https://doi.org/10.46551/epp2024v12n0104

Economia e Políticas Públicas
Revista Eletrônica de Economia

Vol. 12, n. 1, jan./jun. 2024
ISSN: 2318-647X (online)

https://www.periodicos.unimontes.br/index.php/economiaepoliticaspublicas

Examinando a transição europeia: países da Europa central e oriental duas décadas após a adesão à UE

Examining the European transition: central eastern European countries two decades post-EU accession

Examinando la transición europea: países de Europa central y oriental dos décadas después de la adhesión a la UE

Beata Woźniak-Jęchorek[1]

Resumo: O ano de 2024 é especialmente significativo, pois marca o 20º aniversário da expansão mais significativa da União Europeia, com a adesão de dez países à UE. Este artigo tem como objetivo examinar o estágio atual da transformação econômica desses 11 países da Europa Central e Oriental (CEE), 20 anos após sua adesão, e identificar as fontes de seu sucesso. O estudo avalia as condições iniciais no momento da adesão à UE para países como República Tcheca, Polônia, Eslováquia, Hungria, Estônia, Lituânia, Letônia e Eslovênia em 2004, seguidos por Bulgária e Romênia em 2007, e Croácia em 2013. Em seguida, analisa as perspectivas econômicas duas décadas após a adesão, resumindo os recentes impulsionadores do crescimento. Ao longo das últimas duas décadas, o bloco CEE-UE alcançou taxas de crescimento do PIB e progresso social notáveis, demonstrando a eficácia das reformas estruturais, tanto políticas quanto econômicas, a integração no mercado único europeu e cadeias globais de valor, bem como abertura e disposição para aprender com os outros.

Palavras-chave: adesão à UE, países da Europa Central e Oriental, desenvolvimento econômico, transformação.

[1]Associate Professor Poznan University of Economics and Business Institute of Economics (Poland); ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5029-5885; email: beata.wozniak-jechorek@ue.poznan.pl.

Abstract: The year 2024 is particularly noteworthy as it marks the 20th anniversary of the European Union's most significant expansion, with ten countries joining the EU. This paper aims to examine the current stage of economic transformation in these 11 Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, 20 years after their accession, and to identify the sources of their success. The study assesses the initial conditions at the time of EU accession for countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Slovenia in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, and Croatia in 2013. It then analyzes the economic perspectives two decades post-accession, summarizing the recent growth drivers. Over the past two decades, the CEE-EU bloc has achieved remarkable GDP growth rates and social progress, demonstrating the effectiveness of structural reforms, both political and economic, integration into the European single market and global value chains, as well as openness and a willingness to learn from others.

Keywords: EU accession, Central and Eastern countries, economic development, transformation.

Resumen: El año 2024 es especialmente notable ya que marca el 20º aniversario de la expansión más significativa de la Unión Europea, con diez países uniéndose a la UE. Este documento tiene como objetivo examinar el estado actual de la transformación económica en estos 11 países de Europa Central y Oriental (CEE), 20 años después de su adhesión, e identificar las fuentes de su éxito. El estudio evalúa las condiciones iniciales en el momento de la adhesión a la UE para países como la República Checa, Polonia, Eslovaquia, Hungría, Estonia, Lituania, Letonia y Eslovenia en 2004, seguidos de Bulgaria y Rumania en 2007, y Croacia en 2013. Luego analiza las perspectivas económicas dos décadas después de la adhesión, resumiendo los recientes impulsores del crecimiento. Durante las últimas dos décadas, el bloque CEE-UE ha logrado tasas de crecimiento del PIB y progreso social notables, demostrando la eficacia de las reformas estructurales, tanto políticas como económicas, la integración en el mercado único europeo y las cadenas de valor globales, así como la apertura y la disposición para aprender de otros.

Palabras clave: adhesión a la UE, países de Europa Central y Oriental, desarrollo económico, transformación.

