Economic Growth and European Integration: A Counterfactual Analysis

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Abstract: We estimate the growth and productivity effects from becoming a member of the European Union (EU). We simulate time series of hypothetical economic growth and productivity trajectories, which show how these would have developed if the countries that became EU members in the 1973, 1980s, 1995 and 2004 enlargements had not joined the EU. Using this model, we identify large positive effects from EU membership. These effects differ across countries and over time, but are negative in only one case (Greece.) We calculate that without European integration, per capita incomes would have been, on average, approximately 10 percent lower today.

Keywords: economic growth, European Union, synthetic counterfactuals JEL classification: C33, F15, F43, O52

1. Introduction

The formal process of European Integration is now more than half a century old. The events surrounding the Second World War provided the key motivation for this process. Although from the outset it was a process much driven by politics, considerations about its economic benefits have always been paramount (Martin, Mayer and Thoenig, 2008, 2012).

There is an extensive debate about the economic benefits generated by the process of European integration, which encompasses various estimates of the benefits, in terms of economic growth and productivity, from trade liberalization, the single market and the common currency. There are difficult challenges in assessing these benefits because of endogeneity problems, omitted variables, and measurement errors. Arguably the most severe and long lasting difficulty has been the construction of credible counterfactual scenarios. Counterfactuals are essential to isolate the effects of particular policies and to identify causal relationships. Yet, as Boldrin and Canova warn, "historical counterfactuals (what would have happened if transfers had not taken place?) are hard to construct" (2001, p.7). In the same vein, Boltho and Eichengreen caution that "imagining the counterfactual is no easy task" (2008, p.13). Although there is a broad consensus on their relevance, counterfactuals are notoriously difficult to construct. This paper takes advantage of recent econometric techniques designed for this purpose and presents estimates of the growth and productivity effects from European Integration using the synthetic counterfactuals method (or "synthetic control methods for causal inference in comparative case studies") pioneered by Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003).² It presents new evidence for these effects at country and regional levels, and for the various EU enlargements (1973, the 1980s, 1995 and $2004.)^3$

Among the questions guiding this research: Are there economic benefits from

¹ See among others Badinger and Breuss (2010), Baldwin (1989), Baldwin and Seghezza (1996), Berger and Nitsch (2008), and Frankel (2010).

² See Imbens and Wooldridge (2009) for a discussion of synthetic counterfactuals and how it compares to other recent econometric methods of program evaluation.

³ We use the term European Union (or EU for short) for convenience throughout, that is, even when referring to what was then called the European Economic Community (up to 1967) or the European Communities (until 1992).

European Integration or are these mostly political? Do EU members grow faster? Can these growth and productivity differentials be causally associated with EU membership? More specifically, what would have been the growth rates of per capita GDP and labor productivity in these countries had they not become full-fledged EU members?

In order to construct credible counterfactuals, we take advantage of the "simplicity" (or binarity) of membership in the EU, as well as of the fact that the EU has experienced four major increases in membership (enlargements) in the last four decades (1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s). But there are at least three important difficulties one should bear in mind: in terms of the complexity of integration, its timing and regarding inter-temporal comparisons. The first difficulty refers to the complexity of integration. Although EU membership is ultimately binary (a country is or is not a full-fledged EU member), one just needs to consider the continuum in terms of economic integration to realize the main limitations of using such dummy variable approach. There are many areas over which economies integrate (finance, goods, services, technology and capital, etc.) and it is plausible that the process of integration varies across these areas and over time. Also recall that the Golden Age of European economic growth, which is the period from 1950 to 1973 (see Temin, 2002, as well as Table 1), coincides with the launching and take-off of the formal process of economic and political integration. This exacerbates the complexity of the construction of relevant counterfactuals.

Insert Table 1 about here

The second difficulty is about timing. EU membership is announced in advance.

International investors, for example, may know with certainty that a country will become a

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⁴ Dorucci, Firop, Fratzscher and Mongelli (2004) and Friedrich, Schnabel and Zettelmeyer (2012) construct indexes of economic integration in Europe. Brou and Ruta (2011) model the relationship between political and economic integration.

full-fledged EU member, and sometimes with many years notice.⁵ Therefore, the benefits from EU membership may have been substantially anticipated or spread over time, in some cases well before the official date of EU accession. Anticipation effects reduce the relevance of the actual official date of EU accession as "treatment".

A third important difficulty is that although the consecutive increases in EU membership (enlargements) allow one to compare and contrast the pre- and postmembership performance of members with that of non-members, the fact that these enlargements were spread over time, one in each of the last four decades (1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s), makes such direct comparisons substantially less straightforward. Not only the group of countries that, for example, Greece joined in 1981 is very different from that Slovakia joined in 2004, but also the economic situation in 1981 and 1986 differs from that in 1995 and even more so in 2004 and 2007, when the most recent enlargement took place. The fact that countries "join when ready" and that there have been numerous enlargements (and thus fewer candidates for meaningful comparisons) make it even more difficult to generate sound estimates of the growth dividends from European integration.⁶ However, the three difficulties highlighted above bias downward the effects of integration and thus the estimates obtained in our analysis can be considered as conservative estimates or a lower bound of the growth and productivity effects of EU accession.

The main results are as follows. The estimated growth and productivity effects from EU membership are positive and substantial but there is considerable heterogeneity across countries once they become full-fledged members of the EU. More specifically, per capita GDP or productivity growth rates increase with EU membership in Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Slovenia and Lithuania. The growth effects tend to be smaller, albeit still mostly positive, for Finland,

⁵ This anticipation effect is not uncommon. For instance, the effects of the euro on bilateral trade are detected already for 1998, which is the year before the adoption of the common currency (see Frankel, 2010, pp.177-179 for a discussion).

⁶ It should also be taken into consideration that the "readiness criteria" has changed between 1973 and 2007.

Sweden, Czech Republic and Slovakia. Note important differences within the latter group between productivity and GDP growth results. Finally, and rather surprisingly, the evidence supports the view that only one country (Greece) experienced smaller GDP or productivity growth rates after EU accession. The negative effect has been persistent, lasting for 15 years after accession, during the period 1981 to 1996. Further research is clearly needed to provide a fuller understanding of why Greece turned out to be exceptional in this regard. We expect payoffs from such research to be high as they can throw light on the Greek crisis during the Great Recession, and hopefully even suggest ways out of it. Regarding the magnitude of these effects, estimates in the literature cover a wide range: European per capita incomes would be 5 percent lower (Boltho and Eichengreen, 2008) to 20 percent lower (Badinger, 2005) if integration did not take place. Although we believe that ours are lower bound estimates, for the reasons above, our estimates suggest that on average the effect is approximately 10 percent. That is, we per capita European incomes in the absence of the economic and political integration process would have been about ten percent lower today. Notice this is an average: there are important variations across countries, enlargements as well as over time.

It should be noted that this set of results is robust to various measures of GDP and productivity growth, to whether we focus on the dynamic or on average effects of EU membership, to changes in the donor pool of countries (ranging from the whole world to very few countries in the EU physical neighbourhood, with the results we report based on a intermediary pool), to substantial changes in the covariates used in the estimation, and to whether one focuses on country-level data or on regional level-data.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly discusses previous attempts at estimating the growth effects from EU membership. Section 3 presents the synthetic counterfactual methodology. Section 4 introduces our data set and baseline results. Section 5 discusses various sensitivity checks including further evidence on the anticipation effects, from regional data and difference-in-difference estimates. Section 6 concludes.

2. Growth and Productivity Effects from European Integration

The objective of this section is to briefly and selectively review previous efforts to estimate the growth and productivity effects of EU membership.7 In spite of the destruction caused by the Second World War, economic recovery took place relatively quickly and already by 1951 most countries show levels of per capita GDP that are the same or above their prewar levels (Crafts and Toniolo, 2008). This somewhat guick recovery was followed by a period often called the Golden Age of European growth (Temin 2002). As shown in Table 1, between 1950 and 1973 Western and Eastern Europe grew at truly unprecedented rates (see Eichengreen 2007 for a detailed account and a review of the various attendant theories). Among the various explanations, integration figures prominently. The rapid and comprehensive policy of trade liberalization generated huge growth payoffs particularly in the 1960s and in the context of both the EU-6 and EFTA. It is indeed remarkable that the process of European Integration does not seem to stop or reverse since the 1950s: when it slowed down it did so only in terms of its depth, as it clearly progressed horizontally as the first enlargement took place in 1973 (with the accession of the UK, Ireland and Denmark). Similarly, the 1980s see two other increases in EU membership (Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986), followed by a substantial deepening thanks to the Single Market policy. This again is followed by another enlargement in 1995 (Austria, Finland and Sweden) and another deepening with the common currency, which finally is followed by the largest of the enlargements in 2004 (and Bulgaria and Romania in 2007). All of these developments have generated substantial growth and productivity payoffs to the point that many attach exceptionality to Europe, which is the only region in the world in which one finds strong evidence of unconditional beta and sigma convergences. Indeed, per capita incomes in Europe have been able to catch-up with the U.S. very clearly, at least until 1995, when the gap seems to have started to widen again. Three important caveats being that these gaps behave very differently when considering per capita GDP or GDP per hour

⁷ Badinger and Breuss (2010) provide an authoritative survey.

worked (Gordon 2011), that there are substantial cross-country variation in Europe, and that the Great Recession has had a substantial impact on these more recent trends.

One of the earliest concerns of the literature on the growth and productivity effects of EU membership was to offer finer and ever more detailed measures of the extent and depth of the process of economic integration itself. The early literature hence conjectured that the effects of integration on growth worked through the effects of integration on trade (for a critical view see Slaughter, 2001). Indeed, one of the more traditional controversies was whether the link between integration and growth was due to the effects of trade on capital accumulation or to trade-induced technological progress. Baldwin and Seghezza (1996) provide an excellent survey of this earlier literature and conclude that European integration has helped to accelerate European growth because the evidence showed that trade liberalization boosted investment in physical capital in Europe. An important issue with the earlier literature is that the evidence it generates focuses on the effects of international trade on growth and often assumes that all the increase in the trade is driven purely by intra-European integration efforts (downplaying globalization.)

Endogenous growth models could more easily accommodate the issue of economic integration. Coupled with the looming of a substantial enlargement of the number of EU members, this helped to focus attention on the growth dividend from EU membership proper. A seminal contribution is the work by Rivera-Batiz and Romer (1991), who emphasized that economic integration for countries with similar incomes per capita leads to long run growth effects if it accelerates technological innovation through larger R&D activities leading to new ideas. Such effects can be achieved through larger trade in goods if the production of ideas does not need the stock of knowledge as an input (in the so-called lab-equipment model). It postulates that the production of ideas uses the same inputs as manufacturing (labor, human and physical capital). In this case, the larger market for

⁸ Jones and Romer (2010) propose an updated Kaldor list of stylized facts that stresses the importance of integration: "Fact 1: Increases in the extent of the market. Increased flows of goods, ideas, finance, and people—via globalization, as well as urbanization—have increased the extent of the market for all workers and consumers" (p. 229). See also Acemoglu (2009).

trade of goods arising from integration leads to a scale effect: all available inputs in both countries contribute to technological innovation and thus higher long-term growth. In contrast, when production of ideas uses the stock of existing knowledge, ideas (in the knowledge based model), trade in goods is not sufficient for generating a permanent growth effect through economic integration. In this case, growth effects arise only if, in addition to larger trade in goods, economic integration also leads to larger flows of ideas between countries. In summary, the effects of economic integration on growth are highly dependent on specific channels leading to possible long-term benefits either through larger flows of trade of goods or flows of ideas (Ventura, 2005). Furthermore, the growth dividend depends as well on the degree of similarity in terms of incomes per capita of the countries involved in the integration. Finally, models of economic integration generally abstracts from the role of institutional characteristics of the countries involved. In view of the theoretical difficulties in deriving clear-cut effects of economic integration on growth, empirical analysis is crucial to assess the possible growth dividends of economic integration.

