





Demand-led growth de-composition and the structure of international trade in selected countries: towards a typology of export-led growth regimes

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Several studies in PKE, IPE, CPE on growth regimes, growth models, etc. with partly confusing methods and terminologies. Hein (2023) proposes the following structure of analysis:

- National income and financial accounting de-composition: sources of demand growth and financing
- Sraffian supermultiplier growth de-composition: distinguishing between autonomous and induced components of demand growth
- 3. Growth drivers: distribution in different respects; MNEs, FDI and government policies; financial boom-bust cycle; house prices; commodity prices; macroeconomic policy regimes, ...
- 4. Political economy: growth strategies, growth coalitions, dominant social blocs, ...
- Focus here on 1. & 2., with amendments towards structure of international trade, provision of macroeconomic framework for sectoral and firm level analyses, towards a typology of exportled regimes

Outline

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Demand-led growth decomposition & growth regimes/models
- 3. Demand and growth regimes and autonomous demand-led growth de-composition in seven selected countries, 2000-2007 and 2011-2019
- 4. The structure of exports and international trade
- 5. Towards a typology of export-led growth regimes
- 6. Conclusions

2. Demand-led growth de-composition & growth regimes/models

National income and financial accounting decomposition approach

GDP-growth contributions and financial balances (Hein 2011, 2012):

- Structure of demand dynamics reveals potential imbalances
- Financial balances are linked with debt dynamics and potential imbalances
- Complementarity of regimes may generate regional/global current account imbalances
- Finance-dominated capitalism is linked with the post-crises stagnation tendencies: pre- and post-crises regimes have been 'profits without investment' regimes in DCEs in particular (Hein 2019, 2022).
- Approach is compatible with different theories about growth drivers ... and has been embedded (in rudimentary ways) in such analysis by the initial proponents (distribution, private household sector indebtedness, share and house price indices, indicators of international competitiveness, ...) (Hein 2011a, 2011b, 2012)

Table 2: Shift of demand and growth regimes according to studies on developed capitalist economies (DCEs) making use of the national income and financial accounting decomposition approach Post 2007-09 crisis **Debt-led private** Domestic demand-led with Weakly export-led **Export-led mercantilist** demand (boom) high public sector deficits (WEL) (ELM) (DLPD) (DDL) Australia (Hea) Debt-led private New Zealand (Hea) Estonia (Dea, D/H, Hea) demand (boom) Hungary (Hea) UK (Dea, H, Hea) Greece (Dea, Hea, H/M) (DLPD) USA (Dea, H, Hea) Portugal (Hea) Ireland (Hea, H/M) Slovakia (Hea) Latvia (D/H) Spain (Hea) Spain (H, H/M) France (Dea. H. Hea. H/M) Italy (Dea. Hea) **Domestic** EA-12 (H. H/M) Pre-2007demand led Poland (A/J, Dea, Hea, Kü) Italy (B, H/M) 09 crisis (DDL) Portugal (Dea, H/M) Hungary (Dea, Kü) Canada (KI) Canada (KI) Czech Rep. (Hea) Denmark (D/H. Hea) Weakly exportled Iceland (Hea) Slovenia (Hea) (WEL) Norway (Hea) **Export-led** Finland (Hea, H/M) Austria (Hea) Austria (H/M) mercantilist Belgium (H/M) Belgium (Hea) (ELM) Japan (Dea, Hea) Germany (C/H, Dea, H, Hea, H/M) Sweden (Dea, H, Hea) Korea (Hea) Luxembourg (Hea)

Notes and sources: A/J: Akcay and Jungmann (2023), 1999-2008, 2009-2020, B: Bramucci (2024), 2001-09,, 2010-19, C/H: Campana and Hein (2024), 1999-2009, 2010-20, Dea: Dodig et al. (2016), 2001-08, 2008-14; H: Hein (2019), 1999-2007, 2008-16; D/H: Dünhaupt and Hein (2019), 1995-2008, 2009-16; Hea: Hein et al. (2021), 2000-08, 2009-16; H/M: Hein and Martschin (2020), 2001-09, 2010-19, Kl: Klassen (2024), 2001-09, 2010-20, Kü: Kühnast (2024), 2000-08, 2009-19