Introduction

The political transformation after 1989 in Central and Eastern Europe was a dynamic process of changes on the way to a market economy. The beginning of this process was a result of the collapse of socialism. In the early 1990s, international structures of economic cooperation with the dominant role of the former Soviet Union collapsed. In most Central and Eastern European countries, economic reforms were introduced and formed on the program model referred to as the Washington Consensus, which suggested a solution alluding to the assumptions of neoliberal policies.

From an economic perspective, economic transformation is defined as a continuous process of shifting various resources from lower-productive activities to higher-productive ones, which can occur within and between sectors (e.g., Ocampo et al., 2009; McMillan et al., 2017). Systemic transformation involves three key domains: economic, political, and social. Economically, it centers on the shift from a centrally planned economy to a market-based one. Politically, it encompasses the transition from authoritarian or totalitarian regimes to democratic governance. Socially, it entails reshaping a society rooted in enforced collectivism into one where individual engagement holds significant importance (Ratajczak, 2009). This ongoing restructuring is pivotal for fostering economic growth. Central to this process is the concept of structural transformation, encompassing shifts in the types and the quality of goods produced. Such transformation can enhance countries' potential for export revenue by employing more advanced production techniques reliant on physical and human capital.

Countries in transition are commonly understood as the ex-socialist states of Europe and Central Asia undergoing economic restructuring and political reform. They comprise the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union, which have significant differences in development and democratization. In addition, there are notable differences in the CEE region between countries that joined the European Union (EU) in 2004 (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary) and then in 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania) and 2013 (Croatia) and the Balkan countries of South Eastern Europe, which are undergoing reconstruction following a period of war, conflict and political instability and still face fundamental challenges in governance and democracy.

Even when discussing solely the so-called CEE countries, it's essential to acknowledge their diversity regarding geographical, historical, political, and socio-cultural factors that influence them and the trajectories of economic policies pursued post-transition. Hence, we can categorize them into three subgroups: the Baltic states (Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia), the Visegrad Group countries (Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary), and the Balkan states (Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, and Slovenia).

The paper aims to investigate the current stage of economic transformation in these 11 CEE countries after 20 years of EU accession and to highlight the sources of their success story. The year 2024 holds particular significance as it commemorates the 35th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe. Additionally, it marks the 20th anniversary of the most significant expansion of the European Union, with ten countries acceding to the EU, nine of which were formerly part of the Soviet orbit. Hence, it's an opportune moment to evaluate and highlight the principal accomplishments of the transformation in this part of the world.

The paper is structured as follows: we begin with an overview of the historical transformation in the CEE region. Next, we evaluate the initial conditions during the EU accession period for countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Slovenia in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, and Croatia in 2013. Subsequently, we present an analysis of the perspectives two decades after EU accession, summarizing recent growth drivers.

1. History of transformation in CEE countries

The onset of economic transformation in Central and Eastern European countries stemmed from the downfall of socialism. During the early 1990s, the collapse of international security and economic cooperation frameworks, predominantly led by the former USSR, unfolded. The dissolution of the political and military alliance of the Warsaw Pact on July 1, 1990, marked a significant shift. Shortly thereafter, on June 28, 1991, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), an integration grouping of Eastern Bloc nations, ceased its operations. In response, most Central and Eastern European countries pursued membership in Western structures such as the European Union (then the European Communities), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and from January 1, 1995, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Concurrently, regional cooperation organizations in Central and Eastern Europe emerged. The Visegrad Group was established in 1991, followed by the creation of the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) in 1992, which included many analyzed countries from the region at different times. The Baltic Free Trade Agreement (BAFTA) was also formed in 1993 among Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia. Meanwhile, some post-socialist countries established the Commonwealth of Independent States in 1991 to foster economic cooperation, with Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine among its members. The collapse of socialism and its associated international security and economic cooperation structures also rediscovered Central and Eastern European state borders.