There is a large economic history literature on European Integration.⁹ This is closely related to (and broadly supported by) a rich growth accounting literature (e.g. O'Mahony and Timmer, 2009). It is also worth mentioning that there is a vigorous literature that associates integration (for instance, in terms of Structural Funds) with economic growth at the regional level (see Becker, Egger and von Ehrlich, 2010). While the historical literature rarely generates estimates of the growth dividends from integration, the regional literature rarely do so for long periods of time and at the national level.

One of the earlier empirical papers on the growth dividend at the country level, over a considerable period of time, is Henrekson, Thorstensson and Thorstensson (1997), which studied the growth effects of European integration in the European Community vis-à-vis that of its then competitor, EFTA, the European Free Trade Association. Using regression

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⁹ Se among others Boltho and Eichengreen (2008) and Crafts and Toniolo (2008).

analysis their results suggest that both EC and EFTA memberships do in fact have a positive and significant effect on economic growth, and also that there was no significant difference between EC and EFTA membership. Yet, they argue that these results were not completely robust with respect to changes in the set of control variables and to measurement errors and that they suggest that regional integration may not only affect resource allocation, but also long-run growth rates.¹⁰

Another important contribution is Badinger (2005). This paper constructs an index of economic integration reflecting global (GATT) and regional (European) integration of the EU member states. It is mostly interested in evaluating whether any growth dividend one can identify from this integration measure is permanent or temporary. The paper uses a growth accounting framework with a panel of fifteen EU member states over the period 1950–2000. The main finding refers to the difficulty in finding permanent growth effects and that the level effects, although sizeable, are also not satisfactorily robust. Nevertheless, based on these estimates Badinger calculates that "GDP per capita of the EU would be approximately one-fifth lower today if no integration had taken place since 1950."

Boltho and Eichegreen (2008) discuss from an economic history perspective each of the major institutional milestones in the process of European economic integration. Particularly interesting from our point of view is that the main concern from these authors is to delineate possible counterfactuals, mostly based on their extensive historical knowledge. They provide a lucid criticism of mainstream econometric estimates and ask, for instance, "if the European Coal and Steel Community had not been created, would European countries have found other ways of restarting production and trade in the products of their iron and steel industries? If the Common Market had not been established, would the major Western European economies have found other ways of commensurately increasing their intra trade? If the European Monetary System had not

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 $^{^{10}}$ Vandhout (2009) presents comparable results in that in a panel setting he fails to establish growth effects from the length of time a country has been a member of the EU (nor from a dummy variable for EU membership.)

been created, would they have found other ways of stabilizing their exchange rates?" Despite the fact that the paper does not carry out a quantitative analysis, the authors provocatively "conclude that European incomes would have been roughly 5 per cent lower today in the absence of the EU." The idea that the central difficulty in satisfactorily identifying the growth dividend from EU membership is, in their words, "fully specifying the counterfactual" resonates with the objectives of this paper.

Finally, one of the latest important efforts in this line of inquiry is that of Kutan and Tinit (2007). They develop an endogenous growth model to investigate the impact of European Union (EU) integration on convergence and productivity growth. Their attendant empirical analysis uses structural break tests and data envelopment analysis to examine the accession process covering the last five members to join the EU15, namely, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland, and Sweden, "along with France as the benchmark country." Their results reveal improved rates of productivity growth after accession over and above the Union benchmark level, and increased pace of overall growth due to capital accumulation as a result, they argue, mostly of EU's Structural and Cohesion Funds.

In summary, there is an important literature that has attempted to directly address the issue of the growth dividends from EU membership. Most of it uses panel data econometrics and information on the 1980s and 1990s enlargements to make statements about the size of these growth payoffs and whether or not they can be said to be permanent (or temporary). We fully echo Boltho and Eichengreen's concern that one main difficulty in these exercises is the satisfactory identification of a benchmark, of a baseline country for comparison or, to use the terminology we favour in this paper, a fully specified counterfactual. It is our view that the literature so far has not addressed this difficulty satisfactorily. The ultimate goal of this paper is to generate a credible set of counterfactuals.

3. Synthetic counterfactuals: Methodological and data issues

Our aim is to empirically investigate whether membership in the European Union generated significant payoffs in terms of GDP per capita and productivity growth. In order to do that, we use a recently developed methodology, synthetic control methods for causal inference in comparative case studies, or in short, synthetic counterfactuals. It was developed by Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) and Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller (2010, 2012). 11 As its name suggests, it generates counterfactual scenarios. We implement it to estimate what would have been the levels of per capita GDP and labor productivity in a given country if it had not become a full-fledged member of the European Union at the time it did. The synthetic control method is intended to estimate the effect of a given intervention (in our case, EU membership) by comparing the evolution of an aggregate outcome variable (in this case, per capita GDP or labor productivity) for a country affected by the intervention vis-à-vis the evolution of the same aggregate outcome for a synthetic control group. For instance, one research question we answer below is: what would have been the level of per capita GDP or productivity in Finland after 1995 if Finland had not become a full-fledge member of the EU in 1995? In this paper, we answer similar questions for all countries that became EU members in the 1973, 1980s, 1995 and for all but two of those in the 2004 enlargement (data availability force the exclusion of Malta and Cyprus).

The method focuses on the construction of the "synthetic control group," or in the words of Imbens and Wooldridge, an "artificial control group" (2009, p. 72). It does so by searching for a weighted combination of other units (countries), which are chosen to mimic as close as possible the country affected by the intervention, for a set of predictors of the outcome variable.¹² The evolution of the outcome for the synthetic control group is an

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¹¹ Imbens and Wooldridge (2009) discuss the synthetic counterfactuals method and how it fits among other recent developments of the econometrics of program evaluation.

¹² We have experimented with various "country donor pools" and the results below are robust to the most dramatic changes, that is, to using the whole world or a few selected EU geographical neighbors. The results reported in this paper are for an "intermediary" donor pool, which is originally from Bower and Turrini (2010) and contains: Argentina, Australia, Belarus, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Colombia, Croatia, Egypt, Indonesia, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Morocco, Mexico, Macedonia, Malaysia, Norway, New Zealand, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, and Uruguay.

estimate of the counterfactual. It shows what the behaviour of the outcome variable (in our case, per capita GDP and labor productivity) would have been for the affected country if the intervention had happened in the same way as in the control group.¹³

More formally, for the general case of the synthetic counterfactuals methodology, the estimation of average treatment effect on the treated units can be represented by:

$$\tau_{it} = Y_{it}^I - Y_{it}^C \tag{1}$$

where Y_{it}^I is the outcome of a treated unit i (in our case, country) at time t, while Y_{it}^C is country i's outcome at time t had it not been subjected to treatment (in our case, had it not become a full-fledge member of the European Union). We do observe the outcome of the treated country Y_{it}^I after the treatment (with $t \geq T_0$), but we do not observe what the outcome of this country would be in the absence of treatment (i.e., we do not know the counterfactual, Y_{it}^C , for $t \geq T_0$). Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller (2010) propose a method to identify and estimate the above dynamic treatment effect (τ_{it}) considering the potential outcome for the country's $i \in I$ under the following general model:

$$Y_{it}^{I} = \delta_t + \alpha_{it} D_{it} + v_{it} \tag{2}$$

$$Y_{it}^C = \delta_t + v_{it} \tag{3}$$

$$v_{it} = \theta_t Z_i + \lambda_t \omega_i + \varepsilon_{it} \tag{4}$$

where Z_i is a vector of independent variables at country level (either time-invariant or time-variant); θ_t is a vector of parameters; λ_t is a unknown common factor; ω_i is a country specific unobservable; ε_{it} is a transitory shock with mean equal to zero; and $\alpha_{it}D_{it} = \tau_{it}$, where D_{it} is dummy variable which takes value 1 when the country $i \in I$ is exposed to the treatment, and zero otherwise.

Now suppose we observe the outcome Y_{it} and a set of determinants Z_{it} of the outcome for N+1 countries, where i=1 is the treated country and i=2,...,N+1 are the untreated

¹³ Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) investigate "what would have been the levels of per capita GDP in the Basque country in Spain if it had not experienced terrorism?" Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller (2010) present two further examples: "what would have been cigarette consumption in California without Proposition 99?" and "what would have been the per capita GDP of West Germany without reunification?" (2012). Other recent papers using this method include Campos and Kinoshita (2010) on foreign direct investment, Lee (2011) on inflation targeting and Billmeier and Nannicini (forthcoming) on trade liberalization.

countries, for each period $t \in [1,T]$ where the intervention on country i=1 begins at time T_0 with $1 < T_0 < T$. In order to construct a counterfactual, a weighted average of Y_{it} (with $i=2,\ldots,N+1$, and $t < T_0$) is estimated to approximate Y_{1t} (for $t < T_0$), taking into account the covariates Z. In particular, the set of weights is $W=(w_2,\ldots,w_{n+1})$, with $w_i \ge 0$ (for $i=2,\ldots,N+1$) and $\sum_{i=2}^{N+1} w_i = 1$, thus pre-treatment:

$$\sum_{i=2}^{N+1} w_i Y_{it} = Y_{1t} \tag{5}$$

and

$$\sum_{i=2}^{N+1} w_i Z_i = Z_1 \tag{6}$$

For the choice of the optimal W^* , consider, in matrix notation, X_1 the $(k \times 1)$ vector of treated country 1's characteristics in the pre-treatment period (which may or may not include the pre-treatment outcome's path); X_C $(k \times N)$ vector of the same characteristics for the control or "donor" countries; and, V a $(k \times k)$ symmetric and positive semi definite matrix, which measures the relative importance of the characteristics included in X. The optimal vector of weights W^* must solve the following minimization problem:

$$\min(X_1 - X_C W)' V(X_1 - X_C W)$$
 s.t. $w_i \ge 0 w_i \ge 0$ (for $i = 2, ..., N + 1$) and $\sum_{i=2}^{N+1} w_i = 1$

that is, W^* is selected according to a specific metric in order to minimize the pre-treatment distance between the vector of treated country's characteristics and the vector of potential synthetic control characteristics. In other words, it is chosen to minimize the mean squared error of pre-treatment outcomes.¹⁴

The synthetic counterfactual is then constructed using the optimal weight W^* , so that $\sum_{i=2}^{N+1} w_i^* Y_{it}$ (with $t \geq T_0$) is an approximate estimation of Y_{1t}^C . The treatment effects are estimated as:

$$\widehat{\tau_{it}} = Y_{1t} - \sum_{i=2}^{N+1} w_i^* Y_{it} \qquad \text{for all } t \ge T_0.$$
 (8)

The path of the weighted average of untreated countries (i.e. the synthetic control)

¹⁴ In this paper we use the distance metric available in the STATA econometric software (the relevant STATA command is called *synth*). See Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller (2010) for further technical details.

hence mimics the path of the treated country in the absence of treatment. The accuracy of the estimation depends on the pre-treatment "distance" of the synthetic control with respect to the treated country. All else the same, a longer pre-treatment period allows for a more accurate calibration of the synthetic control. Moreover, the structural parameters reflected in the estimated set of weights should ideally vary little over time so as to generate a satisfactory mimic of the treated country in the post-treatment period.

The synthetic counterfactuals method requires the following two identification assumptions: (1) the choice of the pre-treatment characteristics should include variables that can approximate the path of the treated country, but should not include variables which anticipate the intervention effects proper; and (2) the donor countries used to obtain the synthetic control must not be affected by the treatment.