▶ DCEs after GFC and GR: shift towards ELM or WEL (in particular Eurozone and EU), on the one hand, or DDL with high public deficits, on the other

Netherlands (Hea, H/M) Switzerland (Hea)

Table 3: Sh	nift of demand and g	wth regimes in emerging capitalist economies (ECEs) according to studies making use of the NIFA de-composition approac Post 2007-09 crisis							
		Debt-led private demand (DLPD)	Domestic demand-led with high public sector deficits (DDL)	Weakly export-led (WEL)	Export-led mercantilist (ELM)				
	Debt-led private demand (DLPD)	South Africa (Aea)	South Africa (Dea)						
Pre-2007-09	Domestic demand led with high public sector deficits (DDL)	Turkey (A/J until 2013, Aea, <u>Dea)</u>	<u>India (Aea, Cea)</u>	Brazil (Cea) Mexico (Aea) Turkey (A/J after 2013)					
crisis	Weakly export- led (WEL)		<u>Brazil (Aea)</u>		Russia (Aea, Cea)				
	Export-led mercantilist (ELM)		<u>Argentina (Aea, I)</u>	China (Aea, Cea)					

Source: A/J: Akcay and Jungmann (2023), 1999-2008, 2009-2020, Aea: Akcay et al. (2022), 2000-2008, 2019-2019, Cea: Campana et al. (2024), 2001-10, 2011-19, Dea: Dodig et al. (2016), 2001-08, 2009-14, I: Ianni (2024), 2002-09, 2010-19

- ➤ ECEs after GFC and GR: tendency towards/continuation of domestic demand-led regimes stabilised by government deficits and even debt-led private demand boom regimes
- Classification of some countries unclear: Brazil, South Africa, Turkey

Recent developments

- Add investment-led regime: Mertens et al. (2022)
- Regional growth regimes: Di Carlo et al. (2024) on Italy
- Import-adjusted growth contributions of consumption, investment, government expenditures, and exports
- Alves-Passoni/Blancas Neria (2023) on Brazil and Mexico
- Baccaro/Hadziabdic (2024) on 66 countries
- Shifts question from demand to production regimes!
- Different types of export-led regimes:
- Bürgisser/Di Carlo (2023) tourism-led growth in EU periphery (Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain)
- Herreiro et al (2025) role of price and non-price competitiveness for export-led growth in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, after 2007-09 crisis
- Kalanta (2024): Lithunia: low-quality manufacturing and services exports, Estonia: exports of high-quality dynamic services after GFC and GR

The Sraffian supermultiplier growth models: autonomous demand-led growth regimes

- Long-run growth is based on autonomous non-capacity creating demand (Serrano 1995, Freitas/Serrano 2015, 2017): i.e. autonomous consumption, residential investment, exports or government expenditures.
- Income financed consumption, investment and imports are fully induced
- autonomous demand-led growth (autonomous consumption-led, residential investment-led, government expenditures-led or export-led growth regimes or combinations)
- Links with **economic structure and political economy**: determination of autonomous components, changes in the components of the supermultiplier
- provides grounds for systematic analysis of growth drivers
- Take into accout interaction of autonomous growh components, one active other passive (Di Bucchianico et al. 2024, Woodgate et al. 2024)
- Empirical studies:
- Freitas and Dweck (2013), Brazil, 1970-2005, public expenditure growth as the main autonomous demand source of GDP growth.
- Girardi and Pariboni (2016), USA, 1947 2013, 1947-1960, 1960-78 and 1978-1991 government expenditures as main autonomous demand component, 1991-2013: export-led growth.

					Post 2007-09 crisis	5		
		Private Sector	Private and public sector	Private, public and external sector	Public sector	Public and external sector	Private and external sector	External Sector
	Private Sector							
	Private and public sector							
	Private, public and external sector			China (Cea)				Spain (L-M/S)
Pre- 007-09 crisis	Public sector							
	Public and external sector							Brazil (Cea, P/M) Japan (Mea) USA (Mea)
	Private and external sector							
	External Sector				Argentina (P/M)	Bolivia (P/M) India (Cea)		Chile (P/M) Germany (C/H, Me Mexico (P/M) Russia (Cea) Sweden (Mea)

Notes: Autonomous expenditures of the private sector include: credit-financed consumption, residential investment; of the public sector: public consumption, public investment, (and also consumption out of transfers and public wages in Labat-Moles and Summa (2024); of the external sector: exports. Concepts and definitions vary among studies.