Following the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lithuania regained independence in March 1990, with Estonia and Latvia following suit in August 1991. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) united on

October 3, 1990. Czechoslovakia underwent a peaceful division into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in January 1993. Additionally, due to military actions, changes occurred in the borders of Balkan countries: Croatia and Slovenia declared independence from Yugoslavia in June 1991, followed by Macedonia in September, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in April 1992. Subsequently, other Balkan states emerged later, with Serbia and Montenegro declaring union in June 2006 and Kosovo declaring independence in February 2008. These developments presented an opportunity to integrate most Central and Eastern European countries into the new global system of liberal peace agreements (Jóźwik, 2016).

In parallel, economic reforms in most Central and Eastern European countries were shaped by the principles of the Washington Consensus, advocating for neoliberal policies. This program encompassed ten key points, including fiscal discipline, tax reform, liberalization of financial markets, trade liberalization, and privatization of state-owned enterprises. However, many economists argue that the Washington Consensus failed to yield the anticipated outcomes due to its mismatch with the region's economic realities. Challenges in implementing the program stemmed from a lack of organizational infrastructure for a liberal market economy, weaknesses in financial intermediation, ineffective allocation of privatized assets, shortcomings in enterprise management in a deregulated economy, inadequate infrastructure for promoting competition, weaknesses in the legal and judicial system, and unpreparedness of local governments to address regional development issues. As a reaction to these economic challenges, adjustments were made to the Washington Consensus policy, incorporating additional components including bolstering the financial system to enhance the nation's ability to withstand currency crises, addressing social security concerns, fortifying the institutional framework to support economic functioning, and augmenting investments in education. Nonetheless, critics of the consensus, such as Joseph Stiglitz, highlighted those numerous less developed economies liberalized their financial systems despite lacking mature banking systems and appropriate regulations governing financial flows (Reichardt, 2008).

2. The starting points in the EU accessing period in 2004 and 2007/2013

During the initial period outlined in Table 1, 1989-1994, Central and Eastern European countries experienced a transformation recession marked by a steep decline in production triggered by supply and demand shocks. Microeconomic liberalization led to significant shifts in relative prices, resulting in numerous enterprises facing bankruptcy. Moreover, production subsidies were eliminated or notably decreased, while public spending was curtailed to combat inflation. Throughout this period, all surveyed countries in the region witnessed declines in GDP. The subsequent years 1994-2007 are described in the literature as a period of new growth in countries transforming their economies. The credible leaders in this period are the Baltic states: Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In 2008, the impact of the global economic crisis was visible, and it most affected the leaders from the Baltic region. After the financial crisis, there was a period of moderate economic growth (Jóźwik, 2016).

Table 1. GDP dynamics in CEE countries 1989-2007

Country	1989-1994	1995-2007
Bulgaria	-4.63	3.47
Croatia		4.12
Czech Republic	-2.29	3.75
Estonia	-1.64	7.06
Hungary	-2.56	3.16
Lithuania	-13.23	6.34
Latvia	-8.29	6.97
Poland	1.13	4.81
Romania	-4.61	3.49
Slovakia	-3.38	5.11
Slovenia	-1.55	4.33

Source: own elaboration based on (Jóźwik, 2016) and data from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

To assess progress in transition, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) measured progress through a set of transition indicators in CEE countries. In 1989-2014, assessments were made in six areas: large-scale privatization, small-scale privatization, governance and enterprise restructuring, price liberalization, trade and foreign exchange system, and competition policy. The measurement scale for the indicators ranged from 1 to 4+, where 1 represented little or no change from a rigid centrally planned economy and 4+ represented the standards of an industrialized market economy. Table 2 shows the changes in these areas between 1989 and 2004 or 2007/2013 when a given country joined the European Union.

