



Convergence and divergence in inequality developments in Central- and Eastern Europe, almost three decades after the transition

István György Toth

(Tárki Social Research Institute Budapest)

International Network for Social Policy Teaching and Research Conference
„Challenges of Welfare Policies in Central and Eastern Europe Conference”,
June 17, Dubrovnik



Thirty years ago...

16 June



27 June



8 April

...forming the closed communist inheritance” as one of the current mission omits this reference, the purpose of CEU has changed as its environment evolved.¹⁴ But to what extent has this open society mission?

The creation of CEU can be traced back to the **Inter-University Centre** in **Dubrovnik**, a set of workshops hosted from 1976 onwards that brought together scholars from the East and the West to prepare “the ground for a better world, the world of human understanding and peace.”¹⁵ One regular participant of those meetings was Miklós Vársárhelyi, since 1984 the representative of George Soros’s foundation in Hungary. In **April 1989**, Soros and Vársárhelyi organized a meeting of scholars to debate the future of Central and Eastern Europe, where Vársárhelyi proposed the idea of founding a **university**, around the model of the **Inter-University Centre**. In a concept-note circulated in **April 1990**, he called for “an educational initiative for Eastern Europe,” in which Soros outlined his first ideas for what would later become CEU. He argued that: “The mere fact that a closed system has collapsed does not lead to the establishment of an open society. [...] The creation of a free and open system of social organization will require a tremendous effort, particularly in education. The countries of the region [...] must get to know better each other’s cultures and they must digest the experiences of the last half-century. These tasks require greater cooperation among the existing universities of the region as well as the establishment of a new institution.”¹⁶

CEU was at first not conceived as a self-standing entity, but as a new kind of institution that would help create a greater web of cooperation among existing universities. Similar to Popper, Soros sought to promote higher education in the transformation of the newly emerging European societies. Yet Soros also differed

Source: Ignatieff, M. and S. Roch (2018) Rethinking open society CEU Press p. 52



The lecture is based on

Chapter 3 Income, Wealth, Employment and beyond: Central- and Eastern Europe (**Márton Medgyesi** and István György Tóth)

to appear in

Georg Fischer and Robert Strauss (editors) Income, wealth, consumption, wellbeing and inequality developments – The volume on Europe.



Research questions:

- What patterns of income convergence (with EU15) and inequality developments in CEE countries?
- What patterns of convergence in well-being?
- What similarities and dissimilarities between countries?
- What are the drivers behind societal changes in these countries?

The region covered:

- Three Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania)
- Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia)
- Other countries: Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria

Period covered in the paper: 1990- most recent available

Two perspectives in the presentation:

1990 – „now” (the big picture, focus on the long run)

2006 – „now” (recent developments, focus on the short run)

Methods/indicators

Looking beyond GDP:

- Macroeconomic indicators:
 - GNDI,
 - Consumption
- Distributional indicators:
 - Gini index,
 - Poverty rates
- Well-being indicators:
 - Distributionally-adjusted income growth
 - Life expectancy
 - Subjective well-being

Sources:

- Lit review
- Correspondence with experts
- Own calculations



Focus on longer run



Common institutional experiences and adaptation processes

- transition from command to market economy (1989-various lengths)
- accession to the EU
(2004: CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, PL, SI, SK, 2007: BG, RO,
- Eurozone integration
(SI 2007, SK 2009, EE 2011, LT 2015, LV 2014)