Sources: Cea: Campana et al. (2024), 2001-10, 2011-19, C/H: Campana and Hein (2025), 1999–2009, 2010–2020, L-M/S: Labat-Moles and Summa (2024), 1998-2007, 2008-19, Mea: Morlin et al. (2024), 2000-2008, 2010/12-2017/18, P/M: Passos and Morlin (2022), 1996-2008, 2010-2018

- Relative importance of the different components of autonomous demand changes over time, and, of course, varies among countries.
- Supermultipliers are not constant and show some trends caused by changes in income distribution and behavioural parameters (i.e. inducement to consume, to invest or to import)
- Main autonomous growth rate in SSM approach may align with NIFA DGR (Germany, Argentina, Brazil), but may also deviate (Spain first period, India, China)

Recent developments

- Extending autonomous demand components
- Febrero/Bermejo (2024): pensioners' expenditure on consumer goods and services
- Labat-Moles/Summa (2024): consumption out of transfers and public wages
- Linking SSM with DGRs and growth drivers/MPR
- Campana et al. (2024) for BRICS (DGR, SSM & growth drivers)
- Campana/Hein (2025) for Germany (DGR, SSM & MPR)

3. Demand and growth regimes and autonomous demand-led growth de-composition in seven selected countries, 2000-2007 and 2011-2019

3.1 National income and financial accounting de-compostion

Table 5. NIFA d-ecomposition. Annual averages (without 2008-10 crisis).

	Arge	ntina	Brazil		Germany		Spa	ain
	2000-	2011-	2000-	2011-	2000-	2011-	2000-	2011-
	2007	2019	2007	2019	2007	2019	2007	2019
Real GDP growth, percent	3.46	0.41	3.62	0.77	1.57	1.73	3.63	1.20
Growth contributions by main demand aggregates, percentage points								
Domestic demand, including changes	3.11	0.51	3.21	0.70	0.50	1.62	4.36	0.58
in inventories	3.11	0.51	3.21	0.70	0.59	1.02	4.30	0.56
Private consumption	1.90	0.61	1.84	0.94	0.44	0.74	2.27	0.29
Public consumption	0.26	0.21	0.54	0.11	0.17	0.39	0.76	0.03
Investment	1.01	-0.15	0.62	-0.23	0.07	0.51	1.34	0.23
Inventories	-0.06	-0.16	0.21	-0.12	-0.09	-0.03	-0.01	0.02
Net exports of goods and services	0.79	-0.09	0.41	0.18	0.90	0.11	-0.84	0.64
Exports	1.45	0.10	0.92	0.25	2.32	1.39	1.22	1.31
Imports	-0.66	-0.20	-0.51	-0.06	-1.42	-1.27	-2.06	-0.66
Balance of goods and services as share of nominal GDP, percent	6.23	0.06	1.19	-0.82	3.86	6.29	-3.68	2.84
Sectoral financial balances as share of								
nominal GDP, percent								
Private sector	2.21	2.35	3.48	2.68	5.47	6.71	-6.20	7.38
Public sector	0.07	-4.72	-3.84	-5.76	-2.64	0.73	0.35	-5.89
External sector	-2.28	2.38	0.35	3.08	-2.83	-7.44	5.85	-1.49
Demand and growth regime	ELM	DDL	DDL	WEL	ELM	ELM	DLPD	ELM

Note: Contributions may not sum to the growth rate of real GDP due to rounding, approximation, price adjustments and statistical discrepancies not included in expenditure estimates of GDP. Source: World Bank, IMF, European Commission; authors' calculation and presentation

Table 5 (continued). NIFA de-composition. Annual averages (without 2008-10 crisis).

