MEASURING AGGREGATE WELFARE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: HOW WELL DO NATIONAL ACCOUNTS AND SURVEYS AGREE?

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Abstract—In a cross-country data set for developing and transitional economies, private consumption per capita from the national accounts deviates on average from mean household income or expenditure based on national sample surveys. Growth rates also differ systematically, so that the ratio of the survey mean to mean consumption from the national accounts tends to fall over time. The exceptions to these general findings are revealing, however. There are strong regional effects. The aggregate difference in the levels is due more to income surveys than to expenditure surveys. Divergence over time is mainly due to the severe data problems in the (contracting) transition economies.

I. Introduction

In practice one finds two quite distinct, and largely independent, sources of data on the average economic welfare of the residents of a given country. On the one hand, there is private consumption expenditure (PCE) per capita from the national accounts (NAS).1 On the other hand, measures of household consumption and/or income are available from household sample surveys.

How closely do these two sources of data on aggregate economic welfare agree? This question has received rather little attention from economists who routinely use these data. The main reason is probably that the two types of data tend to be used for quite different purposes, roughly corresponding to macroeconomic versus microeconomic applications (NAS for the former, surveys for the latter). This is natural, given that survey data are micro data.

However, in at least one area of recent applied work, the relationship between these two data sources is of considerable interest. In assessments of the effects of economic growth, or growth-promoting policies, on the extent of absolute poverty, the growth side typically comes from national accounts whereas the poverty side comes from analyses of household survey data. Given a growth rate in the mean, it is straightforward to predict the effect on measured poverty, assuming that the distribution does not change.2 Alternatively, one can estimate empirical elasticities of poverty measures with respect to growth in the mean, consistent with whatever changes in distribution are found in the data (Ravallion and Chen, 1997). A common practice in past efforts to predict poverty effects of growth has then been to assume that the survey mean grows at the same rate as the predicted change in PCE from the national accounts (often equated with the growth rate of GDP per capita). For example, this assumption has been used in making forecasts of how aggregate poverty measures are expected to evolve in the future, given projected NAS growth rates (World Bank, 1990, 2000). Is that assumption justifiable? If not, then projections of the effect of economic growth on measured poverty could well be way off the mark.

Motivated by these concerns, this paper compares the levels and growth rates from the two data sources across developing countries. Discrepancies between these two sources have been observed for specific dates and countries. For example, the most recent data indicate that aggregate household expenditure from India’s National Sample Survey (NSS) accounts for about 60% of private consumption from the NAS—a seemingly large discrepancy in the levels. The ratio has tended to fall over time (Srinivasan, 2000; Sen, 2001), suggesting a bias in the growth rates too, with the NSS mean tending to grow at a persistently lower rate than PCE.3

This paper tries to assess how common it is to find such divergence between these two standard sources of data on aggregate economic welfare. I will rely on existing data sources, meaning that no extra effort has gone into enhancing the comparability of survey data with the consumption aggregates from the national accounts.4 Two questions are addressed: Firstly, do these two data sources agree in the aggregate, and within specific regions? In the context of the aforementioned concerns about monitoring poverty, the question also arises whether consumption gains in the NAS are passed on for one in the mean from household surveys. This motivates a second question: Is the ratio of the two measures a constant (even if not unity)?

The following section discusses the two types of data in general terms. Section III presents bias tests on the levels using a data set for 90 countries and for growth rates using panel data covering 60 countries. Section IV concludes.

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1 I use the term “private consumption expenditure” to refer to consumption as typically measured in the national accounts for developing countries, which is essentially the sum of expenditures by households and nonprofit organizations. The term “household final consumption expenditure” is sometimes used to refer to the subset of consumption that is due solely to resident households (as distinct from spending by nonprofit organizations); see, for example, European Commission et al. (1993, p. 216).

2 This can be done numerically by simply recalculation of the poverty measures at the initial and final means from either the unit record or grouped data (Datt and Ravallion, 1992). Alternatively one can use analytic point elasticities (Kakwani, 1993).