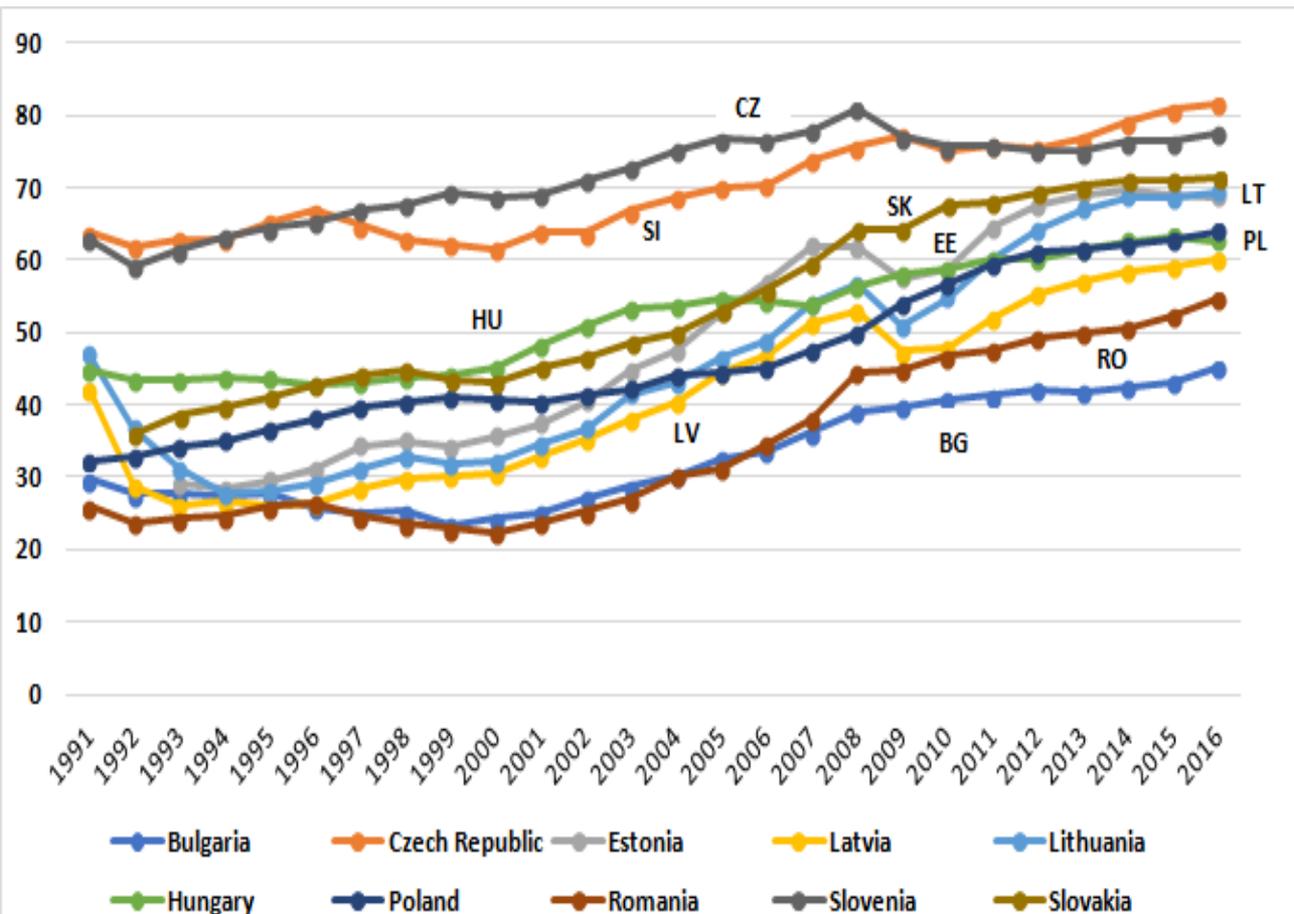
Dissimilarities

- Historical heritage (more developed CZ, SI)
- Transition policy (privatization, social policies etc.) mix and speed
- Differences in economic structures, educational distribution, and ethnical composition of the population, welfare states
- Recent political regime changes (HU, PL)



Macroeconomic indicators (1): GDP per capita

Evolution of relative per capita GDP, PPS, EU15=100%



Convergence to EU avg
and to each other

Different speed:

- CZ, SI – on top
- BG left
- HU losing momentum

Fast runners at least
in periods: SK, EE, LT, LV

Serious dips: Baltics in GR

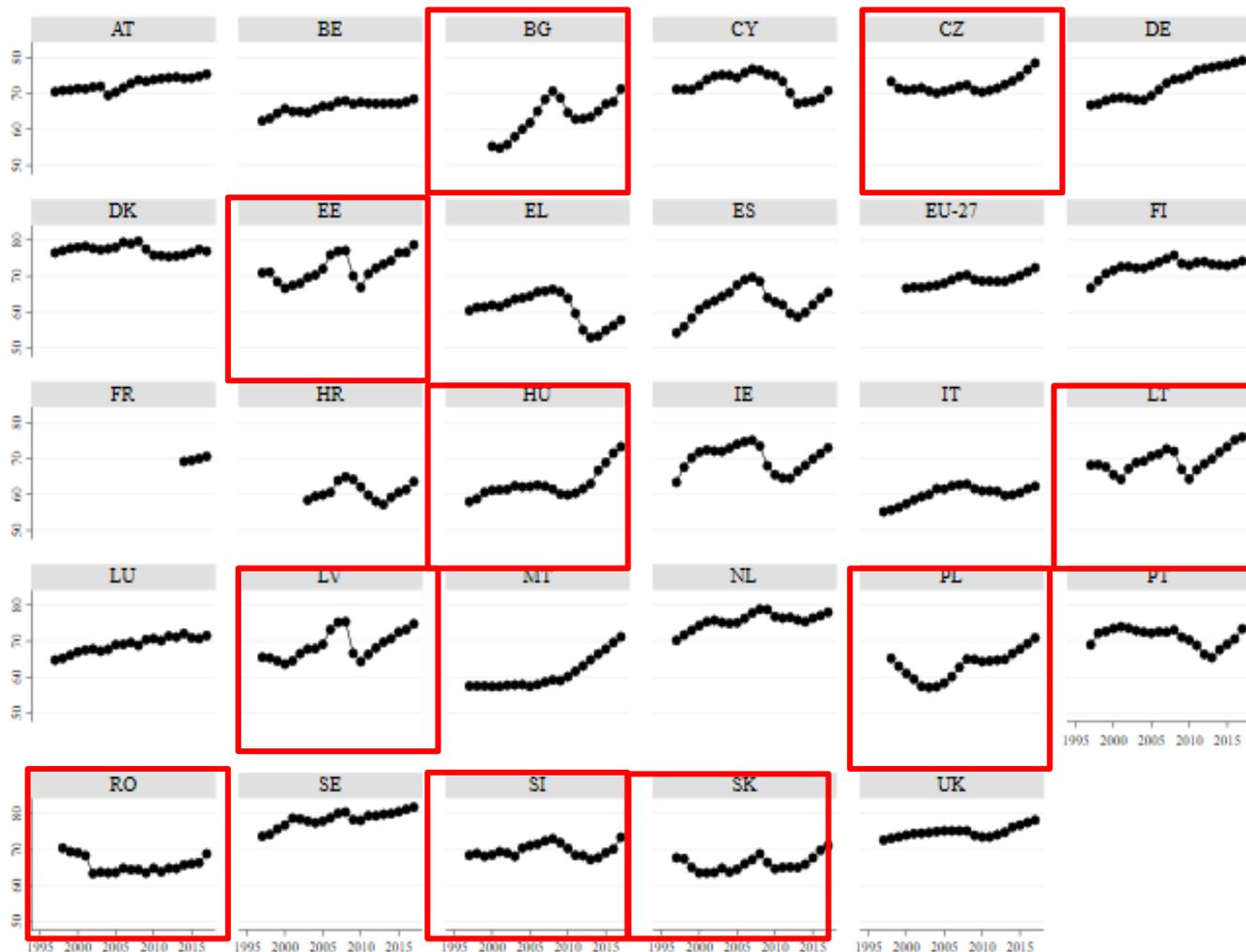
EU Membership:
positive for most members
and most periods

Macroeconomic indicators (2): GNDI and consumption

	GDP per head of population, (PPS: EU-15 = 100)		Change in per capita GDP	Gross National Disposable Income per head of population (PPS: EU-15 = 100)		Change in per capita GNDI	Actual individual consumption (PPS: EU-15 = 100)		Change consumption
	1993	2016		1993	2016		1995	2016	
Bulgaria	28	45	61%	28	46	64%	28	50	79%
Czech R.	63	82	30%	64	76	19%	58	72	24%
Estonia	29	69	138%	30	68	127%	31	67	116%
Latvia	26	60	131%	27	61	126%	30	62	107%
Lithuania	31	69	123%	33	69	109%	33	79	139%
Hungary	44	63	43%	45	61	36%	46	58	26%
Poland	34	64	88%	34	63	85%	38	69	82%
Romania	24	55	129%	25	55	120%	28	56	100%
Slovenia	61	78	28%	62	76	23%	66	70	6%
Slovakia	39	71	82%	39	70	79%	37	70	89%

Source: AMECO database accessed 2018.04.03. GNDI: Bulgaria (1995)

Employment rate in the EU as a percentage of the population aged 20–64



After, (occasionally serious) collapse of employment, most CEE labour markets recover and catch up to the core of EU.