The first assumption implies that the treatment effects are not anticipated, that is, that they start in full at the exact date assigned for the start of the treatment. In our analysis, the absence of anticipation effects means that the growth effects of EU membership are to be observed only after each candidate country effectively becomes a full-fledged member. If agents form expectations that anticipate these effects, the synthetic counterfactual method will generate a lower-bound estimate of the true effect because part of the full effect occurs before the start of the treatment (EU accession in this case.)¹⁵

The second assumption requires that countries selected for the donor pool used to obtain the synthetic control group should not be affected by the treatment. Although this assumption clearly holds when one defines the treatment as "full-fledged EU membership," it must be recognized that integration is more likely a continuum, and certainly not a dummy variable. Having in the donor pool some countries that are integrated with the EU but not full-fledged members should also generate lower-bound or conservative

¹⁵ Anticipating our results, in the synthetic counterfactuals below, we do find interesting evidence of anticipation. It is quite noticeable in the 2004 enlargement, slightly noticeable in the 1995 enlargement and practically unnoticeable in the 1973 and 1980s enlargements. We develop this argument below.

¹⁶ See Dorucci, Firop, Fratzscher and Mongelli (2004) and Friedrich, Schnabel and Zettelmeyer (2012) for continuous indexes of economic integration in Europe, and König and Ohr (2012) for a review of recent attempts.

estimates of the true effect of membership, assuming that the level of per capita GDP or productivity in these "not formally integrated" countries would have been lower without "partial integration." ¹⁷

Our choice of pre-treatment characteristics follows the extensive empirical growth literature and, in particular, the specification used by Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003.) It includes the investment share of PPP Converted GDP Per Capita at 2005 constant prices, openness at 2005 constant prices (imports plus exports as a percentage of GDP), population growth and population (all from Penn World Tables 7.0), share of agriculture in value added, share of industry in value added, secondary gross school enrollment (percentage), tertiary gross school enrollment, and population density (all from the World Bank's World Development Indicators.)¹⁸

This synthetic control approach represents an extension of the differences-in-differences framework by allowing the effects on unobserved variables on the outcome to vary over time. This is similar to the "policy-experiment approach" discussed among others by Henry (2007). Moreover, it "allow(s) researchers to perform inferential exercises about the effects of the event or intervention of interest that are valid regardless of the number of available comparison units, the number of available time periods, and whether aggregate or individual data are used for the analysis" (Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller, 2010). This method handles endogeneity and omitted variable concerns but has as a drawback the fact that it "does not allow to assess the significance of the results using standard (large-sample) inferential techniques, because the number of observations in the control pool and the number of periods covered by the sample are usually quite small in comparative case studies" (Bilmeier and Nannicini, forthcoming). Although in our case the number of periods is relatively small, we do believe we have enough observations in the

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¹⁷Baldwin notes that "Nations such as Switzerland and Norway resisted joining but have instead signed agreements that oblige them to implement most EU laws in exchange for equal access to the EU market. They have, however, no formal input in the lawmaking process. Most nations in Europe looked at this 'regulation without representation' and decided they would have more control inside the EU despite Qualified Majority Voting" (2008 p. 128).

 $^{^{18}}$ Note that the variables value added, share of industry and agriculture are not available (yearly) for Eastern European countries and Greece.

control pool to assess the level of statistical significance of our results. Here we implement a novel yet simple solution to deal with this matter, namely using the difference-in-difference estimator for the actual vis-à-vis the synthetic series. This allows us to make statements about the statistical significance of the effect of EU membership on economic growth and productivity *on average*, before and after.

4. Synthetic counterfactuals: Baseline results

Figures 1 to 4 report our baseline synthetic counterfactual results using the method and data described above. There are two series plotted in each graph. The series represented by the continuous line shows the actual per capita GDP (or labor productivity) of the country in question, while the series represented by a dashed line shows the synthetic counterfactual we estimate. Recall that the question guiding each one of these exercises is: What would have been the GDP (or productivity levels) of the country in question if it had not become an EU member in the year it did? The synthetic counterfactuals are presented for each country in all four EU enlargements, namely for Denmark, Ireland and the UK in 1973, Greece, Portugal and Spain in the 1980s Southern enlargement, for Austria, Finland and Sweden in the 1995 Northern enlargement and for the Eastern European countries in the 2004 enlargement.¹⁹ The results are presented for two growth measures (per capita GDP and labor productivity) and for a donor pool of countries originally used by Bower and Turrini (2010).²⁰

Insert Figures 1 to 4 here

Consider the evolution of real per capita GDP in Spain between 1970 and 2008. This is the graph in the center of the Figure. Spain became a full-fledged member of the EU in 1986 and hence in our exercise we specify this as the year the treatment was administered

¹⁹ We have excluded from our analysis Cyprus and Malta because their relative small size (and the difficulties this generate to find good matching experiences) and Bulgaria and Romania because the period post-EU membership is precariously short.

²⁰ The reported results are robust to large changes in donor pool (from the whole world to selected EU neighbours) which suggests that this donor pool is not a critical aspect of our estimation.

(as shown by the vertical dotted line in the Figure). The weights for the countries in the donor pool are reported in the Appendix. For example, the "synthetic Spain" is constructed on the basis of weights of approximately 52% to Australia and 19% to Argentina (and, for example, 0% for Albania or Brazil.) The graph shows the actual Spanish per capita GDP levels between 1970 and 2008 (continuous line) with the dotted line plotting the same values for the synthetic counterfactual, that is, for a synthetic Spain (which by construction or estimation) did not become a full-fledge EU member in 1986. The results suggest that per capita GDP in Spain would be considerably lower had it not joined the EU in 1986. Indeed, they show it would have been lower in every single year since 1986. The actual and the synthetic Spain series move together before 1986, while they start to systematically diverge in or around 1986, indicating that there was little anticipation or delay of the effects from EU membership. Furthermore, the gap between actual and synthetic Spain seems to be constant, indicating that the benefits from EU membership are more likely to be permanent than temporary. The next set of results is for labor productivity in Spain and they are very similar with one main exception, namely that the gap between the two series is not constant over time (that is, within the time window we have available to carry out our analysis.) The results for Portugal are similar in that we can also identify sizeable benefits from EU membership and that these tend to be permanent in the case of per capita GDP and less so in the case of labor productivity. The main country donors to the construction of "synthetic Portugal" are Turkey (weight of approximately 34%) and Iceland (18%.) The results for the remaining country that joined the EU in the 1980s (Greece in 1981) deserve attention. The estimates show that both Greek per capita GDP and labor productivity would have been higher if Greece did not become a full-fledged EU member in 1981. Notice however that, on the positive side, the gap shrinks over time, which suggests that the strength of this statement weakens during the latter part of our time window (the 2000s in this case).

Figures 1 and 3 also report interesting results for the 1973 enlargement. As it can be seen, the UK and Denmark both benefitted from EU accession, but the gains to Ireland seem to have been even more substantial. Examining these results, one caveat to keep in mind is that the donor pool is smaller than for the other enlargements because of data availability as in this case data is needed since the early 1960s for the pre-treatment period (for further details see the technical Appendix.)

In 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the EU. As shown in Figures 1 and 3, the results for Austria and Finland suggest that EU membership generated permanent growth dividends both in terms of per capita GDP and labor productivity. However, the Austrian case is interesting because of the possibility that there has been an anticipation of these benefits. They suggest their start coincide with the end of the Cold War, a factor that many relate to Austria's delayed entry into the EU. In the case of Finland, the pretreatment matching is rather good especially considering the depth of the economic crisis the country went through in the early 1990s. The results for Sweden show a more nuanced picture in that there seem to have been little effect from EU membership in terms of per capita GDP, although there is a more noticeable (positive) effect when considering labor productivity. Overall the results for Sweden, at to a lesser extent Austria and Finland, seem to be small compared to the effects from the 1973 and 1980s enlargements. One interpretation is that when these three countries joined the EU they already had a relatively high level of per capita income and hence were at a disadvantage. We believe this interpretation is incorrect. If our results were picking up the benefits from relatively lower per capita incomes (that is, from convergence according to which relatively poorer countries grow faster) then this would damage our choice of method. It should be noted that the UK and Denmark were also relatively rich at the time of joining and these have experienced substantial benefits. Therefore, we prefer to associate the relatively smaller dividends estimated for the 1995 enlargement instead delayed full-fledged EU

membership. In other words, these three countries were already "partially integrated" with the EU when they formally joined.

Figures 2 and 4 show the results for the Eastern European countries that joined teh EU in 2004 in terms of per capita GDP and productivity, respectively. The picture is somewhat mixed in this case, with the one exception that the benefits from EU membership seem to have started a few years before the actual accession date: that is, there seem to have been an anticipation of the effect. With this caveat, overall these results tend to be quite good in that most show a satisfactory pre-treatment match. However, for some countries the benefits are quite clear, while for others they are very difficult to identify. Countries in the first group include Estonia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, while countries in the latter group are the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary.

In summary, it seems that the synthetic counterfactual methodology does a good job in identifying the growth dividends from EU membership. Furthermore, the synthetic counterfactuals indicate that the growth dividends are positive and that they often tend to be substantial and lasting. Yet there is heterogeneity across countries. Specifically, GDP or productivity growth rates significantly increase with EU membership in Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Finland, Estonia, Poland, Latvia and Lithuania. The growth effects are smaller but still positive, for Sweden, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary, but with important differences regarding productivity or GDP growth. Finally, and surprisingly, the evidence supports the view that only one country (Greece) experienced smaller GDP or productivity growth rates with EU accession.

5. Anticipation effects, difference-in-differences and regional evidence

The objective of this section is to try to further shore up the results discussed above. This is done in three ways: (a) we run "placebos in time" to evaluate whether unaccounted for anticipation effects are indeed weakening the baseline results above; (b) we present differences-in-differences estimates for the comparison between the actual and the

synthetic series so as to be able to make statements in terms of the statistical significance; and (c) we present similar synthetic counterfactuals evidence but using regional instead of country-level data.²¹

Firstly, we carry out a robustness test to account for the possibility of "anticipation effects," in particular in the context of the 2004 Eastern Enlargement. This refers to the possibility that the growth effects of EU membership started to be evident before the official date of accession. It represents an acknowledgement that the Eastern Enlargement was different in various aspects (see Elvert and Kaiser, 2004, for a historical analysis of EU enlargements). It was the largest in terms of entrants but it also required substantial institutional change in the EU itself and this partly explains why it took much longer than previous exercises.²² In order to evaluate the importance of these anticipation effects we reestimated the synthetic counterfactuals but instead of using the official accession date (in this case, 2004) we specify 1998 as the treatment year. As Figures 5 and 6 show, for both per capita GDP growth and labor productivity, there is evidence that the positive growth dividends from EU membership are indeed larger. The exceptions being the Czech and Slovak Republics for which the results are weaker.

Insert Figures 5 and 6 here

One drawback of the synthetic control method, in our view, is that there is no natural way of carrying out standard hypotheses tests and, consequently, there is a limited amount one can say about the confidence one should attach to each one of these estimates. Hence we estimate difference-in-differences for the country's actual and its synthetic series before and after the treatment so as to be able to make statements about the level of

²² Kutan and Yigit (2007) present econometric evidence supporting the view that the 1980s and 1990s enlargements did not suffer from severe anticipation effects. They estimate structural breaks in GDP and productivity series and report that they occur substantially close to the "official" accession dates.

²¹ We also run placebo test on donor countries. The results from placebo tests broadly support our main conclusions above and are reported in Figure A.1 to A.4 in the technical Appendix. Such placebo tests compare the effects on the treated country with those obtained by subjecting the donor countries to the same treatment. In most of the cases, the effect on the EU countries is greater than the effects on the donor countries (however notice that in some donor countries the pre-treatment mismatch is very large).

statistical significance of this differential.²³ In order to do that we incur a large cost, namely that the statistical tests are run for differences before and after, that is, for average values before and after treatment. It is natural to expect for those countries in which these gaps are not constant over the post-treatment time window that statistical significance will be hard to attain. This is serious for those countries in which the gap increases and subsequently decreases. This is why we think these results are conservative. Table 2 reports these tests, first for each country and then for each of the four enlargements, and for both GDP and labor productivity series.