	Inc	dia	Tur	key	South	Africa
	2000-	2011-	2000-	2011-	2000-	2011-
	2007	2019	2007	2019	2007	2019
Real GDP growth, percent	6.49	6.43	5.52	5.57	4.29	1.60
Growth contributions by main demand aggregates, percentage points						
Domestic demand, including changes	6 7E	6.07	6.00	F 20	E 10	1.07
in inventories	6.75	6.07	6.02	5.28	5.16	1.87
Private consumption	3.22	3.81	2.75	2.95	3.12	1.31
Public consumption	0.42	0.58	0.69	0.75	0.74	0.37
Investment	2.68	1.98	2.58	1.58	1.29	0.14
Inventories	0.43	-0.29	-	-	0.01	0.04
Net exports of goods and services	-0.10	-0.04	-0.76	0.85	-0.66	-0.34
Exports	2.39	1.09	1.95	1.80	1.42	0.42
Imports	-2.49	-1.13	-2.71	-0.95	-2.09	-0.76
Balance of goods and services as share of nominal GDP, percent	-1.91	-3.64	-1.01	-2.75	1.06	-0.32
Sectoral financial balances as share of						
nominal GDP, percent						
Private sector	8.68	5.11	2.79	-1.65	-1.23	0.53
Public sector	-8.70	-7.18	-5.68	-1.81	-0.51	-4.05
External sector	0.02	2.07	2.89	3.46	1.74	3.53
Demand and growth regime	DDL	DDL	DDL	WEL	DLPD	DDL

Note: Contributions may not sum to the growth rate of real GDP due to rounding, approximation, price adjustments and statistical discrepancies not included in expenditure estimates of GDP. Source: World Bank, IMF, AMECO; authors' calculation and presentation

Table 6. NIFA Demand and growth regimes (DGRs) changes

		2011-2019						
		Debt-led private demand (DLPD)	Domestic demand-led (DDL)	Weakly export-led (WEL)	Export-led mercantilist (ELM)			
	DLPD		South Africa		Spain			
2002 2007	DDL		India	Brazil, Turkey				
2000-2007	WEL							
	ELM		Argentina		Germany			

Source: authors' presentation

- Polarization of post-crisis regimes: on the one hand, export-led mercantilist or weakly export-led; domestic demandled, on the other hand.
- Complementary regimes:
 ELM with CA surpluses, and
 WEL and DDL accepting CA
 deficits
- Contribution to continuing current account imbalances
- Results for countries already studied are line with previous results, except some results on Brazil, SA and Turkey

3.2 Autonomous demand-led growth decomposition

Table 8. SSM demand-led growth de-composition. Annual averages (without 2008-10 crisis).

	Arge	Argentina Brazil		Gern	nany	Sp	ain	
	2000- 2007	2011- 2019	2000- 2007	2011- 2019	2000- 2007	2011- 2019	2000- 2007	2011- 2019
Real GDP growth, percent	3.46	0.41	3.62	0.77	1.57	1.73	3.63	1.20
Total autonomous demand	5.02	0.57	4.80	0.32	2.78	3.12	5.23	1.50
Exports	3.32	0.19	2.14	0.59	3.83	1.95	1.88	2.31
Public consumption	0.55	0.49	1.27	0.25	0.29	0.55	1.16	0.03
Public investment	0.33	-0.11	0.26	-0.34	-0.01	0.06	0.31	-0.41
Household (residential) investment	0.54	0.06	0.13	0.02	-0.15	0.19	0.97	-0.43
Credit financed consumption	0.29	-0.05	1.01	-0.21	-1.17	0.37	0.91	0.00
Total induced demand - Supermultiplier	-0.24	0.22	-1.66	1.02	-1.16	-1.34	-1.74	-0.31
Consumption out of disposable income	-0.96	0.78	-1.41	1.42	0.50	-0.60	-0.35	-0.72
Corporate investment	0.33	-0.48	0.24	-0.53	-0.07	0.18	0.05	0.90
Imports	0.39	-0.08	-0.49	0.13	-1.59	-0.93	-1.44	-0.49
Inventories	-0.14	-0.37	0.44	-0.30	-0.18	-0.05	-0.03	0.04