Patterns differ:

Baltics and BG: very high volatility

HU: long standstill, followed by take-off

Continuous improvement in PL and CZ, etc.

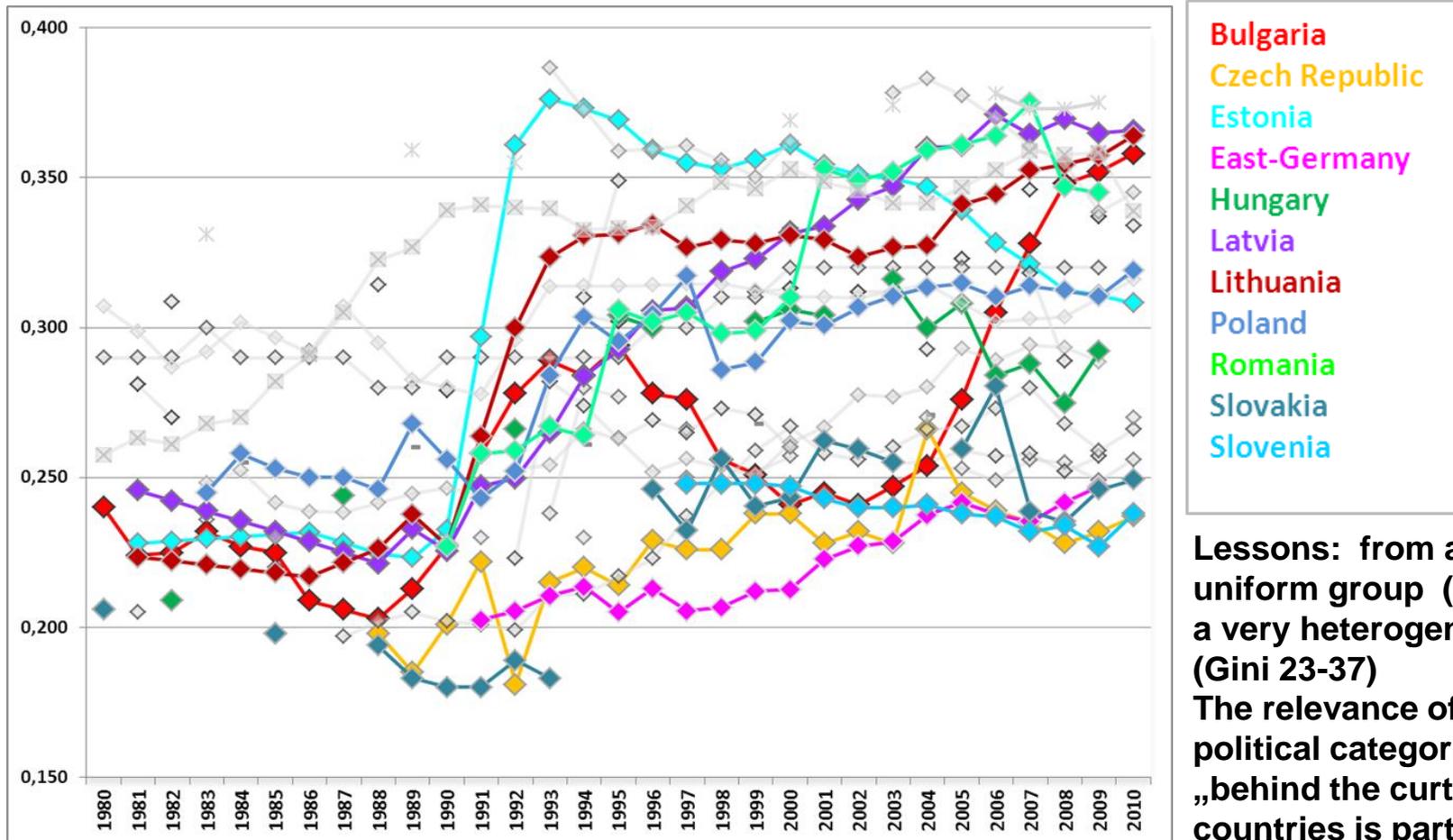


Determinants of economic growth in CEE countries

Insights from the literature:

- Labour accumulation has had a relatively small role in economic growth
- Capital accumulation was important: FDI, EU funds
- Increasing total factor productivity had an important role on the economic growth in the CEE countries
- The initial country's level of national income is also found to be negatively associated with the growth speed (convergence)

The evolution of inequality (measured by Gini) in post socialist European transition countries 1980-2010



Lessons: from a seemingly uniform group (Gini : 20-25) to a very heterogenous one (Gini 23-37)
The relevance of the original political categorization of the „behind the curtain” countries is part of the past now

Change in inequality levels (Gini coefficient values) during three periods in 30 countries