3 A qualitatively similar pattern is found for the United States, in comparisons of PCE with the U.S. Consumer Expenditure Survey; the survey mean is lower, and had a lower growth rate in the 1980s and 1990s (Triplet, 1997; Slesnick, 1998, 2000).

4 For example, Sundaram and Tendulkar (2002) discuss results of a study for India that found that a large share of the divergence between PCE from the NAS and the consumption aggregates from the NSS for the same year can be attributed to differences in the goods and services covered and differences in accounting and valuation methods. Standard data sources ignore these important differences.

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II. Alternative Data Sources on Aggregate Economic Welfare

The two types of data to be compared here could hardly be more different in the way they are obtained. National budget and living standard surveys are typically designed to measure the mean expenditure and/or income of households. The measure of average consumption in a household budget survey is typically based on the self-reported expenditures (cash and imputed values from own stock) in household interviews. The questions usually aim to cover all the commodities consumed (for example, 700 items are identified in the 1993–1994 questionnaire from India’s National Sample Survey). Income surveys often obtain reasonably detailed income components (earnings, profits from own enterprises, income in kind), which are then aggregated, though this is by no means straightforward (Deaton, 1997). Survey and processing practices vary greatly, with implications for the comparability of results over time and across countries.

There is also heterogeneity in national income accounting practices; although standards are set internationally, they are implemented unevenly. NAS consumption numbers are rarely based on household consumption surveys. In traditional measurement practice, households are essentially the “residual claimants” of output in the national accounts (Ruggles and Ruggles, 1986). In a number of developing countries, aggregate consumption in the NAS is simply the residual obtained by subtracting other (measured) forms of domestic absorption from aggregate output. The preferred and now more common commodity flow method does essentially the same thing at commodity level. The method begins with estimates aggregate output for each commodity group. After adding imports, one then tries to adjust for domestic absorption by firms and governments (the increase in inventories held by firms as well as their purchases and those by the government). The remainder is then called the private consumption of that commodity in the NAS and is aggregated. In practice, the resulting estimates may be adjusted in an ad hoc way to make them accord better with other data sources for specific commodities, such as retail sales statistics and household budget surveys when available. But for the most part NAS consumption is not based on household consumption surveys, and the two methods of estimating consumption can be treated as largely independent.

There are three main reasons why levels and/or growth rates from these two sources might not agree. Firstly, household surveys may well underestimate income and expenditure. There are numerous problems in obtaining credible estimates from standard survey instruments (see, for example, the discussion in Deaton, 1997). Compliance by well-off sampled households is a well-known concern amongst those implementing surveys; it is not uncommon for the rich to systematically refuse to participate in the survey, or be impossible to interview for other reasons (getting past the guard dogs alive, for example). One expects that they will be replaced by more compliant but less well-off respondents. Or interview respondents can forget, or prefer not to reveal, items of consumption or income sources in the survey schedule. Amongst survey specialists, underestimation is generally thought to be a greater problem for incomes than for expenditures (see, for example, Deaton and Grosh, 2000), though evidence is naturally scarce. However, one study found that the mean income of the 10 highest-income households in each of 18 surveys for countries in Latin America was generally no more than the average salary of the manager of a medium-sized firm in that country (Székely and Hilgert, 2000). This suggests underestimation of incomes. Though that may be unavoidable, survey design matters greatly. For example, attempts to shorten the survey questionnaire (to obtain a quick income or consumption estimate from just a few questions) can be expected to change the results obtained, and there is supportive evidence. Yet there are many surveys in use (including in the data sets used in this paper) that use worryingly short questionnaires. There is considerable heterogeneity across countries in what is included as “household income” (Smeeding and Weinberg, 2001).

Secondly, there are also measurement errors in the consumption aggregates from national accounts. It would seem reasonable to assume that these measurement errors are uncorrelated between the two sources, given the differences in methods. However, even independent (zero-mean white noise) measurement error in the consumption numbers from the national accounts will attenuate the bias in the regression coefficient of the survey mean on NAS consumption. There are well-known problems in measuring illegal,

5 I know of one micro data set in which one can use the commodity flow method of estimating consumption (common in national accounts) as well as the more common survey method based on reported transactions, namely, in the village-level data for India (collected by the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics) studied in Ravallion and Chaudhuri (1997). The discrepancies between the two sets of consumption estimates found in that study resemble those evident in the far more aggregated comparisons presented below.