Table 2. Progress in transition in CEE countries

	Large-scale privatisation		Small scale privatisation		Govermance and entreprises restructuring		Price liberalization		Trade & Forex system		Copmetition Policy	
	1989	2004*	1989	2004*	1989	2004*	1989	2004*	1989	2004*	1989	2004*
Bulgaria	1.0	4.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	2.7	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	2.7
Croatia	1.0	3.7	3.0	4.3	1.0	3.3	2.7	4.0	2.0	4.3	1.0	3.0
Czech Republic	1.0	4.0	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.0
Estonia	1.0	4.0	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.3
Hungary	1.0	4.0	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.3	2.7	4.3	2.0	4.3	1.0	3.3
Latvia	1.0	3.7	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	2.7
Lithuania	1.0	3.7	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.0	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.0
Poland	1.0	3.3	2.0	4.3	1.0	3.3	2.3	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.0
Romania	1.0	3.7	1.0	3.7	1.0	2.7	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	2.7
Slovakia	1.0	4.0	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	4.3	1.0	3.3
Slovenia	1.0	3.0	3.0	4.3	1.0	3.0	2.7	4.0	2.0	4.3	1.0	2.7

Notes: *Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007, and Croatia in 2013.
Source: own elaboration based on European Bank for Reconstruction and Development data.

Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, and Slovakia were noted for their advanced progress in large-scale privatization when they joined the EU. However, only Bulgaria and Romania lagged in small-scale privatization, governance, enterprise restructuring, and price liberalization. Nonetheless, significant progress was made in the latter area. Each country introduced standards of an industrialized market economy in trade and foreign exchange systems. Estonia, Hungary, and Slovakia emerged as leaders in competition policy (see Table 2).

3. The perspectives after 20 years of EU admission

According to economic theory, the process of economic integration resulting from enlargement is expected to benefit all participating countries, including existing and new member states. This is anticipated to lead to accelerated economic growth in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries and reduced developmental disparities within the integrated bloc. Specifically, three effects are anticipated to accelerate the development of CEE countries: static integration effects (trade effects), the positive impact of development support actions (EU cohesion policy), and dynamic integration effects (shifts in production factors) (El-Agraa, 2012).

Regarding trade effects resulting from the elimination of tariffs and non-tariff barriers, it should be noted that for the Eastern enlargement of the EU, a significant portion of them was achieved during the decade preceding accession because of association agreements.