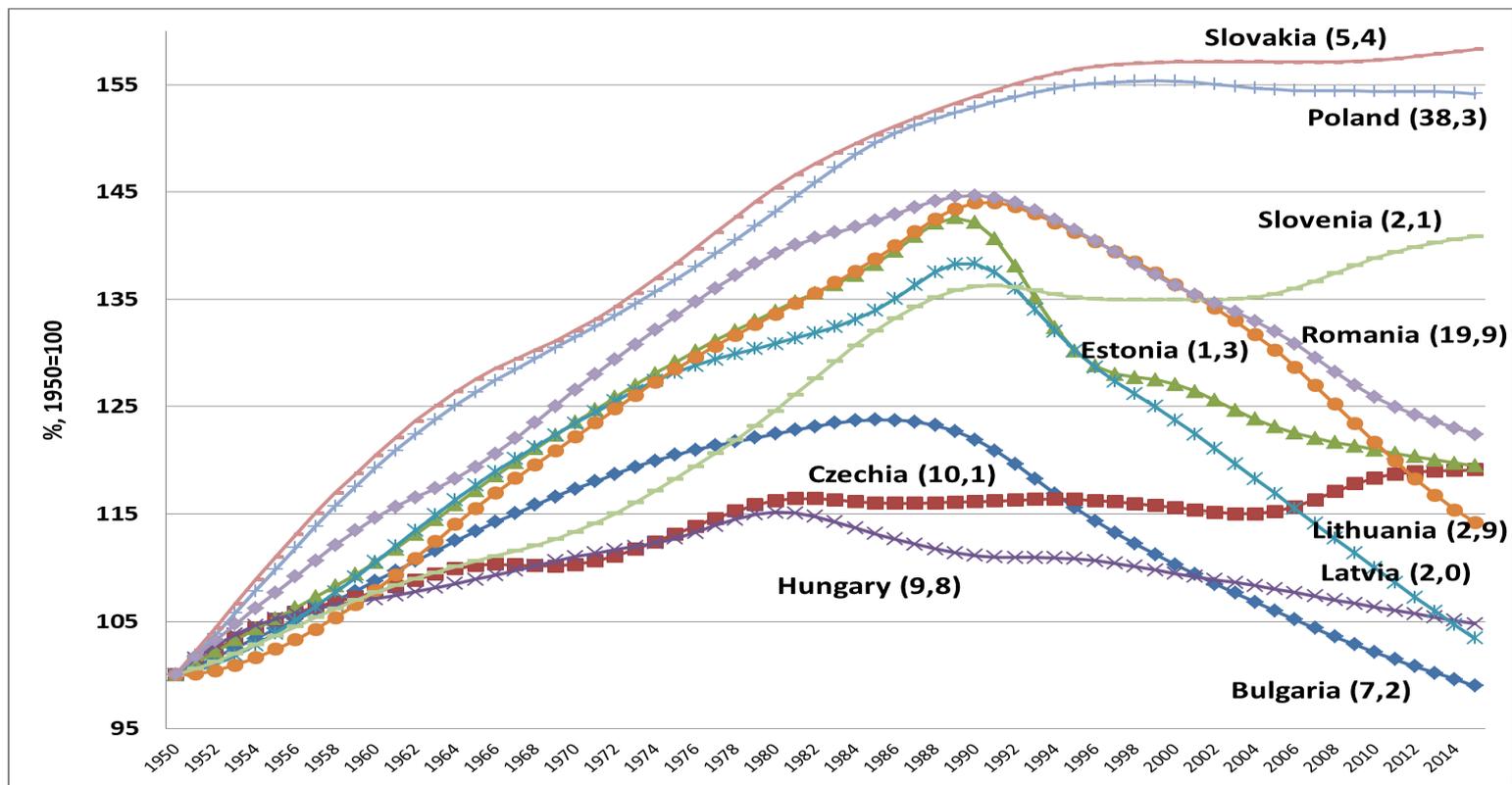
Gini coefficients	1980-1984	1996-2000	2006-2010	2010-2017
above 0.351		EE, PT, RO, US,	LT, LV, PT, RO, US	BG, LT
0.301 to 0.350	GR, ES, US,	AUS, BG, CAN, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, RO, ES, UK, KO	AUS, BG, CAN, EE, GR, IE, IT, PL, ES, UK, KO,	LV, RO, EE, PL
0.251 to 0.300	AUS, CAN, DK, FR, IT, JP, UK, DE(w)	AT, BE, DK, FR, DE(w), JP, LU, PL, SE, NL, DE	AT, BE, DK, FI, FR, DE(w), HU, LU, SE, NL, DE, KO,	HU
below 0.25	AT, BG, CZ, EE, FI, HU, LV, LT, SK, SE, NL,	CZ, FI, DE(e), SK, SL,	CZ, DE(e), SK, SL,	CZ, SK, SI
no data	BE, DE(.E), IE, LU, PT, RO, SL, KO		JP	



Potential drivers of the increase in household income inequality in inequality growth periods

- Falling full-time employment rate
- Increasing wage inequality, partially driven by the increased demand for highly-educated workers
- Increasing inequalities between ethnic groups in some cases.
- Increasing role of capital income
- Declining inequality-reducing effect of government taxes and transfers

Trends of total population in CEE countries, 1950=100 (population size in 2015, millions, in brackets)