6 See for example Kulshreshtha’s (1998) description of the problems that India’s Central Statistics Office has faced in implementing the current international standards set for NAS as set out in European Commission et al. (1993).

7 In some countries, survey-based estimates (when available) are used as a cross-check, and NAS estimates for specific consumption components are sometimes based on the survey data.

8 Schmidt-Hebbel and Serven (1997) give the method used for estimating PCE for 71 countries. Of the 48 developing countries in their list, 19 estimated private consumption as a residual.

9 I leave aside any differences in the deflators used in practice. Typically the Consumer Price Index is used for both, though there may be differences in the weights used. In some developing countries survey analysts use specific price indices by region or sector, sometimes calibrated to the implicit prices in the survey data.

10 Deaton and Grosh (2000) compare the estimates of consumption obtained by various survey designs drawing on the experience of the World Bank’s Living Standards Measurement Study. For evidence on measurement error in self-reported incomes in surveys see Rendtel, Langeheine, and Berntsen (1998), using data for Germany.
informal, household-based, and subsistence outputs in the NAS for developing and transitional economies. As an economy develops, the household-based production activities that are not measured in the NAS sector become “formalized,” imparting an upward bias to measured NAS growth rates of output (Thomas, 1992). Also, some non-household components of domestic absorption are very hard to track, such as capital flight, which will clearly lead to overestimation of consumption in the NAS, though the extent of the error could vary considerably over time. There is no obvious reason to think that the errors will cancel out in calculating consumption as a residual in the NAS (either in the aggregate or at the commodity level). On top of this problem, there will be noise in the empirical relationship because of imperfect matching between survey dates (which also vary between types of commodities, according to assumed recall periods) and the accounting periods used in the NAS. The NAS consumption numbers are also of varying accuracy according to whether the year in question is a benchmark year (usually the decennial or quinquennial censuses), for which better data are available. For other years, PCE data often rely heavily on extrapolations. Imprecision must be presumed in measuring growth rates from such data, especially in nonbenchmark years. The sizable revisions often made to NAS consumption aggregates for a given date warn against presuming that the NAS numbers can be used as a check on the survey numbers.  

Thirdly, even without measurement errors there is a difference in coverage and accounting practices. Probably the most important difference is that PCE includes spending on goods and services by unincorporated businesses and nonprofit organizations (such as charities, religious groups, clubs, trade unions, and political parties) that are not captured in household surveys. Although a theoretical separation is made between consumption by households and nonprofit organizations serving households in the standards for national accounts set out in European Commission et al. (1993), in practice it has proved difficult to implement this in most developing countries, so as to identify household consumption.  
The countries for which the separation has been deemed possible appear to be almost solely in western Europe. In countries with a large and rapidly growing nonprofit sector—not uncommon, it seems, in developing countries over recent decades, due to the growth of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—the growth rate in PCE could deviate substantially from the underlying growth rate in household consumption. The methods of accounting for income in kind, imputed rents, and financial services are often also different. For example, there is no imputation for owner-occupied dwelling rents or financial intermediation services in India’s National Sample Survey, whereas these are imputed in the NAS (Sundaram and Tendulkar, 2002). It is now standard practice to include imputed values for consumption from own-farm production in both surveys and NAS, but the methods can differ (depending on whether, for example, farmgate prices or average market prices are used). Another difference that matters in developing economies is that grain consumed by farm animals owned by farm households is hard to distinguish from human consumption in the NAS; again, the distinction is clear in theory, but it is difficult to implement in practice in developing countries.

It is evident that when the levels or growth rates from these two data sources differ, there can be no presumption that the NAS is right and the surveys are wrong, or vice versa, since they are not really measuring the same thing, and both are prone to errors. No attempt is made here to determine which of the two data sources better measures the average standard of living; rather the issue is to what extent these two sources agree with each other, on average, and (in particular) how much NAS consumption growth is reflected in the surveys. Nor does this paper explore the implications of any bias, which will depend on the reasons for the discrepancy.