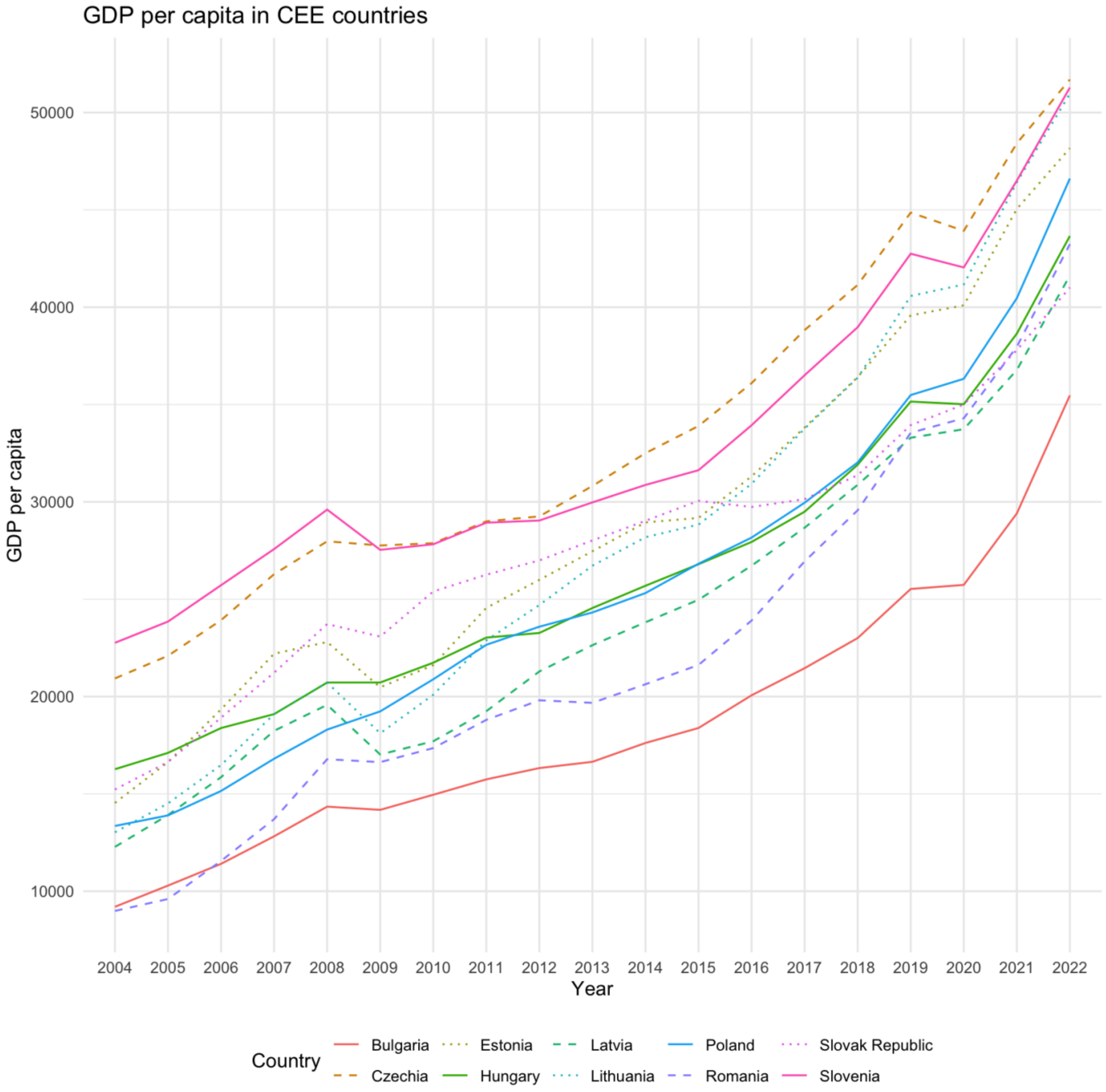
The second effect was much more significant. The influx of EU funds, ranging from 1% of GDP in Slovenia to 3.5% of GDP in Lithuania, has primarily contributed to the development of this region and the reduction of evident infrastructural underdevelopment. In Poland, this averaged 2.2% of GDP annually. The inflow of EU funds has resulted in a growth effect in terms of demand (economic recovery due to additional spending) and supply (elimination of specific infrastructure bottlenecks, enabling investment growth, and improving the institutional environment).

Another significant channel of development was the influx of investments into CEE countries. The GDP per capita level in CEE countries at the time of accession varied from 35% of the EU-4 group countries (France, Germany, UK, and Italy) in Bulgaria to 67% in Slovenia. Moreover, in 2004, when converted at current exchange rates, the average wage level in the CEE-11 countries was only 20% of the level in Germany. This represented a potentially significant competitive advantage for CEE countries as production locations. It is estimated that EU membership increased Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows to new member states by an average of 65%. For instance, foreign companies' total cumulative value of assets held in Poland due to FDI increased from 46 billion euros in 2003 to 301 billion euros in 2022, corresponding to 24% of GDP to 45% of GDP respectively (Orłowski, 2010). This mechanism was based on a sequence of events where the attractiveness of lower costs, combined with full access to the EU single market, incentivized firms to make new investments and increase production. Consequently, there was a significant increase in exports to Western European markets, surpassing import growth. The productivity growth resulting from these investments translated into wage increases, further encouraging investments aimed at the domestic market, primarily in the service sector. This collective impact accelerated GDP growth (Report on Poland in the EU, 2023). From 2004 to 2022, the annual average growth of exports in CEE countries in euro terms was 8.5%, compared to 5.2% global trade growth and 2.9% export growth in Western European countries. As a result of EU membership, there was an unprecedented reduction in the developmental gap between CEE countries and Western Europe in their contemporary history. All CEE countries experienced an improvement in their GDP per capita relationship during their membership, ranging from a 16-percentage point increase in Croatia compared to the EU-4 to a 41 percentage-point increase in Lithuania (Report on Poland in the EU, 2023). It is estimated that Poland (alongside Lithuania) has reaped the most significant benefits from integration among all CEE-11 countries. Over just 20 years, Poland reduced the GDP per capita gap with Western

Europe by nearly half, outpacing several Southern European countries and most CEE region nations.