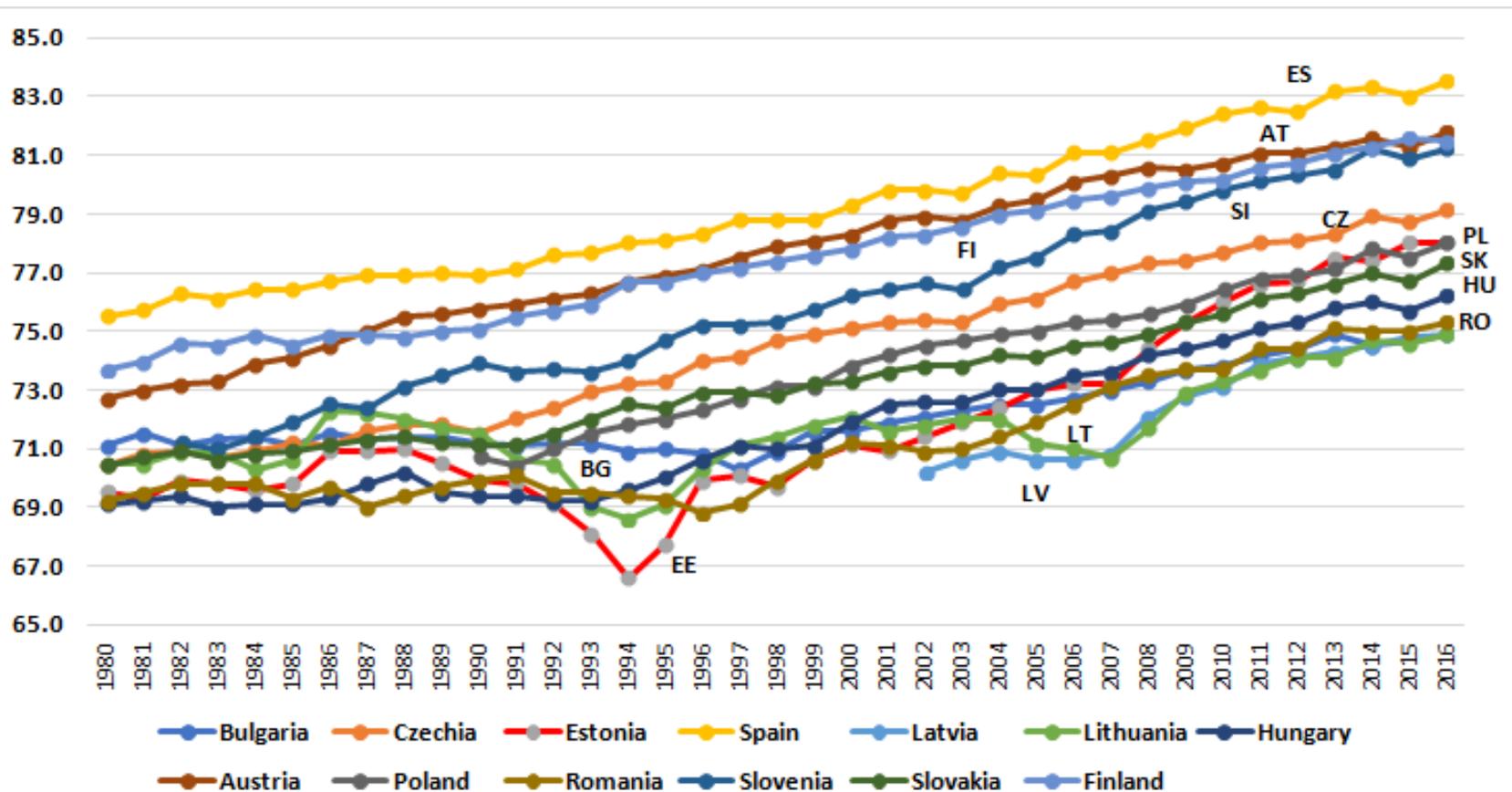


Source: own calculations based on United Nations (2017). Population estimates from UN Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, last revision June, 2017.



Indicators of well-being: life expectancy

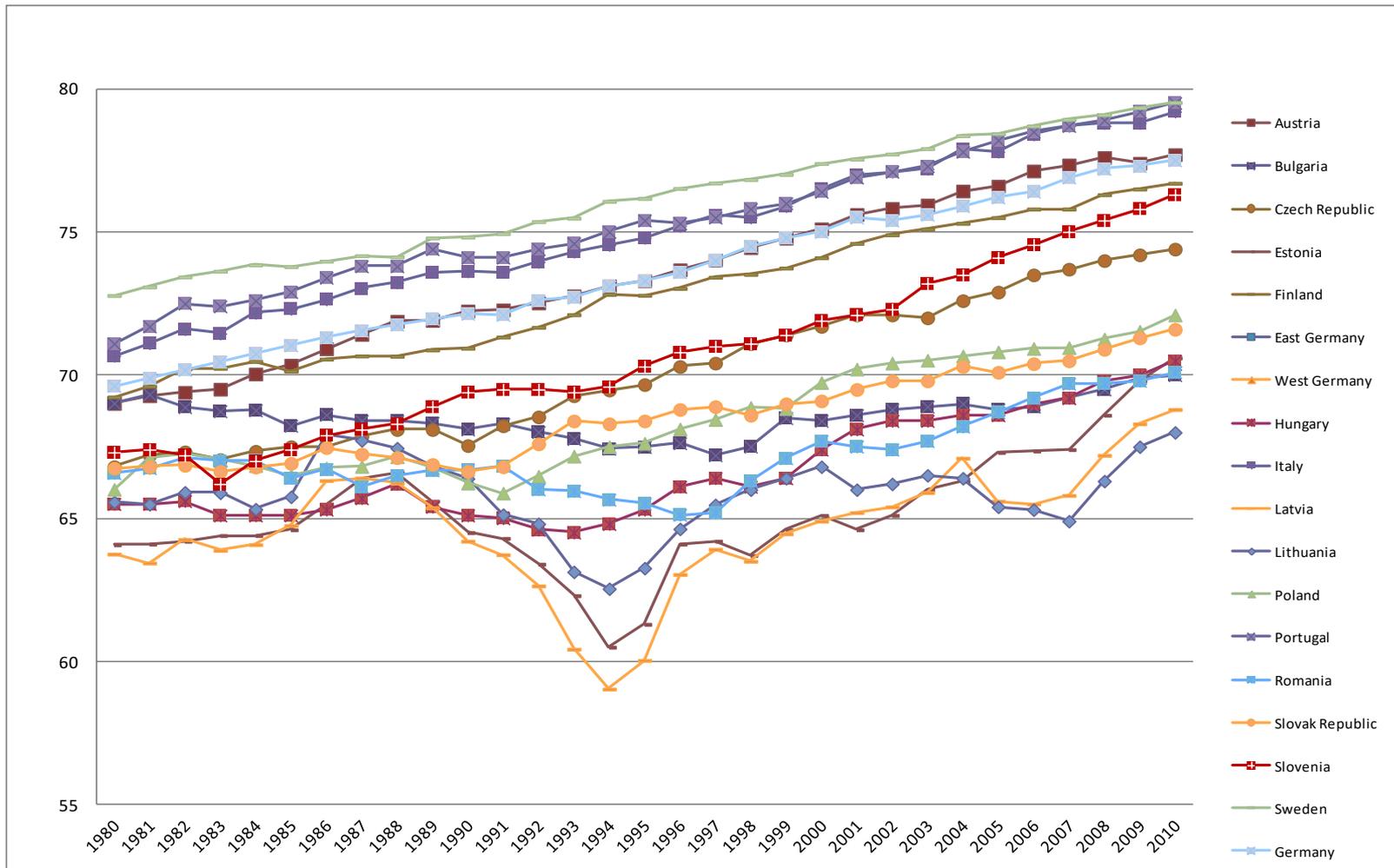
Evolution of life expectancy at birth in CEE and selected EU15 countries, 1980-2016