III. Tests for Systematic Differences

First we will see whether there is bias in the levels, that is, whether the ratio of the numbers from the two data sets is unity on average. After that, tests will be presented for bias in the growth rates, that is, whether the ratio is constant, even if not unity.

A. Levels

The tests for bias in the levels are from a data set for 88 developing countries compiled for this paper. The most recent available nationally representative survey was used, and matched to the closest NAS. The countries and dates are listed in the appendix.

If private consumption in the national accounts gave an unbiased estimate of mean household income or expenditure from nationally representative surveys, then the ratio of the two should be unity on average. This is not the case. Figure 1 gives a histogram of the ratio of the survey mean to private consumption per capita from the NAS. The average ratio of the survey mean to consumption from the NAS is 0.826, which is significantly less than unity ($t$-statistic 4.41; the standard error of the mean is 0.039). The median is 0.768. There is huge dispersion, within a range of 0.21 to 2.25. The survey mean is lower than consumption per capita in 77% of cases.

The ratio tends to be significantly higher for surveys that use expenditures rather than incomes; 52 observations are

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11 For example, Sundaram and Tendulkar (2002) report estimates made at different dates (though only two years apart) of PCE for the same year in India’s NAS that differ by 16% in the aggregate.

12 Lützel (1996) reports that in the expert group meetings leading up the 1993 revisions to the standards for national accounts in European Commission et al. (1993), representatives from the developing countries lobbied for separating nonprofits from households even though it was recognized that the split was generally not feasible. Their argument was that identifying this separation in the standards for national accounts would foster better data collection on spending by nonprofits in the future.
for mean expenditure, 36 are for income. For expenditure surveys, the mean ratio is 0.931, which is not significantly different from 1 \((t = 1.21)\). For income surveys, however, the mean ratio is 0.674 (median 0.684) and is significantly less than 1 \((t = 8.37)\). The mean difference in the ratios of 0.257 is significantly different from 0 \((t = 3.40)\).

There are some marked regional differences. Table 1 gives regressions of the ratio of the means on regional dummy variables. The ratio is significantly lower than unity in Eastern Europe/Central Asia (EECA), Latin America, and South Asia. This ceases to be true for Latin America when one controls for whether the survey mean is for expenditure or income; a large share of the divergence between the two data sources for Latin America is attributable to the more widespread use of income in measuring household welfare from surveys in that region. The significant South Asia effect stems from India and Pakistan, both of which have a ratio of survey mean to PCE around 0.55, despite the fact that they use expenditure surveys.

Recall that PCE (as typically estimated in developing countries) has broader coverage than household consumption. So we should expect the ratio to be below 1 without any measurement error. The average ratio of 0.93 for expenditure surveys can be explained if nonprofit institutions account for 7% of PCE. This might not be an unreasonable figure. The only evidence I know of is for the United States, for which Slesnick (1998) estimates that the share of PCE accountable to nonprofit institutions was 5% in 1960, though rising to about 11% in 1993. However, one cannot get much comfort from this, given the spread in the estimated ratios. For EECA and South Asia, the gap between expenditure surveys and PCE is surely too large to be plausibly attributed to spending by nonprofit organizations, as is the gap for income surveys, which yield a mean that is only two-thirds of PCE. There must be a strong presumption of sizable income underestimation in surveys.

As an aside, it is of interest to see if the extent of divergence between the two sources of data on aggregate welfare is any greater for developed countries. For 21 industrialized countries, I found that the mean ratio of the survey mean to PCE was 0.899 (standard error of 0.039). This is higher than for the developing countries as a whole, but the difference is not statistically significant \((t = 1.27)\).

### TABLE 1.—REGRESSIONS FOR THE RATIO OF SURVEY MEAN TO NATIONAL ACCOUNTS CONSUMPTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Regional Effects Only</th>
<th>With a Control for Type of Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Intercept)</td>
<td>1.031* (0.094)</td>
<td>0.848* (0.109)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumption survey</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.220* (0.075)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(consumption = 1; income = 0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia</td>
<td>−0.163 (0.119)</td>
<td>−0.080 (0.116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe and Central Asia</td>
<td>−0.307* (0.111)</td>
<td>−0.223* (0.111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>−0.343* (0.118)</td>
<td>−0.218 (0.129)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>−0.355* (0.115)</td>
<td>−0.392* (0.116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>−0.068 (0.135)</td>
<td>−0.072 (0.134)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(R^2\) 0.123 0.186

* indicates significantly different from 0 at the 5% level.