Insert Tables 2 and 3 here

The results in Table 2 confirm, for the average effects, that the economic benefits from EU membership we estimate above are statistically significant. That is, the difference between the synthetic counterfactual series and the actual series are statistically significant. This is clearly the case for Denmark, United Kingdom and Ireland (both for GDP per capita and for labour productivity), Spain (only for GDP), Portugal (both for GDP and for labor productivity), Greece (note the average effect is negative, as before), and Austria (both for GDP and for labor productivity). There are no significant average differences in the cases of Sweden and Finland. Considering the 1998-anticipation effects on the 2004 enlargement, differences are also not statistically significant in the case of Czech Republic, Lithuania, Slovakia and Slovenia. This contrasts to the cases of Estonia (for labor productivity), Hungary, Latvia, and Poland (both for GDP and for labor productivity.)

In summary, the difference-in-difference estimates provide strong support to the synthetic counterfactuals results, especially in the case of the 1970s and 1980s enlargements. For the countries of the 1995 enlargement and for Eastern countries, these results are somewhat weaker and this may well be due to the fact that these averages are for the shorter post-treatment period (compared to the previous enlargements).

 23 See Bertrand, Duflo and Mullainathan (2004) for a classic critique of the difference-in-differences approach.

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Difference-in-differences allows us to generate additional results for each of the four enlargements individually (by pooling Greece into the 1986 enlargement). These are presented in the lower part of Table 2. The growth dividends from EU membership for the countries that became EU members in 1973 tend to be positive and statistically significant at conventional levels. For the 1980s enlargement, statistical significance is observed for per capita GDP when we exclude Greece. For the 1995 enlargement, the average labor productivity effects are statistically significant, while the same can be said for the per capita GDP effects in the 2004 enlargement.

The difference-in-differences results in Table 2 complement the synthetic counterfactual results in the sense that they allow us to state that the average differences in GDP or productivity are statistically different before and after EU accession. However, what about the magnitude of these effects? Table 3 presents a simple calculation of the differences between before and after EU accession (that is, the differences between their actual and their predicted levels from the synthetic counterfactuals), for each country, in percentages (in the case of GDP per capita) and in percentage points (in terms of per capita GDP growth). We present three important versions of each of these: the average difference for the whole post-accession period, the average difference for the first ten and for the first five years after accession to the EU.

Table 3 has various interesting results. Focusing on GDP levels (columns 1 to 3), one can see that there is little evidence for the notion that the difference (the effect of EU accession) decreases over time, after each enlargement. Column 1 shows that the 1970s enlargement has the highest growth dividends, while the 1986 enlargement (Spain and Portugal) and the Eastern enlargement have higher growth dividends than those from the 1995 enlargement. However, the 1970s, 1980s (excluding Greece), and the Eastern enlargement (considering anticipation effects) seem strikingly similar over the first decade after accession. Indeed, these are our preferred estimates and they suggest that incomes would be around 11 to 12 percent lower today if European Integration did not happen. For

the countries which joined EU in the 1980s, it is also interesting to note that there is not a huge difference between the results for the whole post accession period compared to its first ten years, while that difference for the Eastern enlargement with the anticipation effect is also small (although in the latter case it is almost by construction.) Ireland is an exception in that the benefits from membership accrue much later (one can speculate that structural funds and increased capital mobility may be the reasons). If one focuses on the more comparable "first ten years after accession," one can identify Latvia, Poland and Estonia as the countries that have benefited the most and, again, Greece as the one that has benefited the least (to a lesser extent, the others are Sweden, Finland and the Czech and Slovak Republics). As an overall grand average of these effects, we calculate that these countries' per capita incomes would be ten percent lower today if they had not joined the EU at the time they did. These conclusions are broadly similar when we focus on growth rates. On average, without European integration growth rates would have been 1.2 percentage points lower over the period and the one country that clearly stands out is again Latvia, for which the benefits from being an EU member amount to additional five percentage points in its GDP growth rate.

We analyze as well regional data to evaluate the growth dividends of EU membership within the synthetic counterfactuals methodological framework. Such regional perspective can be seen both as an additional robustness test (regional data may be less prone to measurement error) and as a way to verify whether the growth dividends of EU accession that we identified at the country level were equally spread across regions. To ensure sufficiently long pre-and post-treatment periods, and to deal with a unique and harmonized source of regional level data, we use data from Cambridge Econometrics to study the 1995 enlargement. The Cambridge Econometrics European regional database covers NUTS2 regions for EU27 countries plus Norway and Switzerland. It includes variables for GDP, value added, population, labor force, employment, investment, hours

worked and salaries, and consumption at aggregate and (broad) sector level.²⁴ This database offers comparable series of data across regions and time and has been widely used in the context of the economic analysis of EU regions.²⁵ Here we use the 2004 version of the database, which includes annual data from 1980, and from which we construct the following variables, all expressed at constant 1995 prices: productivity per hours worked (which is our dependent variable), annual population growth rates, population density, investment rate (defined as the share of investment over GDP for the total regional economy), share of employment in manufacturing over total regional employment, and share of employment in agriculture over total regional employment.

The Figures 7.a to 7.c present results for all NUTS-2 Austrian, Finnish and Swedish regions between 1980 and 2004. In this case, the donor pool is given by all regions in Switzerland and Norway. These results are by and large supportive of those obtained at the country level. The growth dividends for EU membership among Austrian regions tend to be large and clearly not temporary, with the notable exception of the capital region (Wien). In the case of Finnish regions, the results again show clear positive growth dividends from EU membership with the obvious exception of the Finnish northern region (Pohjois-Suomi) and this may well be explained by the stronger links of this region with Russia (Gorodnichenko, Mendoza and Tesar, 2012). Indeed, the dominant role of Russia as trade partner seems to reduce the scope for growth effects from trade integration with the EU. Finally, in the case of the regions of Sweden we can observe a distinctive positive effect of EU membership on labor productivity with essentially no exceptions. In a few regions there seems to have been some anticipation of these benefits, but that is not general and surely not the case for the capital region (Stockholm).

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²⁴ The data are aggregated for six broad sectors: agriculture, energy and manufacturing, construction, distributions and hotels, communication, financial and business services, non-market services.

²⁵ See, for instance, Becker, Egger and von Ehrlich (2010) and Tabellini (2010).

6. Conclusions and suggestions for future research

The objective of this paper was to provide an alternative, novel and somewhat more satisfactory answer to the important question of whether one can identify significant and substantial payoffs from EU membership in terms of GDP and labor productivity growth rates. The main finding is that there seems to be a strong tendency for the growth and productivity effects from EU membership to be positive and substantial. However, there is considerable heterogeneity across countries. More specifically, GDP or productivity growth rates increase with EU membership in Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Slovenia and Lithuania. The growth effects tend to be smaller, albeit still mostly positive, for Finland, Sweden, Czech Republic and Slovakia. Yet notice that there are important differences, within the latter group, between the effects on productivity and on GDP growth. Finally, and surprisingly, the evidence also supports the view that only one country (Greece) after EU accession experienced smaller GDP or productivity growth rates than its counterfactual. It is not just the disappointing absolute growth performance in Greece for the first 15 years after accession (that is, 1981-1996), but also the fact that its relative performance was also below par: during this period, the gap between Greek and the EU average GDP has actually increased. Indeed, Greece provides the only case on record in which this gap has increased for more than 5 years following membership.

There are three directions for further research. One is that research is clearly needed to provide a fuller understanding of why Greece turned out to have such an exceptionally negative economic growth performance since EU accession. The return we expect from such research activities is high, as they can certainly throw light on the current Greek situation, and hopefully even suggest ways out of it. The second direction should focus on disentangling the various aspects of the integration process, including the political economy dimension. Future analysis could focus not only on trade and financial integration but also on democracy, transparency and political support for European

integration. These issues appear particularly relevant in light of the tensions that arose within the EU and especially within the Euro area as a result of the Great Recession. The third and last area for further research regards the specific mechanisms and channels through which EU membership seems able to support faster GDP and productivity growth rates, as these mechanisms, and their effectiveness, may well have changed over time.

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Table 1: Economic Growth in Europe and Around the World: 1820-2008

(Average annual compounded growth rates, GDP per capita, US\$ 1990 Geary-Khamis PPP estimates)

Period	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Former Soviet Union	United States	Japan	East Asia	Latin America
1820-1870	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.3	0.2	-0.1	0.0
1870-1913	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.8	1.4	0.8	1.8
1913-1950	0.8	0.4	0.6	1.7	1.6	0.9	-0.2	1.4
1950-1973	3.8	4.5	3.6	3.2	2.3	7.7	2.3	2.5
1973-1994	1.7	1.9	-0.2	-1.6	1.7	2.5	0.3	0.9
1994-2008	1.6	2.7	4.0	4.2	1.7	1.0	3.9	1.6

Note: Regional aggregates are population-weighted. Western Europe refers to Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Eastern Europe refers to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Southern Europe refers to Greece, Ireland, Spain, and Turkey. After 1989, West Germany becomes Germany, and the data reflect the newly independent countries in Eastern Europe that emerge from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Source: World Bank (2012)

Notes on Figure 1 to 5: SYNTHETIC COUNTERFACTUAL RESULTS

There are two series plotted in each Figure.

The one with a continuous line represents the actual per capita GDP or labor productivity levels of the country in question.

The series with a dashed line plots the synthetic counterfactual results that purport to answer the following question:

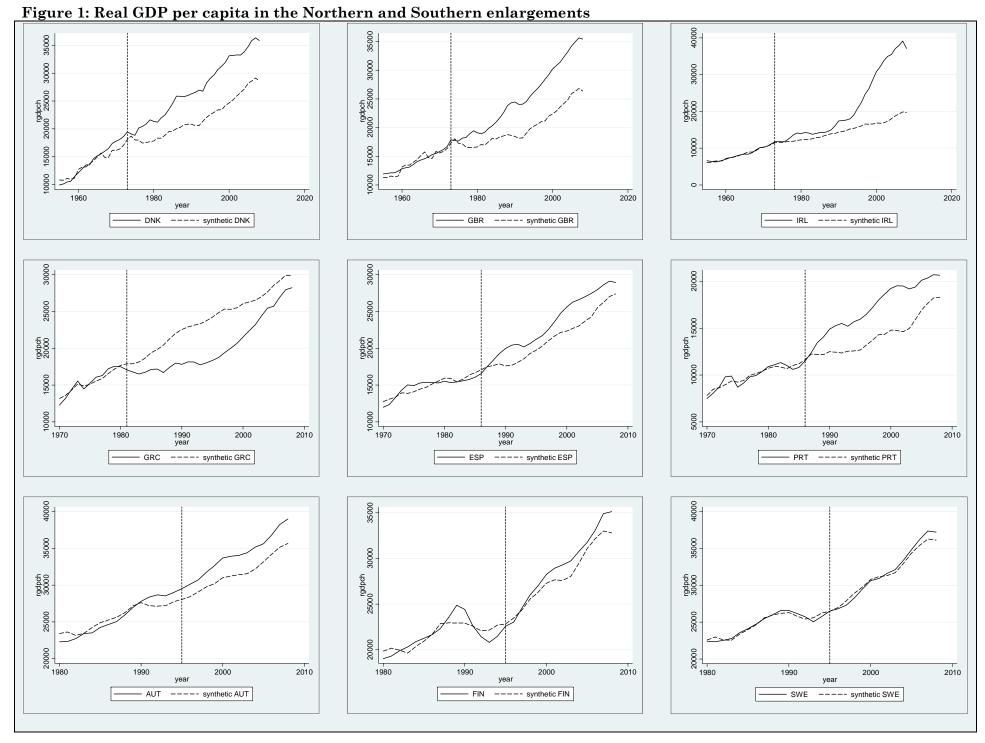
What would have been the GDP (or productivity levels) of the country in question if it had NOT become an EU member in the year it did?