Source: European Commission, Eurostat database

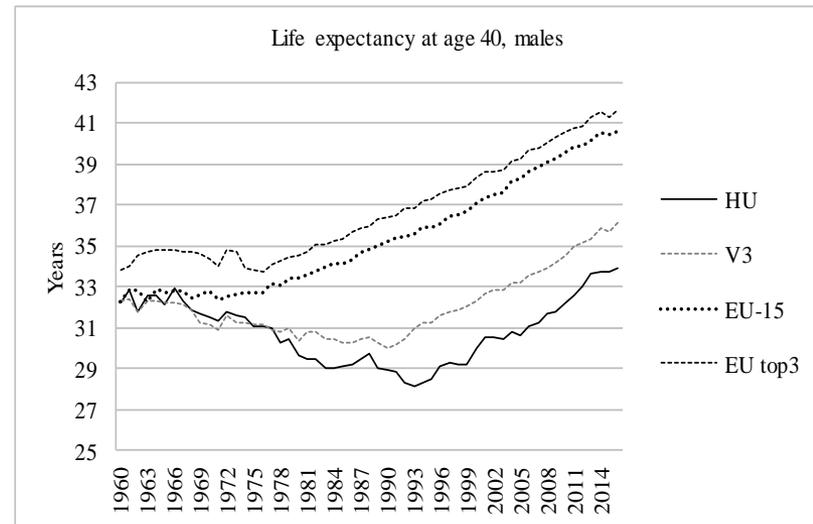
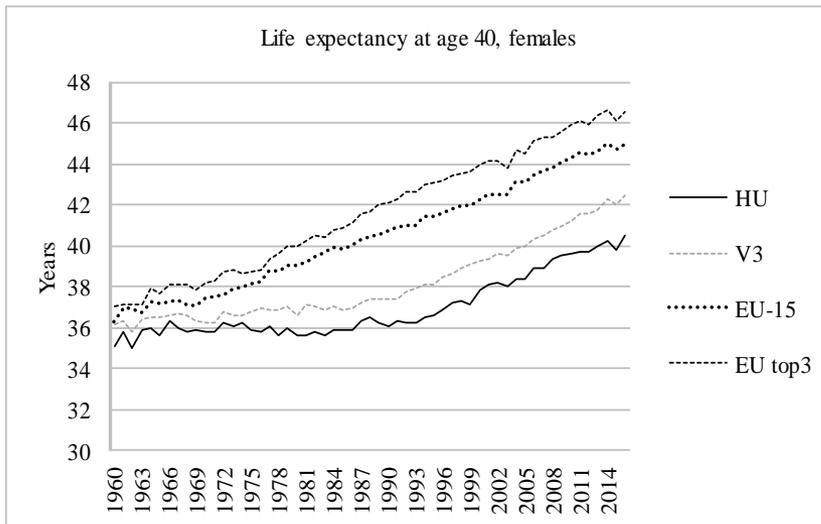


Evolution of male life expectancy at birth in CEE and selected EU15 countries, 1980-2010.





Life expectancy at age 40 in Hungary in European comparison, 1960–2016 (years)



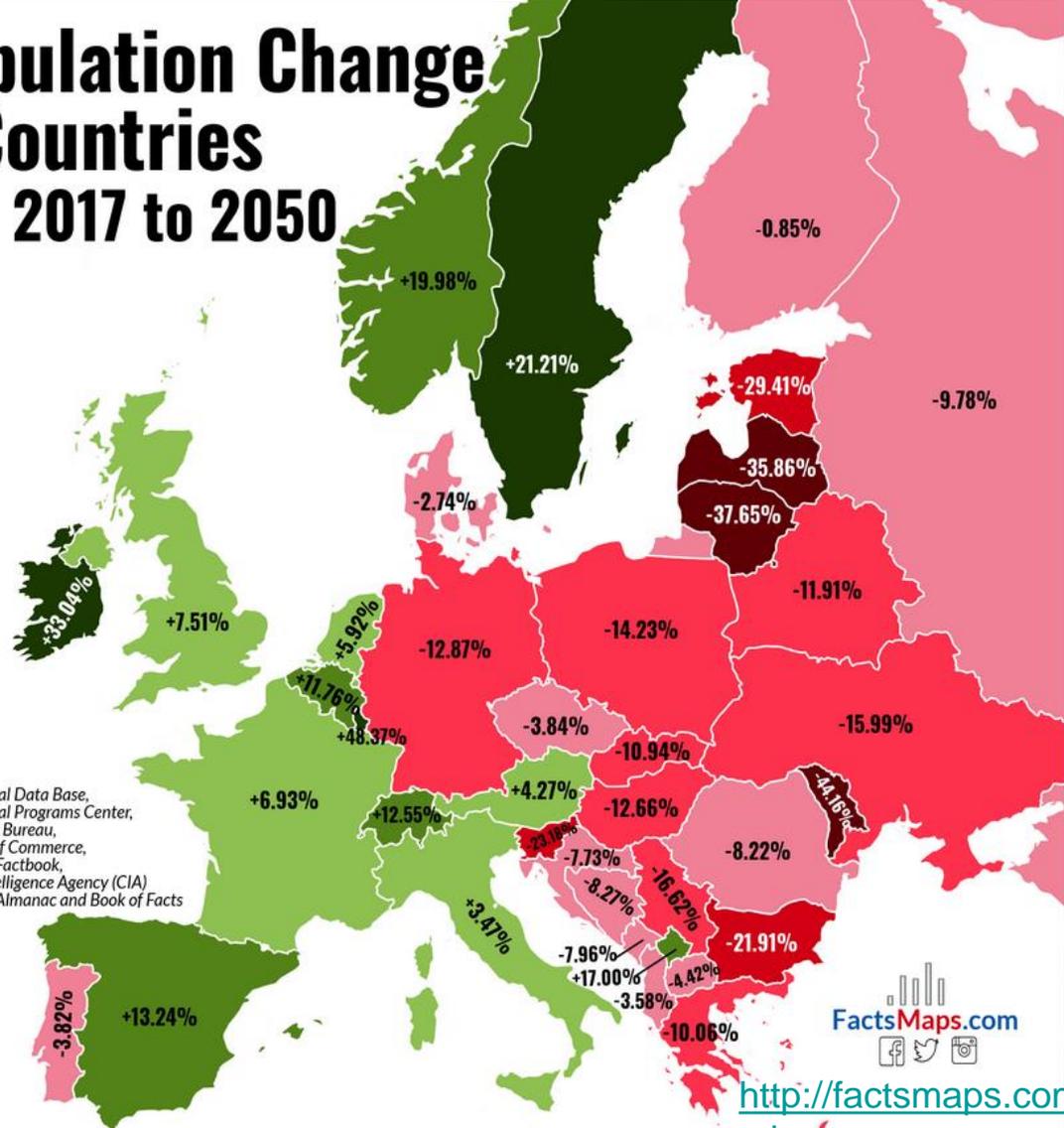
Note: EU top 3: the average of the three best-performing EU Member States.
Source: Orosz and Kollányi, 2019, Fig 1