### FIGURE 1.—HISTOGRAM OF THE RATIO OF SURVEY MEAN TO PRIVATE CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA FROM THE NAS FOR 88 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Is the ratio of survey mean to PCE roughly constant over time? In discussing this question, I will use the data set for developing and transitional economies described in the appendix and available on a World Bank Web site.\(^\text{13}\) Naturally, the lack of surveys over time and comparability problems entail that this part of the analysis is not possible for as many countries as used in the last section.

To measure each growth rate of the mean between two surveys for a given country I have used the same welfare indicator (either expenditure per person or income per person) for both surveys; thus a survey-based income measure at one date is not compared with an expenditure measure at another date. The Consumer Price Index is used as the deflator. The surveys used to construct each spell (formed by two surveys) are nationally representative; the means are population-weighted and include imputed values for consumption or income in kind from own production. If there is known to be a serious comparability problem, then the spell is dropped. However, there are undoubtedly problems remaining, adding noise to the measured changes in

\(^{13}\) See http://www.worldbank.org/research/povmonitor/. This paper is based on the data set in the fall of 2000 (the countries and coverage are described in the appendix).
survey means. Overlaps between survey years and calendar years were dealt with by linear interpolation.

We need to compare the measured survey-based growth rates between survey dates with the growth rate in PCE from the NAS, matched as closely as possible to the survey periods. Let the growth rate in the survey mean be denoted \(GSM\), and let the growth rate in PCE over the same period be \(GPC\). The test for bias entails running the regression

\[
GSM = \alpha + \beta GPC + \text{residual} \tag{1}
\]

where the residual has zero mean. If \(\alpha = 0\) and \(\beta = 1\), then on average the two growth rates are equal; this is what one expects to find if the NAS growth rate is an unbiased estimate of the growth rate in the survey mean.

From the data set described in the appendix and more fully in Chen and Ravallion (2001), 142 spells have been constructed between successive household surveys for 60 countries in the 1980s and 1990s. Taking the sample as a whole, the estimate of \(\alpha\) is not significantly different from 0 (\(t\)-statistic 0.55). However, the estimate of \(\beta\) is 0.52, which is significantly positive (\(t = 2.37\), significant at the 2% level) and significantly less than 1 (\(t = 2.20\), significant at the 3% level).\(^1\) Figure 2 plots the data points. So about one-half of the growth rate in PCE is reflected in the survey-based growth rate, on average. A true value of \(\beta = 1\) would require that half the observed variance in \(GPC\) be due to measurement error.

There is a marked difference between expansions and contractions. On interacting \(GPC\) with a dummy variable for expansions, the test equation becomes

\[
GSM = \alpha + [\beta_d(1-D) + \beta_uD] GPC + \text{residual,} \tag{2}
\]

where \(D = 1(GPC > 0)\) [where \(1(\cdot)\) is the slope when PCE per capita is falling, and \(\beta_u\) is the slope when it is increasing. With this modification, \(\beta_d\) is estimated to be 0.13 and is not significantly different from 0 (\(t = 0.30\)) and is significantly different from 1 (\(t = 2.01\)), and \(\beta_u\) is 0.84, which is significantly positive (\(t = 3.15\)) but not significantly different from 1 (\(t = 0.58\)). Thus one cannot reject the null hypothesis that the growth rate in consumption from the national accounts is unbiased for expansions; but one certainly can reject the null for contractions.