Initially, Poland's visible evidence of success was the advancement in the World Bank's Doing Business ranking from 72nd place in the world in 2008 to 24th place in 2016, as well as the improvement in the Corruption Perception Index, from 70th place in the world in 2005 to 29th place in 2016. Unfortunately, subsequent years brought regression for Poland regarding the efficiency of Polish institutions – in the Doing Business ranking to 40th in 2019 (World Bank, 2024) and the Corruption Perception Index ranking to 45th place in 2022 (Transparency International, 2024).

Figure 1. Rise in GDP per capita in CEE countries (PPP current international $)



Source: own elaboration based on World Bank Data (2024).

In 2016, the EBRD also introduced a new approach to monitor progress in transition. The new methodology assesses developments along six qualities of a sustainable market economy: competitive, well-governed, green, inclusive, resilient, and integrated. Progress in each of these qualities is captured by the set of composite indices (referred to as "assessments of transition qualities" or "ATQs"), which combine information from a large number of indicators. Scores range from 1 to 10, where 10 represents a synthetic frontier corresponding to the standards of a sustainable market economy. Figure 2 shows the progress in these areas between 2016 and 2021.

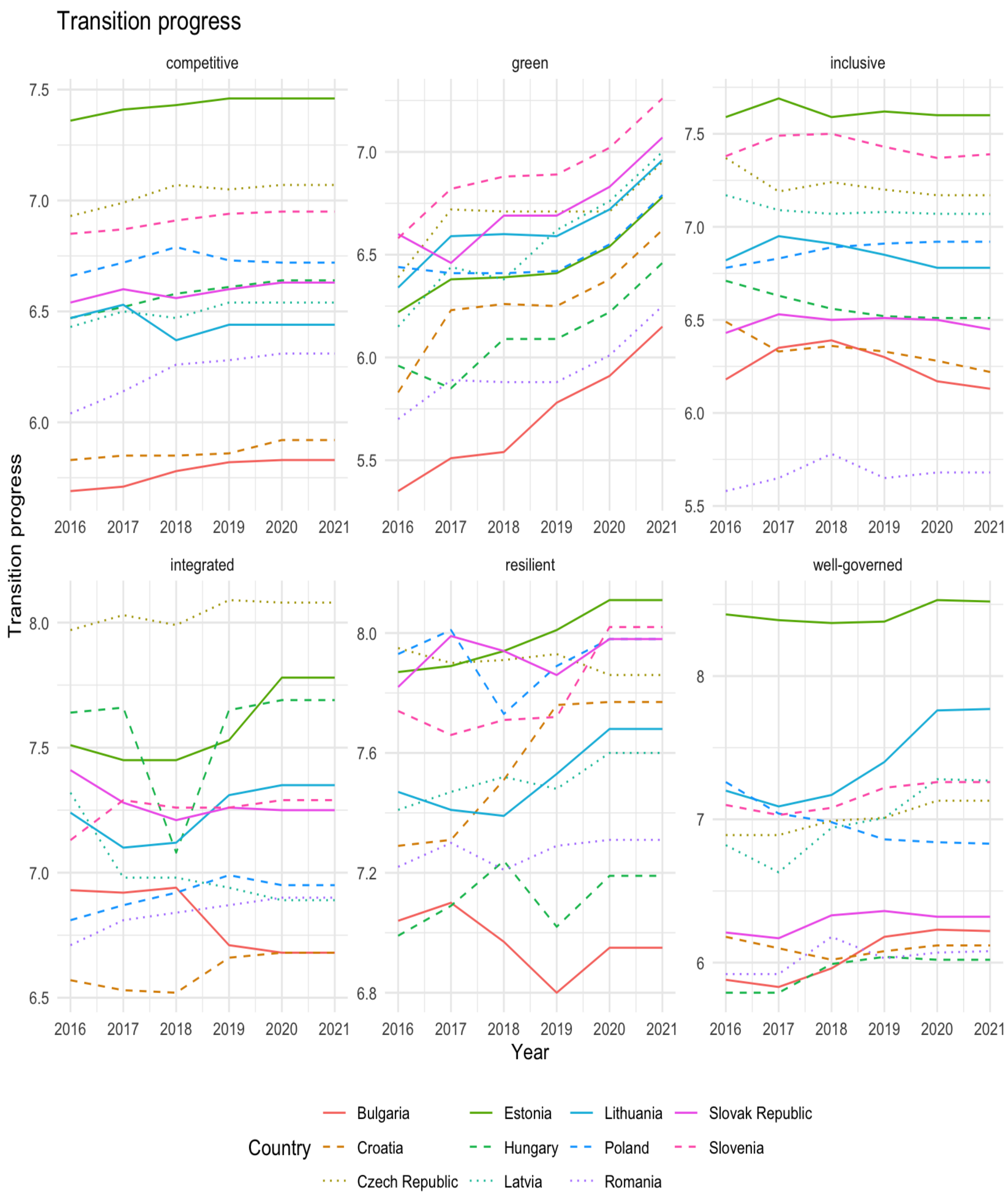
Table 3. The state of progress in CEE countries in 2021