Socialist legacy
Increased gap to top EU
Transition drops
Recovery but no real catch up
Males affected more

Projected Population Change in European Countries 2017 to 2050

Population (thousands)
in 2017 in 2050

	Population (thousands) in 2017	Population (thousands) in 2050	% Change
• Luxembourg	583	865	+48.37%
• Ireland	4,761	6,334	+33.04%
• Iceland	335	407	+21.49%
• Sweden	9,910	12,012	+21.21%
• Norway	5,305	6,365	+19.98%
• Cyprus	1,179	1,393	+18.15%
• Kosovo	1,900	2,223	+17.00%
• Spain	46,354	52,491	+13.24%
• Switzerland	8,476	9,540	+12.55%
• Belgium	11,429	12,773	+11.76%
• UK	66,181	71,154	+7.51%
• France	64,979	69,485	+6.93%
• Netherlands	17,035	17,907	+5.12%
• Austria	8,735	9,108	+4.27%
• Italy	59,359	61,416	+3.47%
• Finland	5,523	5,476	-0.85%
• Denmark	5,733	5,576	-2.74%
• Albania	2,930	2,825	-3.58%
• Portugal	10,329	9,934	-3.82%
• Czech Rep.	10,618	10,210	-3.84%
• Macedonia	2,083	1,991	-4.42%
• Croatia	4,189	3,865	-7.73%
• Malta	430	396	-7.91%
• Montenegro	628	578	-7.96%
• Romania	19,679	18,061	-8.22%
• Bosnia Herz.	3,507	3,217	-8.27%
• Russia	143,989	129,909	-9.78%
• Greece	11,159	10,036	-10.06%
• Slovakia	5,447	4,851	-10.94%
• Belarus	9,468	8,340	-11.91%
• Hungary	9,721	8,490	-12.66%
• Germany	82,114	71,542	-12.87%
• Poland	38,170	32,739	-14.23%
• Ukraine	44,222	37,149	-15.99%
• Serbia	7,040	5,870	-16.62%
• Bulgaria	7,084	5,532	-21.91%
• Slovenia	2,079	1,597	-23.18%
• Estonia	1,309	924	-29.41%
• Latvia	1,949	1,250	-35.86%
• Lithuania	2,890	1,802	-37.65%
• Moldova	4,051	2,262	-44.16%



Source:
International Data Base,
International Programs Center,
U.S. Census Bureau,
U.S. Dept. of Commerce,
The World Factbook,
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
The World Almanac and Book of Facts



Factors behind:

Insufficient TFR

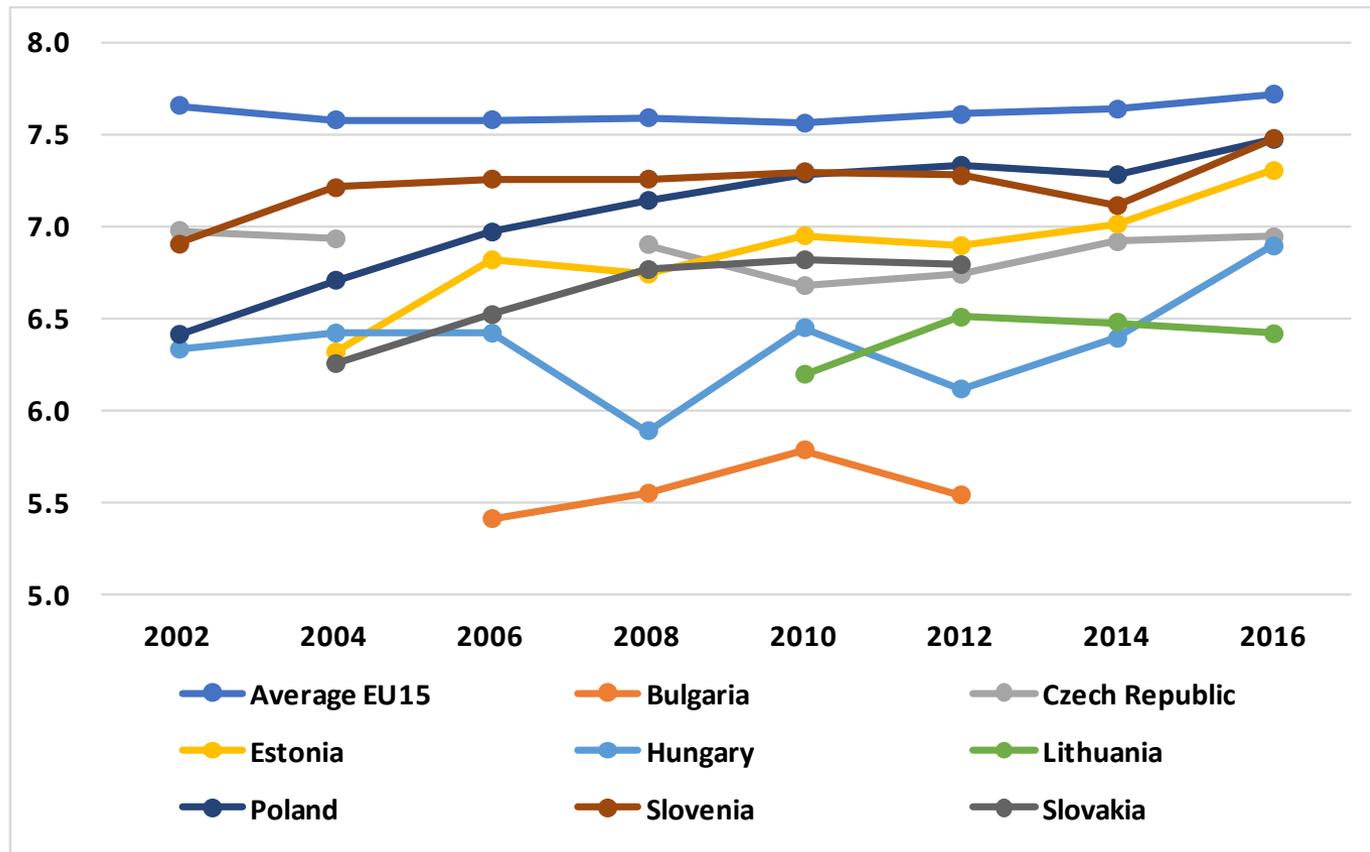
Slow improvement
in life expectancy

Large outward
migration



Subjective indicators of well-being: subjective happiness

Evolution of subjective happiness (average on 0-10 scale)