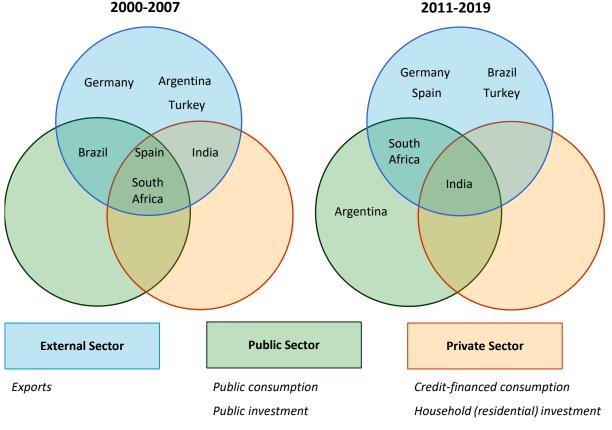
Note: Contributions may not sum to the growth rate of real GDP due to rounding, approximation, price adjustments and statistical discrepancies not included in expenditure estimates of GDP. Source: World Bank, MECON, INDEC, OECD, European Commission, BIS, MoSPI; authors' calculation and presentation

Table 8 (continued). SSM demand-led growth de-composition. Annual averages (without 2008-10 crisis).

	India		Tur	key	South Africa	
	2000- 2007	2011- 2019	2000- 2007	2011- 2019	2000- 2007	2011- 2019
Real GDP growth, percent	6.49	6.43	5.52	5.57	4.29	1.60
Total autonomous demand	9.55	4.65	7.77	5.86	5.92	1.44
Exports	4.62	1.79	3.78	3.42	2.41	0.76
Public consumption	0.78	1.03	1.30	1.44	1.27	0.68
Public investment	0.39	0.49	0.63	0.32	0.37	0.02
Household (residential) investment	1.00	1.31	1.28	0.87	0.61	0.06
Credit financed consumption	2.76	0.04	0.77	-0.19	1.25	-0.08
Total induced demand - Supermultiplier	-3.54	1.57	-2.66	0.78	-1.34	-0.04
Consumption out of disposable income	-3.20	0.67	-1.88	-0.41	-0.09	0.67
Corporate investment	2.12	-0.11	1.33	-0.01	0.53	-0.17
Imports	-2.46	1.00	-2.11	1.20	-1.78	-0.55
Inventories	0.72	-0.51	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.08

Note: Contributions may not sum to the growth rate of real GDP due to rounding, approximation, price adjustments and statistical discrepancies not included in expenditure estimates of GDP. Source: World Bank, MECON, INDEC, OECD, European Commission, BIS, MoSPI; authors' calculation and presentation

Figure 1. SSM demand-led growth de-composition: dominant autonomous demand components



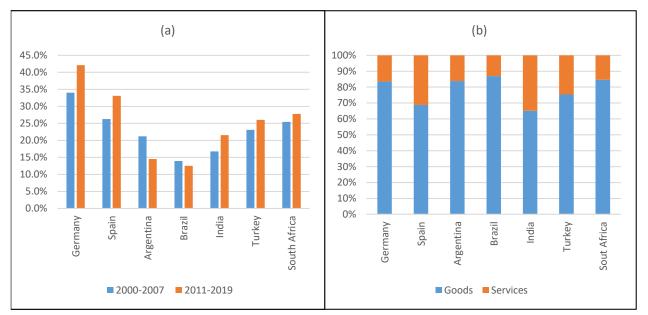
Exports important in both periods, and become even slightly more relevant in several countries in the second period, exception Argentina!

For countries studied in previous literature results are similar, with exception of India in second period

Source: authors' presentation.

4. The structure of exports and international trade

Figure 2. Exports of goods and services. Annual averages. (a) Periods 2000-2007 and 2011-2019. Percentage of GDP. (b) Period 2000-2019. Percentage of total exports

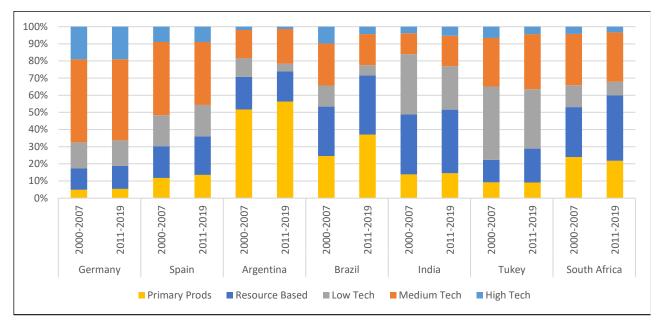


Note: quadrant (b) is based on BoP data in current US\$. Source: World Bank (2025) and WITS (2025), authors' presentation

