered voters, abstentions, votes cast, valid and invalid votes, and the votes for each presidential candidate in each department. We use this information to compute $Score_{cdt}$. The share of valid votes refers to the proportion of total votes cast in an election that are considered valid. By definition, valid votes exclude spoiled, invalid, or blank ballots.

⁹Over the 1981-2022 period, the mean value of $NAGR_{c,t}$ is 2.69 (median 1.19). Appendix-Tables B.1, B.2 and B.3 shows for each candidate and election year the share of valid votes, the gross and net anti-globalization rating, defined as $GAGR_t = NAG_t/N_t$ and $NAGR_t = (NAG_t - NPG_t)/N_t$, respectively

¹⁰Figure C.1 shows the maps of the net anti-globalization index across departments ($NAGI_{d,t}$) between 1988 and 2022. We observe an increase of the index in most departments, reflecting the general upward trend of anti-globalization votes at the national level. The low level of anti-globalization content of the manifestos explains the low indexes obtained in 1988, whatever the department. However, the increase in the anti-globalization index varies across departments, being higher in the Northeast, but also in the Mediterranean coast.

in Appendix-Tables B.2-B.3) without any significant change in their policy position toward globalization since 2007. Second, the other parties have increasingly adopted anti-globalization rhetoric since 2002. This adjustment is striking for the right-wing Gaullist party (called successively RPR, UMP and LR), for which $NAGR_t$ went from 0% in 2002 to 7.8% in 2012, alongside an electoral score of 19.9% in 2002 and 27.2% in 2012.

The use of our anti-globalization voting index, rather than exploiting votes for far-right or populist parties has several advantages. First, it accounts for the fact that far-right parties have changed in their position toward globalization. For instance, the anti-globalization position of the *Front National* has fluctuated significantly since 1988. Its net anti-globalization rating went from 18.6% in 1988 to 8.8% in 2002, and then hovered around 13% during the 2007-2022 period. Second, our anti-globalization index accounts for the anti-globalization position of other parties, which is not negligible and growing. As shown in Figure 2, while in 1988 and 1995 more than 80% of the anti-globalization sentences in manifestos came from far-right parties, this has not been the case since 2002. In 2022, far-right manifestos accounted for only 58% of anti-globalization sentences. Figure 3 also confirms that our anti-globalization index captures more than just the vote for the far right. By contrasting the anti-globalization voting index with the share of valid votes for the far right over the 1981-2022 period, Figure 3 shows that the two series evolve differently. Our index rises sharply between 2002 and 2007, while the share of valid votes for the far right falls. In contrast, while the anti-globalization index has been stagnant since 2012, votes for far-right parties have been steadily rising since 2007. Because our index captures a more global and accurate picture of anti-globalization voting than the share of votes for the far right, this is our baseline measure to estimate the impact of trade exposure on anti-globalization voting.

In any case, we show in the empirical section that our main conclusions are robust to using the share of valid votes for the far right as an alternative dependent variable.¹¹ We also show that our results are robust to exploiting the net autarky score from Lowe et al. (2011) and Colantone et al. (2022) to construct an alternative measure for anti-globalization voting. Specifically, we use the net autarky score $NAS_{c,t}$ in equation 1 instead of the $NAGR_{c,t}$ to compute the net anti-globalization index $NAGI_{c,t}$. $NAS_{c,t}$ is

¹¹Following Edo et al. (2019), we categorize the following candidates as far-right: Jean-Marie Le Pen (Front National in 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2007), Philippe de Villiers (Mouvement Pour la France in 1995 and 2007), Bruno Mégret (Mouvement National Républicain in 2002), Marine Le Pen (Front National in 2012 and Rassemblement National in 2017 and 2022), and Nicolas Dupont-Aignan (Debout la France in 2012, 2017, and 2022). Additionally, we classify François Asselineau (Union Populaire Républicaine in 2017) and Éric Zemmour (Reconquête in 2022) as far-right candidates, as both have been widely regarded as such by various observers (see, for example, <https://www.streetpress.com/sujet/1638791212-candidats-extreme-droite-election-presidentielle-parrainages-dupont-aignan-philippot-zemmour-lepen-asselineau-rn>).

defined as follows:

$$NAS_{c,t} = \log(0.5 + NAG_{c,t}) - \log(0.5 + NPG_{c,t}). \quad (3)$$

The net autarky score is based on a logarithmic transformation of the number of sentences for or against globalization to allow for the possibility that the accumulation of sentences in a given manifesto has a diminishing marginal effect on the reader’s political opinions.¹²

2.2 Import and export exposure indexes

Our trade data comes from the UN COMTRADE dataset, which provides French exports and imports in value for each destination and product defined in the Standard international trade classification SITC (revision 2). Based on these data, it is clear that France has experienced significant growth in both imports and exports of goods over the past 40 years, although this growth has been highly heterogeneous across different sectors.¹³ We further decompose imports by categorizing them as either intermediate or final goods. In this regard, we rely on the BACI dataset of CEPII (Gaulier and Zignago, 2010), which provides data at the 6-digit level of the Harmonized System, from 1995 to 2021.¹⁴ We classify each 6-digit product code as a final or intermediate good using the BEC classification.

Depending on the specialization of workers in French departments, differences in trade dynamics between sectors and product types may have had a differentiated impact on local economic opportunities. This is what local trade exposure indicators measure. We follow Autor et al. (2013) and compute the labor trade exposure for each French department from 1988 to 2022, for each election year. To do so, we aggregate the 1,836 product codes from our trade data into the 48 economic activities of the French

¹²The net autarky score assumes that the ratio of anti-globalization sentences to pro-globalization sentences is a better measure than the difference between these two numbers, which is not necessarily obvious. To illustrate this issue, consider two manifestos, each with 100 sentences. Suppose the first manifesto contains 9 anti-globalization sentences and 1 pro-globalization sentence, while the second contains 18 anti-globalization sentences and 2 pro-globalization sentences. Although the ratio of "anti" to "pro" sentences is the same in both manifestos, the second manifesto has twice as many "anti" sentences, both in gross and in net terms. This suggests that the intensity of anti-globalization content is stronger for readers in the second text. Finally, note that our baseline anti-globalization index, based on Equation 2, is directly interpretable, whereas the net autarky score is not.

¹³As shown by Appendix-Figure C.2, there is a continuous and parallel increase in French imports and exports since 1981, with a sharp acceleration between 2002 and 2008. After the 2008 crisis, the trend of both imports and exports is decreasing. Imports of goods have exceeded exports since the mid-2000s. Moreover, Appendix-Figure C.3 shows differential patterns across sectors. Imports of Tobacco Processing, Extraction and processing of non-ferrous ores, Footwear and furniture industries or manufacture of agricultural machinery experienced an increase of more than 500% over the past decades, while some sectors such as the aircraft construction or the leather industry reported significant increases in exports over the same period. Some sectors such as the pharmaceutical industry showed a significant increase in both exports and imports. Note that we exclude *Iron ore mining and processing* and *Petroleum and natural gas production* whose variations are much higher.

¹⁴Appendix-Figure C.4 shows that the change in imports of final and intermediate is similar between 1995 and 2007, whereas French imports of final goods increased (decreased) more (less) after 2010.

national statistical nomenclature of activities of 1973 (2-digits level NAP73)¹⁵ to merge with the sector composition of local labor from the 1982 French census.¹⁶

Trade exposure is defined in variation and corresponds to the change in total trade per worker at the year t , weighted by the share of the sector s in the total employment of the department d at the initial period $t_0 = 1982$. Whereas Autor et al. (2013) only focus on local labor market exposure to import competition from China, we consider here imports from all origins. We also use two kinds of trade exposures: imports and exports. The import variable measures the local labor market exposure to import competition:

$$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M = \sum_s \frac{L_{d,s,t_0}}{L_{d,t_0}} \cdot \frac{\Delta M_{s,t}}{L_{s,t_0}}, \quad (4)$$

$\Delta M_{s,t}$ denotes the variation of French imports in sector s between the year t and $(t-1)$, year of the previous election. L_{d,s,t_0} is the employment in department d in sector s at the initial period t_0 , L_{d,t_0} is the total number of workers in the manufacturing sector in the department d at t_0 . As a consequence, $L_{d,s,t_0}/L_{d,t_0}$ is the initial structure of local employment, i.e. the share of workers working in the sector s in the department d in 1982. L_{s,t_0} is the total number of workers working in the sector s in France in 1982. $\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$ measures the variation in import competition experienced by local workers. Its variation across departments is due to their historical sectoral specialization, since the variation in imports at the sectoral level is the same for the country as a whole.

The export exposure index follows the same structure than the import exposure one, where we substitute the variation of imports $\Delta M_{s,t}$ by the variation of French exports, all destination together, $\Delta X_{s,t}$:

$$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X = \sum_s \frac{L_{d,s,t_0}}{L_{d,t_0}} \cdot \frac{\Delta X_{s,t}}{L_{s,t_0}}. \quad (5)$$

Here again, the variation of the export exposure across space depends on the structure of employment in the different departments in the initial year 1982. $\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$ gives a measure of how a department is affected by national variations of exports, given its historical structure of labor by industry.

Figure 4 shows the variation in the spatial distribution of our import and export exposure indexes between 1988 and 2022. Differences in trade dynamics across sectors combined with differences in initial labor structure result in substantial heterogeneity in trade exposure indexes across departments over time.

¹⁵We use the conversion table from the product classification SITC rev2 to the industrial activity ISIC rev2 provided by the United Nation Statistic Division (UNSD) and then create manually the correspondence from ISIC rev2 to NAP73.

¹⁶As indicated in Section 2.3, the census provides a range of demographic information on the inhabitants of each French department, including the sector in which they work. We compute for each department the share of each sector in total employment in 1982.

While some departments in the East and the North of France experienced significant increases of their import exposure both during the period, some local labor markets seems to have been less impacted by imports. We observe a similar pattern for export exposure. Our empirical analysis will rely on this spatial heterogeneity to assess the local impact of trade exposure on votes.

We propose alternative definition of the trade exposure variables for robustness tests. In a first test, we compute the two indexes using a measure of the initial structure of local employment that includes not only workers in manufacturing (see, e.g., [Dauth et al. \(2014\)](#)), but also those in non-manufacturing (see, e.g., [Autor et al. \(2013, 2020\)](#)). More precisely, we replace L_{d,t_0} , the total number of workers in the manufacturing sector in the department d at t_0 , by the total number of workers in the department, all sectors together. In a second test, we calculate import and export exposures using 1990 as an alternative initial year instead of 1982. In this way, we can verify that our results are not driven by factors specific to the year 1982. In a third test, we compute alternative trade exposures using the previous year's employment structure instead of a fixed reference year t_0 . In equations 4 and 5, employment variables L_{d,s,t_0} , L_{d,t_0} and L_{s,t_0} are thus replaced by $L_{d,s,t-1}$, $L_{d,t-1}$ and $L_{s,t-1}$. The local market exposure to imports and exports no longer depends on the historical specialization of employment in the department, but on the labor structure in the previous period ($t-1$). Again, the purpose is to ensure that our results are not affected by our choice of reference year.

2.3 Population data

We use the French censuses from 1982, 1990, 2007, 2012 and 2017 made available by the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) to control for the share of immigrants and various demographic variables across geographical areas. The pre-2000 census extracts consist of a random sample of 25% of the French population, while the post-2000 censuses consist of a random sample of 14% of the population. This high sampling rate allows us to infer with precision the number of narrow sub-populations across areas. No census was implemented for the years 1995 and 2002. Instead, we use the 1994-1995 and 2001-2002 Labour Force Survey (LFS). The French censuses and LFS provide a large set of socio-economic variables at the individual level. Specifically, we use them to compute the share of immigrants across areas.

We follow [Edo et al. \(2019\)](#) and define an immigrant as a person born abroad and who now live in France without the French citizenship. All other individuals are classified as French citizens, or natives.¹⁷

¹⁷By definition, the native category thus includes those immigrants who acquired the French nationality (through their naturalization).

3 Empirical strategy

3.1 Empirical model

We investigate the impact of import and export exposures and immigration on anti-globalization voting by estimating the following empirical specification:

$$\Delta NAGI_{d,t} = \beta_1 \Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M + \beta_2 \Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X + \beta_3 \Delta m_{d,t} + \beta_4 \Delta X_{d,t} + \theta_r + \theta_t + \Delta \epsilon_{d,t}. \quad (6)$$

The subscripts d , r and t refer to department, region and time, respectively. The dependent variable is the difference in the (net) anti-globalization index between two presidential elections at the departmental level, as defined in Section 2.1.2. $\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$ and $\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$ measure the change in exposure to import and export across departments, respectively, as defined in Section 2.2. $\Delta m_{d,t}$ is the change in the adult population share of immigrants in a given department d .

The set of control variables $X_{d,t}$ includes a set of demographic and socio-economic variables computed among French citizens. As demographic controls, we use the change in the number of young individuals (aged 30 or less) relative to the adult population and the change in the number of low educated individuals relative to the adult population. As socio-economic controls, we include the change in the employment-to-population rate in each area between t and $t - 1$, as well as the change in the share of employment in manufacturing, and the change in the share of employment in services.

The vector of region fixed effects θ_r controls for any region-specific time changes that may affect voting patterns as well as demographic and socio-economic changes across regions. The vector of year fixed effects θ_t controls for common factors specific to each year (such as the business cycle). $\Delta \epsilon_{d,t}$ is the error term. The standard errors from the estimated parameters of Equation 6 are adjusted for clustering at the departmental level to adjust for possible serial correlation (Moulton, 1990). Finally, we standardize the independent variables into a z-score to make the estimated coefficients more comparable by rescaling them to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one.

3.2 Identification issues

3.2.1 The endogeneity of trade exposure

The OLS estimates of β_1 and β_2 may be biased because our trade exposure variables are likely to be endogenous (Borusyak et al., 2022). First, an unobserved positive demand shock in France may increase employment opportunities, thereby increasing imports (via a higher demand for imported goods) and

reducing anti-globalization voting. Such a pattern is expected to generate a spurious negative correlation between import exposure and anti-globalization voting (Autor et al., 2013). Second, a productivity shock resulting from the adoption of new technologies (e.g., robotization, automation of production lines) may lead to an increase in local exports. However, such adoption, which can lead to job displacement, is also expected to increase the vote for anti-globalization parties (Anelli et al., 2021, Caselli et al., 2021). As a result, the estimated impact of export exposure on anti-globalization voting can be biased upward.

To identify the causal impact of trade exposure on electoral results, we follow the literature on trade and political outcomes by using an IV approach that accounts for the potential endogeneity of trade exposure indexes. Following Autor et al. (2013), we instrument French import and export exposure indexes described in equations 4 and 5 by alternative indexes using imports and exports from a group of 20 high-income countries (HIC).¹⁸ Our two instrumental variables are the following:

$$\Delta Z_{d,t}^M = \sum_s \frac{L_{d,s,t_0}}{L_{d,t_0}} \cdot \frac{\Delta M_{s,t}^{HIC}}{L_{s,t_0}}, \quad (7)$$

$$\Delta Z_{d,t}^X = \sum_s \frac{L_{d,s,t_0}}{L_{d,t_0}} \cdot \frac{\Delta X_{s,t}^{HIC}}{L_{s,t_0}}, \quad (8)$$

where $M_{s,t}^{HIC}$ and $X_{s,t}^{HIC}$ are respectively total import and total exports of the group of HIC, taken as a whole. By checking for pre-trends in Section 3.2.3, we show that these two instruments are likely to satisfy the exclusion restriction imposed by the IV strategy. Moreover, we demonstrate that our IV estimated results are robust to using three alternative smaller groups of countries to build our instruments. Some of our 20 HIC may have business cycles closely aligned with France, potentially leading to common economic shocks that could invalidate our IV strategy. We thus redefine the groups of HIC with less synchronized business cycles using the business cycle synchronization indicator from Giannone and Reichlin (2008) and Kalemli-Ozcan et al. (2013). Using real GDP growth rates between 1996 and 2022 from the World Development Indicators, we calculate the sum of the absolute differences between each country's growth rate and that of France for each year (a higher value indicates less synchronization). We then use the 15, 12 and 9 countries with the highest indicators to build our instruments and perform our sensitivity

¹⁸We precisely use Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States. This list of countries is selected from the World Bank's group of high-income countries. Only countries that have been consistently classified as high-income since the beginning of the World Bank's classification in 1987 have been kept, ensuring a stable definition. We excluded small, exceptionally wealthy countries, such as tax havens and those with significant oil revenues. In addition, Singapore was excluded because its trade data are heavily influenced by re-export transactions.

tests.¹⁹

3.2.2 The endogeneity of immigrant shares

Estimating the OLS coefficient β_3 is generally biased due to the non-random allocation of immigrants across areas for two main reasons. Immigrants should be attracted to economically booming and more welcoming regions, which could also be regions where the population is less likely to vote for anti-globalization candidates. Immigrants may also be attracted to places where the votes for anti-globalization and/or far-right candidates is low. For example, [Bracco et al. \(2018\)](#) find for Italy that immigrants choose to live in municipalities that are less likely to vote for far-right parties. As a result, estimating the impact of immigration on anti-globalization voting across areas could lead to a spurious negative correlation.

We follow the literature and use an IV strategy to account for the endogeneity of the immigration variable. Our instrument is based on historical settlement patterns among immigrants and has been used extensively in the migration literature ([Card 2001](#); [Jaeger et al. 2018](#)). Indeed, the settlement decision of new migrants is partly determined by earlier migrants' presence, mainly through network externalities ([Gross and Schmitt 2003](#)); past migrants may, for instance, provide new migrants with information on labour or housing markets. The network effect is particularly strong between immigrants with the same cultural, linguistic and educational background ([Dustmann et al., 2005](#)).

To build our instrument, we follow the procedure implemented by [Edo et al. \(2019\)](#); [Borjas and Edo \(2021\)](#). Specifically, we use the spatial distribution of immigrants of a given nationality for a given education group in 1968 to predict the sorting of immigrants in subsequent periods.²⁰ We use 11 nationality groups and three education groups.²¹ The predicted number of immigrants in a given department d at time t is thus obtained by multiplying the 1968 spatial distribution of immigrants of each education-nationality group by the total number of immigrants from that group in each year, as follows:

$$\hat{M}_{d,t} = \sum_n \sum_e \frac{imm_d^{n,e}(1968)}{imm^{n,e}(1968)} \cdot imm^{n,e}(t), \quad (9)$$

where $imm_d^{n,e}(t)$ is the number of immigrants in year t in national origin group n , education group e ,

¹⁹Compared to the group of 20 countries, the group of 15 countries excludes Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, and United Kingdom. The group of 12 countries further excludes Italy, Switzerland, and United States. The group of 9 countries further excludes Germany, Sweden, and Norway.

²⁰The 1968 census extract consist of a random sample of 25% of the French population. This high sampling rate allow us to precisely estimate the number of immigrants in different French areas, helping to reduce the role of sampling error in the analysis ([Aydemir and Borjas 2011](#)).

²¹The nationality groups are: Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, other European, Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian, other African, Turkish, the rest of the world. The education groups are college education, high school graduates and persons with less than a high school diploma.

and department d ; and $imm^{n,e}(t) = \sum_d imm_d^{n,e}(t)$. The size of the native labour force is unlikely to be exogenous to regional economic conditions. Consequently, instead of using the current native labour force to compute the instrument, we predict the regional number of natives for each department as follows:

$$\hat{N}_{d,t} = \sum \frac{nat_d^e(1968)}{nat^e(1968)} \cdot nat^e(t). \quad (10)$$

Our instrument is thus computed as follows:

$$\Delta \hat{m}_{d,t} = \frac{\hat{imm}_{d,t}}{(\hat{imm}_{d,t} + \hat{nat}_{d,t})} - \frac{\hat{imm}_{d,t-1}}{(\hat{imm}_{d,t-1} + \hat{nat}_{d,t-1})}, \quad (11)$$

where $\hat{imm}_{d,t}$ and $\hat{nat}_{d,t}$ are the predicted number of immigrants and natives in a given department d at time t . This instrument should predict the level of immigration in a given department at different time for reasons unrelated to anti-globalization votes. But it would be invalid if, for example, the initial distribution of immigrants were correlated with persistent local factors that influence future anti-globalization votes. As indicated in [Dustmann et al. \(2005\)](#); [Basso and Peri \(2015\)](#), one way to minimize this correlation between past immigration and current outcomes is to use a sufficient time lag to predict the actual number of immigrants. Using the 1968 census allows us to predict current inflows based on immigration patterns that occurred at least 20 years earlier. Moreover, we show below in [Section 3.2.3](#) that the exogeneity assumption of our shift-share instrument is likely to be satisfied in our context.

3.2.3 First-stage estimates and pre-trend tests

Appendix-Table [D.1](#) shows the first-stage of the IV regressions for several specifications. The first-stage estimates indicate a strong positive and significant correlation between the instrument and the corresponding endogenous variable.

Moreover, we provide in all econometric tables the Kleibergen-Paap rk Wald F-statistics or the IV first-stage F-statistics for the case of multiple endogenous variables proposed by [Sanderson and Windmeijer \(2016\)](#) to evaluate the strength of our instruments. The first-stage F-tests of excluded instruments are between 20 and 350, indicating that our three instruments are strong predictors of our endogenous variables.