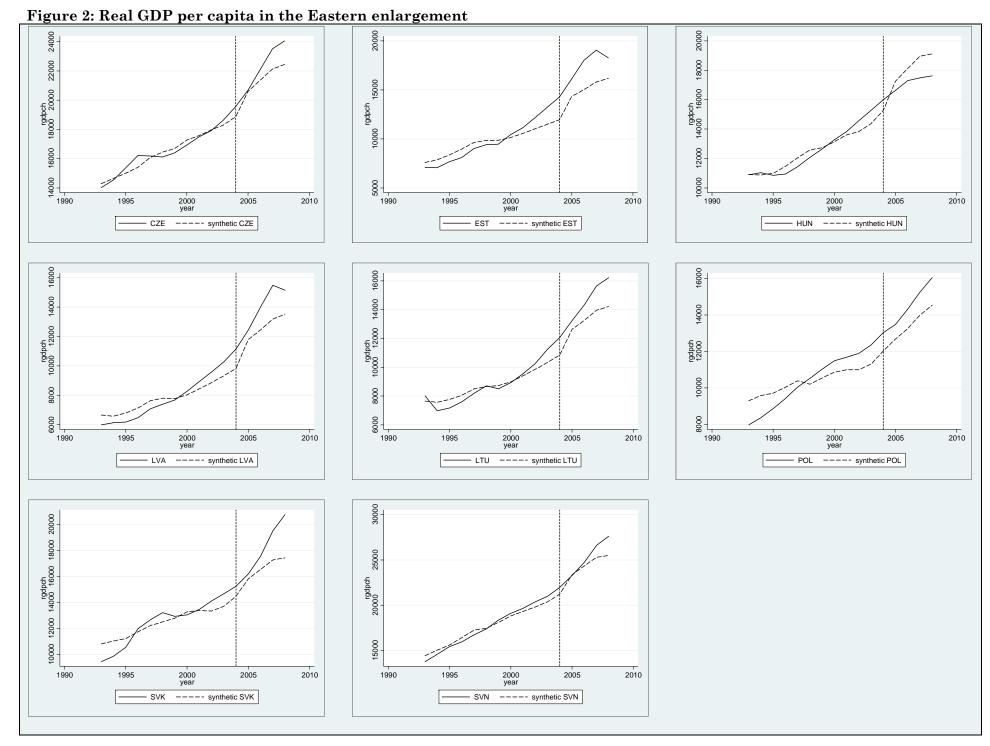
The synthetic counterfactuals are presented for each country in the last four EU enlargements:

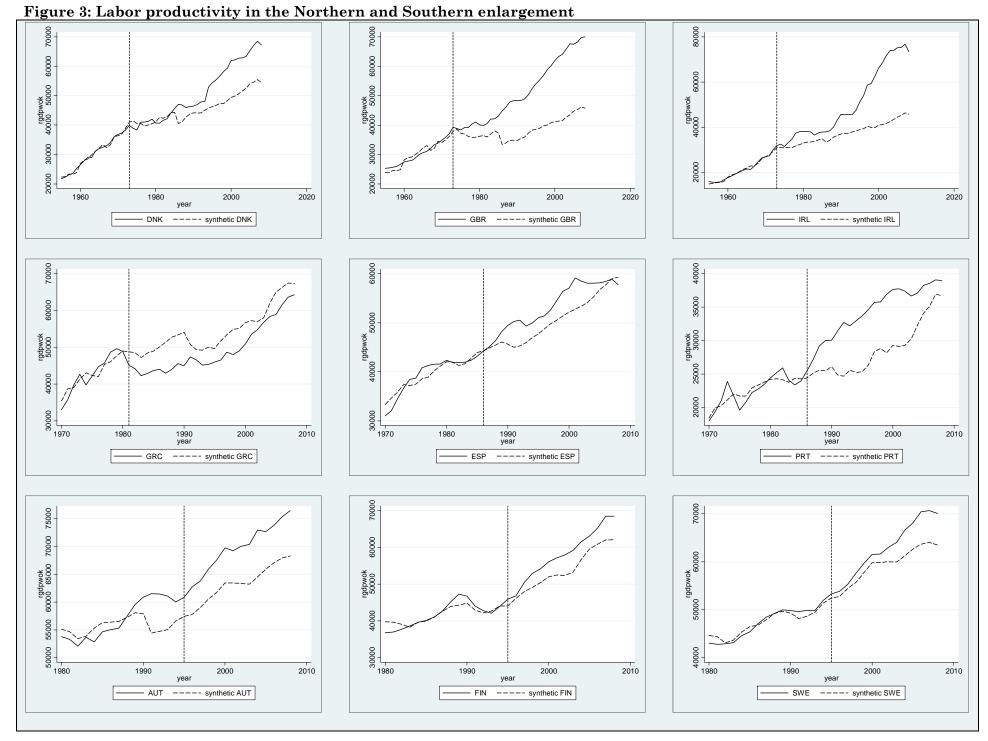
- Denmark, Ireland, and United Kingdom in the 1970s.
- Greece, Spain and Portugal in the 1980s.
- Austria, Finland and Sweden in the 1990s.
- Eastern European countries in the 2000s.

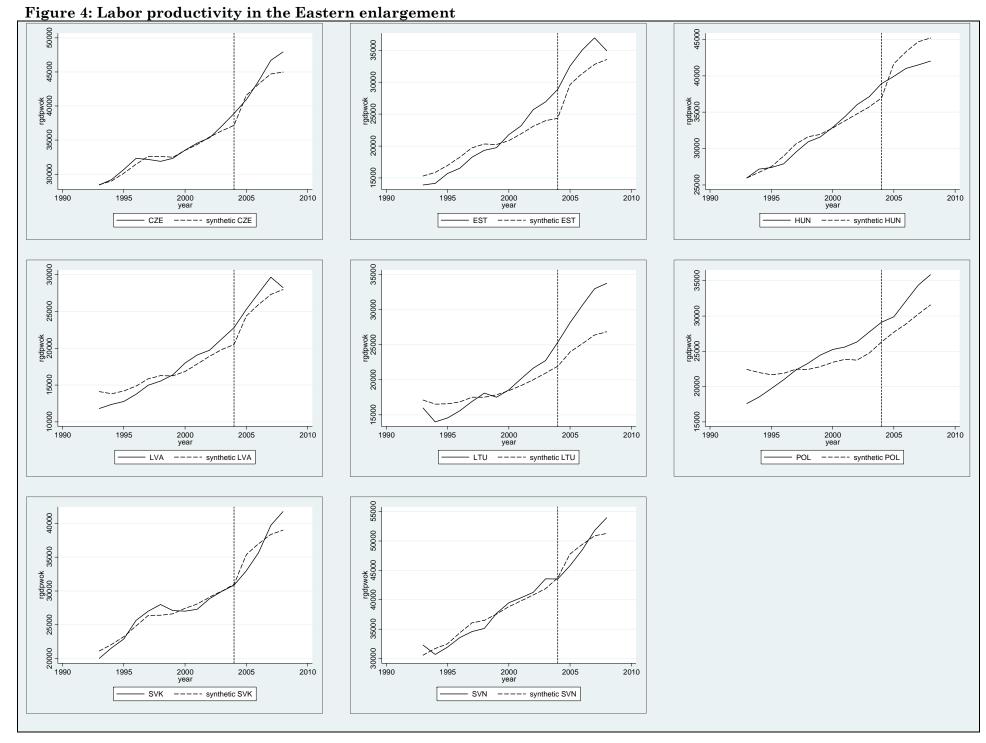
Results are presented for two growth measures (per capita GDP and labor productivity). Others are available from the authors upon request.

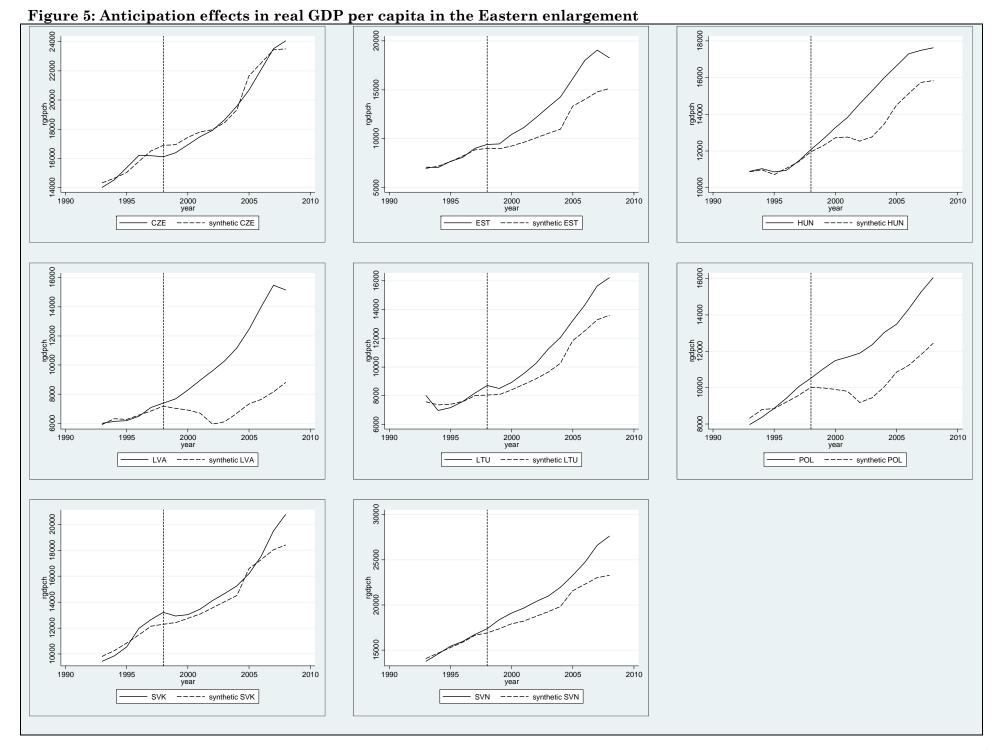
Results are presented for a donor pool of countries taken from Bower and Turrini (2010). The reported results are robust to dramatic changes in donor pool (from the whole world to selected EU neighbors); these are available from the authors upon request.