	Competitive	**Well-governed**	**Green**	**Inclusive**	**Resilient**	**Integrated**
	2021	2021	2021	2021	2021	2021
Bulgaria	5,83	6,22	6,15	6,13	6,95	6,68
Croatia	5,92	6,12	6,62	6,22	7,77	6,68
Czech Republic	7,07	7,13	6,95	7,17	7,86	8,08
Estonia	7,46	8,52	6,78	7,60	8,11	7,78
Hungary	6,64	6,02	6,46	6,51	7,19	7,69
Latvia	6,54	7,27	7,00	7,07	7,60	6,89
Lithuania	6,44	7,77	6,96	6,78	7,68	7,35
Poland	6,72	6,83	6,79	6,92	7,98	6,95
Romania	6,31	6,08	6,25	5,68	7,31	6,90
Slovak Republic	6,63	6,32	7,07	6,45	7,98	7,25
Slovenia	6,95	7,26	7,26	7,39	8,02	7,29

Source: own elaboration based on data from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (https://www.ebrd.com/economic-research-and-data/transition-qualities-asses.html).

The data from Table 3 and Figure 2 indicate that Estonia is currently the change leader, showing the greatest progress in competitiveness, well-governance, inclusiveness, and resilience. Slovenia, on the other hand, is the leader in green transformation, while the most integrated with the EU remains the Czech Republic.

Figure 2. Transition progress in CEE countries in 2016-2021



Source: own elaboration based on EBRD Data.

Conclusion

The transformations witnessed in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, stand out as some of the most remarkable political, social, and economic changes within Europe and globally. Over the past three decades, the CEE countries that have become members of the EU have emerged as one of the world's most successful growth stories, alongside the Asian Tigers and China. Few regions have achieved remarkable GDP growth rates and social progress from comparable starting points as the CEE-EU bloc. This region has showcased the effectiveness of structural reforms, both political and economic, integration into the European single market and global value chains, as well as openness and a willingness to learn from others. The critical question is: what are the drivers of growth in CEE?

First and foremost is the presence of an educated workforce. The World Bank Human Capital Index (HCI), which evaluates investment in human capital by combining health and education indicators, places many CEE countries in the same group as Western states. The economic restructuring undertaken in CEE during the 1990s facilitated a significant transition from manual to cognitive work. Presently, the proportion of highly skilled workers among total employees in CEE-EU countries is comparable to that in Western European countries. Moreover, the share of workers engaged in cognitive tasks, such as managers, professionals, and technicians, has increased from 20% to 25% over the past 12 years (World Bank Human Capital Index, 2024).