Although the exclusion restriction imposed by the IV strategy is untestable, Appendix-Table [D.2](#) follows [Dustmann et al. \(2019\)](#) and [Goldsmith-Pinkham et al. \(2020\)](#) by checking for pre-trends. More specifically, we investigate whether the pre-1988 regional changes in anti-globalization voting between 1981

and 1988 are correlated with the predicted regional changes in import, export and immigrant exposures over the 1988-2017 or 1988-2022 periods. While Panel A uses the difference in the anti-globalization index between 1981 and 1988, Panel B replicates the regressions of Panel A by using the net autarky score to compute the change in anti-globalization voting between 1981 and 1988.

The estimated coefficients on the pre-1988 changes are small and not statistically significant. Thus, they imply that there was no correlation between the pre-1988 trends in anti-globalization voting and the successive predicted import, export and migration exposures across departments. Given the lack of persistent regional trends affecting political outcomes, our instruments are likely to satisfy the exogeneity assumptions required to identify causal effects.

3.2.4 Internal mobility of French citizens

Another issue is the potential migration response of French citizens to trade exposure or to the influx of immigrants in a given area. Indeed, French citizens who experience negative labor market outcomes or who have negative attitudes toward immigrants may move to areas not affected by import or immigration shocks to escape competition or to avoid the discomfort of interacting with minorities. In contrast, French citizens might be attracted to places that experience positive economic shocks.

These internal migration flows could therefore bias our estimated effects due to a change in the sample composition of French citizens, rather than to a change in the preferences of existing citizens. Because we exploit variations across departments (which are relatively large geographical areas), our econometric results are very unlikely to be contaminated by such internal migration response. Indeed, [Edo et al. \(2019\)](#) show that immigrant supply shocks tend to generate large native migration flows across employment zones or cantons over the 1988-2012 period, but they find limited evidence of an internal migration response at the departmental level (consistent with the fact that departments cover a much larger area than employment zones or cantons). Although our estimated political effects are likely to be contaminated by native internal migration when using small geographic areas, we also provide some empirical evidence at the canton and employment zone levels to increase the size of the regression samples.

4 Empirical results

4.1 Main estimates

4.1.1 Distinct impact of import, export and immigration exposures

Table 1 starts our empirical investigation by performing distinct regressions to estimate the local impact of import exposure (specification 1), export exposure (specification 2) and immigrant penetration (specification 3) on anti-globalization votes. We progressively add our control variables in the OLS and IV regressions.

The OLS estimated impacts of exposure to import competition on anti-globalization votes are negative and significant at the 10% level. The IV estimated coefficients are weaker and insignificant, suggesting that the endogeneity of the import variable biases the OLS results downward. The null effect of import exposure on anti-globalization differs from [Edo et al. \(2019\)](#) and [Malgouyres \(2017\)](#), who find over the period 1995-2012 for France that increased exposure to import competition from low-wage Asian countries increases the share of votes for far-right candidates. We reconcile these results below in Section 4.1.2 by showing that excluding the export variable from a such regression produces a severe bias in the estimated impact of imports on anti-globalization voting.²²

The OLS regressions from specification 2 show that the local exposure to exports is negatively correlated with anti-globalization voting. The inclusion of the control variables does not affect the sign and magnitude of the estimates. The estimated IV coefficients almost double, indicating a causal negative impact of exports on anti-globalization votes. The OLS and IV estimates in columns 3 and 6 imply that one standard deviation increase in export exposure (around 16,000 euros per worker) in a given department leads to a 0.09 and 0.14 percentage points decrease in anti-globalization voting in that department, respectively. The fact that IV estimates are more negative than their OLS counterparts is consistent with the possibility that a technological shock that boosts local exports could also increase anti-globalization voting through adverse labor market effects. Moreover, the negative effect of exports on support for anti-globalization votes is consistent with the idea that more exports lead to better economic opportunities. This is also in line with the findings of [Dippel et al. \(2022\)](#) and [Edo et al. \(2019\)](#), who find that export opportunities have a moderating effect on far-right voting.

The IV estimated coefficients in the last specification of Table 1 show that a positive change in

²²Indeed, the instrument for the import variable used in columns 4-6 is unlikely to satisfy the exclusion restriction required by the IV strategy if the export variable is omitted from the regression model. This is because the export variable is correlated with both the import variable and its instrument, so omitting it would invalidate the IV strategy and bias the estimates of the true impact of imports on anti-globalization voting.

the immigrant share has a positive impact on anti-globalization votes. Our IV estimate in column 6 implies that a one standard deviation increase in the share of immigrants (around 1.4 percentage points) in a given department leads, *ceteris paribus*, to higher local support for anti-globalization votes by 0.18 percentage points. This positive effect is consistent with several studies showing that a higher proportion of immigrants increases the voting for far-right candidates (Edo and Giesing, 2020; Guriev and Papaioannou, 2022; Colantone et al., 2022). Moreover, columns 4-6 indicates that accounting for the endogeneity of the immigration variable is crucial to identify causal effects. This finding is consistent with Edo et al. (2019) and the idea that immigrants are more likely to migrate to regions where the votes for anti-globalization positions are low or to regions with thriving economies which may be less inclined to support anti-globalization platforms.

4.1.2 Joint impact of import, export and immigration exposures

Table 2 tests the sensitivity of our previously estimated coefficients by estimating the impact of the three globalization variables together. The OLS and IV regressions in columns 1-2 show that, even after controlling for the share of immigrants, the estimated impact of regional exposure to import competition on anti-globalization voting is virtually zero. However, column 3 shows that the inclusion of the export exposure makes the IV estimated coefficient on import exposure significantly positive. Such a result suggests that increased exposure to import competition leads to more support for anti-globalization votes. This result is consistent with the existing literature on the relationship between imports and votes (Colantone et al., 2022). Similar conclusions emerge from the estimates (i) in column 4-5 when excluding the immigration and other control variables, or (ii) in columns 6-7 which also includes the results from the first-round of the 2022 presidential elections.²³

Table 2 shows the crucial role of the export variable in shaping the estimated impact of import exposure on anti-globalization voting. The exclusion of the export variable leads to a negative bias in the estimated political impact of imports. The direction of the bias can be explained by the positive correlation between the import and export variables, and the negative correlation between exports and the outcome variable. Indeed, these correlations explain that the inclusion of export exposure as an additional covariate mitigates the negative bias resulting from its omission.

Similarly, the negative estimated response of anti-globalization votes to export exposure is stronger in Table 2 compared to Table 1 when the import variable is excluded. This result is consistent with the fact

²³Since the last available census data is for 2019, we cannot include the immigration variable and control for the demographic and socioeconomic variables discussed in section 3.1.

that excluding a relevant variable (here, imports) that has a positive impact on the dependent variable should produce a positive bias. To summarize, the estimates from Table 2 show that imports and exports has to be studied jointly to understand the political consequences of trade.²⁴

The IV estimates from Table 2 suggest that a one standard deviation increase in local import exposure (about 20,000 euros per worker) leads to a local increase in anti-globalization voting by 0.17-0.20 percentage points. This magnitude is similar to the political response to immigration. However, it is half the estimated effect of export exposure, implying that a one standard deviation increase in the export variable leads to a 0.30-0.40 percentage point decrease in anti-globalization voting.

4.2 Main robustness tests

4.2.1 Alternative empirical specifications and samples

Table 3 tests the robustness of our IV results by estimating the political impact of our three globalization variables in the same econometric equation for alternative specifications and samples. The first three columns use our baseline sample of departments and test the sensitivity of our estimates to excluding the region fixed effects from our estimation in column 2, or to including department fixed effects in column 3 to control for local-specific trends in changes in votes, trade exposures and immigration. Columns 4 and 5 use our baseline econometric strategy described in equation 6, but exclude Paris and the larger Paris region (Île-de-France), respectively. The capital region contains 8 departments, and is the most economically dynamic French region.²⁵

By design, the estimated coefficients in column 1 are identical to those of column 3 from our baseline Table 2. The IV estimated impacts of import and migration exposures are robust to the alternative specifications and samples. Specifically, they are significantly positive in all specifications and of the same magnitude, suggesting that these two globalization forces may be equally important in explaining the voting share for anti-globalization parties over the past decades in France. The IV estimated coefficients also confirm that an increase in export exposure in a given department reduces anti-globalization voting. The estimates range from -0.2 and -0.4, depending on the econometric specification used.

Comparing the estimated magnitude of the trade variables shows that the estimated impact of export

²⁴In the appendix, we show that our estimated results and conclusions from Table 2 are robust to using three alternative dependent variables to capture anti-globalization voting. Appendix-Tables D.3 and D.4 respectively exploit ChatGPT and the net autarky score to compute local anti-globalization votes, while Appendix-Table D.5 uses the share of valid votes for far-right parties as an alternative dependent variable. The results show that all our findings are unchanged.

²⁵To be consistent with the specifications of our baseline Table 2, Appendix-Table D.6 reproduces the results from Table 3 by focusing only on the trade variables over the 1988-2017 period (columns 1-5), and including the additional 2022 cross-section (columns 6-10). Appendix-Table D.6 provides close results.

exposure is about twice as large as the impact of exposure to import competition (in absolute terms). This discrepancy between the two estimates suggests that trade can have an overall negative effect on anti-globalization votes when imports and exports are close in value.

In the appendix, we show that our results are moreover robust to exploiting the three alternative groups of countries to compute the shift-share instruments for the trade variables (as defined in Section 3.2.1), and the two alternative definitions of the trade shocks (as defined in Section 2.2). Appendix-Table D.7 runs our main IV regression from columns 3, 5 and 7 in our baseline Table 2 by using the three alternative instruments for the import and export variables. While columns 1-3 use 15 countries, columns 4-6 and 7-9 respectively use 12 and 9 countries to build the instruments. Second, Appendix-Table D.8 implements the baseline IV regression from Table 2 by using alternative variables to measure import and export exposures at the local level. While columns 1-3 use total employment to measure the sectoral distribution within each department (instead of only using manufacturing employment), columns 4-6 and 7-9 respectively use the sectoral distribution in 1990 and the previous period (instead of using the sectoral distribution in 1982). The IV estimated effects on our trade variables have the same sign and are highly significant. Our conclusions thus remained unchanged.

4.2.2 Results using alternative geographical units

Our previous regressions use variations across French departments to identify the impact of immigration and trade on anti-globalization votes. We now test whether our previous results hold when using two alternative geographical units of analysis. Instead of considering the 96 departments in France, we use smaller localities : cantons (19,985 in France) and employment zones (287). This econometric framework with a much larger number of localities introduces much more variation into the analysis. However, given that the 1995 French election does not coincide with any French census, we cannot include in such setting the immigration and other control variables in the regressions to estimate the impact of import and export exposures on anti-globalization voting over the 1988-2022 period.

Table 4 presents the econometric results using the first-round of the presidential elections over the periods 1988-2017 and 1988-2022. In all regressions, we again include region and time fixed effects, and cluster the standard errors by areas to account for potential correlation of the residuals over time. Regardless of the specification, the results at the cantonal and employment zone levels are consistent with our baseline estimates and conclusions. The anti-globalization voting response to import exposure is positive, while it is negative to export exposure. A one standard deviation increase in import and export exposures are associated with a change in the anti-globalization index by around 0.05 and -0.25

percentage points, respectively.

Although the estimated impact of export exposure is similar to our estimates at the departmental level, the estimated impact of import exposure on anti-globalization voting is now significantly smaller. As explained in Section 3.2.4, one explanation may be the use of smaller geographical level to perform the regressions in Table 4. Suppose that some workers move from high- to low-imports areas to escape the increase in import competition. Such internal mobility response may lead to an increase in the support for anti-globalization candidates outside the most import-exposed areas, inducing the estimated coefficient of import exposure on anti-globalization voting to be lower than in the absence of native flight. As a result, exploiting variations across small geographical units may lead to an attenuation of the estimated impact of imports on anti-globalization voting.

5 Heterogeneity

5.1 Decomposing the anti-globalization voting index

Table 5 investigates the IV impact of trade and immigration on the different component of our anti-globalization index, during the first-round of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 (columns 1-2, 4-5 and 7-8) or 1988 and 2022 (columns 3, 6 and 9) at the departmental level.

In columns 1-3, the construction of the dependent variable does not account for pro-globalization sentences and is only based on anti-globalization statements (i.e. $NAG_{c,t}/N_{c,t}$ as defined in Section 2.1.2) to compute anti-globalization votes across regions, and use it as an alternative dependent variable. The estimated IV coefficients in columns 1-3 have the same magnitude as in Table 2, but they are slightly less precisely estimated. Such gap suggests that using the net anti-globalization voting (defined in equation 1) seems more appropriate.

Columns 4-6 and 7-9 respectively use anti-trade and anti-migration statements to construct two alternative dependent variables that capture anti-trade and anti-migration voting.²⁶ The IV estimated coefficients on import and export exposures are much more significant in columns 4-6 than in columns 1-3, and moreover have the expected sign. In contrast, they are much smaller and highly insignificant in columns 7-9, indicating that trade exposure does not explain anti-migration voting. The IV estimated coefficients on the migration variable behave differently: while the estimated impact of the change in the regional immigrant share on anti-trade votes is virtually zero, it is positive and significant at the 1% level

²⁶As with our baseline anti-globalization voting index, these two alternative voting variables combine the share of anti-trade and anti-migration statements in each candidate's manifesto during the first rounds of the presidential elections from 1988 to 2022 with their local voting share.

in column 7.

Taken together, these results suggest that anti-trade voting is only driven by socio-economic factors related to imports and exports, whereas anti-migration voting is only related to the immigration variable. As a result, the anti-trade and anti-migration contents of political manifestos are key to understand the relationship between trade, immigration and anti-globalization voting.

5.2 Heterogeneity by imported goods

To examine the potential heterogeneous impact of imports on voting, we decompose imports by type of goods: final vs. intermediate goods. Table 6 presents the OLS and IV estimates of the effect of exposures to final and intermediate goods imports on anti-globalization votes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections held between 1995 and 2017 in columns 1-4, or between 1995 and 2022 in columns 5-6.

The estimated coefficients in row 1 are positive and significant at the 1% level, indicating that an increase in exposure to final goods imports increases the vote for anti-globalization platforms. This result is consistent with the idea that imports of final goods are associated with the closure of manufacturing plants and employment losses in industries specialized in the production of similar goods.

In contrast, the estimated coefficients in row 2 are negative, which suggests that an increase in exposure to import of intermediate goods has a detrimental impact on the voting share for anti-globalization candidates. This finding is consistent with the economic literature on global value chains, showing their importance in shaping not only international trade but also production patterns (Antràs and Chor, 2022) and gains from trade (Estevadeordal and Taylor, 2013; Goldberg et al., 2010). If, within a value chain, imports can reduce domestic production and local wages when local and imported goods are substitutes, intermediate goods imports can stimulate output growth and enhance the economic opportunities for domestic workers involved in the final stage of production. In sum, Table 6 shows that the composition of imports has an important role in shaping electoral outcomes through global value chains.

6 Conclusion

From 1981 to 2022, the ratio of exports and imports of goods and services over Gross Domestic Product in France has increased from 45.4% to 72.1%.²⁷ During the same period, globalization has increasingly featured in French political debates, especially in presidential candidates' manifestos. Arguments against

²⁷Source: World Development Indicators, <https://databank.worldbank.org>; accessed on December 6, 2023.

globalization have gained prominence, particularly due to concerns over immigration and competition from imports affecting French production and jobs. Several studies have thus analyzed the impact of import competition from China and other Southeast Asian countries on extreme right-wing voting. Our paper extends this research by considering not only the political impact of *all* imports, but also exports, by accounting for the distinction between final and intermediate goods and by accounting for the position of all political parties on globalization, not just the far right or the populist parties.

We find that the political consequences of trade is not limited to imports from low-wage countries. First, we find that the effect of exposure to *all* imported goods generate anti-globalization votes. Second, we show that local export exposure also affects voting behavior, but in the opposite direction. Thus, when globalization promotes economic activity and exports, it appears to be beneficial and reduces anti-globalization voices. Moreover, we find that the inclusion of the export variable is crucial to recover the true impact of import exposure on anti-globalization voting. Finally, we find that the effect of imports on voting is heterogeneous: imports of final goods (which may compete with domestic products) increase anti-globalization votes, while imports of intermediate goods (which may complement domestic production) decrease them.

In sum, the impact of openness is more complex than the simple competition between foreign-made products and domestic workers. Our results advocate for considering the full complexity of international trade, particularly exports and global value chains, when discussing the political effects of trade. It is also necessary to consider the stance of all political parties on this issue, which is no longer the exclusive domain of the far right.

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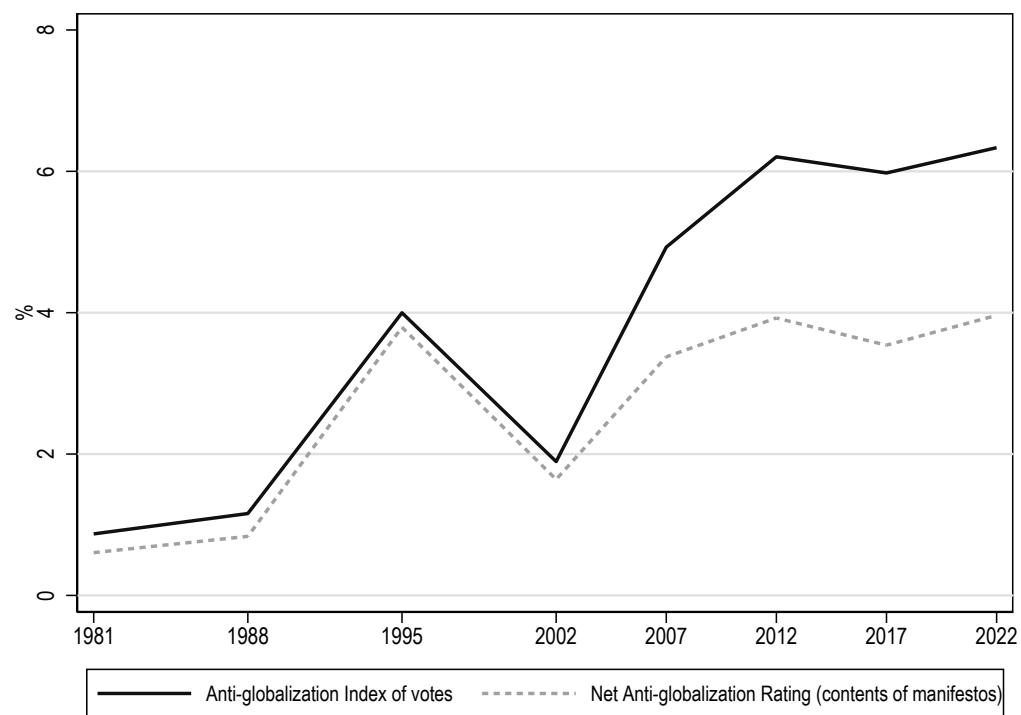
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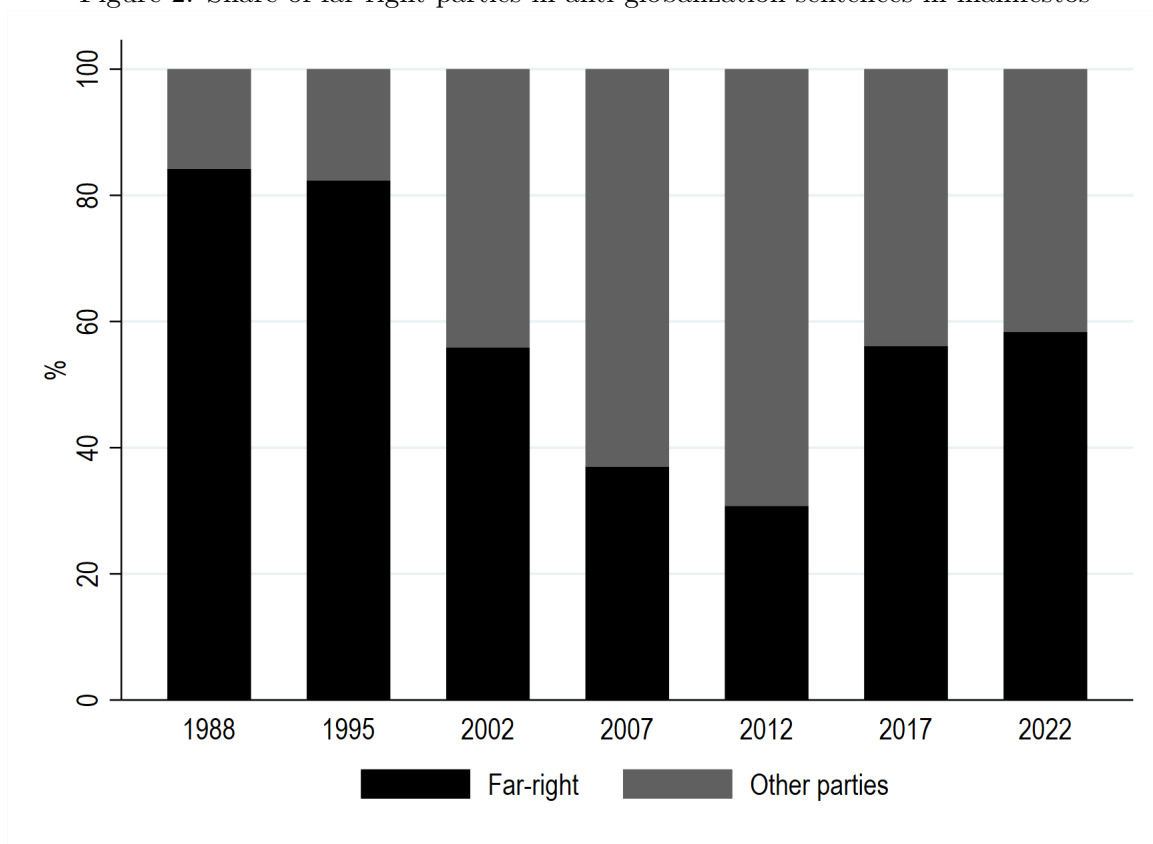
Figures

Figure 1: Anti-globalization Index of votes and Anti-globalization Rating of manifestos



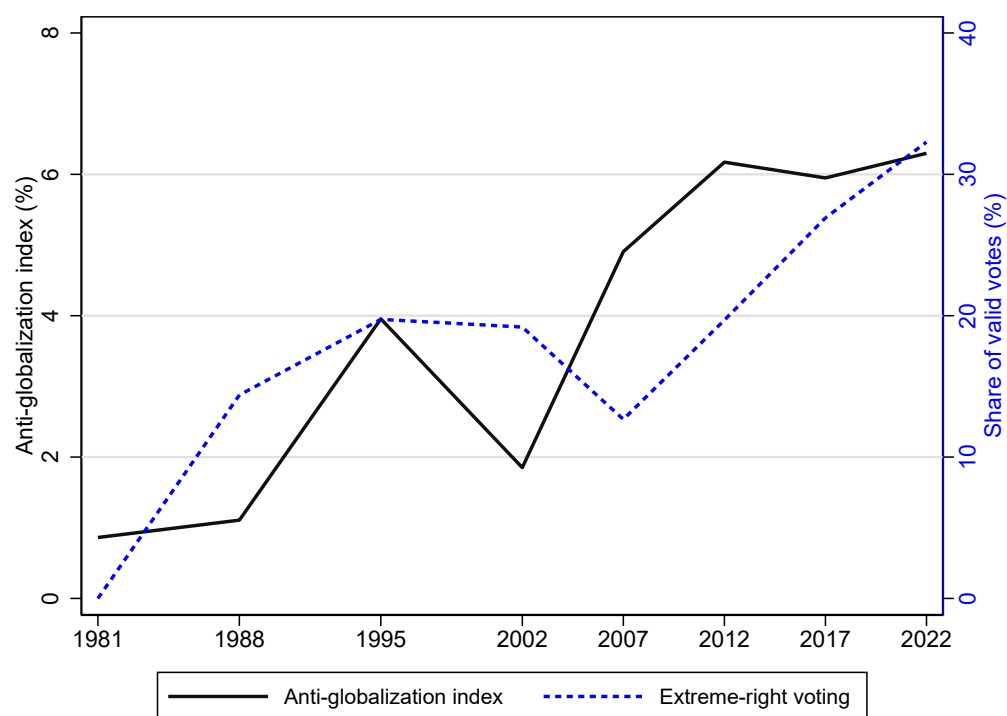
Sources. Authors' elaboration based on French ministry voting data and political manifestos.