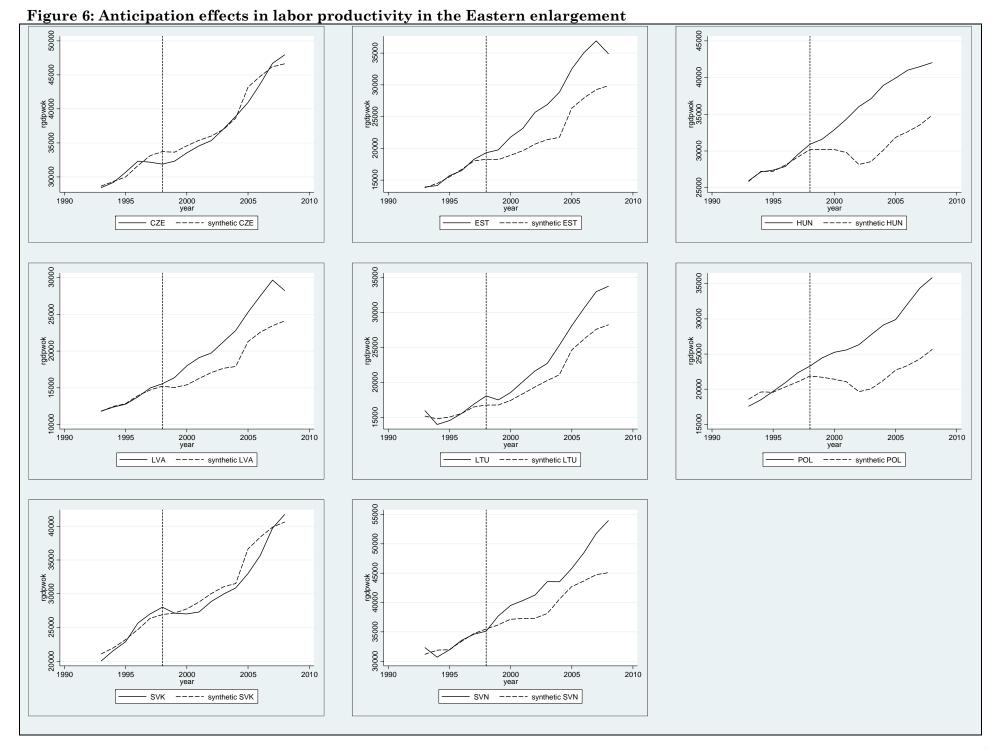


Table 2: Differences-in-differences estimates of EU membership

	Real GDP	per capita	Labor pr	oductivity		
	DID estimate and std error	R-square and Number of obs	DID estimate and std error	R-square and Number of obs		
Denmark	4939 1389.870***	0.645 108	5235 2548.472**	0.625 108		
United Kingdom	4882 1242.031***	0.575 108	12498 2302.802***	0.622 108		
Ireland	6417 1693.316***	0.478 108	12641 3098.360***	0.607 108		
Greece	-3680	0.523	-5055	0.385		
GIOGO	1199.280***	78	2650.815*	78		
Portugal	2969 818.513***	0.708 78	5786 1375.306***	0.699 78		
Spain	2036	0.633	2725	0.679		
	1163.037*	78	1901.338	78		
Austria	2500	0.718	5158	0.724		
	1264.643*	58	1863.316***	58		
Sweden	182	0.638	3462	0.751		
	1445.066	58	2208.747	58		
Finland	957	0.620	4123	0.681		
	1507.296	58	2707.401	58		
Czech Republic	-228	0.444	-635	0.432		
ozem wepasiio	1315.601	32	2588.259	32		
Hungary	1514	0.597	5944	0.686		
gy	773.860*	32	1591.742***	32		
Poland	2419	0.640	6468	0.663		
	750.940***	32	1653.858***	32		
Estonia	2342	0.496	4784	0.544		
	1416.446	32	2628.393*	32		
Latvia	3819	0.575	3435	0.535		
	970.475***	32	1989.282*	32		
Lithuania	1368	0.421	2993	0.441		
	1109.930	32	2363.981	32		
Slovakia	716	0.480	-835	0.468		
	1305.509	32	2737.253	32		
Slovenia	1983	0.568	3878	0.574		
	1417.173	32	2288.965	32		
Northern enlargement	5412	0.478	10125	0.567		
1973	1049.586***	324	1767.457***	324		
Southern enlargement	172	0.401	735	0.221		
1981&1986	990.688	234	2760.823	234		
Southern enlargement	2503	0.432	4256	0.225		
1986	1174.714***	156	3241.477	156		
Northern enlargement	1213	0.561	4248	0.481		
1995	966.225	174	2062.294**	174		
Eastern enlargement	1742	0.176	3254	0.183		
(1998-anticipation effect)	1009.064*	256	2064.973	256		

NOTES: These results assess the statistical significance of the differences between the average difference pre-treatment (between the actual country and its synthetic) and the average difference post-treatment (between the actual country and its synthetic) estimated by the synthetic counterfactuals in Figures 1, 2, 5 and 6. Results are presented for each country and then for each enlargement and for GDP per capita and labor productivity series. The results are robust to other growth measures which are available upon request. Robust standard errors are reported. Inference: *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

Table 3. Difference between country's Actual and Synthetic Per Capita GDP paths

		LEVEL	nt average GDP pc		(pp) in post-treatme GROWTH RATE be	-
		ACTUAL and SY		4.77	and SYNTHETIC	
	All post-	10 years after	5 years after	All post-	10 years after	5 years after
	treatment	treatment	treatment	treatment	treatment	treatment
Denmark	24.214	14.394	10.275	0.450	1.063	2.072
United	24.701	9.386	5.597	0.764	0.952	2.107
Kingdom						
Ireland	43.459	9.413	5.316	1.785	0.702	2.324
Greece	-15.167	-14.286	-9.356	-0.030	-1.867	-1.968
Portugal	20.932	17.523	11.468	0.624	2.396	4.496
Spain	9.552	7.499	6.371	0.392	0.984	3.545
Austria	7.820	7.576	6.742	0.305	0.219	0.679
Finland	3.431	2.835	1.113	0.630	0.337	0.952
Sweden	0.574	-0.130	-1.035	0.223	0.123	-0.134
Czech Republic	-1.191	-1.191	-1.914	0.735	0.735	1.200
Estonia	20.546	20.546	14.493	1.554	1.554	3.913
Hungary	11.380	11.380	8.886	0.993	0.993	3.479
Latvia	53.486	53.486	30.915	5.387	5.387	10.020
Lithuania	13.227	13.227	9.658	1.031	1.031	1.575
Poland	23.073	23.073	18.306	2.117	2.117	4.431
Slovak Republic	4.740	4.740	4.205	0.502	0.502	-0.580
Slovenia	9.898	9.898	6.862	1.492	1.492	1.211
Northern						
enlargement	29.407	11.315	7.323	0.953	0.933	2.142
1973						
Southern						
enlargement	0.905	1.329	1.597	0.228	0.317	1.802
1981&1986						
Southern						
enlargement	14.098	11.548	8.460	0.4867	1.567	3.947
1986						
Northern						
enlargement	3.964	3.4672	2.374	0.367	0.206	0.469
1995						
Eastern						
enlargement	10.050	10.050	0.000	1 500	1 500	2 - 22
1998	12.978	12.978	8.998	1.526	1.526	2.582
(anticipation)						

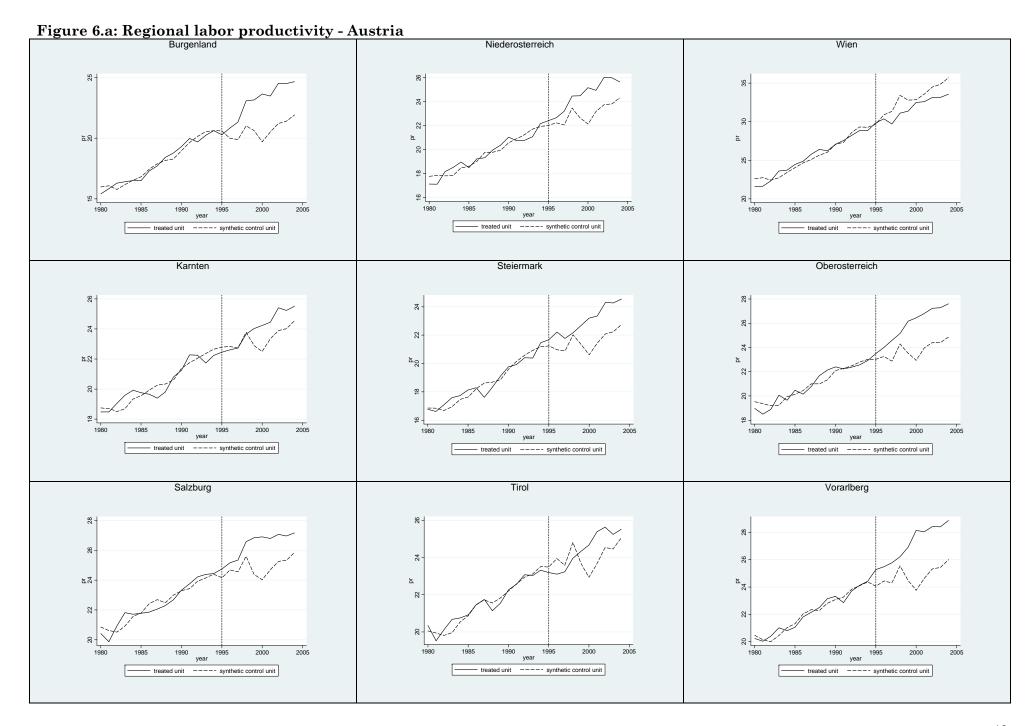
Notes on Figure $\,$ 6: SYNTHETIC COUNTERFACTUAL RESULTS USING REGIONAL DATA

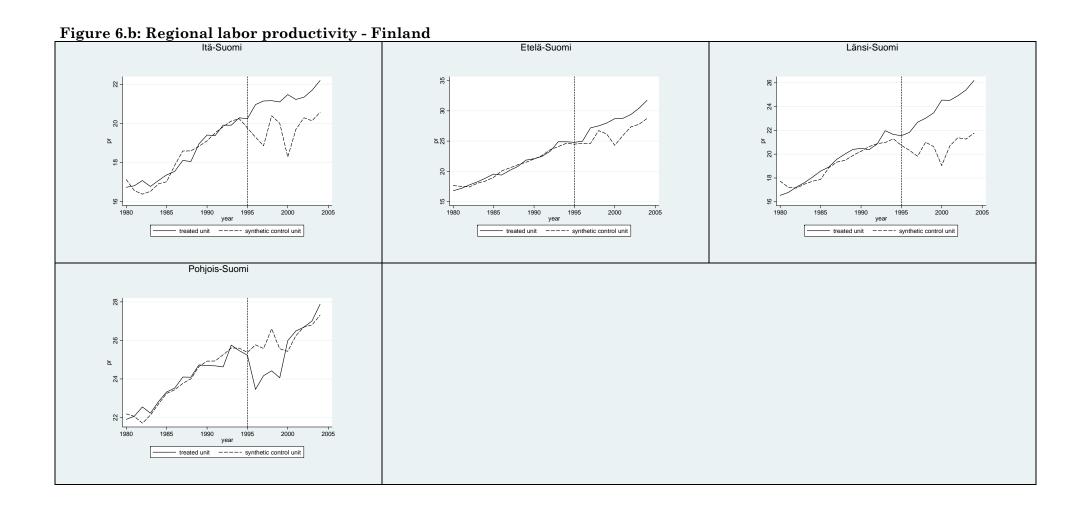
Regional data for the 1995 enlargement: Austria, Finland and Sweden.

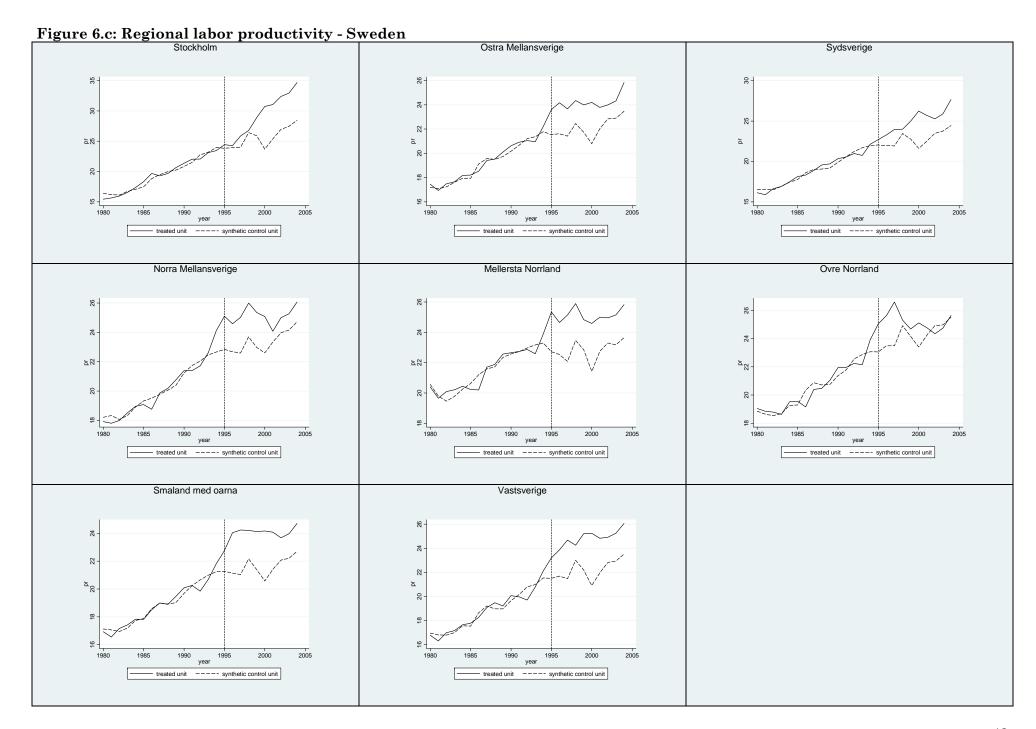
The donor pool are regions from Norway and Switzerland.