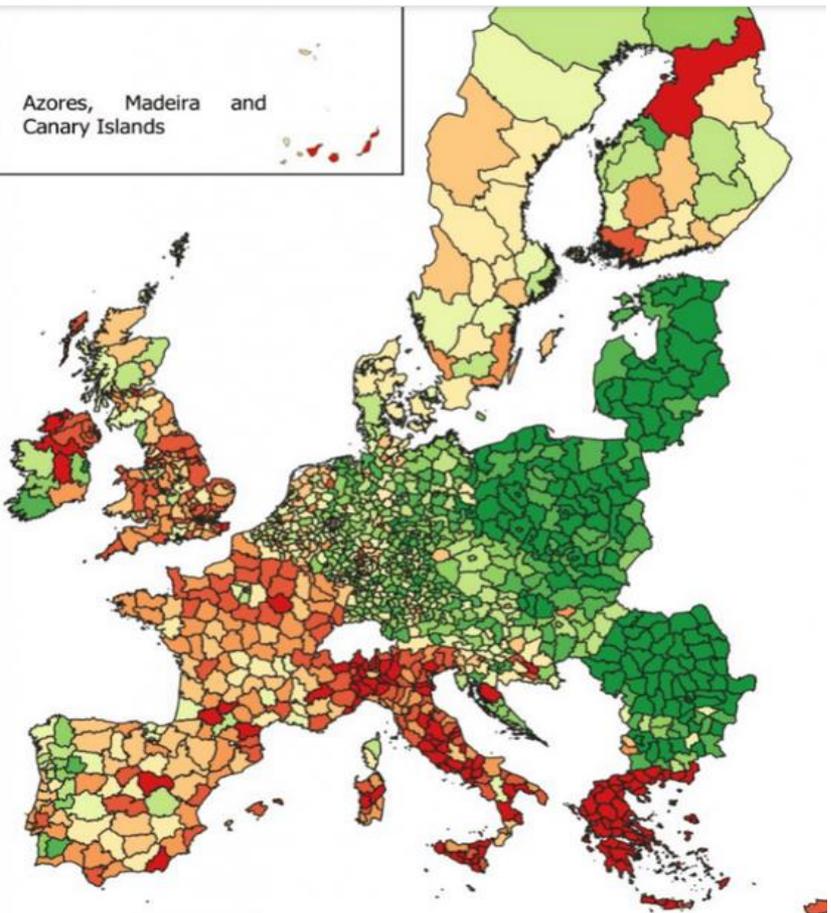


Source: European Social Survey



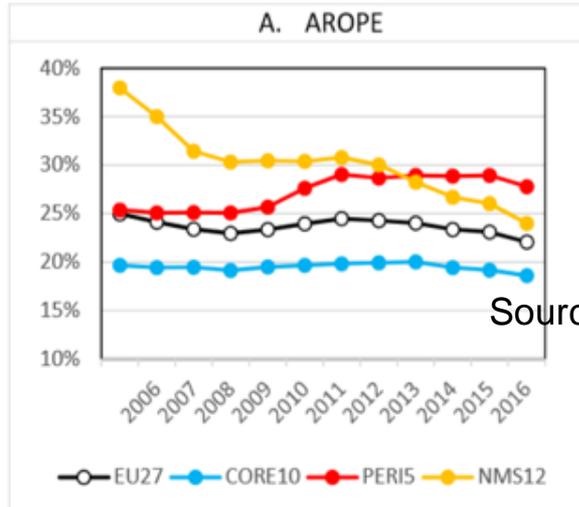
Zoom into more recent past

GDP per capita growth in EU regions, 2003-2015



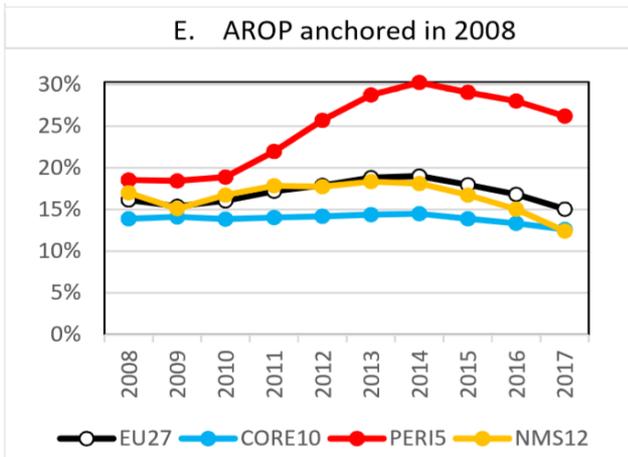
Source: Darvas, Mazza and Midoes, 2019
 Note: colours refer to different deciles in terms of GDP growth per capita measured at purchasing power standards (PPS).

Rate persons at risk of poverty and social exclusion 2006- 2017



Source: Salverda 2019

At-risk-of-poverty (AROP, after transfers and pensions) levels anchored in 2008



Poverty threshold:
 60% median of
 Pers. Equiv. inc.

Source:
 Salverda, 2019



Conclusions

- The period has been a period of intense social change in the CEE countries
 - With substantial differences in the transition experiences of CEE countries driven by country-specific factors.
- All CEE countries have managed to decrease their gap in GDP per capita relative to the EU15 average.
 - But not all periods: transition period, economic crisis
 - And not in the same pace: faster for those starting lower
 - TFP and reforms played an important role (also causing heterogeneity)
- Convergence is not necessarily for everyone:
 - periods with increasing inequality, poverty
 - Differences according to indicators: less convergence of well-being (eg. Sen-index, life expectancy) than GDP.



Conclusions (continued)

- Major driving forces of inequality change
 - Employment decline (and recovery)
 - Wage inequality increase (mostly wage premia increase)
 - Rise of property income
 - Policies and institutions (mostly education and training, but redistribution also) matter a lot
- Focus on last ten years show improvements (much of what is relative, parallel to widening North-South divides)



www.tarki.hu