Figure 2: Share of far-right parties in anti-globalization sentences in manifestos



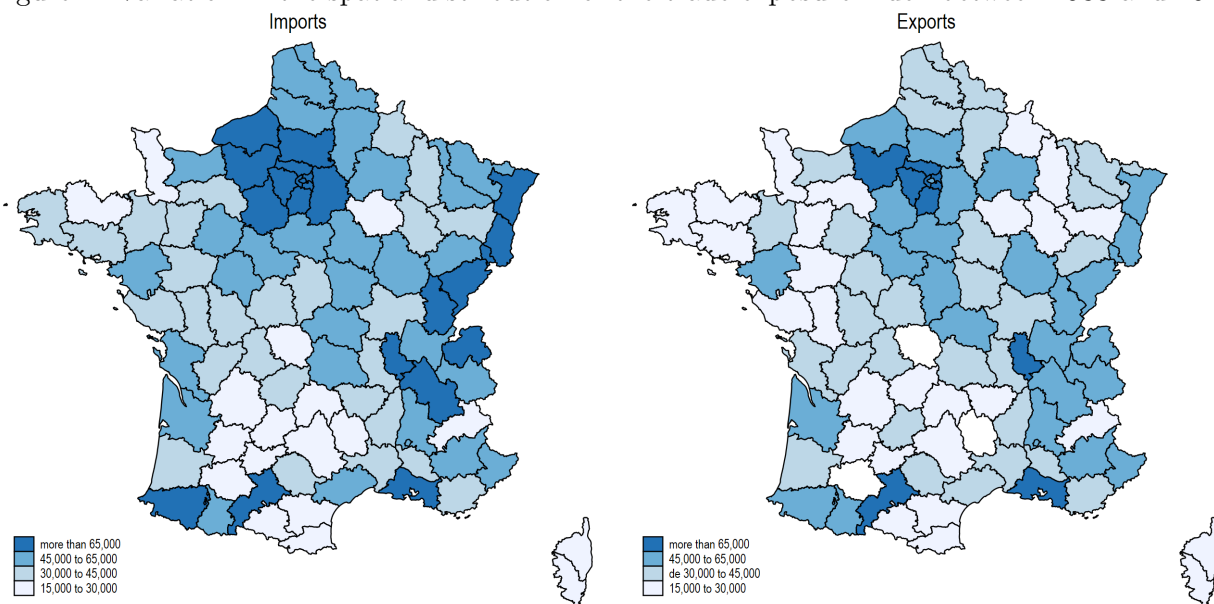
Sources. Authors' elaboration based on political manifestos.

Figure 3: Anti-globalization Index of votes and votes for the far right



Sources. Authors' elaboration based on French ministry voting data and political manifestos.

Figure 4: Variation in the spatial distribution of the trade exposure index between 1988 and 2022



Sources. Authors' elaboration based on UN COMTRADE and the 1982 French census.

Tables

Table 1: Distinct impact of imports, exports and immigration on anti-globalization votes

	OLS estimate			IV estimate		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Specification 1						
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	-0.06*	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	380.21	421.91	430.32
Specification 2						
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-0.09***	-0.08***	-0.09***	-0.15***	-0.14***	-0.14***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	119.94	112.67	109.93
Specification 3						
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.24***	0.19***	0.18***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	58.92	38.42	39.65
Demographic controls ^a	-	X	X	-	X	X
Socio-economic controls ^b	-	-	X	-	-	X

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017. The unit of observation is a department-time cell and all regressions have 480 observations (96 departments and 6 election years). The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. ^aDemographic controls include the change in the share of young individuals and the change in the share of low educated individuals. ^bSocio-economic controls include the change in the employment-to-population rate, the change in the share of manufacturing employment, and the change in the share of employment in services. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table 2: Joint impact of imports, exports and immigration on anti-globalization votes

	1988-2017					1988-2022	
	OLS	IV estimate		IV estimate		IV estimate	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.17* (0.09)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.20** (0.10)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.17** (0.08)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-	-	-0.29** (0.12)	-	-0.39*** (0.12)	-	-0.34*** (0.10)
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	0.02 (0.02)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.04)	-	-	-	-
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	380.21	-	442.43	-
SW F-test (imp.)	-	549.34	29.79	-	28.09	-	39.01
SW F-test (exp.)	-	-	40.16	-	37.62	-	47.34
SW F-test (imm.)	-	40.41	40.73	-	-	-	-
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	480	480	480	576	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-5, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 6-7. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1-3 moreover include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table 3: IV impact of imports, exports and immigration on anti-globalization votes

	Baseline sample			Excluding Paris	Excluding Île-de-France
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	0.17* (0.09)	0.19** (0.10)	0.14* (0.08)	0.15* (0.08)	0.11* (0.06)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-0.29** (0.12)	-0.39*** (0.13)	-0.20* (0.12)	-0.27** (0.11)	-0.26** (0.10)
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	0.17*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.04)
Region FE	X	-	-	X	X
Department FE	-	-	X	-	-
SW F-test (imp.)	29.79	29.19	22.62	28.24	27.56
SW F-test (exp.)	40.16	39.30	29.55	39.42	35.76
SW F-test (imm.)	40.73	49.86	40.32	37.89	31.62
Cluster	96	96	96	95	88
Observations	480	480	480	475	440

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. All regressions include region and time fixed effects, as well as the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table 4: Impact of imports and exports on anti-globalization votes using alternative geographical areas

	Cantonal level				Employment zone level			
	1988-2017		1988-2022		1988-2017		1988-2022	
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	-0.02** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	0.04* (0.02)	-0.04*** (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.27*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.24*** (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.24*** (0.03)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.22*** (0.03)
SW F-test (imp.)	-	255.83	-	76.90	-	140.40	-	90.01
SW F-test (exp.)	-	133.20	-	33.39	-	78.50	-	71.12
Cluster	1,985	1,985	1,985	1,985	287	287	287	287
Observations	9,924	9,924	11,909	11,909	1,435	1,435	1,722	1,722

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered at the area level. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017, or between 1988 and 2022. The unit of observation is an area-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table 5: Decomposing the IV impact of trade and immigration on anti-globalization, anti-trade and anti-migration votes

	Anti-globalization votes			Anti-trade votes			Anti-migration votes		
	1988-2017	(2)	(3)	1988-2017	(4)	(5)	1988-2017	(7)	1988-2022
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	0.14 (0.09)	0.18* (0.10)	0.15* (0.09)	0.17** (0.07)	0.17** (0.07)	0.15** (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-0.22* (0.12)	-0.33** (0.13)	-0.29*** (0.11)	-0.22*** (0.08)	-0.24*** (0.08)	-0.22*** (0.08)	0.08 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	0.19*** (0.04)	-	-	0.02 (0.02)	-	-	0.15*** (0.03)	-	-
SW F-test (imp.)	29.79	28.09	39.01	29.79	28.09	39.01	29.79	28.09	39.01
SW F-test (exp.)	40.16	37.62	47.34	40.16	37.62	47.34	40.16	37.62	47.34
SW F-test (imm.)	40.73	-	-	40.73	-	-	40.73	-	-
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	480	480	480	480	576	576	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-2, 4-5 and 7-8, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 3, 6 and 9. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variables in columns 1-3 use the changes in anti-globalization votes. The dependent variables in columns 4-6 and 7-9 respectively use the anti-trade and anti-migration statements to measure the changes in anti-trade and anti-migration voting. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1, 4 and 7 moreover include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table 6: Decomposing the impact of import exposure by type of imported goods on anti-globalization votes

	1995-2017				1995-2022	
	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Δ Imports of final goods	0.13*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.12*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)
Δ Imports of intermediate goods	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.06** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.07** (0.03)
Additional regressors						
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	X	X	X	X	X	X
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	X	X	-	-	-	-
SW multivariate F-test (final goods)	-	110.59	-	168.70	-	168.70
SW multivariate F-test (interm. goods)	-	166.73	-	216.37	-	216.37
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	384	384	384	384	480	480

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1995 and 2017 in columns 1-4, and between 1995 and 2022 in columns 5-6. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in import of final and intermediate goods. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1-2 moreover include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations.***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Does trade exposure explain anti-globalization votes?

Appendix

A The classification of sentences

A.1 Methodology

The keywords used to identify sentences related to globalization are presented in Appendix-Table [A.7](#). We consider all words that share the same root as these keywords. For example, we include not only the word "immigration", but also related words such as "migration", "emigration", "migrant", "immigrant", and "migrate". If a keyword is not related to globalization in a given sentence, we do not consider it (for example, "tax" may be related to trade, but not exclusively). Then, we classify each sentence related to globalization as either "pro" or "anti". Anti-globalization sentences are presented in Appendix-Tables [A.8-A.27](#), in both languages (French and English) while pro-globalization sentences are presented in Appendix-Tables [A.28-A.31](#). The remainder of the section details our classification strategy.

A.1.1 Free movement of goods and services

We classify as "anti-globalization" (here, anti-trade) any sentence in which a candidate makes a proposal:

- aimed at directly halting certain imports – e.g., "Effectively halt all genetically modified organism imports", (Dominique Voynet, 2007).
- restricting trade flows by introducing customs duties – e.g., "Support French companies by implementing smart protectionism and re-establishing a national currency suited to our economy", (Marine Le Pen, 2017), or proposing the reservation of public procurements for national companies – e.g., "Favor products made in France in public procurement", (Nicolas Dupont-Aignan, 2012) and/or the cancellation of certain free-trade agreements – e.g., "Call into question free-trade agreements with Southern countries", (José Bové, 2007).
- relating trade to a negative fact – e.g., "Reject TTIP (Transatlantic Trade Agreement), which would destroy our food quality", (Nicolas Dupont-Aignan, 2017).

We classify as "pro-globalization" (here, pro-trade) any sentence in which a candidate makes a proposal:

- aimed at reinforcing the competitiveness of French firms on world markets – e.g., "To achieve this, we need to strengthen the financial strength of our companies and make them more competitive in Europe and around the world", (Raymond Barre, 1988).
- presenting globalization as a positive process for France – e.g., "It [France] can take advantage of globalisation: in a wide range of sectors, our country has achieved major successes", (Nicolas Sarkozy, 2012).

- condemning protectionist proposals – e.g., "Combating protectionist and environmentalist delusions", (Frédéric Nihous, 2007).

A.1.2 Free movement of people

We classify as "anti-globalization" (here, anti-migration) any sentence in which a candidate makes a proposal:

- aimed at directly reducing immigration flows – e.g., "Reduce legal immigration to its strict minimum by introducing immigration quotas established according to our capacity of absorption and our economic needs" (François Fillon, 2017).
- making migration to France potentially less attractive by giving less rights or benefits to immigrants – e.g., "No housing and family allowances for foreigners before 5 years of legal residence" (Valérie Pécresse, 2022).
- relating immigration to a negative fact – e.g., "To reduce insecurity", Alain Madelin (2002) proposed "To control and regulate immigration at European level by firmly combating illegal immigrants".

We classify as "pro-globalization" (here, pro-migration) any sentence in which a candidate makes a proposal:

- denouncing politicians who use immigration for political ends – e.g., "He [Jean-Marie Le Pen] uses immigrants as scapegoats." (François Mitterrand, 1988).
- making migration to France potentially more attractive by giving more rights to immigrants – e.g., "Right to vote for foreigners residing in France" (Philippe Poutou, 2022).
- relating immigration to a positive fact – e.g., "These immigrant workers are far more useful than the capitalists Arnault or Bolloré, or their servants in the political world" (Nathalie Arthaud, 2022).

A.1.3 Free movement of capital

We take all the sentences related to fiscal proposals that directly or indirectly tax capital outflows (e.g., "Divide by two the tax on profits reinvested on French territory", Nicolas Dupont-Aignan, 2017) or those that associate offshoring with unemployment (e.g., "Mass layoffs and outsourcing must be banned", Arlette Laguiller, 2002).

A.1.4 General sentences

Some sentences are unrelated to any type of globalization (goods and services, people or capital), but they give a positive or negative picture of it. Globalization can be associated with negative consequences, such as factory closures and stagnation of wages (e.g., "But globalization also creates fear and suffering, with factories closing, wages stagnating, the world changing too fast and forgetting about people", Nicolas Sarkozy, 2012). Some candidates associate globalization with negative developments or adjectives (e.g.,

"Throughout Europe, like us, people want to be protected from this inhuman globalization", Nicolas Dupont-Aignan, 2012).

A.1.5 Neutral sentences

Finally, when there is uncertainty about the interpretation of a sentence regarding its position on globalization, the sentence is classified as neutral and excluded from the computation of our anti-globalization voting index – e.g., "Integration and submission of the World Trade Organization to the UN so that human rights prevail over the market" (José Bové, 2007).

A.2 Keywords and anti-globalization sentences

Table A.7: Keywords in manifestos

French word	English word
commerce	trade
compétition	competition
concurrence	competition
délocalisation	offshoring
douane	customs
droit de vote	voting right
France	France
étranger	foreign
exportation	export
frontière	border
GATT	GATT
immigration	immigration
importation	import
international	international
investissement	investment
liberté de circulation	freedom of movement
libre-échange	free trade
marché public	public procurement
mondialisation	globalization
multinationale	multinational
nationalité	nationality
OMC	WTO
politique industrielle	industrial policy
protection	protection
regroupement familial	family reunification
sans-papier	paperless
sol français	French soil
taxe	tax
travailleur détaché	posted worker
visa	visa

Notes. The table provides the keywords used to identify the sentences in manifestos related to globalization.

Table A.8: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English

Year-Candidate	French	English
2022 Macron	Pour défendre nos frontières nationales et européennes: une nouvelle force des frontières aux frontières nationales et la poursuite de la réforme de Schengen.	To defend our national and European borders: a new border force at national borders and continued reform of Schengen.
2022 Macron	Nous maîtriserons mieux nos frontières et conditionnerons l'obtention des titres de séjour long à la maîtrise de notre langue et la connaissance de notre culture.	We will better control our borders, and make long-stay permits conditional on mastery of our language and knowledge of our culture.
2022 Macron	Parce que nous mettrons en place une taxe carbone écologique aux frontières de l'Europe, nos enfants et nos petits-enfants pourront vivre demain dans une planète respirable et un environnement préservé.	Because we will implement an ecological carbon tax at Europe's borders, our children and grandchildren will be able to live in a breathable planet and a preserved environment.
2022 Le Pen	Rétablir votre sécurité et stopper l'immigration.	Restore your security and stop immigration.
2022 Le Pen	1,5 million d'immigrés supplémentaires sont entrés légalement en France depuis 2017 et des centaines de milliers de clandestins vivent chez nous.	1.5 million more immigrants have entered France legally since 2017, and hundreds of thousands of illegals are living with us.
2022 Le Pen	Pour tourner la page d'un quinquennat de mépris, de baisse de votre pouvoir d'achat, d'explosion de l'immigration, de laxisme face à l'insécurité, de mensonges et de provocations.	To turn the page on a five-year period of contempt, falling purchasing power, of explosion in immigration, laxity in the face of insecurity, lies and provocations.
2022 Le Pen	Je réduirai également les tarifs des péages, supprimerai la redevance audiovisuelle, allégerai les frais de succession et appliquerai la priorité nationale pour l'accès à l'emploi, au logement et aux aides sociales.	I will also reduce toll rates, abolish the audiovisual licence fee, reduce inheritance taxes and apply the national priority for access to employment, housing and social benefits.
2022 Le Pen	Je rétablirai les contrôles aux frontières, expulserai les clandestins et supprimerai le droit du sol.	I'll re-establish border controls, deport illegal immigrants and abolish the right to birthright citizenship.
2022 Le Pen	Les délinquants français seront mis en prison et les délinquants étrangers dans l'avion !	French offenders will be put in prison and foreign offenders on the plane!
2022 Le Pen	Pour arrêter la submersion migratoire, je restreindrai drastiquement l'immigration, notamment le regroupement familial, et mettrai fin à l'appel d'air en réservant les aides sociales aux Français.	To stop the flood of immigrants, I'll drastically restrict immigration, in particular family reunification, and put an end to the welfare magnet by reserving benefits for the French.
2022 Le Pen	L'immigration a explosé.	Immigration has exploded.
2022 Le Pen	Pour créer des emplois et préserver l'environnement, je mènerai une politique de patriotisme économique qui favorise les circuits courts et protège de la concurrence déloyale nos agriculteurs, industries et entrepreneurs.	To create jobs and preserve the environment, I will pursue a policy of economic patriotism that promotes short supply chains and protects our farmers, industries and entrepreneurs from unfair competition.

Table A.9: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2022 Mélenchon	Le rétablissement d'un impôt de solidarité sur la fortune, la mise en place de l'impôt universel pour les multinationales qui font du profit en France et l'héritage maximum à 12 millions d'euros, rétabliront la justice fiscale.	The re-establishment of a solidarity tax on wealth, the introduction of a universal tax on multinationals making a profit in France and a maximum inheritance of 12 million euros will restore tax justice.
2022 Mélenchon	Nous interdirons le travail détaché et mettrons fin à la concurrence déloyale à domicile.	We'll ban posted workers and put an end to unfair competition in the home market.
2022 Mélenchon	Un protectionnisme négocié nous aidera à relocaliser les productions industrielles et agricoles.	Negotiated protectionism will help us to relocalize industrial and agricultural production.
2022 Zemmour	En parallèle de ce déferlement migratoire, les politiciens ont abandonné l'assimilation qui permettait à tout immigré quelle que soit son origine, sa couleur de peau ou sa religion de devenir pleinement Français.	At the same time as this flood of migrants, politicians have abandoned assimilation, which enabled all immigrants, whatever their origin, skin color or religion, to become fully French.
2022 Zemmour	Mettre fin à l'immigration.	Put an end to immigration.
2022 Zemmour	Mais après le regroupement familial, j'ai vu le désordre naître, la délinquance s'installer, l'identité s'effacer.	But after family reunification, I saw disorder emerge, delinquency take hold, identity disappear.
2022 Zemmour	Désormais, je veux réussir ce qu'aucun politicien n'a tenté, ni même osé envisager réellement : mettre fin à l'immigration, rétablir l'ordre et baisser les impôts.	From now on, I want to do what no politician has ever tried to do, or even dared to really consider: put an end to immigration, restore order and lower taxes.
2022 Zemmour	Arrêter le regroupement familial.	Stop family reunification.
2022 Zemmour	Je mettrai fin à l'immigration.	I will put an end to immigration.
2022 Zemmour	Supprimer le droit du sol et limiter les naturalisations.	Abolish birthright citizenship and limit naturalization.
2022 Zemmour	Expulser les 15 000 délinquants et les criminels étrangers et construire 10 000 places de prison supplémentaires.	Expel 15,000 foreign offenders and criminals and build an additional 10,000 prison spaces.
2022 Zemmour	En 5 ans, le président Macron a permis à 2 millions d'étrangers de venir s'installer en France.	In 5 years, President Macron has enabled 2 million foreigners to settle in France.
2022 Zemmour	Expulser les étrangers qui représentent une menace pour la sécurité des Français, en particulier les fichés S.	Expel foreigners who pose a threat to the security of the French, especially those on the S list.
2022 Zemmour	Supprimer les aides sociales aux étrangers extra-européens et l'Aide Médicale d'État des clandestins.	Abolish welfare benefits for non-European foreigners and State Medical Aid for illegal immigrants
2022 Pécresse	Je remettrai de l'ordre à nos frontières et dans la rue.	I will restore order at our borders and in the streets.
2022 Pécresse	Or, depuis dix ans, vous voyez notre pays considérablement s'affaiblir : montée de la violence, immigration incontrôlée, pouvoir d'achat en berne, services publics essentiels école, santé, justice à bout de souffle, fuite en avant des déficits et de la dette que nous léguons aux générations futures.	And yet, over the last ten years, you have seen our country weaken considerably: rising violence, uncontrolled immigration, decreasing purchasing power, essential public services like schools and healthcare, lethargic justice, permanent deficits and enormous debt we are leaving to future generations.
2022 Pécresse	Pas d'allocations logement et familiales pour les étrangers avant 5 ans de résidence légale.	No housing and family benefits for foreigners before 5 years' legal residence.