The dependent variable is the labor productivity per hour worked.

The source of the regional data is Cambridge Econometrics.







Appendix

Table A.1: Unit weights and predictor balance – Real GDP per capita in the Northern and Southern enlargements

Iusi	c 11.11. Only we	DNK	u preu	ictor baie		iteal GD	GBR	a in the	Norther	II and S	outhern e	enlargements IRL	3	
Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic
ARG BRA CHL CHN COL EGY JPN KOR MEX NZL PHL THA TUR	0 0 0 0 0 0 .14 0 0 .86	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	14128.42 18.5992 30.1045 113.4803 -0734791 4707.356 6.466325 31.92838 20.4622 93.00428	13781.82 19.26247 23.64842 47.12548 1410557 15871.74 11.53364 32.99036 19.18892 78.93301	ARG BRA CHL CHN COL EGY JPN KOR MEX NZL PHL THA TUR	.088 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdp ki oper dens pop pop agr ind ter sec	k 21.8454 225.939	3 18.64536 2 25.20256 7 10.00904 111532594 9 4239.138 2 12.45094 6 32.70868 4 18.92526	ARG BRA CHL CHN COL EGY JPN KOR MEX NZL PHL THA TUR	.257 0 0 0 0 0 0 .203 0 .015 .24 0	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	8184.698 18.71273 31.03721 42.19595 1567079 2890.526 16.56953 34.49368 11.62112 74.38288	8184.087 18.73474 14.54451 72.83208 1624889 35512.44 20.26631 34.52512 13.68258 56.13163
TOR		GRC			TOIL		ESP			TOIL	.200	PRT		
Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic
ALB ARG AUS CAN CHE CHI COL EGY IDN ISL ISR JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL THA TUR	0 0 0.281 .132 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	15438.97 30.68624 21.31609 70.92705 .001197 9140.592 15.91769 74.82954	15374.55 30.49525 21.45409 154.9721 .0219185 73546.11 20.06139 75.50592	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL PHL TUN TUR URY	0 .198 .522 .19 0 .012 0 0 .014 .021 .001 .043 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdp ki oper dens pop pop agr ind ter sec	22.6207 k 17.9698 72.8531	1 22.64224 18.22055 5 21.01268 1.0632322 5 40125.24 3 8.564857 39.50187 8 19.71548	ALB ARG AUS BRA CHE CHI CHI COL EGY ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS MYS NZL PHL THOR TUR URY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 189 0 0 .1 0 0 0 .136 0 0 0 .142	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	9851.037 23.66904 30.26919 102.4411 .0176952 9521.294 21.99968 30.77487 10.54996 49.49542	9863.569 26.33484 39.94156 42.89579 .0176214 18472.69 19.07358 30.7784 10.57261 50.64321
URY	0	AUT					FIN					SWE		
Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic
ALB ARG AUS BRA CHE CHL CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX NZL PHL TUN TURY	0 0 .256 0 0 .572 .006 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	25563.83 22.20473 60.13667 92.86038 .0313564 7680.184 3.86332 32.90471 29.14543 98.22047	25599.76 26.49845 59.49917 103.5351 .1421614 10803.99 6.137594 34.16473 23.33576 98.11098	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL PHL TUN TUR URY	0 0 0 .002 .118 .313 .042 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .406 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdp ki oper dens pope agr ind ter sec	ch 21584.7 24.0599 k 42.0416 16.1975	7 21582.48 1 24.00462 1 53.45448 8 16.2057 4 .1459742 26483.03 5 8.844635 9 34.43856 3 40.50074	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHLN COL EGY ISL JPN KOR MAR MEYS NZL PHLA TUN TURY	0 0 0 0 .324 .188 .074 0 0 0 0 .267 0 0 0 0 .147	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	24649.82 17.55956 50.63147 20.63541 .0273545 8491.591 4.137151 30.5305 32.59514 93.11512	24651.62 21.22014 50.61927 35.73619 .140671 11418.76 6.492595 32.9409 46.08598 93.25807

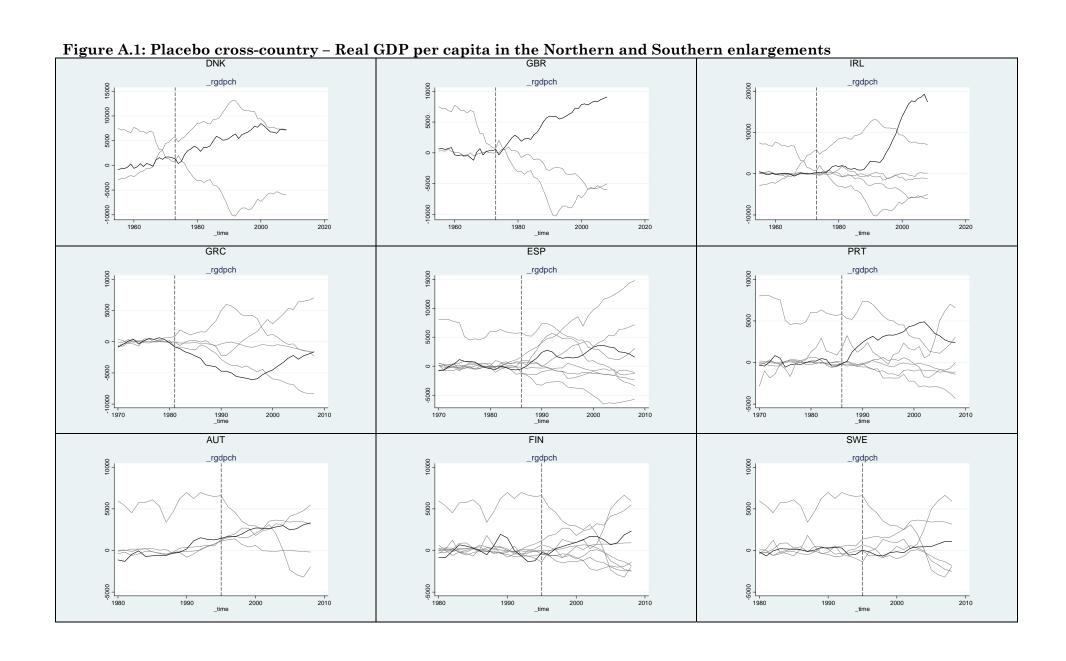


Table A.2: Unit weights and predictor balance – Labor productivity in the Northern and Southern enlargements

Table	71.2. OHII W.C.	DNK	ı preu	ictor bara		царог р		BR	me no	orthern a		ithern enla	IRL		
Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight			Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic
ARG BRA CHL CHN COL EGY JPN KOR MEX NZL PHL THA TUR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .355 0 .084 .561	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	30005.19 18.5992 30.1045 113.4803 0734791 4707.356 6.466325 31.92838 20.4622 93.00428	29968.94 20.95852 18.74878 105.0577 -1329159 39784.62 9.793382 35.33023 17.87791 76.37113	ARG BRA CHL CHN COL EGY JPN KOR MEX NZL PHL THA	.278 0 0 0 0 0 0 .121 0 0 .6 0		rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	29986.85 14.05553 21.84542 225.9397 0290001 53638.89 2.834722 41.51076 14.88064 75.38846	29843.95 20.24261 20.90074 41.59006 1543576 19411.06 11.06025 37.00394 18.00556 69.81651	ARG BRA CHL CHN COL EGY JPN KOR MEX NZL PHL THA TUR	0 0 0 0 0 .335 0 .398 0 0 .267	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	20962.44 18.71273 31.03721 42.19595 1567079 2890.526 16.56953 34.49368 11.62112 74.38288	20924.27 21.77532 17.77406 117.6811 1874131 45576.72 14.30623 34.68684 14.07285 64.18454
TOIL		GRC			TOIL		Е	SP			TOIL		PRT		
Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic		Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic
ALB ARG AUS BRA CHE CHN COL EGY HKG IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL THA TUN	0 0 0 .061 0 .17 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .572 0 .197 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	42784.13 30.68624 21.31609 70.92705 .001197 9140.592 15.91769 74.82954	42721.82 30.41041 44.85153 88.41666 0081944 29742.9 15.90935 83.13898	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL PHL TUN TUR URY	0 0 .413 .23 0 .134 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .218 0 0 .005 0		rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	39388.36 22.62071 17.9698 72.85315 .0631041 36435.65 8.548183 37.5927 19.69868 76.33068	39268.66 24.61626 20.35542 92.88469 .0571259 58543.7 6.903183 38.58924 19.70236 76.33312	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL PHL TUN TUR URY	.003 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .373 0 0 .232 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	22494.05 23.66904 30.26919 102.4411 .0176952 9521.294 21.99968 30.77487 10.54996 49.49542	22527.2 23.17229 33.27717 27.16638 .0314353 21614.83 21.11588 30.79941 10.56679 49.59341
URY	0	AUT					F	īN					SWE		
Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight			Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_Weight		Treated	Synthetic
ALB ARG AVS BRA CHE CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX NZL PHL TUN TUR VRY	0 0 1.112 0 .274 .614 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	56832.47 22.20473 60.13667 92.86038 .0313564 7680.184 3.86332 32.90471 29.14543 98.22047	55706.88 23.62397 51.05631 102.3621 .1174451 13266.7 3.337138 32.78999 42.04317 100.4226	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MEX MEX TUN TUR URY	0 0 0 0 0 .244 0 0 0 0 0 0 .462 0 0 0 0 0 0		rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	41699.93 24.05991 42.04161 16.19758 .0203774 4933.075 7.022083 34.50779 40.84733 108.2895	41657.21 24.05948 48.38746 75.48382 .1458365 14088.89 9.476161 34.45906 40.76466 91.4924	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY IDN ISL JPN KOR MAR MEX MYS NZL PHL TUN TUR URY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop agr ind ter sec	47167.41 17.55956 50.63147 20.63541 .0273545 8491.591 4.137151 30.5305 32.59514 93.11512	47203.16 18.81346 50.66183 7.94606 1.679103 27842.08 4.846499 33.00149 80.07969 93.60544