This asymmetry may well be spurious, however. The statistical systems of the transitional economies of EECA are known to have been in upheaval, and have faced severe problems, such as in measuring the outputs of illegal and/or informal activities in the NAS (for an overview of the data problems in this region see Bloem, Cotterell, & Gigantes, 1998). The region has also seen sizable economic contraction as measured in the NAS. I repeated the bias test in equation (1) taking out EECA. One again finds that the estimate of \(\alpha\) is not significantly different from 0 (\(t = -1.00\)), but the estimate of \(\beta\) rises appreciably to 0.84, which is significantly positive (\(t = 5.74\), significant at better than the 1% level) but is not significantly less than 1 (\(t = 1.13\)). Figure 3 plots the data points for the restricted sample. On doing the test in the form of equation (2), there is no significant difference between the estimated values of \(\beta_d\) and \(\beta_u\) (\(t = 0.15\)). Excluding EECA, these data suggest that the growth rate in PC from the NAS is an unbiased estimate of the growth rate in the survey mean.

However, for EECA (and contracting economies generally, though EECA accounts for most of these), the NAS data and the survey data appear to be virtually orthogonal. Across the 27 EECA observations, there is no correlation between the growth rates in survey means and the growth

\[\text{FIGURE 2.—GROWTH RATES FOR FULL SAMPLE}\]

\[\text{FIGURE 3.—GROWTH RATES EXCLUDING EASTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA}\]
rates in the consumption component of the NAS. For EECA, the estimate of $\alpha$ is not significantly different from 0, but nor is the estimate of $\beta$, which is a remarkably low 0.01 ($t = 0.02$). This did not change when the sample was truncated to exclude pretransition surveys. (This was tested in two ways, both excluding surveys for the 1980s, and including only the more recent half of the data set.) Nor was there any difference between the countries of the former Soviet Union (about half the EECA sample) and the rest. The fact that EECA is so different to the rest of the world’s poor (Chen and Ravallion, 2001).

One possibility is an overestimation of the growth rate of consumption from the NAS. There is no basis for a general presumption of overestimation, but there are reasons for believing this to be the case for at least one country, namely China.\footnote{Wu (2000) identifies two main reasons why the GDP growth rate has been overestimated in China. The first is a likely bias in the GDP deflator, and the other is that state-controlled enterprises have an incentive to overestimate output growth.} In an attempt to correct for the likely upward bias in official growth rates for China, Maddison (1998) estimates that China’s GDP grew at 7.5% per annum over 1978–1995, as compared to the official rate of 9.9%. Using essentially the official data for China, the estimate of $\alpha$ is not significantly different from 0 ($t = 0.08$), and the estimate of $\beta$ is 0.72 (setting $\alpha = 0$), which is significantly positive ($t = 7.41$) and significantly less than 1 ($t = 2.89$). If (consistently with Maddison’s results) the true growth rate of PCE was uniformly three-quarters of the official rate, then correcting for this would imply a value of $\beta$ very close to unity.

### IV. Conclusions

Although divergence between these two sources of data on aggregate economic welfare is indicated in the sample as a whole for the levels, there is an important qualification. One cannot reject the null hypothesis that the level of private consumption per capita from the national accounts is an unbiased estimate of mean household \textit{expenditure} per person from nationally representative sample surveys. The overall bias indicated for the levels is due to income surveys, for which the survey mean is significantly lower than private consumption in the NAS, on average. There are

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\textbf{Table 2.—Regressions for the Growth Rate in Survey Mean on the Growth Rate in Consumption from National Accounts}
marked regional differences, only partially attributable to the tendency for income surveys to be more popular in some regions than others. Nor is the NAS growth rate in private consumption an unbiased estimate of the growth rate in mean household consumption or income from household surveys. On average only about half of the growth rate in consumption from the NAS is reflected in the growth rate of survey means. Whether it is an expenditure or an income survey makes no significant difference.

Here too there is a qualification to the finding of overall bias. The main source of bias is in predicting how much of a contraction in NAS consumption is reflected in the survey mean; indeed, when the NAS consumption growth rate is positive, it is an unbiased predictor of the rate of increase in household living standards, as measured from surveys. It is notable, however, that the asymmetry vanishes when one takes Eastern Europe and Central Asia out of the analysis. So this may not be a genuine asymmetry, but rather the effect of the (severe) data problems found in this region, which has also seen sizable economic contraction, as measured by the national accounts.

REFERENCES


APPENDIX