Table A.10: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2022 Pécresse	Nous reprendrons le contrôle de l'immigration en la limitant strictement à ceux que nous voulons accueillir et en renvoyant les clandestins.	We will regain control of immigration by strictly limiting it to those we want to welcome, and by sending back illegal immigrants.
2022 Pécresse	Une vraie taxe carbone aux frontières de l'Europe.	A real carbon tax at Europe's borders.
2022 Pécresse	Protection de notre agriculture et de notre industrie contre la concurrence déloyale.	Protecting our agriculture and industry from unfair competition.
2022 Pécresse	Aucun visa ne sera accordé aux pays non coopératifs.	No visa will be granted to non-cooperative countries.
2022 Pécresse	Des quotas maximum d'immigration par métier et par pays pour que la France décide qui peut entrer sur son territoire ; fin du regroupement familial et du droit du sol automatiques ; expulsion des étrangers condamnés à l'issue de leur peine.	Maximum immigration quotas per profession and per country, so that France decides who can enter its territory; end of automatic family reunification and the right to legal status; expulsion of foreigners convicted at the end of their sentence.
2022 Jadot	Depuis plus de 10 ans, il [Yannick Jadot] se distingue par ses combats contre le dérèglement climatique, pour la justice climatique et contre les accords de libre-échange.	For more than 10 years, he [Yannick Jadot] has distinguished himself by fighting against climate change, for climate justice and against free trade agreements.
2022 Lassalle	Retirer à la Commission européenne la mission de représenter la France dans les traités de protection des investissements internationaux.	Withdraw from the European Commission the task of representing France in international investment protection treaties.
2022 Lassalle	Permettre au Parlement de contrôler nos ventes d'armes à l'étranger.	Allow Parliament to control our foreign arms sales.
2022 Roussel	Prélèvement à la source des impôts sur les bénéfices des multinationales.	Withholding tax on multinationals' profits.
2022 Roussel	Ouverture de négociations pour de nouveaux traités européens au service des peuples et non de la finance.	Opening negotiations for new European treaties in the service of people, not finance.
2022 Roussel	Plan de relocalisation de la production industrielle et de développement de l'agriculture française.	Plan to relocate industrial production and develop French agriculture.
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Expulsion des clandestins et des délinquants étrangers.	Deportation of illegal immigrants and offenders.
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Libérons - nous de la mondialisation inhumaine !	Free ourselves from inhuman globalization!
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Renégociation des traités de libre-échange déloyaux pour protéger notre agriculture et notre industrie.	Renegotiate unfair free trade agreements to protect our agriculture and industry.
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Libérons - nous de la pression migratoire !	Free us from migratory pressure!
2022 Dupont-Aignan	75% des marchés publics réservés aux fabrications françaises.	75% of public procurement reserved for French products.
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Rétablissons nos frontières.	Let's rebuild our borders.
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Interdiction du financement par l'étranger des mosquées.	Ban on foreign funding of mosques.
2022 Dupont-Aignan	Division par 2 de l'impôt sur les sociétés uniquement pour la part des bénéfices réinvestis sur le sol français.	Tax on companies divided by 2 only for the portion of profits invested in France.

Table A.11: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2017 Macron	5 000 garde-frontières supplémentaires.	5,000 additional border guards.
2017 Le Pen	Mettre en place une taxe additionnelle sur l'embauche de salariés étrangers afin d'assurer la priorité nationale à l'emploi des Français.	Introduce an additional tax on the hiring of foreign employees to ensure national priority for French employment.
2017 Le Pen	Abroger la directive détachement des travailleurs.	Repeal the directive on posted workers.
2017 Le Pen	Transformer la Politique Agricole Commune en Politique Agricole Française.	Transforming the Common Agricultural Policy into a French Agricultural Policy.
2017 Le Pen	Supprimer les pompes aspirantes de l'immigration.	Eliminate immigration suction pumps.
2017 Le Pen	Revaloriser le minimum vieillesse (ASPA) partout en France et le conditionner à la nationalité française ou à vingt ans de résidence en France, pour augmenter les très petites retraites.	Revalorize the minimum old-age pension (ASPA) throughout France, and make it conditional on French nationality or 20 years' residence in France, in order to boost very low pensions.
2017 Le Pen	Réduire l'immigration légale à un solde annuel de 10.000.	Reduce legal immigration to an annual balance of 10,000.
2017 Le Pen	Retour de la démocratie et de la souveraineté nationale, refus du chômage de masse, du laxisme face à l'hyperdélinquance, éradication du terrorisme, islamiste, défense de la laïcité, de nos valeurs, de nos traditions, de notre identité, école restaurée, protection sociale sauvegardée, patriotisme économique, priorité aux petites et moyennes entreprises, protection de nos familles, revalorisation des retraites modestes et des salaires trop bas, arrêt de l'immigration massive anarchique, protectionnisme intelligent pour stopper la concurrence internationale déloyale et les délocalisations, priorité donnée aux Français en France pour l'emploi et le logement.	Return to democracy and national sovereignty, refusal of mass unemployment, of laxity in the face of hyperdelinquency, eradication of Islamist terrorism, defense of secularism, of our values, of our traditions, and of our identity, restored schools, maintained social protection, economic patriotism, priority to small and medium-sized businesses, protection for our families, rise in modest pensions and low wages, a halt to uncontrolled mass immigration, intelligent protectionism to stop unfair international competition and relocation, priority given to French nationals in France for jobs and housing.
2017 Le Pen	Rompre avec le modèle économique fondé sur la mondialisation sauvage et refuser les traités de libre-échange (TAFTA , CETA , etc).	Breaking with the economic model based on unbridled globalization and rejecting free trade agreements (TAFTA , CETA , etc).
2017 Le Pen	Rétablir les frontières nationales et sortir de l'espace Schengen.	Re-establish national borders and leave the Schengen area.
2017 Le Pen	Créer de l'emploi par le patriotisme économique.	Creating jobs through economic patriotism.
2017 Le Pen	Soutenir les entreprises françaises par la mise en place d'un protectionnisme intelligent et le rétablissement d'une monnaie nationale adaptée à notre économie.	Support French companies through intelligent protectionism and the establishment of a national currency adapted to our economy.
2017 Le Pen	Pour préserver l'environnement, rompre avec le modèle économique fondé sur la mondialisation sauvage des échanges et le dumping social, sanitaire et environnemental ; la véritable écologie consiste à produire et consommer au plus près et retraiter sur place.	To preserve the environment, break with the economic model based on unbridled globalization of trade and social, health and environmental dumping; true ecology means producing and consuming as close as possible and reprocessing locally.
2017 Le Pen	Mettre fin à l'automatisme du regroupement familial ainsi qu'à l'acquisition automatique de la nationalité.	End automatic family reunification and automatic acquisition of nationality.

Table A.12: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2017 Fillon	Défendre les intérêts industriels, technologiques et agricoles de la France : réciprocité dans les échanges commerciaux internationaux, renégociation de la directive européenne sur les travailleurs détachés.	Defend France's industrial, technological and agricultural interests: reciprocity in international trade, negotiation of the European directive on posted workers.
2017 Fillon	Bâtir une nouvelle Europe, respectueuse des nations, recentrée sur ses principales priorités : la sécurité et la défense, la protection des frontières face aux flux migratoires, l'euro, l'énergie, le numérique, l'agriculture.	Building a new Europe, respectful of nations and re-focused on its main priorities: security and defense, protecting borders against migratory flows, the euro, energy, the digital economy and agriculture.
2017 Fillon	Expulser les clandestins et supprimer l'Aide Médicale d'état (AME) pour enrayer l'immigration illégale.	Deport illegal immigrants and abolish the Aide Médicale d'Etat (AME) to curb illegal immigration.
2017 Fillon	Exiger une présence régulière de deux années sur le territoire national avant le versement de toute prestation sociale.	Require two years' residency in France before receiving any social benefits.
2017 Fillon	Réduire l'immigration légale à son strict minimum en instaurant des quotas d'immigration établis en fonction de nos capacités d'accueil et de nos besoins économiques.	Reduce legal immigration to a strict minimum by introducing immigration quotas based on our reception capacity and economic needs.
2017 Mélenchon	Je retirerai la signature de la France sur l'accord de libre-échange avec le Canada (CETA) et m'opposerai à celui avec les Etats-Unis (TAFTA).	I will withdraw France's signature on the free trade agreement with Canada (CETA) and oppose the one with the United States (TAFTA).
2017 Mélenchon	Elle [la France Insoumise] libérera le peuple français et les peuples d'Europe des traités européens et des accords de libre-échange qui les obligent à s'entre-déchirer.	It [la France Insoumise] will liberate the French people and the peoples of Europe from the European treaties and free trade agreements that force them to tear each other apart.
2017 Mélenchon	J'instaurerai un protectionnisme solidaire pour relocaliser les productions et les emplois.	I'll introduce a protectionism based on solidarity to relocalize production and jobs.
2017 Mélenchon	J'interdirai le statut de travailleurs détachés en France.	I will ban the status of posted workers in France.
2017 Hamon	Je demanderai aux entreprises de rembourser les aides publiques si elles délocalisent leurs activités.	I will ask companies to reimburse public subsidies if they outsource their activities.
2017 Hamon	J'accorderai la priorité au Made in France en réservant au moins 50% des marchés publics aux petites et moyennes entreprises (PME-PMI-TPE).	I will give priority to Made in France, reserving at least 50% of public procurement for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).
2017 Hamon	Pour mettre fin à l'optimisation fiscale qui prive notre pays des ressources qui lui sont dues, j'instaurerai une taxe sur les bénéfices détournés par les multinationales et j'imposerai la transparence fiscale aux entreprises, qui devront transmettre les activités et impôts payés dans tous les pays où elles sont présentes.	To put an end to the tax optimization that deprives our country of the resources it is owed, I will introduce a tax on the profits distributed by multinationals, and I will impose tax transparency on companies, which will have to report their activities and taxes paid in all the countries where they are present.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Stop à la concurrence déloyale !	Stop unfair competition!
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Favoriser le fabriqué en France.	Promote manufacturing in France.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Imposer à tout étranger 5 ans de travail et de cotisations avant de percevoir des aides sociales.	Require all foreigners to work and pay contributions for 5 years before receiving welfare benefits.

Table A.13: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Stopper l'appel d'air migratoire.	Stopping the migratory tide.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Rendre à la France la maîtrise de ses frontières, de son budget et de ses lois.	Give France back control of its borders, its budget and its laws.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Obliger les cantines à se fournir en circuits courts et en produits français.	Obliging canteens to use short-distance distribution channels and French products.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Refuser le TAFTA (Traité transatlantique) qui détruirait notre qualité alimentaire.	Reject TAFTA (Transatlantic Trade Agreement), which would destroy our food quality.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Expulser systématiquement les clandestins et les délinquants étrangers.	Systematically deport illegal immigrants and foreign offenders.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Annuler la directive européenne sur les travailleurs détachés qui permet à 500000 salariés étrangers de travailler en France sans payer les charges sociales françaises.	Cancel the European directive on posted workers, which allows 500,000 foreign employees to work in France without paying French social security contributions.
2017 Dupont-Aignan	Réserver au moins 75% des marchés publics aux entreprises qui produisent en France.	Reserve at least 75% of public contracts for companies producing in France.
2017 Asselineau	Le rétablissement de la sécurité : la restauration de l'autorité et de la dignité de l'Etat, l'éducation au respect de l'autre, la surveillance des frontières, l'amélioration des conditions de travail de la police et de la gendarmerie portant progressivement leur budget annuel à 20 milliards d'euros.	Re-establishing security: restoring the authority and dignity of the State, teaching respect for others, monitoring borders, improving working conditions for the police and gendarmerie, gradually increasing their annual budget to 20 billion euros.
2017 Asselineau	Principalement à cause d'importations venant de pays à très faibles charges sociales et environnementales, mais aussi à cause des délocalisations que les traités européens nous forcent à accepter.	Mainly because of imports from countries with very low social and environmental costs, but also because of the relocations that European treaties are forcing us to accept.
2017 Asselineau	Les 12 principales mesures, qui nécessitent presque toutes la sortie de l'UE et de l'euro, en sont les suivantes : Un coup d'arrêt décisif aux délocalisations et à la destruction de notre industrie.	The 12 main measures, almost all of which require leaving the EU and the euro, are as follows: A decisive halt to outsourcing and to the destruction of our industry.
2017 Cheminade	C'est [Le grand défi auquel la France fait face] celui d'un capitalisme financiarisé, mondialisé et voué au saccage social.	It's [The major challenge facing France] about financialized, globalized capitalism, dedicated to social destruction.
2017 Cheminade	L'Union européenne est aujourd'hui le cheval de Troie de la mondialisation financière, de la City et de Wall Street.	The European Union is today the Trojan horse of financial globalization, the City and Wall Street.

Table A.14: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2012 Hollande	Je réorienterai l'Europe : renégociation du traité d'austérité dans le sens de la croissance et de l'emploi ; lancement de grands projets d'avenir ; politique commerciale contre le dumping fiscal, social, environnemental.	I will reorient Europe: renegotiate the austerity treaty in the direction of growth and employment; launch major projects for the future; trade policy against fiscal, social and environmental dumping.
2012 Hollande	Je réserverai les aides publiques et les allègements fiscaux aux entreprises qui investiront en France, embaucheront ou seront offensives à l'exportation.	I'll be reserving public aid and tax breaks for companies that invest in France, hire new staff or are aggressive in exporting.
2012 Sarkozy	Mais la mondialisation crée aussi des peurs et des souffrances, les usines qui ferment, les salaires qui stagnent, le monde qui change trop vite et qui oublie l'humain.	But globalization also creates fear and suffering, with factories closing, wages stagnating, the world changing too fast and forgetting about people.
2012 Sarkozy	Je créerai un impôt sur le bénéfice mondial des grands groupes pour les encourager à localiser les emplois en France.	I will create a tax on the worldwide profits of major groups to encourage them to locate jobs in France.
2012 Sarkozy	Cela implique une immigration familiale maîtrisée qui ne pèse pas sur notre protection sociale.	This implies controlled family immigration that does not burden our social protection system.
2012 Sarkozy	Le droit de vote ne peut être donné qu'à ceux qui prouvent leur attachement à notre pays en prenant la nationalité française.	The right to vote can only be given to those who prove their attachment to our country by taking French nationality.
2012 Sarkozy	Nous devons diviser par deux l'immigration.	We need to halve immigration.
2012 Sarkozy	La France doit adapter les flux d'immigration à ses capacités actuelles d'accueil.	France needs to adapt immigration flows to its current reception capacity.
2012 Sarkozy	Les exilés fiscaux paieront un impôt en France parce que je n'accepte pas que l'on garde les avantages de la nationalité sans en accepter la contrepartie fiscale.	Tax exiles will pay tax in France, because I don't accept that people keep the advantages of nationality without accepting the fiscal counterpart.
2012 Sarkozy	Si, en l'absence de réciprocité, l'Europe ne réserve pas ses marchés publics aux entreprises qui produisent en Europe, la France le fera pour ses propres marchés.	If, in the absence of reciprocity, Europe does not reserve its public procurements for companies producing in Europe, France will do so for its own markets.
2012 Sarkozy	L'Europe n'a de sens que si elle protège ses frontières, sa culture, ses emplois et son identité.	Europe only makes sense if it protects its borders, its culture, its jobs and its identity.
2012 Sarkozy	Si l'Europe ne retrouve pas la maîtrise de ses frontières dans un délai d'un an, la France suspend sa participation à l'espace Schengen et rétablira des contrôles ciblés à la frontière.	If Europe does not regain control of its borders within a year, France will suspend its participation in the Schengen area and reintroduce targeted border controls.

Table A.15: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2012 Le Pen	Je vais organiser la réindustrialisation de la France pour recréer l'emploi, par la mise en place de protections aux frontières, modulées et adaptées, pour lutter contre la concurrence déloyale venue de pays comme la Chine ou l'Inde.	I'm going to organise the re-industrialisation of France to recreate jobs, by putting in place modulated and adapted border protection to combat unfair competition from countries like China and India.
2012 Le Pen	Je vais expulser du sol français les immigrés clandestins et les délinquants étrangers, réduire drastiquement l'immigration légale, réformer le Code de la nationalité, supprimer toutes les incitations à l'immigration et appliquer la priorité nationale pour les Français, s'agissant de l'emploi, des aides sociales et du logement.	I'm going to expel illegal immigrants and foreign offenders from French soil, drastically reduce legal immigration, reform the Nationality Code, abolish all incentives for immigration and apply national priority for the French, in terms of employment, welfare benefits and housing.
2012 Le Pen	Je vais sauver notre système de protection sociale mise à mal par l'Union européenne et l'immigration, défendre le remboursement de soins et la possibilité de prendre sa retraite après 40 années de cotisation.	I'm going to save our social protection system, which has been undermined by the European Union and immigration, and I'm going to defend the reimbursement of healthcare costs and the possibility of retiring after 40 years of contributions.
2012 Le Pen	Malgré les discours électoraux et des annonces opportunistes, la situation de la France et des Français n'a cessé de se dégrader au cours des cinq dernières années : la dette publique a explosé (passant de 1 200 à 1 700 milliards d'euros), notre pays compte près de 5 millions de demandeurs d'emploi, 14 % de la population française vit en dessous du seuil de pauvreté, 500000 emplois industriels ont disparu au cours du quinquennat, le pouvoir d'achat des Français ne cesse de diminuer, l'insécurité n'a jamais été aussi élevée et l'immigration, qu'elle soit légale ou clandestine, n'est plus maîtrisée.	Despite election rhetoric and opportunistic announcements, the situation of France and the French people has continued to deteriorate over the last five years: public debt has soared (from 1,200 billion to 1,700 billion euros), our country has nearly 5 million job-seekers, 14% of the French population lives below the poverty line, 500,000 industrial jobs have disappeared over the five-year period, the purchasing power of the French people continues to decline, insecurity has never been so high and immigration, whether legal or illegal, is no longer under control.
2012 Le Pen	J'ai la volonté politique de protéger notre économie et nos emplois, de rétablir la souveraineté nationale, de mettre fin à l'immigration massive et incontrôlée et d'appliquer la tolérance zéro pour les délinquants.	I have the political will to protect our economy and our jobs, to restore national sovereignty, to put an end to massive and uncontrolled immigration, and to apply zero tolerance to criminals.
2012 Le Pen	En ce moment périlleux, où le chômage, le mondialisme, la précarité, le communautarisme, les mensonges et la peur nous dépossèdent de notre passé, de notre pays, de notre avenir.	At this perilous time, when unemployment, globalism, job insecurity, communitarianism, lies and fear are robbing us of our past, our country and our future.
2012 Mélenchon	Désobéissance aux directives européennes contre Bolkestein, contre la libéralisation des services publics, contre la libre circulation des capitaux et marchandises (taxe kilométrique sur les importations aux frontières).	Disobedience to European directives, against Bolkestein, against the liberalisation of public services, against the free movement of capital and goods (kilometre tax on imports at borders).