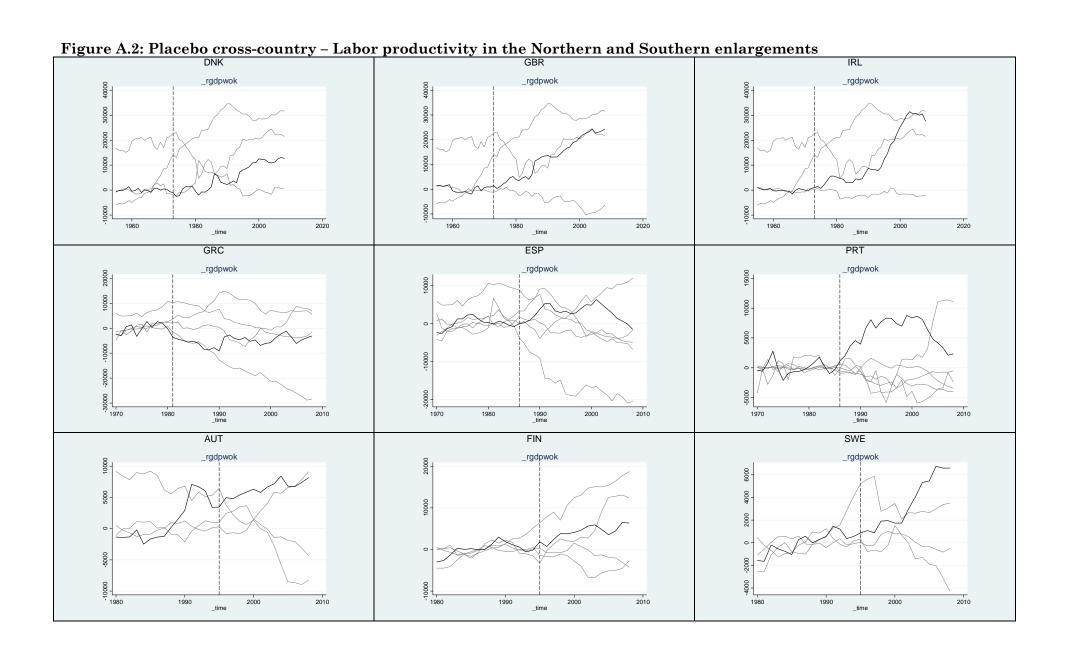
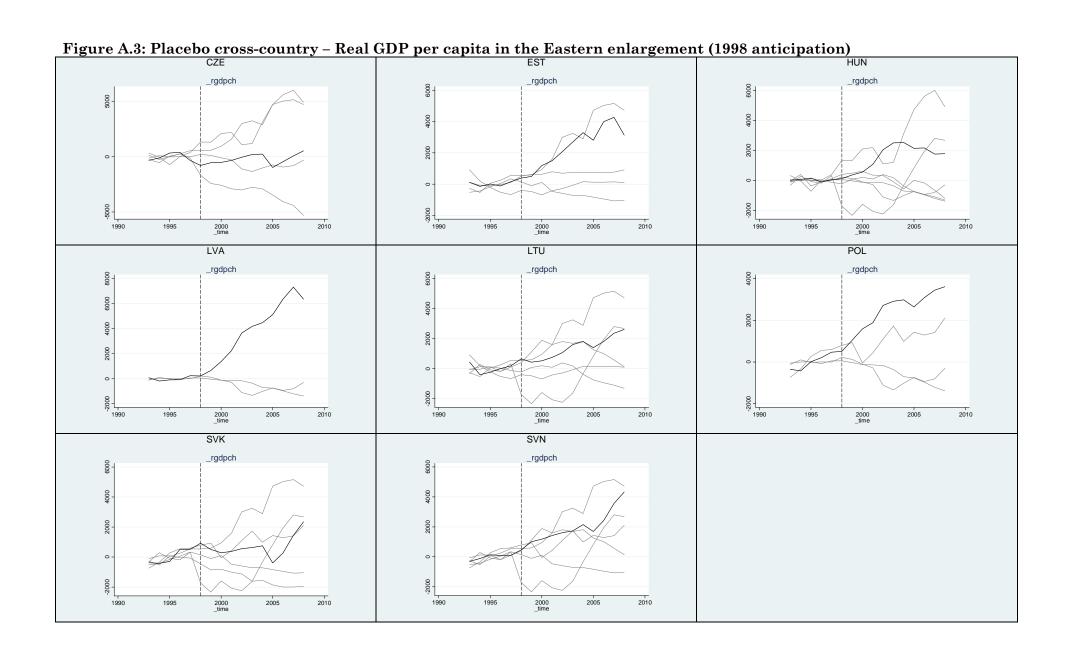


Table A.3	: Unit weights	and predic	ctor bala	nce –	Real (GDP 1	er ca	pita i	n the E	astern er	larg	ement	(1998	3 antid	cipatio	on)	
	CZE						Е	ST						Н	UN		
Co_No Unit_W	Co_No Unit_W	Treated	Synthetic	Co_No l	Jnit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic
ALB 0 ARG 0 ANG 0 BRA 0 CAN 0 CHE 0 CHI 0 COL 0 EGY 0 HRG 0 HRV .631 IDN 0 ISL .171 ISR 0	JPN .175 rgd, KOR 0 ki MAR 0 ope MEX 0 den MKD 0 pop MYS 0 pop NZL 0 ter PHL 0 sec RUS 0 THA 0 TUN 0 TUR 0 UKR 0 URY .023	enk 69.43389 ns 133.5837 ogr .0486624 0 10318.59 20.3791	15267.26 22.16668 70.97353 113.0011 .0742206 24877.22 30.25677 88.80191	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 .047 0 0 0 .008 0 .066	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	7783.545 21.63741 105.5148 34.00993 .152569 1449.33 31.31793 96.84887	7776.776 21.59448 92.46768 81.56834 .092854 8340.764 26.83056 81.11214	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 .218 .53 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	11035.94 17.06667 57.38999 114.9309 0001189 10291.17 21.47465 92.37348	11001.41 18.58144 67.41381 113.9884 .1747698 23878.41 21.43687 78.00207
	LVA						Ľ	TU						Р	OL		
Co_No Unit_W	Co_No Unit_W	Treated	Synthetic	Co_No l	Jnit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic
ALB 0 ARG 0 AUS 0 BRA 0 CAN 0 CHE 0 CHI 0 CHN 0 CHI 0 CHN 0 INT 0	KOR 0 1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpch 6377.258 ki 12.20334 openk 82.46302 dens 40.06805 popgr .0163368 pop 2494.698 ter 26.22805 sec 88.50974	16.21778 50.10215 33.38711 .2677545 22217.19 31.74279	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 0 .013 0 0 0 0 .046 .515 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 .005 0 0 0 0 0 0 .005	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	7586.694 10.7057 91.09633 57.8992 .1377906 3674.981 27.95088 86.00709	7587.52 20.64397 90.97001 354.0716 .1040714 24539.4 33.58612 85.989	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 .11 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .283 0 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	8928.349 15.95067 42.28706 126.731 .2625728 38580.3 31.61196 96.92753	8942.925 16.86188 48.34186 29.07228 .2626474 20607.13 35.97875 85.49217
Co_No Unit_W	Co_No_Unit_W	Treated	Synthetic	Co_No l	Init W	Co_No		VIN	Treated	Synthetic							
ALB 0 ARG 0 AUS .128 BRA .051 CAN 0 CHE 0 CHL 0 CHN 0 COL 0 EGY 0 HKG .008 HRV .669 IDN 0 ISL 0 ISR 0	JPN 0 rgdl KOR 0 ki MAR 0 ope MEX 0 den MKD 0 pop MYS .144 pop NZL 0 ter PHL 0 sec RUS 0 THA 0 TUN 0 TUR 0 UKR 0 URY 0	pch 10898.34 21.37569 enk 92.13366 ns 111.3941 opr .2009542 ob 5357.327 18.78215	10911.87 244.15714 92.11543 113.0656 .2011651 16623.31 29.28024 86.71877	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 .165 0 .176 0 0 0 0 0 .008 .465 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 .187 0 0 0 0	rgdpch ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	15292.52 23.12446 92.48478 98.76509 .210008 2004.566 30.99486 90.91187	15310.3 24.83614 92.59097 98.66479 .2544466 14129.23 41.99612 90.9946							



m onlargement (1008 entisination)

Table A.4	: Unit weig	hts and	d predi	ictor bala	nce -	Labo	r pro	ducti	vity in	the Ea	ıstern enl	large	ment	(1998)	antic	ipatioı	1)	
	С	ZE						E	ST						Н	UN		
Co_No Unit_W	Co_No Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic
ALB 0 ARG 0 AUS 0 BRA 0 CAN 0 CHE 0 CHL 0 CHL 0 CHL 0 EGY 0 HKG .004 HRV .577 IDN 0 ISL .172 ISR 0	JPN .18 KOR 0 MAR 0 MEX 0 MKD 0 MYS 0 NZL 0 PHL 0 RUS 0 THA 0 TUN 0 TUR 0 UKR 0 URY .067	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	30558.09 22.16795 69.43389 133.5837 .0486624 10318.59 20.3791 91.11272	30550.2 22.16745 69.49417 134.9004 .0768296 25425.71 30.41847 88.93057	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 .05 0 .185 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	15708.13 21.63741 105.5148 34.00993 .152569 1449.33 31.31793 96.84887	15709.98 22.04206 96.4155 109.1165 .2145071 17889.37 26.27984 79.50583	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHI CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 .001 .11 .002 .146 0 .001 0 .001 .024 0 .001 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 .002 .006 0 .001 .001 0 .001 .002	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	27574.6 17.06667 57.38999 -0.001189 10291.17 21.47465 92.37348	27495.06 18.07437 49.49066 16.23989 .1543053 10915.75 42.72911 91.78547
	Ľ	VA						Ľ	ΓU						Р	OL		
Co_No Unit_W	Co_No Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No	Unit_W		Treated	Synthetic
ALB 0 ARG 0 AUS 0 BRA 0 CAN 0 CHE 0 CHL 0 CHN 0 CHN 0 COL 0 HKG 0 HKG 0 HKG 0 ISL 0 ISR 0	JPN 0 KOR 0 MAR .438 MEX 0 MKD 0 MYS 0 NZL 0 PHL 0 RUS 0 THA 0 TUN 0 TUR 0 UKR 0 URY 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	13127.59 12.20334 82.46302 40.06805 .0163368 2494.698 26.22805 88.50974	13142.47 23.59068 73.76906 72.68391 .0648894 13967.11 19.88665 62.66599	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 .005 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	15402.28 10.7057 91.09633 57.8992 .1377906 3674.981 27.95088 86.00709	15427.88 20.40715 88.30643 254.8456 .0949265 23748.86 32.98372 85.9614	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 .102 .001 0 0 0 0 .289 0 0 0	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	19815.68 15.95067 42.28706 126.731 .2625728 38580.3 31.61196 96.92753	19834.82 16.80936 48.44448 29.4652 .2644932 20984.26 35.66494 84.96109
Co_No Unit_W	Co_No Unit_W	VIC	Treated	Synthetic	Co_No	Unit_W	Co_No		VIV	Treated	Synthetic							
ALB 0 ARG 0 AUS .128 BRA 0 CAN 0 CHE 0 CHL 0 CHL 0 CHL 0 CHL 0 CHN 0 COL 0 EGY 0 HKG .007 HRV .801 IDN 0 ISL 0 ISR 0	JPN 0 KOR 0 MAR 0 MEX 0 MKD 0 MYS .064 NZL 0 PHL 0 RUS 0 THA 0 TUN 0 TUR 0 UKR 0 URY 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	23441.75 21.37569 92.13366 111.3941 .2009542 5357.327 18.78215 89.27523	23471.65 22.22432 89.00794 111.9551 .1312204 7238.56 31.38228 87.94202	ALB ARG AUS BRA CAN CHE CHL CHN COL EGY HKG HRV IDN ISL ISR	0 0 .08 0 .06 0 0 0 0 0 .01 .071 0 .295	JPN KOR MAR MEX MKD MYS NZL PHL RUS THA TUN TUR UKR URY	0 0 0 0 0 .344 .14 0 0 0 0 0	rgdpwok ki openk dens popgr pop ter sec	32639.39 23.12446 92.48478 98.76509 .210008 2004.566 30.99486 90.91187	32633.84 23.14465 85.28437 101.9445 2.102692 7199.799 30.9654 88.97266							