Increasing share of exports in GDP, except for Argentina & Brazil

Shares of goods and of services in exports rather stable, with dominance of goods, a bit less in Spain, India & Turkey

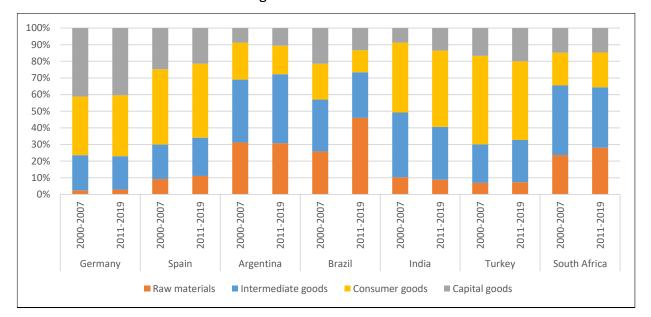
Figure 4. Exports of goods: technological classification. Annual averages for the periods 2000-2007 and 2011-2019. Percentage of total



Source: WITS (2025), authors' presentation

- High technology products tend to grow faster in world trade and present higher income elasticities
- Structural changes occur over long periods, but certain trends are observed in different countries
 - Germany remains strong in high & medium tech
 - Brazil strongly primarizes, while Argentina does so to a lesser extent
 - Spain loses mid-tech production to primary and resource based
 - Turkey and India increase their mid-tech share, the latter also increasing high tech, and both increasing resource based
 - South Africa reduces its shares in all tech groups at the expense of resource based production

Figure 5. Exports of goods: classification by product group. Annual averages for the periods 2000-2007 and 2011-2019. Percentage of total



Note: shares by product group have been re-scaled to total 100% since the original data may contain unclassified exports. Source: WITS (2025), authors' presentation

Germany: consistently strong in final capital & consumer goods

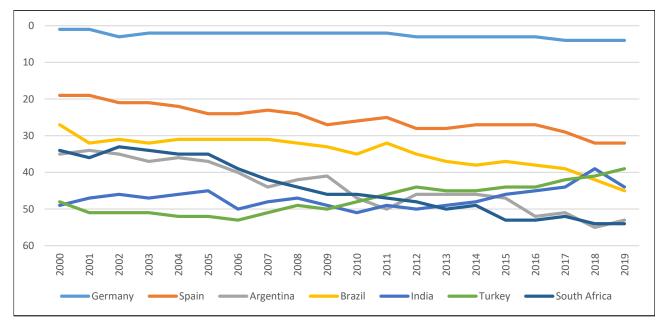
Spain: slight increase in raw materials and intermediate goods exports, but consumer goods continue to be most important

High relative importance of raw materials in **Argentina**, **Brazil** and **SA**, even increasing in Brazil and SA