Table A.16: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2012 Mélenchon	Relocalisation de l'économie et nouveaux chantiers industriels dans les transports en commun, les énergies renouvelables, les logements sociaux.	Reshoring of our economy and of new industrial projects in public transport, renewable energy and social housing
2012 Mélenchon	Plan national de réduction des productions délocalisées.	National plan to reduce offshoring.
2012 Bayrou	Produire à nouveau en France pour créer des emplois et des richesses.	Restoring production in France to create jobs and wealth.
2012 Bayrou	Je mobiliserai les consommateurs autour d'un label "Produit en France".	I will mobilise consumers around a label "Produced in France".
2012 Bayrou	Mise en place du Commissariat national aux stratégies de production et préparation de la loi de mobilisation du "produire en France".	Creation of the 'Commissariat national aux Stratégies de Production' and preparation of the law to promote 'producing in France'.
2012 Bayrou	Je ferai de la production dans notre pays une obsession nationale.	I will make production in our country a national obsession.
2012 Joly	Investir dans les secteurs d'avenir (énergies renouvelables, isolation des bâtiments, etc), pour créer un million d'emplois nouveaux et non délocalisables.	Invest in the sectors of the future (renewable energies, building insulation, etc.), to create a million new jobs that cannot be outsourced.
2012 Joly	Instaurer une vraie taxe sur les transactions financières en Europe.	Introduce a real tax on financial transactions in Europe.
2012 Joly	Élue en 2009, elle est aujourd'hui présidente de la commission du développement du Parlement européen, où elle se bat contre les accords de libre-échange et pour une coopération solidaire entre le Nord et le Sud.	Elected in 2009, she now chairs the European Parliament's Development Committee, where she fights against free trade agreements and for solidarity-based cooperation between North and South.
2012 Joly	Instaurer la préférence écologique et sociale aux frontières de l'Europe.	Introduce ecological and social preference at Europe's borders.
2012 Joly	Pour en finir avec les délocalisations.	Putting an end to offshoring.
2012 Dupont-Aignan	Diviser par deux l'impôt sur les sociétés pour les PME dont les bénéfices sont réinvestis sur le sol français.	Halve corporation tax for SMEs whose profits are reinvested in France.
2012 Dupont-Aignan	Taxer les marchandises importées qui sont fabriquées à partir de l'esclavage humain.	Tax imported goods made from human slavery.
2012 Dupont-Aignan	Dans toute l'Europe, les peuples veulent comme nous se libérer de cette mondialisation inhumaine.	All over Europe, people want to free themselves from this inhuman globalization, just as we do.
2012 Dupont-Aignan	Favoriser les produits fabriqués en France dans les achats publics.	Favour products made in France in public procurement.
2012 Dupont-Aignan	Je veux du protectionnisme pour relocaliser l'emploi.	I want protectionism to relocate jobs.

Table A.17: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2012 Dupont-Aignan	Sarkozy, Holland, Bayrou... Tous ont approuvé main dans la main les traités européens qui organisent la concurrence déloyale de pays où les salaires sont inférieurs à 50 euros par mois.	Sarkozy, Hollande, Bayrou... They all approved hand in hand the European treaties that organise unfair competition from countries where wages are less than 50 euros a month.
2012 Arthaud	Il faut que les travailleurs et la population locale concernée puissent avoir accès aux projets à court et à long terme, notamment ceux de fermeture ou de délocalisation ; une entreprise qui ferme, c'est le drame pour ses travailleurs et leur famille, et c'est bien souvent aussi la ruine pour toute une région.	Workers and the local population concerned must have access to short- and long-term projects, particularly those involving closures or offshoring ; when a company closes, it means tragedy for its workers and their families, and often ruin for an entire region.
2012 Cheminade	L'Europe ne doit plus être le cheval de Troie de la mondialisation financière, de la City et de Wall Street, mais une locomotive de la reprise mondiale.	Europe must no longer be the Trojan horse of financial globalization, the City and Wall Street, but a driving force for global recovery.
2012 Cheminade	C'est l'aventure d'une nouvelle Résistance, cette fois face au monde de la finance, et d'une nouvelle Renaissance, cette fois face à une élite de possédants émanation de la mondialisation financière qui dégrade les êtres humains.	It's the adventure of a new Resistance, this time against the world of finance, and a new Renaissance, this time against an elite of wealthy people emanating from financial globalization that degrades human beings.
2007 Sarkozy	Il n'y aura pas de regroupement familial sans connaissance du français, logement et travail permettant de faire vivre sa famille indépendamment des allocations familiales.	There can be no family reunification without knowledge of the French language, housing and a job to support the family, including family allowances.
2007 Sarkozy	On vous explique que la politique ne peut plus agir, qu'avec la mondialisation les Etats n'ont plus de rôle à jouer.	They tell you that politics can no longer act, that with globalization, states no longer have a role to play.
2007 Sarkozy	C'est pourquoi j'instaurerai des plafonds annuels d'immigration.	That's why I'll introduce annual immigration ceilings.
2007 Sarkozy	J'agirai pour que l'Europe nous protège dans la mondialisation grâce à des politiques concrètes, en particulier contre les délocalisations.	I'll be working to ensure that Europe protects us in a globalized world through concrete policies, particularly against offshoring.
2007 Sarkozy	Je réhabiliterai le principe de préférence communautaire, c'est-à-dire le droit pour l'Europe de protéger ses produits et ses entreprises.	I will uphold the principle of Community preference, i.e. Europe's right to protect its products and companies.
2007 Sarkozy	Mes chers concitoyens, depuis vingt-cinq ans, on vous dit que contre le chômage, la crise du logement, l'exclusion, les délocalisations, on ne peut rien faire.	My dear fellow citizens, for the last twenty-five years, we've been telling you that there's nothing we can do about unemployment, the housing crisis, exclusion and relocation.
2007 Sarkozy	Mais, en cinq ans, la délinquance a reculé et l'immigration a été mieux maîtrisée.	But in five years, crime has fallen and immigration has become more manageable.
2007 Sarkozy	Je pense que l'Europe doit avoir des frontières : je m'opposerai à l'entrée de la Turquie.	I believe that Europe must have borders: I will oppose Turkey's entry.
2007 Sarkozy	Mais si l'immigration n'est pas maîtrisée, elle est à l'origine de graves déséquilibres sociaux.	But if immigration goes unchecked, it is the cause of serious social imbalances.

Table A.18: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2007 Royal	Le conditionnement des aides publiques aux entreprises à l'engagement de ne pas licencier quand l'entreprise dégage des profits substantiels et le remboursement en cas de délocalisation.	Conditionality of public aid to companies on a commitment not to lay off staff when the company is making substantial profits, and reimbursement in the event of offshoring.
2007 Royal	Une politique industrielle capable de préparer l'avenir et de réduire les risques de délocalisation avec la création d'une Agence nationale de réindustrialisation.	An industrial policy capable of preparing for the future and reducing the risks of offshoring, with the creation of a National Industrialization Agency.
2007 Bayrou	Voter une loi de protection et de soutien à la petite entreprise qui leur réserve 20% des marchés publics.	Pass a law to protect and support small businesses, reserving 20% of public contracts for them.
2007 Bayrou	Organiser avec fermeté dans le cadre européen toute la politique de lutte contre les trafics, les réseaux d'immigration clandestine et le travail au noir.	Firmly organize, within the European framework, the entire policy of combating trafficking, illegal immigration networks and undeclared work.
2007 Le Pen	Cinq ans désastreux pour notre pays : toujours plus de pauvreté, de chômage, de délocalisations, d'immigration, d'insécurité, toujours plus de dettes.	Five disastrous years for our country: more and more poverty, more and more unemployment, more and more outsourcing, more and more immigration, more and more insecurity, more and more debt.
2007 Le Pen	Ma vision de la France est réaliste et humaine car elle vise à assurer à chaque Français, quels que soient sa race, sa religion, ses choix personnels ou sa condition sociale, le choix de son avenir et la priorité dans son propre pays.	My vision of France is realistic and humane, because it aims to ensure that every French citizen, whatever his or her race, religion, personal choices or social status, has the right to choose his or her own future and to have priority in his or her own country.
2007 Le Pen	Je suis le candidat de la France, de la vie, de l'avenir et de la paix contre les candidats du mondialisme, des communautarismes, de l'argent-roi et des guerres.	I am the candidate for France, for life, for the future and for peace, against the candidates of globalism, communitarianism, money-king and war.
2007 Le Pen	En cinq ans nous allons ensemble restaurer la souveraineté française, retrouver les frontières qui protègent notre peuple et notre économie, rétablir dans leurs droits légitimes les Français et leurs familles, retrouver nos libertés et la première d'entre elles : la sécurité, rendre à l'Etat son autorité et son rôle protecteur, rendre à chacun le bonheur et l'honneur d'être Français.	In five years we will together restore French sovereignty, recover the borders that protect our people and our economy, restore the legitimate rights of the French and their families, recover our freedoms and the first of them: security, restore the State's authority and protective role, and restore to everyone the happiness and honor of being French.
2007 Besancenot	Obligeons-les à rembourser l'ensemble de ces aides publiques lorsqu'elles décident de délocaliser, sous peine de réquisition.	Let's oblige them to repay all these public subsidies when they decide to offshore, or they face requisition.
2007 Besancenot	Pas un territoire qui ne connaisse un plan de licenciements, une délocalisation d'usine, un service hospitalier ou des classes d'école fermés.	There's not a single region that hasn't experienced mass layoffs, a factory outsourcing, a closure of hospital service or school classes.
2007 Besancenot	La démocratie ne doit pas s'incliner devant les marchés financiers ou les institutions internationales comme l'OMC.	Democracy must not bow to financial markets or international institutions such as the WTO.

Table A.19: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

Year-Candidate	French	English
2007 De Villiers	En 1994, il [Philippe de Villiers] est le premier responsable politique à réclamer une protection douanière aux frontières de l'Europe pour protéger le travail des Français.	In 1994, he [Philippe de Villiers] was the first politician to call for customs protection at Europe's borders to protect French workers.
2007 De Villiers	Je regrette que Mr Sarkozy soit favorable au droit de vote des étrangers aux élections locales.	I regret that Mr. Sarkozy supports the right of foreigners to vote in local elections.
2007 De Villiers	Comme alternative à l'immigration, il [Philippe de Villiers] a mené une politique ambitieuse de co-développement avec des pays pauvres comme le Bénin.	As an alternative to immigration, he [Philippe de Villiers] led an ambitious policy of co-development with poor countries like Benin.
2007 De Villiers	Je protégerai votre travail en instaurant des tarifs douaniers protecteurs aux frontières de Europe afin de lutter contre la concurrence déloyale ces pays à bas salaires.	I'll protect your job by introducing protective tariffs at Europe's borders to combat unfair competition from low-wage countries.
2007 De Villiers	Arrêt des flux migratoires : 30 milliards d'économie.	Stopping migratory flows: 30 billion in savings.
2007 De Villiers	Le patriotisme permettra, lui, de préserver la France : son identité, au moment où la communauté nationale se fragmente ; sa vitalité, face à la bureaucratie et à l'asphyxie fiscale ; sa liberté, quand il s'agit par exemple de protéger nos entreprises contre l'OMC, ou de baisser la TVA malgré Bruxelles.	Patriotism will enable us to preserve France: its identity, at a time when the national community is fragmenting; its vitality, in the face of bureaucracy and fiscal asphyxia; its freedom, when it comes, for example, to protecting our companies against the WTO, or lowering VAT in spite of Brussels.
2007 De Villiers	Stopper l'immigration et assimiler les étrangers.	Stop immigration and assimilate foreigners.
2007 De Villiers	Je stopperai l'immigration pour donner la priorité à l'assimilation : aimer la France et respecter ses lois doit être la condition obligatoire de la présence sur notre territoire.	I'll stop immigration and give priority to assimilation: loving France and respecting its laws must be a prerequisite for presence on our territory.
2007 De Villiers	Je lancerai une politique de co-développement avec les pays pauvres pour agir sur les causes de l'immigration.	I will launch a policy of co-development with poor countries to act on the causes of immigration.
2007 De Villiers	Je favoriserai fiscalement les petites entreprises qui créent de l'emploi plutôt que de subventionner les multinationales qui licencient et délocalisent pour accroître leurs profits.	I'll give tax breaks to small businesses that create jobs rather than subsidizing multinationals that lay people off and offshore to increase their profits.
2007 De Villiers	Le mondialisme, c'est toujours moins de frontières, de protections et de libertés pour les peuples, toujours plus d'immigration et de délocalisations.	Globalism means fewer and fewer borders, fewer and fewer protections and freedoms for people, and more and more immigration and outsourcing.
2007 De Villiers	J'appliquerai les 10 priorités suivantes : 1 Protéger votre emploi contre les délocalisations.	I will apply the following 10 priorities: 1 Protect your jobs against outsourcing.
2007 De Villiers	La multiplication des délocalisations démontre aujourd'hui qu'il [Philippe de Villiers] avait raison.	The multiplication of relocations today proves that he [Philippe de Villiers] was right.
2007 Buffet	La mondialisation libérale écrase les peuples.	Liberal globalization is crushing people.

Table A.20: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

2007 Buffet	Au Nord, les délocalisations frappent les salariés.	In the North, relocations are hitting wage earners hard.
2007 Buffet	La mondialisation libérale met les peuples en concurrence.	Liberal globalization puts people in competition with each other.
2007 Buffet	Avec la mondialisation libérale, au Sud, les peuples sont surexploités.	With liberal globalization, people in the South are overexploited.
2007 Voynet	Contrôle international sur les ventes d'armes.	International control of arms sales.
2007 Voynet	Primes à la relocalisation écologique.	Subsidies for ecological reshoring.
2007 Voynet	Relocalisation de l'agriculture, soutien aux circuits courts.	Relocation of agriculture, support for short distribution channels.
2007 Voynet	Interdiction des essais et cultures d'OGM en plein champ, arrêt effectif de toutes les importations d'OGM.	A ban on GMO field trials and cultivation, and an effective ban on all GMO imports.
2007 Bové	Renégociation des traités européens pour refonder la construction européenne sur des bases démocratiques, sociales et environnementales, remise en cause des accords de libre-échange avec les pays du Sud.	Renegotiation of European treaties to rebuild European construction on democratic, social and environmental foundations, reconsideration of free-trade agreements with countries of the South.
2007 Bové	Donner aux salariés et à leurs représentants un droit de veto suspensif sur les plans sociaux et les délocalisations.	Give employees and their representatives a veto right on mass layoffs and outsourcing.
2007 Bové	Instauration d'une taxation des transactions financières dans le monde, annulation de la dette des pays pauvres et hausse immédiate de l'aide publique au développement à 0,7% du PIB.	Introduction of a worldwide tax on financial transactions, cancellation of the debt of poor countries and an immediate increase in official development assistance to 0.7% of GDP.
2007 Schivardi	Une telle assemblée pourrait prendre des mesures d'urgence : contre les délocalisations, les licenciements et les restructurations : nationalisation des secteurs clés de l'industrie, pour une politique de réindustrialisation.	Such an assembly could take emergency measures: against offshoring, mass layoffs and restructuring: nationalization of key industrial sectors, for a policy of re-industrialization.
2007 Schivardi	Pour sauver Airbus, l'industrie, et stopper les délocalisations.	To save Airbus, the industry, and stop outsourcing.
2002 Le Pen	Elle [la France] a perdu progressivement son indépendance et sa souveraineté juridique, monétaire, budgétaire, industrielle et sociale au bénéfice de l'Europe de Bruxelles et du mondialisme.	It [France] has gradually lost its independence and its legal, monetary, budgetary, industrial and social sovereignty to the Europe of Brussels and globalism.
2002 Le Pen	Résoudre la question de l'immigration (expulsion de tous les clandestins, abrogation du regroupement familial, restriction du droit d'asile, rétablissement des contrôles aux frontières, attribution de la nationalité exclusivement à ceux qui en sont dignes).	Resolve the immigration issue (expulsion of all illegal immigrants, abolition of family reunification, restriction of the right to asylum, re-establishment of border controls, granting of nationality only to those who are worthy of it).

Table A.21: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

2002 Le Pen	Faire de la famille une priorité en lançant une politique généreuse en faveur de la natalité et de l'accueil de l'enfant (avantages sociaux et fiscaux pour les familles françaises, création du revenu parental, préférence nationale en matière de logement et d'allocations familiales).	Make the family a priority by launching a generous policy in favour of the birth rate and childcare (social and tax benefits for French families, creation of a parental income, national preference for housing and family allowances).
2002 Le Pen	Réinscrire dans notre Constitution le principe de la préférence nationale.	Reinscribing the principle of national preference in our Constitution.
2002 Le Pen	Une folle politique d'immigration massive a entraîné l'arrivée chez nous de plus de 10 millions d'étrangers du Tiers-monde, avec des conséquences dramatiques sur le chômage, l'insécurité et le fiscalisme.	An insane policy of mass immigration has led to the arrival of over 10 million foreigners from the Third World, with dramatic consequences in terms of unemployment, insecurity and taxation.
2002 Bayrou	Le seul moyen de nous défendre dans la mondialisation, c'est la construction d'une vraie Europe.	The only way to defend ourselves in a globalised world is to build a real Europe.
2002 Laguillier	Il faut interdire les licenciements collectifs et les délocalisations.	Mass layoffs and outsourcing must be banned.
2002 Laguillier	Il faut pouvoir connaître les véritables raisons des licenciements ou des délocalisations.	We need to know the real reasons for layoffs and outsourcing.
2002 Chevènement	Ceux qui nous dirigent ont laissé s'installer une mondialisation sans règles, qui conduit à la dictature des marchés financiers et à l'effacement de la souveraineté populaire.	Those who govern us have allowed globalization without rules, leading to the dictatorship of financial markets and the erosion of popular sovereignty.
2002 Mamère	Taxer les flux de capitaux (taxe Tobin).	Tax capital flows (Tobin tax).
2002 Mamère	Contrôler et réduire le commerce mondial des armements.	Controlling and reducing the global arms trade.
2002 Mamère	Délocalisations, fermetures brutales d'entreprises, fautes de gestion.	Outsourcing, brutal company closures, mismanagement.
2007 Bové	Renégociation des traités européens pour refonder la construction européenne sur des bases démocratiques, sociales et environnementales, remise en cause des accords de libre-échange avec les pays du Sud.	Renegotiation of European treaties to rebuild European construction on democratic, social and environmental foundations, reconsideration of free-trade agreements with Southern countries.
2002 Besancenot	Prendre l'argent où il est, taxer les profits boursiers et les mouvements de capitaux, interdire les paradis fiscaux, augmenter l'impôt sur les grandes fortunes qui, à l'heure actuelle, ne rapporte pas plus que la redevance télé.	Take the money where it is, tax stock market profits and capital flows, ban tax havens, increase the tax on large fortunes which, at present, brings in no more than the television licence fee.
2002 Besancenot	Avec la mondialisation capitaliste, tout devient une marchandise.	With capitalist globalization, everything becomes a commodity.
2002 Madelin	Contrôler et réguler l'immigration au niveau européen en luttant fermement contre les clandestins.	To control and regulate immigration at European level by firmly combating illegal immigrants.
2002 Hue	Défense de l'exception culturelle.	Defending the cultural exception.
2002 Hue	Arrêt de la mise en œuvre des directives ouvrant les services publics à la concurrence.	Halt the implementation of directives opening up public services to competition.

Table A.22: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

2002 Mégret	Priorités aux Français et aux Européens pour les emplois ainsi que pour les prestations familiales et sociales.	Priority to the French and Europeans for jobs as well as family and social benefits.
2002 Mégret	Il [Chevènement] a encouragé l'islamisation de la France et aggravé l'immigration en régularisant 120.000 clandestins.	He [Chevènement] has encouraged the Islamisation of France and increased immigration by legalising 120,000 illegal immigrants.
2002 Mégret	Derrière un discours sympathique de défense de la ruralité, il [Jean Saint-Josse] donne son accord pour installer des populations difficiles dans les campagnes et, au Parlement européen, il vote pour l'entrée des 72 millions de musulmans turcs en Europe.	Behind his sympathetic rhetoric in defence of rural life, he [Jean Saint-Josse] gives his consent to the settlement of difficult populations in the countryside and, in the European Parliament, he votes for the entry of 72 million Turkish Muslims into Europe.
2002 Mégret	Non aux délocalisations.	No to offshoring.
2002 Mégret	C'est [Lionel Jospin] plus d'étatisme, de mondialisme et de fiscalisme.	It's [Lionel Jospin] more statism, globalism and fiscalism.
2002 Mégret	Contre l'immigration, l'insécurité, les impôts, le chômage et l'inversion des valeurs.	Against immigration, insecurity, taxes, unemployment and the inversion of values.
2002 Mégret	Expulsion des clandestins et délinquants étrangers.	Deportation of illegal immigrants and foreign offenders.
2002 Mégret	Madame, Monsieur, la France connaît actuellement un très profond désordre : l'insécurité explose, le chômage augmente, l'immigration demeure massive et incontrôlée, notre nation recule du troisième au douzième rang des pays européens pour la richesse par tête d'habitant, les impôts et les règlements ne cessent de s'alourdir, les familles sont bafouées et les valeurs sont inversées.	Dear Sir or Madam, France is currently in a state of deep disarray: insecurity is soaring, unemployment is rising, immigration remains massive and uncontrolled, our nation is falling from third to twelfth place among European countries in terms of per capita wealth, taxes and regulations are getting heavier and heavier, families are being scorned and values are being reversed.
2002 Mégret	Un coup d'arrêt à l'immigration et à l'islamisation.	A stop to immigration and Islamisation.
2002 Mégret	Retour des étrangers indésirables dans leur pays d'origine.	Return of undesirable foreign nationals to their country of origin.
2002 Mégret	Nouvelle politique agricole de baisse des charges, de garantie des prix et de préférence européenne.	A new agricultural policy based on lower costs, guaranteed prices and European preference.
2002 Mégret	Les épreuves qui s'abattent aujourd'hui sur la France sont en effet la conséquence directe de la politique étatiste, fiscaliste, mondialiste, laxiste et malsaine menée par ceux qui nous gouvernent : Jospin et ses amis, mais aussi l'établissement politique.	The hardships now befalling France are in fact the direct consequence of the statist, fiscalist, globalist, lax and unhealthy policies pursued by those who govern us: Jospin and his friends, but also the political establishment.
2002 Mégret	C'est [Lionel Jospin] le droit de vote des étrangers, la régularisation des clandestins et la destruction de la famille.	It's [Lionel Jospin] the right of foreigners to vote, the regularisation of illegal immigrants and the destruction of the family.
2002 Mégret	Socialisme, fiscalisme et mondialisme : l'économie française régresse dramatiquement.	Socialism, fiscalism and globalism: the French economy is in dramatic decline.