The second factor influencing growth is macroeconomic resilience. While access to the EU single market has undoubtedly contributed to the economic development of CEE countries, their macroeconomic resilience is evident from the fact that the average public debt ratio in CEE is less than half that of advanced economies (Eurostat, 2024).

The third factor relates to investments in infrastructure, innovation, digitalization, and green technologies. For instance, according to the World Bank's World Development Indicators, Czechia allocates a higher percentage of its GDP to research and development (R&D) than Spain, Italy, or the UK. Furthermore, recent reports from the EU Digital Economy and Society Index indicate that Lithuania has allocated 30% of its Recovery and Resilience Facilities to digital transformation, surpassing the compulsory 20% threshold and establishing itself as a leader in the CEE region. Similar trends are observed in green investments and climate-related initiatives. Latvia generates the highest proportion (42.1%) of its energy from renewable sources among European CEE countries, followed closely by Estonia (38%).

In the foreseeable future, several challenges loom on the horizon. Aging populations and declining birth rates in certain CEE countries present hurdles for forthcoming labor markets, healthcare systems, and pension schemes. Additionally, balancing economic growth and environmental preservation is a pivotal challenge. This entails addressing concerns like air and water pollution, deforestation, and waste management to secure sustainable development for future generations. Moreover, the heavy dependence of many CEE nations on industries like manufacturing and agriculture renders their economies susceptible to fluctuations in the global market. Addressing these challenges requires coordinated efforts from social partners, governments, and society to ensure sustainable and inclusive development in CEE countries.

References

Baldwin, R., Francois, J., Portes, R., (1997). The Costs and Benefits of Eastern Enlargement: The Impact on the EU and Central Europe, Economic Policy, 12(24).

Digital Economy and Society Index (2024). Available: https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/policies/desi

El-Agraa, A.M. (2012). The European Union: Economics and Policies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Available: https://www.ebrd.com/economic-research-and-data/transition-qualities-asses.html

Jóźwik, B. (2016). Transformacja i rozwój gospodarczy w państwach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, Zeszyt 5.

McMillan, M.; Page, J.; Booth, D.; Velde, D.W. (2017). Supporting Economic Transformation: An Approach Paper; Overseas Development Institute: London, UK.

Ocampo, J.A.; Rada, C.; Taylor, L. (2009). Growth and Policy in Developing Countries: A Structuralist Approach; Columbia University Press: New York, NY, USA.

Orłowski, W.M. (2010). W pogoni za straconym czasem. Wzrost gospodarczy w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 1950-2030, PWE, Warszawa.

Orłowski, W.M. (2021). Źródła korzyści gospodarczych z członkostwa Polski w UE: próba szacunku, in. Gdzie są konfitury? Najważniejsze gospodarcze korzyści członkoswta Polski w UE, W.M. Orłowski (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawaskiego, Warszawa.

Raport Polska w Unii Europejskiej. Bilans Korzyści (2023). The Friendly State Foundation, Warszawa.

Ratajczak, M. (2009). Transformacja ustrojowa w świetle ustaleń I założeń ekonomii instytucjonalnej, Ruch Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Socjologiczny, 2, pp. 233-251.

Reichardt, I. (2009). Modyfikacja współczesnej polityki rozwojowej w kontekście procesów globalizacyjnych I przemian ustrojowych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej, in. Globalizacja – nieznośne podobieństwo? Świat i jego instytucje w procesie uniformizacji, P.Borowiec, B.Krauz-Mozer (eds.), Wydanictwo Uniwersytetu Jageillońskiego, Kraków.

Transparency International (2024). Corruption Perceptions Index 2022, Available: https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2022

World Bank (2024a). Doing Business Data, Available: https://archive.doingbusiness.org/en/rankings

World Bank (2024b). GDP per capita data, Available: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?end=2022&locations=PL&most_recent_year_desc=false&start=1990&view=chart

World Bank Human Capital Index (2020). https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/human-capital#Visualization