Turkey: Decrease in final consumption goods, increase in capital goods

India: increase in both final consumption and capital goods

Figure 7. Ranking Economic Complexity Index (ECI) Trade



Source: OEC (2025), authors' presentation

Germany: high, fairly stable, although falling from first to fourth

Spain: upper middle, falling

Argentina, Brazil, SA: lower middle, falling

India, Turkey: low, but rising and overtaking Argentina, Brazil and SA

5. Towards a typology of export-led regimes

Table 10. Typology of regimes

Country	Period	National income and financial accounting de- composition	Autonomous demand-led growth de-composition	Export technology (top 3 levels, in percent)	Economic complexity index ranking (only 1 – 60)	Type of regime
Argentina 2000-2007		ELM	Exports	Primary prod. (51.8) + Resource based (19) + Medium tech (16.3) = 87	Lower middle	Primary products, lower middle ECI, export-led
	2011-2019	DDL	Government	Primary prod. (56.4) + Medium tech (20.2) + Resource based (17.4) = 94.1	low	Primary products, low ECI, government-led
Brazil	2000-2007	DDL	Government, Exports	Resource based (29) + Primary prod. (24.6) + Medium tech (24.6) = 78.3	Lower middle	Primary & resource-based products, lower middle ECI, government- and & export-led
	2011-2019	WEL	Exports	Primary prod. (37) + Resource based (34.4) + Medium tech (18) = 89.4	low	Primary & resource-based products, low ECI, export-led
Germany	2000-2007	ELM	Exports	Medium tech (48.3) + High tech (19) + Low tech (15.1) = 82.4	high	Medium- & high-tech products, high ECI, export-led
	2011-2019	ELM	Exports	Medium tech (47.4) + High tech (19.1) + Low tech (15) = 81.6	high	Medium- & high-tech products, high ECI, export-led
Spain	2000-2007	DLPD	Government, Private households, Exports	Medium tech (42.6) + Resource based (18.5) + Low tech (18.1) = 79.3	Upper middle/high	Resource-based & medium- tech products, upper middle ECI, government-, private household & export-led
	2011-2019	ELM	Exports	Medium tech (36.7) + Resource based (22.6) + Low tech (18.3) = 77.6	Lower middle	Resource-based & medium- tech products, lower middle ECI, export-led

Table 10 continued. Typology of regimes

	T					
India	2000-2007	DDL	Private		low	Resource based & low-tech
			households,	based (34.9) + Primary prod.		products, low ECI, private
			Exports	(13.9) = 84		household- & export-led
	2011-2019	DDL	Government,	Resource based (37) + Low	Lower middle	Resource based & low-tech
			Private	tech (25.3) + Medium tech		products, low-middle ECI,
			households,	(17.7) = 80		government-, private
			Exports			household- & export-led
South Africa	2000-2007	DLPD	Government,	Medium tech (29.9) +	Lower middle	Resource-based & medium-
			Private	Resource based (29.1) +		tech products, lower middle
			households,	Primary prod. (24) = 83		ECI, government-, private
			Exports			household- & export-led
	2011-2019	DDL	Government,	Resource based (38.1) +	low	Resource-based & medium-
			Exports	Medium tech (28.8) + Primary		tech products, low ECI,
				prod. (21.8) = 88.7		government- & export-led
Гurkey	2000-2007	DDL	Exports	Low tech (43) + Medium tech	low	Low- & medium-tech
-				(28.4) + Resource based (13.1)		products, low ECI, export-led
				= 84.5		
	2011-2019	WEL	Exports	Low tech (34.7) + Medium	Lower middle	Low- & medium-tech
				tech (32.2) + Resource based		products, lower middle ECI,
				(19.8%) = 86.7		export-led

Notes: Services are not relevant for classification of technology because of their low shares in total exports

Tendencies for countries from first to second period

Germany: export-led regime, high- & medium tech, high ECI

Spain: export-led regime, resource-based & medium tech, falling ECI

Argentina: government-led regime, primary products, falling ECI

Brazil: export-led regime, primary & resource based products, falling ECI

South Africa: government- & export-led regime, resource-based & medium-tech, falling ECI

India: government-, private household- & export-led, resource based & low-tech, rising ECI **Turkey**: export-led, low- & medium tech, rising ECI

No tourism-led regimes, not even for Spain or Turkey, with a high share of travel services in total services, because of still much lower share of services as compared to goods in total exports.

6. Conclusions

- Review of different levels of demand and growth regime analysis
- Application of steps 1 & 2 of four level analysis of demand and growth regimes to seven countries
- Amendment by analysis of export structure

Main findings:

- Autonomous demand growth de-composition reveals the relevance of exports as autonomous source of demand-led growth, which is somewhat hidden in the national and financial accounting approach
- Exports become even slightly more relevant in the second period (except Argentina)
- Different types of export-led regimes regarding technology and complexity
- India and Turkey see some technological improvement,
- Argentina, Brazil, South Africa and even Spain: towards primary & resource-based products, loss in complexity ranking

Potential next steps:

- Make use of input-output tables for the analysis of DGRs and international trade structures
- Explore role of multinationals and FDI → GVCs
- Extend analysis towards macroeconomic policy regimes to better understand the transition of regimes and provide the bridge to analysis of DSBs.







Thank you!

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