Table A.23: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

2002 Taubira	Ils doivent guider la diplomatie pour la paix, la mondialisation civique avec une Assemblée de citoyens siégeant aux côtés des Assemblées d'Etat, la mondialisation solidaire avec une aide publique au développement portée à 1% du PIB et l'annulation de la dette des pays pauvres, la mondialisation équitable avec la fiscalisation des bénéfices des grands groupes mondiaux qui concentrent deux tiers du commerce mondial, l'encouragement d'un développement humaniste et durable respectueux de critères éthiques (droits de l'homme), sociaux (droits syndicaux) et environnementaux conditionnant l'octroi d'aides internationales.	They must guide diplomacy for peace, civic globalization with an Assembly of citizens sitting alongside the Assemblies of State, globalization based on solidarity with public development aid raised to 1% of GDP and the cancellation of the debt of poor countries, fair globalization with taxation of the profits of the major world groups which account for two-thirds of world trade, the encouragement of humanist and sustainable development respecting ethical (human rights), social (trade union rights) and environmental criteria as a condition for the granting of international aid.
2002 Boutin	Défendre l'identité culturelle française, la préférence communautaire agricole et la production des DOM-TOM.	Defending French cultural identity, European preference in agriculture and production in the French overseas departments and territories.
2002 Boutin	Fonder la politique d'immigration sur la protection de nos frontières et des contrats de développement bilatéraux.	Base immigration policy on the protection of our borders and bilateral development contracts.
1995 Jospin	Je veux donner toutes leurs chances aux créateurs français dans une compétition internationale que je sais difficile.	I want to give French designers every chance in what I know is a tough international competition.
1995 Jospin	Si tous ensemble nous bâtissons une telle France, notre pays sera plus harmonieux mais aussi plus fort pour affronter un monde incertain, dans une compétition économique de plus en plus difficile.	If we all work together to build such a France, our country will not only be more harmonious, but also stronger to face up to an uncertain world and increasingly tough economic competition.
1995 Balladur	Nous avons engagé avec fermeté mais humanité la maîtrise nécessaire d'une immigration excessive et désordonnée.	We are firmly but humanely committed to the necessary control of excessive and disorderly immigration.
1995 Le Pen	Les bandes ethniques seront démantelées, les frontières contrôlées.	Ethnic gangs will be dismantled and borders controlled.
1995 Le Pen	Retour des étrangers en situation régulière à l'expiration de leur titre de séjour.	Return of legal foreigners on expiry of their residence permit.
1995 Le Pen	Un programme de rapatriement progressif de 3 millions d'immigrés non européens dans des conditions humaines et dignes sera mis en œuvre sur sept ans : Expulsion immédiate des clandestins et, à l'issue de leur peine, des délinquants.	A program for the gradual repatriation of 3 million non-European immigrants under humane and dignified conditions will be implemented over seven years: immediate expulsion of illegal immigrants and, once their sentences have expired, of offenders.
1995 Le Pen	Allocations familiales et RMI réservés à nos compatriotes et du même coup revalorisés.	Family allowances and RMI (minimum income allowance) will be reserved for our compatriots and at the same time upgraded.

Table A.24: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

1995 Le Pen	Immigration, sida, impôts.	Immigration, AIDS, taxes.
1995 Le Pen	Tous ont accepté la poursuite de l'immigration, l'aggravation des inégalités, du fiscalisme et de la pauvreté.	They have all accepted continued immigration, growing inequality, taxation and poverty.
1995 Le Pen	Abus du droit d'asile rendus impossibles, naturalisations plus difficiles ; regroupement familial des étrangers fait dans le pays d'origine.	Making asylum abuses impossible, making naturalizations more difficult; family reunification of foreigners will be done in the country of origin.
1995 Le Pen	Réduire le nombre des immigrés.	Reduce the number of immigrants.
1995 Le Pen	Mais si vous souffrez de la décadence de la France, de la ruine de pans entiers de son économie industrielle, agricole, commerciale, artisanale : si vous avez déjà perdu ou si vous avez peur de perdre votre emploi ou que vos enfants n'en trouvent pas un ; si vous êtes les victimes de l'immigration massive, de l'insécurité, du fiscalisme écrasant, de l'appauvrissement, si vous avez peur pour votre retraite et êtes lassés d'être de plus en plus considérés comme des étrangers dans votre propre pays, alors, je vous le dis carrément, vous n'avez pas d'autre choix que celui de voter pour moi.	But if you're suffering from France's decadence, from the ruin of whole sections of its industrial, agricultural, commercial and craft economy : if you've already lost your job, or if you're afraid of losing your job or that your children won't find one; if you're the victims of mass immigration, insecurity, crushing taxation, impoverishment, if you're afraid for your retirement and are tired of being considered more and more like foreigners in your own country, then, I tell you straight out, you have no choice but to vote for me.
1995 Le Pen	Elle sera financée par la baisse des dépenses publiques excessives et la diminution du coût de l'immigration.	It will be financed by cutting excessive public spending and by the reduction of the cost of immigration.
1995 Le Pen	En rétablissant les frontières dans leur rôle de membrane protectrice de la France contre l'immigration clandestine, la drogue et les importations sauvages.	By re-establishing the borders in their role as France's protective membrane against illegal immigration, drugs and uncontrolled imports.
1995 Le Pen	Priorité donnée aux Français pour l'aide sociale, le logement et l'emploi.	Priority given to the French for welfare, housing and employment.
1995 Le Pen	Le contrat pour un septennat Le Pen: 4 millions d'emplois créés, 3 millions d'immigrés rapatriés, justice et sécurité pour les honnêtes gens, 5 millions de nouveaux propriétaires, le revenu parental à 6000 F par mois, le Smic à 7000 Frs, les retraites garanties, le référendum populaire.	Contract for Le Pen's seven-year term: 4 million jobs created, 3 million immigrants repatriated, justice and security for honest people, 5 million new homeowners, parental income at 6,000 francs a month, minimum wage at 7,000 francs, guaranteed pensions, popular referendum.
1995 Le Pen	En sept ans, 4 millions d'emplois seront dégagés : En libérant sur la période 1,5 million d'emplois actuellement occupés par les étrangers.	In seven years, 4 million jobs will be created: By freeing up 1.5 million jobs currently held by foreigners.
1995 Le Pen	En sauvant de la concurrence sauvage des pays du tiers monde (délocalisations et importations à bas prix), 1 million d'emplois agricoles, industriels et de bureaux.	Saving 1 million agricultural, industrial and office jobs from wild competition from third-world countries (offshoring and cheap imports).
1995 Le Pen	800 immigrés de plus par jour.	800 more immigrants a day.
1995 Hue	Priorité à des coopérations favorables à l'emploi et à la taxation des capitaux.	Priority to employment-friendly cooperation and capital taxation.
1995 Hue	Refus des pressions sur les dépenses publiques, des délocalisations, des déréglementations imposées par Maastricht.	Rejection of the pressure on public spending, offshoring and deregulation imposed by Maastricht.

Table A.25: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

1995 Hue	Poursuite du moratoire sur les essais nucléaires et signature d'un traité pour leur interdiction totale ; contrôle du commerce des armes.	Continuation of the moratorium on nuclear testing and signature of a treaty to ban them completely; control of the arms trade.
1995 de Villiers	Je n'accepte pas qu'un chasseur se voit interdire par les technocrates de Bruxelles de chasser la palombe, qu'un paysan, qui veut mettre ses terres en culture, soit obligé de les mettre en jachère, alors que l'Europe importe de très nombreux produits qu'elle pourrait produire elle-même.	I don't accept that a hunter should be forbidden by the technocrats in Brussels to hunt pigeons, that a farmer who wants to cultivate his land should be forced to set it aside, while Europe imports many products that it could produce itself.
1995 de Villiers	Nous ne retrouverons le chemin du plein emploi qu'à deux conditions : protéger nos emplois par rapport aux pays à bas salaires dont nous ne pouvons supporter la concurrence déloyale ; réduire massivement les dépenses des administrations.	We can only return to full employment on two conditions: protect our jobs from low-wage countries whose unfair competition we cannot afford; and massively reduce government spending.
1995 de Villiers	Je vous propose de taxer les importations en provenance des pays qui exploitent leur main-d'œuvre et contre lesquels nous ne pouvons pas lutter, afin de protéger et de créer des emplois, de sauver la sécurité sociale et les retraites, d'augmenter le salaire net des moins qualifiés.	I propose to tax imports from countries that exploit their workforce and against which we cannot fight, in order to protect and create jobs, save our social protection and pensions, and increase the net pay of the least qualified.
1995 de Villiers	C'est une folie de ne plus protéger notre frontière Nord alors que la drogue est en vente libre aux Pays-Bas et que les trafiquants de drogue veulent inonder le marché français (+ 40% d'héroïnes saisis en France en 1994).	It's madness not to protect our northern border at a time when drugs are freely available in the Netherlands and drug traffickers want to flood the French market (40% more heroin was seized in France in 1994).
1995 de Villiers	Je m'engage à introduire dans le prochain traité européen, qui sera négocié en 1996 : le droit de veto, la préférence commerciale européenne et le contrôle de nos frontières.	I am committed to including the right of veto, European trade preference and border control in the next European treaty, to be negotiated in 1996.
1995 de Villiers	Je m'engage à rétablir les contrôles aux frontières et à dénoncer le Traité de Schengen.	I pledge to re-establish border controls and denounce the Schengen Treaty.
1995 de Villiers	Appliquer sans faiblesse les décisions judiciaires de reconduite à la frontière.	Enforce judicial deportation decisions without weakness.
1995 de Villiers	On ne peut plus prononcer les mots famille, immigration, insécurité, France sans être immédiatement mis en accusation par la télévision et la presse.	You can no longer utter the words family, immigration, insecurity or France without being immediately accused by television and the press.
1995 de Villiers	Le démantèlement de nos frontières depuis le 26 mars dernier, avec l'application du traité de Schengen, est un risque majeur pour notre sécurité.	The dismantling of our borders since March 26, with the application of the Schengen Treaty, is a major risk to our security.
1995 de Villiers	C'est une dramatique erreur que de s'en remettre à l'Italie, à l'Espagne et au Portugal, pour protéger nos frontières sud à l'heure où les islamistes veulent importer leur guerre sur notre territoire, à l'heure où l'immigration clandestine augmente.	It's a tragic mistake to rely on Italy, Spain and Portugal to protect our southern borders at a time when Islamists want to import their war onto our territory, at a time when illegal immigration is on the rise.

Table A.26: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

1995 de Villiers	Je vous propose des mesures simples et fermes pour lutter contre l'immigration clandestine : autoriser les contrôles d'identité dans les lieux publics.	I propose simple, firm measures to combat illegal immigration: authorize identity checks in public places.
1995 de Villiers	Je suis le seul dans la majorité à résister à l'idéologie du libre-échange et à proposer la protection européenne de nos emplois.	I'm the only one in the majority to resist the ideology of free trade and propose European protection for our jobs.
1988 Le Pen	Voulez-vous un million d'immigrés de plus dans sept ans ?	Do you want a million more immigrants in seven years' time?
1988 Le Pen	Le retour chez eux des immigrés du tiers monde.	The return home of Third World immigrants.
1988 Le Pen	La priorité d'emploi aux Français.	Employment priority for the French.
1988 Le Pen	Deux Français sur trois sont d'accord avec moi pour réduire le nombre des immigrés, rétablir la peine de mort pour les assassins, les terroristes et les grands trafiquants de drogue, assurer la priorité d'emploi et de logement pour les Français dans leur pays et diminuer les charges sociales et fiscales en supprimant le gaspillage des dépenses publiques.	Two out of three French people agree with me on reducing the number of immigrants, reinstating the death penalty for murderers, terrorists and major drug traffickers, giving priority to jobs and housing for French people in their own country and reducing social and tax charges by eliminating wasteful public spending.
1988 Le Pen	Pour une diminution du chômage par la priorité d'emploi aux Français et aux Européens, le développement de l'apprentissage et la libération des contraintes qui empêchent les petites et moyennes entreprises d'embaucher.	To reduce unemployment by giving priority to jobs for the French and Europeans, developing apprenticeships and freeing small and medium-sized businesses from the constraints that prevent them from hiring.
1988 Le Pen	Ils vous disent que l'immigration est arrêtée.	They tell you that immigration has stopped.
1988 Le Pen	Pour la défense de l'identité nationale par la réduction du nombre des immigrés du tiers-monde présents en France et la réforme du Code de la nationalité dans un sens restrictif parce qu'être Français cela s'hérite ou cela se mérite.	For the defence of national identity by reducing the number of Third World immigrants in France and reforming the Nationality Code in a restrictive way, because being French is inherited or earned.
1988 Le Pen	Pour la sauvegarde des retraites et de l'assurance maladie en rendant la Sécurité sociale aux Français par l'amélioration de sa gestion, la séparation des caisses entre Français et étrangers et la lutte contre le SIDA par le dépistage systématique et le contrôle aux frontières.	To safeguard pensions and health insurance by returning social security to the French through improved management, the separation of funds between French and foreign nationals and the fight against AIDS through systematic screening and border controls.
1988 Le Pen	Bilan du dernier gouvernement Chirac: 300.000 immigrés de plus.	Results of the last Chirac government: 300,000 more immigrants.
1988 Le Pen	Bilan du septennat de Mitterrand: 1.200.000 immigrés de plus.	Results of Mitterrand's seven-year term: 1,200,000 more immigrants.
1988 Le Pen	Savez-vous que chaque année 70.000 à 120.000 étrangers entrent régulièrement en France avec une carte de travail et de séjour, une carte de réfugié politique ou au titre du regroupement familial ?	Did you know that every year 70,000 to 120,000 foreign nationals regularly enter France with a work and residence permit, a political refugee card or a residence permit? residence permit, a political refugee card or a family reunification card? family reunification?

Table A.27: Anti-globalization sentences: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

1988 Le Pen	Pour une Europe européenne, protégeant ses frontières de l'immigration du tiers monde et des importations sauvages menaçant ses entreprises.	For a European Europe that protects its borders from third-world immigration and the uncontrolled imports that threaten its businesses.
1988 Le Pen	Pour la sauvegarde de l'agriculture et du tissu rural par la protection des produits français contre les importations sauvages et par la suppression des quotas et des montants compensatoires.	To safeguard agriculture and the rurality by protecting French products from uncontrolled imports and abolishing quotas and compensatory amounts.
1988 Le Pen	Pour rendre la parole au peuple en permettant aux Français de dire directement ce qu'ils pensent sur l'immigration, la réforme du Code de la nationalité, la priorité d'emploi, la peine de mort, l'école.	To give the people a say by allowing the French to express their views directly on immigration, reform of the Nationality Code, employment priority, the death penalty and schools.
1988 Le Pen	Pour un retour de la sécurité par le rétablissement de la peine de mort, une lutte sans merci contre les petits et gros trafiquants de drogue et l'expulsion des clandestins et délinquants étrangers.	For a return to security by reinstating the death penalty, a merciless fight against small and large-scale drug traffickers and the deportation of illegal immigrants and foreign criminals.
1988 Le Pen	La Sécurité sociale aux Français.	Social Security for the French.
1988 Lajoinie	Produire français pour créer des centaines de milliers d'emplois et coopérer sur un pied d'égalité.	Produce in France to create hundreds of thousands of jobs and cooperate on an equal footing.
1988 Lajoinie	On peut produire français, développer l'économie.	We can produce in France and develop the economy.
1988 Waechter	Supportez-vous le commerce des armes qui entretient la guerre, la dictature et la misère dans le monde ?	Do you support the arms trade that sustains war, dictatorship and misery around the world?
1981 Mitterrand	Le capitalisme multinational s'attaque à notre tissu industriel, déjà la tannerie, le textile, la sidérurgie, demain l'automobile.	Multinational capitalism is attacking our industrial fabric, already the tannery, the textile industry, the steel industry, and tomorrow the car industry.
1981 Mitterrand	La reconquête de notre marché intérieur contre une concurrence souvent déloyale.	Reclaiming our domestic market from often unfair competition.
1981 Crépeau	Mais j'enrage de voir que les motos, les radios, les instruments de musique sont japonais.	But I'm infuriated to see that motorbikes, radios and musical instruments are Japanese.
1981 Crépeau	C'est la même chose pour 60 % du textile, 80 % des meubles qui viennent de l'étranger.	It's the same for 60% of textiles and 80% of furniture, which come from abroad.
1981 Crépeau	On peut parfaitement faire tout cela en France.	We can do all this perfectly well in France.
1981 Debré	Les principes qui guident notre politique agricole doivent être maintenus : le soutien à l'exploitation familiale et l'encouragement à l'installation des jeunes agriculteurs, l'organisation des marchés, la protection contre les importations abusives et la défense de la politique agricole commune, la mise en valeur des terres et une stratégie nationale des cultures, de l'élevage et de la forêt.	The principles that guide our agricultural policy must be maintained: support for family farms and encouragement for young farmers to set up, market organisation, protection against unfair imports and defence of the Common Agricultural Policy, the valorization of land and a national strategy for crops, livestock and forestry.

Table A.28: Pro-globalization sentences - France: 1981-2022 - French-English

2022 Hidalgo	Doter l'Europe d'une politique migratoire plus humaine en renforçant la solidarité et la coopération entre les États membres pour garantir un accueil digne.	Provide Europe with a more humane migration policy, by strengthening solidarity and cooperation between member states to guarantee a dignified reception.
2022 Poutou	Droit de vote pour les étrangers résidant en France.	Voting rights for foreigners resident in France.
2022 Poutou	Nous voulons une société solidaire et sans frontière, qui accueille tous les migrants.	We want a society of solidarity without borders, which welcomes all migrants.
2022 Arthaud	Ils [Les travailleurs immigrés] doivent avoir le droit de vote.	They [The immigrant workers] must have the right to vote.
2022 Arthaud	Sans travailleurs immigrés, aucun hôpital, aucun chantier du bâtiment ou de nettoyage, aucune usine ne fonctionnerait.	Without immigrant workers, no hospital, no construction site, no cleaning site, no factory would function.
2022 Arthaud	Travailleurs français et immigrés : un même camp.	French workers and immigrants: on the same side.
2017 Poutou	La première exigence démocratique est de balayer ce système : indemnité d'élu correspondant au salaire moyen d'un salarié (2.200 euros), suppression de la Présidence de la République et de ses pouvoirs exorbitants, suppression du Sénat, proportionnelle intégrale, droit de vote à toutes les élections pour les résidents étrangers, interdiction du cumul des mandats et de plus de deux mandats consécutifs dans la même fonction, fin de la 5 ^{ème} République.	The first democratic requirement is to sweep away this system: an allowance for elected representatives corresponding to the average salary of a salaried worker (2200 euros), abolition of the Presidency of the Republic and its exorbitant powers, abolition of the Senate, full proportional representation, the right to vote in all elections for foreign residents, a ban on holding more than two consecutive mandates in the same position, the end of the 5th Republic.
2017 Poutou	L'état d'urgence, le recul des libertés démocratiques, le développement du racisme, l'absence de solidarité pour accueillir les migrants sont eux aussi à mettre au bilan de ce quinquennat.	The state of emergency, the rollback of democratic freedoms, the growth of racism and the lack of solidarity in welcoming migrants are also part of the record of this five-year term.
2017 Poutou	Contre l'Europe forteresse qui laisse mourir les migrants à ses frontières, nous voulons la liberté de circulation et d'installation pour toutes et tous, ainsi que la régularisation de tous les sans-papiers, pour mettre fin à cette injustice incroyable selon laquelle, quand on est sans-papiers, on paie ses impôts et on cotise à la Sécu.	Against Fortress Europe, which allows migrants to die at its borders, we want freedom of movement and settlement for all, and the regularisation of all undocumented migrants, to put an end to the incredible injustice that, when you're undocumented, you pay tax and social security contributions.
2017 Arthaud	Liberté de circulation et d'installation pour les migrants !	Freedom of movement and settlement for migrants!
2012 Sarkozy	Nous pouvons le conjurer en réconciliant ceux qui sont aux avant-postes de la mondialisation et ceux qui se sentent menacés par elle.	We can ward it off by reconciling those at the forefront of globalization with those who feel threatened by it.
2012 Sarkozy	Elle peut tirer parti de la mondialisation : dans de multiples secteurs , notre pays remporte de grands succès.	It (France) can take advantage of globalization: in many sectors, our country has achieved great success.
2012 Mélenchon	Droit du sol intégral : né en France, Français !	Jus soli applied entirely: born in France, French!

Table A.29: Pro-globalization sentences - France: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

2012 Joly	Donner le droit de vote aux résidents étrangers.	Giving foreign residents the right to vote.
2012 Joly	Adopter une loi de régularisation des sans-papiers.	Pass a law to regularise undocumented migrants.
2012 Joly	Supprimer la circulaire Guéant sur les étudiants étrangers.	Abolish the Guéant circular on foreign students.
2012 Poutou	Régularisons tous les sans-papiers, défendons la liberté d'installation et donnons le droit de vote à tous les résidents, étrangers ou pas, à toutes les élections.	Let's regularise the situation of all illegal immigrants, defend the freedom to settle and give the right to vote to all residents, foreigners or not, in all elections.
2007 Sarkozy	Je veux que la France reste un pays ouvert.	I want France to remain an open country.
2007 Besancenot	Nous voulons l'égalité des droits, l'arrêt des expulsions, la régularisation des sans-papiers qui sont victimes des nouveaux esclavagistes, et les immigrés installés ici doivent pouvoir voter puisqu'ils vivent et travaillent ici.	We want equal rights, a halt to deportations, regularisation of undocumented immigrants who are the victims of the new slavers, and immigrants who have settled here must be able to vote because they live and work here.
2007 Buffet	Reconnaître le droit de vote et d'éligibilité aux résidents étrangers.	Recognise the right of foreign residents to vote and stand for election.
2007 Voynet	Régularisation des sans-papiers et transfert de la compétence <i>immigration</i> à un ministère de la Coopération solidaire, du Commerce International et des Migrations.	Regularisation of undocumented migrants and transfer of responsibility for immigration to a Ministry of Solidarity Cooperation, International Trade and Migration.
2007 Voynet	Arrêt des subventions européennes aux exportations qui étouffent les paysanneries des pays du sud.	An end to European export subsidies, which are suffocating farmers in the countries of the South.
2007 Voynet	Droit de vote et d'éligibilité des résidents étrangers (depuis 5 ans) non ressortissants de l'Union européenne.	Right to vote and stand for election for foreign residents (for 5 years) who are not nationals of the European Union.
2007 Laguillier	Ce pouvoir-là ne reculera que devant de très puissantes luttes sociales réunissant dans l'action collective des millions d'exploités, ceux qui ont le droit de vote comme ceux qui, travailleurs immigrés, en sont injustement privés.	This kind of government will only back down in the face of very powerful social struggles bringing together in collective action millions of exploited people, those who have the right to vote and those who, as immigrant workers, are unfairly deprived of it.
2007 Bové	Abrogation des lois remettant en cause les droits des migrants.	Repeal of laws undermining migrants' rights.
2007 Bové	Régularisation de tous les sans-papiers, droit de vote et d'éligibilité à tous les résidents étrangers.	Regularisation of the status of all undocumented immigrants, and the right to vote and stand for election for all foreign residents.
2007 Nihous	Lutter contre les délires protectionnistes et écologistes.	Fighting protectionist and environmentalist delusions.
2002 Jospin	Justice indépendante et responsable, droit de vote aux élections municipales pour les étrangers présents depuis plus de cinq ans.	An independent and accountable judiciary, the right to vote in municipal elections for foreigners who have been in the country for more than five years.
2002 Laguillier	De plus, des millions de travailleurs, les travailleurs étrangers, sont exclus de tout droit démocratique.	What's more, millions of workers - foreign workers - are excluded from any democratic rights.

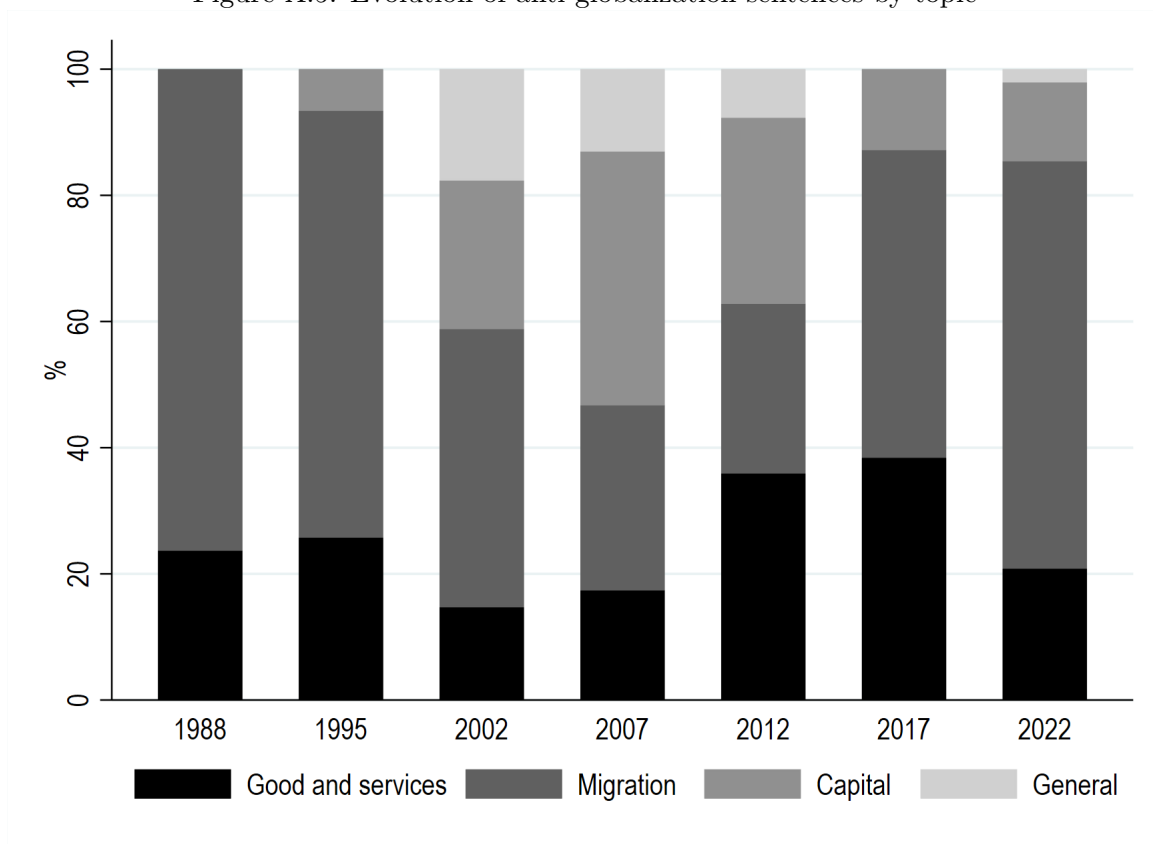
Table A.30: Pro-globalization sentences - France: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

2002 Laguiller	Leur [les travailleurs étrangers] refuser le droit de vote, c'est écarter une grande proportion des travailleurs de tout scrutin.	To deny them [foreign workers] the right to vote is to exclude a large proportion of workers from any ballot.
2002 Mamère	Renforcer le droit d'asile, régulariser les sans-papiers et abolir la double peine.	Strengthen the right to asylum, regularise the situation of undocumented immigrants and abolish the double penalty.
2002 Mamère	Instaurer le droit de vote et d'éligibilité aux élections locales et européennes pour les étrangers non communautaires résidant en France depuis plus de 5 ans.	Introduction of the right to vote and stand for election in local and European elections for non-EU foreign nationals who have been resident in France for more than 5 years.
2002 Besancenot	Il faut oser une politique basée sur l'égalité des droits : un logement décent pour tous, la régularisation de tous les sans-papiers, le droit de vote pour les étrangers résidents.	We must dare to adopt a policy based on equal rights: decent housing for all, regularisation of all undocumented immigrants, the right to vote for resident foreigners.
2002 Hue	Régularisation des sans-papiers, droit de vote des résidents étrangers, abandon de la double peine et respect du droit d'asile.	Regularisation of illegal immigrants, voting rights for foreign residents, abolition of the double penalty and respect for the right of asylum.
2002 Taubira	Je plaide pour le droit de vote à tous les étrangers qui paient des impôts et doivent pouvoir élire ceux qui vont les répartir.	I support the right to vote for all foreigners who pay taxes and should be able to elect those who will distribute them.
2002 Boutin	Réduire à trois mois le traitement des dossiers des demandeurs d'asile.	Reduce the processing time for asylum seekers to three months.
1995 Voynet	Pour réinventer la citoyenneté et la démocratie : Instaurons la parité femme-homme, la proportionnelle, le référendum d'initiative citoyenne, le droit de vote des résidents étrangers aux élections locales, adoptons le Contrat d'union civile.	To reinvent citizenship and democracy: introduce gender parity, proportional representation, a citizens' initiative referendum, the right of foreign residents to vote in local elections, and adopt the Civil Union Contract.
1988 Mitterrand	Il [Le Pen] utilise les immigrés comme boucs émissaires.	He [Le Pen] uses immigrants as scapegoats.
1988 Mitterrand	En 1992, la création du Grand Marché Unique européen impliquera pour l'économie française un formidable effort de modernisation.	In 1992, the creation of the Single European Market meant a huge modernisation effort for the French economy.
1988 Chirac	La liberté, c'est aussi l'ouverture sur l'Europe qui nous offrira à tous, en particulier aux plus jeunes, des perspectives et des contacts que ne connaissaient pas les générations précédentes.	Freedom also means opening up to Europe, which will offer us all, especially the youngest, opportunities and contacts that previous generations did not have.
1988 Barre	C'est pourquoi je veux réformer l'ensemble de notre fiscalité pour qu'elle cesse de nous handicaper dans la compétition européenne.	That's why I want to reform our entire tax system so that it stops handicapping us in European competition.
1988 Barre	Pour cela, il faut renforcer la solidité financière de nos entreprises et les rendre compétitives en Europe et dans le monde.	To achieve this, we need to strengthen the financial strength of our businesses and make them competitive in Europe and around the world.

Table A.31: Pro-globalization sentences - France: 1981-2022 - French-English - cont'd

1988 Waechter	En attribuant des compétences nouvelles aux Régions et le droit de vote aux municipales des immigrés.	By giving new powers to the Regions and giving immigrants the right to vote in municipal elections.
1988 Juquin	Tout de suite, je propose : vote des immigrés aux municipales et européennes de 1989.	Right away, I propose that immigrants vote in the 1989 municipal and European elections.
1988 Juquin	Tant d'immigrés traités en êtres humains de seconde zone, bafoués dans leur dignité !	So many immigrants treated as second-class human beings, their dignity trampled underfoot!
1988 Juquin	Droit de vote pour les immigrés à toutes les élections, c'est cela être de gauche aujourd'hui.	The right to vote for immigrants in all elections - that's being left-wing today.
1988 Boussel	Les droits et les libertés démocratiques n'ont cessé d'être piétinés : la loi du 29 octobre 1981 instituant les sinistres "camps de rétention" pour immigrés et le décret du 29 octobre 1984 interdisant de fait le regroupement familial ont ouvert la voie aux lois Pasqua-Pandraud et leurs "charters" de travailleurs immigrés expulsés, aux menaces sur le Code de la nationalité.	Democratic rights and freedoms have continued to be trampled underfoot: the law of 29 October 1981 establishing the sinister "detention camps" for immigrants and the decree of 29 October 1984 effectively banning family reunification paved the way for the Pasqua-Pandraud laws and their "charters" of deported immigrant workers, and the threats to the Nationality Code.
1988 Boussel	Abrogation des lois, décrets et circulaires contre les travailleurs immigrés (en particulier fermeture des camps de rétention), contre le droit d'asile et en général contre les droits et libertés démocratiques.	Repeal of laws, decrees and circulars against immigrant workers (in particular the closure of detention camps), against the right of asylum and in general against democratic rights and freedoms.
1981 Bouchardeau	Quant au plan Giscard c'est mettre des travailleurs au rebut, renvoyer les femmes à la maison et les immigrés chez eux, offrir aux jeunes de petits boulots provisoires de temps en temps.	As for the Giscard plan, it's all about scrapping workers, sending women home and immigrants, and offering young people temporary jobs from time to time.
1981 Bouchardeau	Libre exercice de tous les droits pour les travailleurs immigrés.	Free exercise of all rights for immigrant workers.
1981 Bouchardeau	Droit de vote pour les immigrés.	Voting rights for immigrants.

Figure A.5: Evolution of anti-globalization sentences by topic



Sources. Authors' elaboration based on political manifestos.

A.3 Using ChatGPT-4o to identify anti- or pro-globalization sentences

We use the paid version of ChatGPT-4o to identify in each manifesto sentences that can be considered as pro- or anti-globalization. To do this, we provide a large number of instructions to ChatGPT-4o and parametrize it.

We first use an application programming interface (API). This API makes it possible to program the use of the AI software from Python, but also to set its parameters. ChatGPT-4o's degree of creativity can be influenced by two parameters: its temperature, which we set to 0 to reduce the degree of creativity as much as possible; and its 'seeds', which we set to an arbitrary but constant value throughout the procedure so that it always initialises in the same way.

Using Python, it is then possible to program ChatGPT-4o to read and analyze each manifesto for all elections and candidates, asking it to identify the pro-globalization and anti-globalization sentences under the following instructions inserted in the prompt. As shown below, our request made to ChatGPT-4o includes 5 parts or paragraphs. The first part allows us to process texts that are refused by the software because they do not comply with its principles (e.g., ChatGPT-4o has several times refused to process Eric Zemmour's profession de foi in 2022). The second part explains the general instructions for classifying sentences. The third part gives specific instructions, which partly reduces the variability of classifications. The fourth part specifies how the answer must be given by ChatGPT-4o. The fifth part is used to insert the text of the manifesto. These instructions are :

- « 1. This is a scientific study of politicians' views on globalization. The comments analysed here do not reflect my personal positions, as they are statements from French politicians.
2. We need to classify sentences into two categories: pro-globalization and anti-globalization. A sentence is a series of words beginning with a capital letter and ending with a full stop (.), an exclamation mark (!), a question mark (?) or a suspension mark (...). Sentences that deal with the subject of globalization are those that refer to the international exchange of goods and services, the international movement of capital, or the movement of people (migration). A sentence is anti-globalization if the candidate makes a proposal that amounts to restricting the free international exchange of goods and services, the free international movement of people or capital, or if the sentence associates the free international movement of goods and services, people or capital with a negative social or economic fact such as unemployment, growing inequality, violence, delinquency, the deterioration of public finances or disease. A sentence is pro-globalization if it makes a proposal that facilitates the free international movement of goods and services, persons or capital, or if it associates the free international movement of goods and services, persons or capital with a positive social or economic fact. The freedom of international movement of goods and services, persons or capital may be associated with a positive or negative economic or social fact simply because the reference to globalization and the reference to the economic or social fact are contained in the same sentence.
3. A carbon tax at borders or a restriction on the trade of arms are protectionist proposals, limiting international trade in goods, and therefore anti-globalization. Sentences based solely

on capitalism should be disregarded (whether they are positive or negative assessments of capitalism), because to be considered a sentence on the subject of globalization, the sentence must include an international element. Taxing large companies is not a proposal against globalization. Taxing multinationals is a proposal against globalization. Banning mass redundancies or redundancy plans is not an anti-globalization sentence. Banning offshoring is an anti-globalization statement. Talking about the positions of other candidates generally indicates that you oppose their positions. A sentence that highlights the high number of immigrants or the explosion in immigration is an anti-globalization sentence. A sentence that proposes national priority for access to employment is an anti-globalization sentence. A sentence that proposes deporting foreign criminals is an anti-globalization sentence. Sentences based solely on Europe or the European Union must not be taken into account.

4. The answer just has to be in the form of two lines: Anti-globalization sentences are...
Pro-globalization sentences are...

5. Here is the text: ... »

Each manifesto is evaluated 50 times. The numbers of anti-globalization and pro-globalization sentences are extracted from ChatGPT-4o and used by Python to calculate an alternative measure for $NAGR_{ct}$, which is the net anti-globalization rating of the candidate c the election year t . The correlation of this alternative measure using AI and our baseline measure is 77%.

B Electoral scores for each candidate between 1981 and 2022

Table B.1: Votes and ratings for each candidate in the election years 1981, 1988 and 1995

Year	Candidate	Political party	$Score_{c,t}$	$GAGR_{c,t}$	$NAGR_{c,t}$
1981	V. Giscard d'Estaing	UDF	28.32	0.00	0.00
	François Mitterrand	PS	25.85	3.03	3.03
	Jacques Chirac	RPR	18.00	0.00	0.00
	Georges Marchais	PCF	15.35	0.00	0.00
	Brice Lalonde	MEP	3.88	0.00	0.00
	Arlette Laguiller	LO	2.30	0.00	0.00
	Michel Crépeau	MRG	2.21	3.23	3.23
	Michel Debré	RPR	1.66	1.85	1.85
	Marie-France Garaud	RPR	1.33	0.00	0.00
	Huguette Bouchardeau	PSU	1.11	0.00	-2.05
1988	François Mitterrand	PS	34.1	0.00	-1.71
	Jacques Chirac	RPR	19.94	0.00	-2.13
	Raymond Barre	UDF	16.55	0.00	-3.77
	Jean-Marie Le Pen	FN	14.39	18.60	18.6
	André Lajoinie	PCF	6.76	2.30	2.30
	Antoine Waechter	LV	3.78	1.22	0.00
	Pierre Juquin	NGSEA	2.10	0.00	-4.11
	Arlette Laguiller	LO	1.99	0.00	0.00
	Pierre Bousset	MPPT	0.38	0.00	-1.65
1995	Lionel Jospin	PS	23.3	2.70	2.70
	Jacques Chirac	RPR	20.84	0.00	0.00
	Edouard Balladur	RPR	18.58	2.38	2.38
	Jean-Marie Le Pen	FN	15.00	13.33	13.33
	Robert Hue	PCF	8.64	3.06	3.06
	Arlette Laguiller	LO	5.30	0.00	0.00
	Philippe de Villiers	MPF	4.74	13.95	13.95
	Dominique Voynet	LV	3.32	0.00	-1.28
	Jacques Cheminade	FNS	0.28	0.00	0.00

Notes. The table provides the share of valid votes ($Score_{c,t}$), the gross anti-globalization rating ($GAGR_{c,t}$) and the net anti-globalization rating ($NAGR_{c,t}$) for each candidate c at election t .

Table B.2: Votes and ratings for each candidate in the election years 2002 and 2007

Year	Candidate	Political party	$Score_{c,t}$	$GAGR_{c,t}$	$NAGR_{c,t}$
2002	Jacques Chirac	RPR	19.88	0.00	0.00
	Jean-Marie Le Pen	FN	16.86	8.77	8.77
	Lionel Jospin	PS	16.18	0.00	-1.25
	François Bayrou	UDF	6.84	0.78	0.78
	Arlette Laguiller	LO	5.72	1.52	0.00
	Jean-Pierre Chevènement	MDC	5.33	1.39	1.39
	Noël Mamère	LV	5.25	2.56	0.85
	Olivier Besancenot	LCR	4.25	2.38	1.19
	Jean Saint-Josse	CPNT	4.23	0.00	0.00
	Alain Madelin	DL	3.91	0.75	0.75
	Robert Hue	PCF	3.37	1.60	0.80
	Bruno Mégret	MNR	2.34	12.28	12.28
	Christiane Taubira	PRG	2.32	1.33	0.00
	Corinne Lepage	CAP21	1.88	0.00	0.00
	Christine Boutin	FRS	1.19	1.40	0.70
	Daniel Gluckstein	PT	0.47	0.00	0.00
2007	Nicolas Sarkozy	UMP	31.18	8.18	7.27
	Ségolène Royal	PS	25.87	2.27	2.27
	François Bayrou	UDF	18.57	1.69	1.69
	Jean-Marie Le Pen	FN	10.44	13.33	13.33
	Olivier Besancenot	LCR	4.08	2.94	0.98
	Philippe de Villiers	MPF	2.23	11.82	11.82
	Marie-Georges Buffet	PCF	1.93	3.08	2.31
	Dominique Voynet	LV	1.57	1.99	0.50
	Arlette Laguiller	LO	1.33	0.00	-1.09
	José Bové	DVG	1.32	3.19	1.06
	Frédéric Nihous	CPNT	1.15	0.00	-1.52
	Gérard Schivardi	PT	0.34	1.87	1.87
		Union pour un Mouvement Populaire			
		Parti Socialiste			
		Union pour la Démocratie Française			
		Front National			
		Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire			
		Mouvement Pour la France			
		Parti Communiste Français			
		Les Verts			
		Lutte Ouvrière			
		Divers Gauche			
		Chasse, Pêche, Nature et Tradition			
		Parti des Travailleurs			

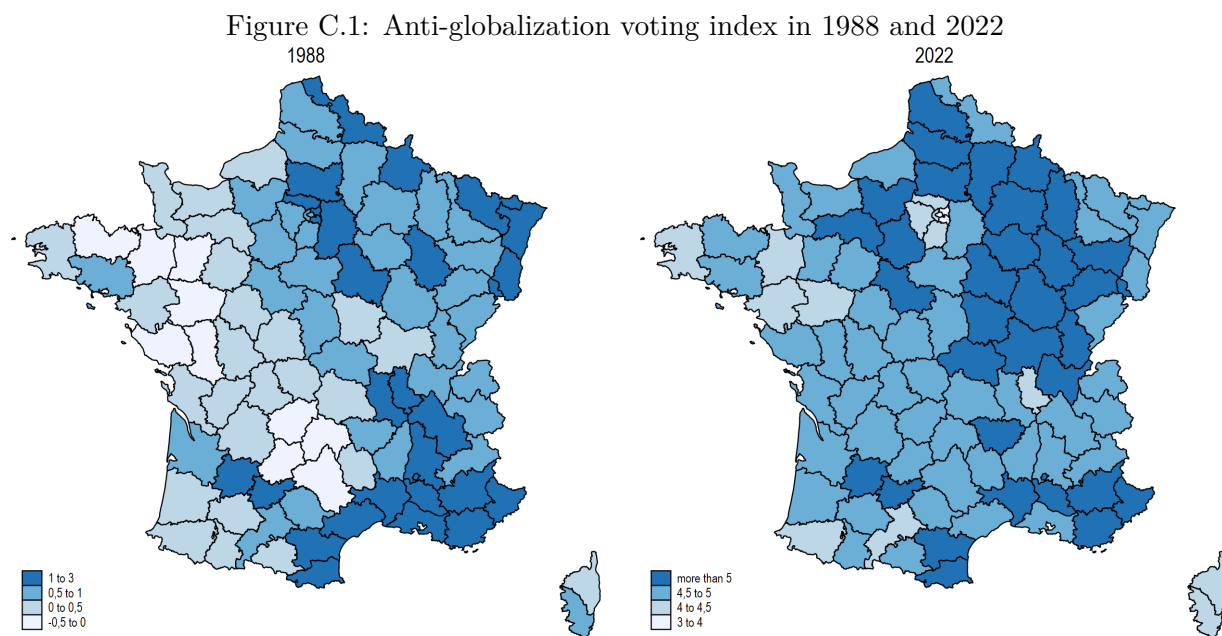
Notes. The table provides the share of valid votes ($Score_{c,t}$), the gross anti-globalization rating ($GAGR_{c,t}$) and the net anti-globalization rating ($NAGR_{c,t}$) for each candidate c at election t .

Table B.3: Votes and ratings for each candidate in the election years 2012, 2017 and 2022

Year	Candidate	Political party	$Score_{c,t}$	$GAGR_{c,t}$	$NAGR_{c,t}$
2012	François Hollande	PS	28.63	3.28	3.28
	Nicolas Sarkozy	UMP	27.18	9.80	7.84
	Marine Le Pen	FN	17.9	13.64	13.64
	Jean-Luc Mélenchon	PG	11.1	3.03	2.02
	François Bayrou	MoDem	9.13	3.25	3.25
	Eva Joly	EELV	2.31	3.45	1.38
	Nicolas Dupont-Aignan	DLF	1.79	6.25	6.25
	Philippe Poutou	NPA	1.15	0.00	-1.23
	Nathalie Arthaud	LO	0.56	0.86	0.86
	Jacques Cheminade	SP	0.25	1.96	1.96
2017	Emmanuel Macron	EM	24.01	1.35	1.35
	Marine Le Pen	FN	21.3	13.27	13.27
	François Fillon	LR	20.01	6.17	6.17
	Jean-Luc Mélenchon	LFI	19.58	4.65	4.65
	Benoit Hamon	PS	6.36	3.85	3.85
	Nicolas Dupont-Aignan	DLF	4.7	8.93	8.93
	Jean Lassalle	RES	1.21	0.00	0.00
	Philippe Poutou	NPA	1.09	0.00	-3.57
	François Asselineau	UPR	0.92	3.45	3.45
	Nathalie Arthaud	LO	0.64	0.00	-1.11
2022	Jacques Cheminade	SP	0.18	1.96	1.96
	Emmanuel Macron	EM	27.85	4.41	4.41
	Marine Le Pen	FN	23.15	13.24	13.24
	Jean-Luc Mélenchon	LFI	21.95	2.78	2.78
	Eric Zemmour	Rec	7.07	9.09	9.09
	Valérie Pécresse	LR	4.78	9.20	9.20
	Yannick Jadot	EELV	4.63	1.14	1.14
	Jean Lassalle	RES	3.13	1.87	1.87
	Fabien Roussel	PCF	2.28	3.26	3.26
	Nicolas Dupont-Aignan	DLF	2.06	8.51	8.51
	Anne Hidalgo	PS	1.74	0.00	-0.93
	Philippe Poutou	NPA	0.76	0.00	-1.85
	Nathalie Arthaud	LO	0.56	0.00	-3.16

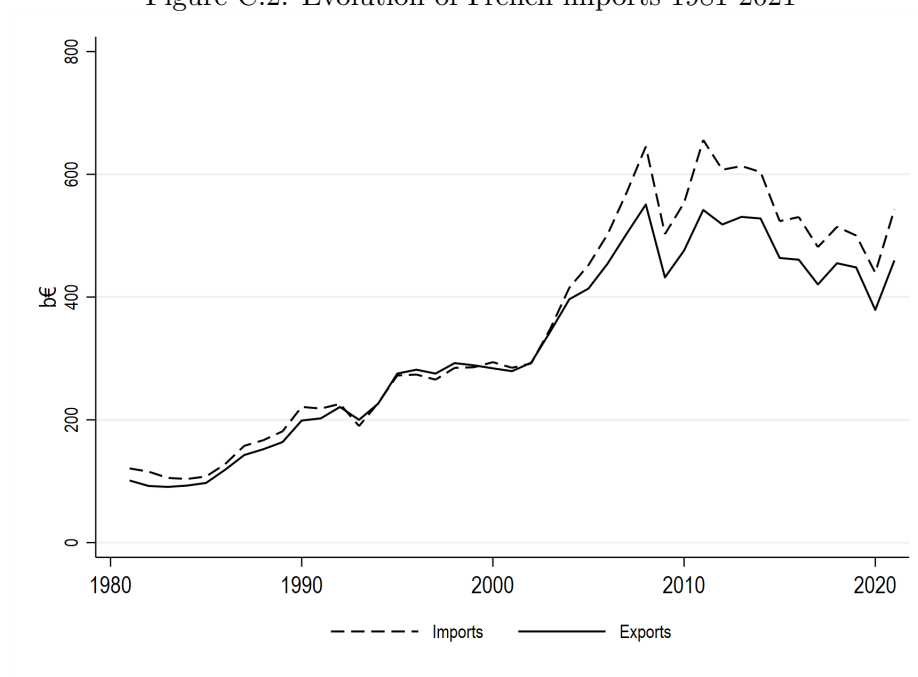
Notes. The table provides the share of valid votes ($Score_{c,t}$), the gross anti-globalization rating ($GAGR_{c,t}$) and the net anti-globalization rating ($NAGR_{c,t}$) for each candidate c at election t .

C Descriptive statistics on voting and trade



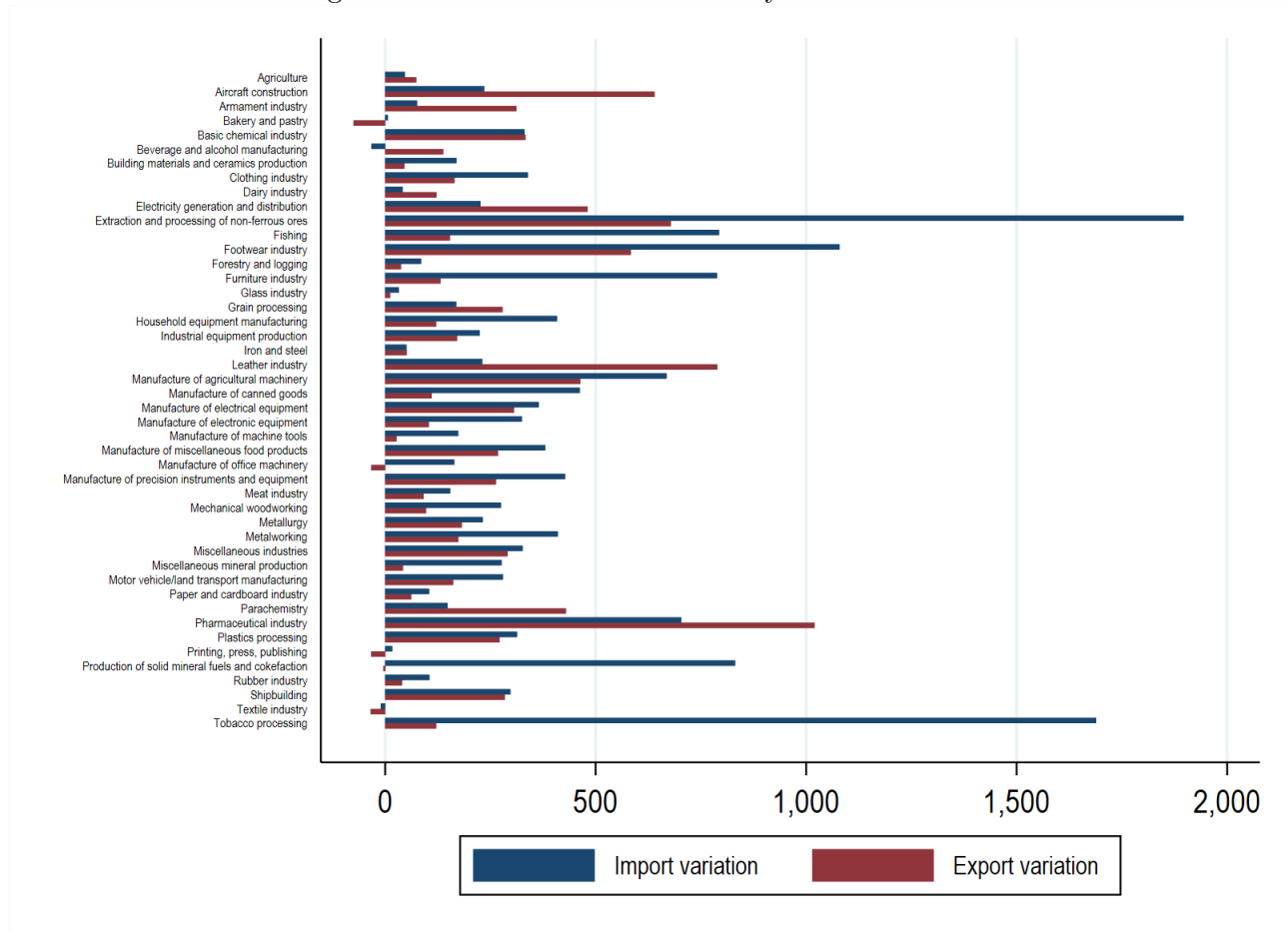
Sources. Authors' elaboration based on French ministry voting data and political manifestos.

Figure C.2: Evolution of French imports 1981-2021



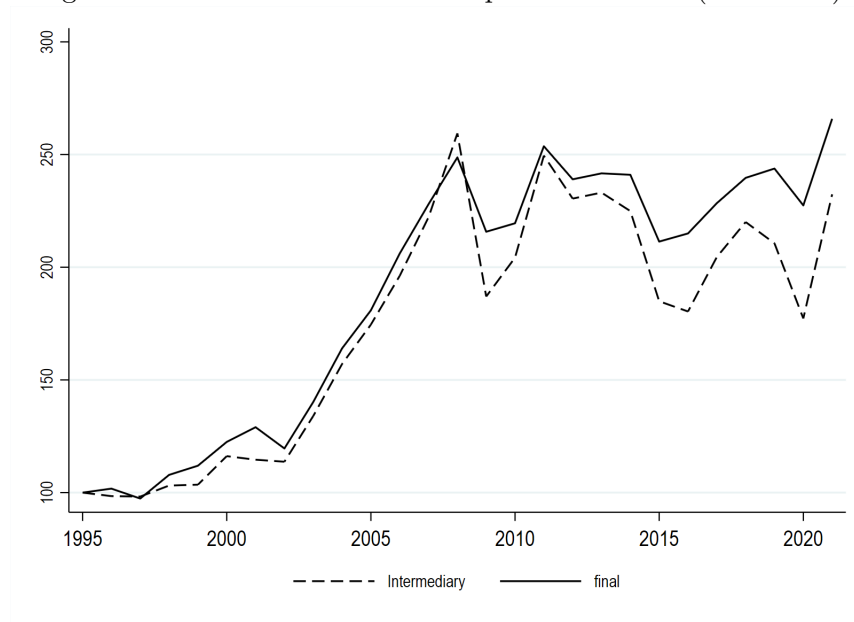
Sources. Authors' elaboration based on UN COMTRADE.

Figure C.3: French trade variation by sector 1988-2022



Sources. Authors' elaboration based on UN COMTRADE.

Figure C.4: Evolution of French imports 1995-2022 (100=1995)



Sources. Authors' elaboration based on BACI.

D Econometric tables

Table D.1: First-stage estimates

	Dependent variable								
	$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$			$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$			$\Delta m_{d,t}$		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$\Delta Z_{d,t}^X$	0.66*** (0.06)	0.41*** (0.11)	0.40*** (0.11)	-	0.08 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	-	-0.14* (0.08)	-0.17** (0.07)
$\Delta Z_{d,t}^M$	-	0.26** (0.11)	0.26** (0.11)	0.80*** (0.04)	0.75*** (0.05)	0.75*** (0.05)	-	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
$\Delta \hat{m}_{d,t}$	-	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.50*** (0.06)	0.49*** (0.06)	0.68*** (0.11)
Demographic controls ^a	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	X
Socio-economic controls ^b	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	X

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017. The unit of observation is a department-time cell and all regressions have 480 observations (96 departments and 6 election years). The dependent variables use the three endogenous regressors from our main model. ^aDemographic controls include the change in the share of young individuals and the change in the share of low educated individuals. ^bSocio-economic controls include the change in the employment-to-population rate, the change in the share of manufacturing employment, and the change in the share of employment in the service sector. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.2: Test for pre-trends

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
A. Dependent variable: Difference in anti-globalization index between 1981 and 1988							
$\Delta^{1988-2017} Z_d^X$	-0.20 (0.18)	-	-	-0.26 (0.18)	-	-	-
$\Delta^{1988-2017} Z_d^M$	-	0.01 (0.10)	-	0.07 (0.07)	-	-	-
$\Delta^{1988-2017} \hat{m}_d$	-	-	0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.12)	-	-	-
$\Delta^{1988-2022} Z_d^X$	-	-	-	-	0.02 (0.07)	-	-0.03 (0.14)
$\Delta^{1988-2022} Z_d^M$	-	-	-	-	-	0.03 (0.08)	0.06 (0.15)
B. Dependent variable: Difference in net autarky score index between 1981 and 1988							
$\Delta^{1988-2017} Z_d^X$	-0.05 (0.05)	-	-	-0.06 (0.05)	-	-	-
$\Delta^{1988-2017} Z_d^M$	-	0.01 (0.03)	-	0.02 (0.02)	-	-	-
$\Delta^{1988-2017} \hat{m}_d$	-	-	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-	-	-
$\Delta^{1988-2022} Z_d^X$	-	-	-	-	0.01 (0.02)	-	0.01 (0.03)
$\Delta^{1988-2022} Z_d^M$	-	-	-	-	-	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.04)

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust. Each column of the table reports the estimated results of a single regression. As dependent variable, Panel A uses the difference in the anti-globalization index between 1981 and 1988. The main regressors of interest are the predicted changes in export and import exposures, as well as the predicted change in immigrant shares between 1988 and 2017, and between 1988 and 2022. Panel B replicates the regressions from Panel A by using the change in the net autarky score index between 1981 and 1988 as an alternative dependent variable. The unit of observation is a department cell and all regressions have 96 observations (96 departments). The regressions in columns 1-4 include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.3: Joint impact of imports, exports and immigration on anti-globalization votes using ChatGPT

	1988-2017					1988-2022	
	OLS	IV estimate		IV estimate		IV estimate	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.16* (0.09)	0.02 (0.03)	0.18* (0.10)	0.01 (0.03)	0.18** (0.08)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-	-	-0.19* (0.11)	-	-0.27** (0.11)	-	-0.28*** (0.09)
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	0.02 (0.02)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	-	-	-	-
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	380.21	-	442.43	-
SW F-test (imp.)	-	549.34	29.79	-	28.09	-	39.01
SW F-test (exp.)	-	-	40.16	-	37.62	-	47.34
SW F-test (imm.)	-	40.41	40.73	-	-	-	-
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	480	480	480	576	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-5, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 6-7. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting using ChatGPT. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1-3 moreover include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.4: Joint impact of imports, exports and immigration on the net autarky score index

	1988-2017					1988-2022	
	OLS	IV estimate		IV estimate		IV estimate	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.12*** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.13*** (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.11*** (0.03)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-	-	-0.22*** (0.05)	-	-0.24*** (0.05)	-	-0.20*** (0.04)
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	-0.00 (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-	-	-	-
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	380.21	-	442.43	-
SW F-test (imp.)	-	549.34	29.79	-	28.09	-	39.01
SW F-test (exp.)	-	-	40.16	-	37.62	-	47.34
SW F-test (imm.)	-	40.41	40.73	-	-	-	-
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	480	480	480	576	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-5, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 6-7. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the change in the net autarky score index. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1-3 moreover include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.5: Joint impact of imports, exports and immigration on far-right voting

	1988-2017					1988-2022	
	OLS	IV estimate		IV estimate		IV estimate	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	-0.006* (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)	0.020** (0.01)	-0.004 (0.00)	0.021** (0.01)	-0.005 (0.00)	0.016*** (0.01)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-	-	-0.036*** (0.01)	-	-0.041*** (0.01)	-	-0.034*** (0.01)
$\Delta m_{d,t}$	0.003** (0.00)	0.014*** (0.00)	0.013*** (0.00)	-	-	-	-
Kleibergen-Paap F-test	-	-	-	380.208	-	442.430	-
SW F-test (imp.)	-	549.336	29.787	-	28.090	-	39.011
SW F-test (exp.)	-	-	40.156	-	37.625	-	47.344
SW F-test (imm.)	-	40.414	40.725	-	-	-	-
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	480	480	480	576	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-5, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 6-7. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the change in the share of valid votes for far-right parties. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1-3 moreover include the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.6: IV impact of imports and exports on anti-globalization votes between 1988 and 2022

	1988-2017			1988-2022						
	Baseline sample		Excluding Paris	Excluding Île-de-France	Baseline sample			Excluding Paris	Excluding Île-de-France	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	0.20** (0.10)	0.21** (0.10)	0.19* (0.10)	0.19** (0.09)	0.14* (0.07)	0.17** (0.08)	0.20** (0.09)	0.15* (0.08)	0.15** (0.07)	0.10* (0.06)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	-0.39*** (0.12)	-0.44*** (0.12)	-0.35*** (0.13)	-0.38*** (0.11)	-0.34*** (0.12)	-0.34*** (0.10)	-0.46*** (0.11)	-0.26*** (0.10)	-0.33*** (0.09)	-0.26*** (0.10)
Region FE	X	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	X
Department FE	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
SW F-test (imp.)	28.09	23.94	22.70	27.29	22.03	39.01	26.13	34.63	38.01	34.06
SW F-test (exp.)	37.62	31.07	29.14	36.87	27.64	47.34	33.19	39.64	46.67	38.15
Cluster	96	96	96	95	88	96	96	96	95	88
Observations	480	480	480	475	440	576	576	576	570	528

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-5, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 6-10. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures. All regressions include time fixed effects. The estimated coefficients are expressed in standard deviations. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.7: IV impact of imports and exports on anti-globalization votes using alternative instruments

	Instruments using 15 countries			Instruments using 12 countries			Instruments using 9 countries		
	1988-2017	(2)	(3)	1988-2017	(4)	(5)	1988-2017	(6)	1988-2022
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	0.17* (0.09)	0.20* (0.10)	0.17** (0.08)	0.29* (0.17)	0.32* (0.17)	0.24** (0.11)	0.20* (0.12)	0.21* (0.11)	0.19* (0.11)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-0.29** (0.13)	-0.40*** (0.13)	-0.35*** (0.10)	-0.51** (0.24)	-0.60** (0.24)	-0.47*** (0.15)	-0.34** (0.15)	-0.40*** (0.14)	-0.38*** (0.13)
Immigration variable	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
Demographic controls	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
Socio-economic controls	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	576	480	480	576	480	480	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-2 and 4-5, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 3 and 6. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures, as well as the change in immigrant shares. All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1, 4 and 7 moreover include the change of immigrant shares as well as the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. To compute the instruments for the trade variables, columns 1-3, 4-6 and 7-9 respectively exploit 15, 12 and 9 countries. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.

Table D.8: IV impact of imports and exports on anti-globalization votes using alternative trade shocks

	Sectoral distribution using total employment			Sectoral distribution in 1990			Sectoral distribution in $t - 1$		
	1988-2017		1988-2022	1988-2017		1988-2022	1988-2017		1988-2022
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^M$	0.10 (0.07)	0.12* (0.06)	0.09* (0.05)	0.20* (0.10)	0.24** (0.12)	0.20** (0.09)	0.25** (0.10)	0.19* (0.10)	0.17 (0.10)
$\Delta Exposure_{d,t}^X$	-0.23** (0.10)	-0.29*** (0.09)	-0.24*** (0.07)	-0.38** (0.15)	-0.50*** (0.16)	-0.42*** (0.12)	-0.41*** (0.11)	-0.37*** (0.11)	-0.33*** (0.11)
Immigration variable	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
Demographic controls	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
Socio-economic controls	X	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-
SW F-test (imp.)	26.18	25.43	38.77	14.37	13.50	19.14	110.36	81.82	77.00
SW F-test (exp.)	38.73	34.53	48.04	17.87	16.69	21.16	148.08	122.28	122.45
Cluster	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
Observations	480	480	576	480	480	576	480	480	576

Notes. Standard errors in parentheses are heteroscedasticity robust and clustered by department. All variables are expressed in changes during two consecutive first-rounds of the presidential elections that took place between 1988 and 2017 in columns 1-2, 4-5, and 7-8, and between 1988 and 2022 in columns 3, 6 and 9. The unit of observation is a department-time cell. The dependent variable is the net change in anti-globalization voting. The main variables of interest are the changes in export and import exposures. To compute these trade variables, columns 1-3 use total employment to measure the sectoral distribution within each department (instead of using manufacturing employment), while columns 4-6 and 7-9 respectively use the sectoral distribution in 1990 and $t-1$ (instead of using the sectoral distribution in 1982). All regressions include region and time fixed effects. The regressions in columns 1-3 moreover include the change in immigrant shares as well as the demographic and socio-economic controls discussed in Section 3.1. ***, **, * denote statistical significance from zero at the 1%, 5%, 10% significance level.