

# **Ireland's Economic Crisis**

## **The Good, the Bad and the Ugly**

Karl Whelan

University College Dublin

Presentation at Bank of Greece conference

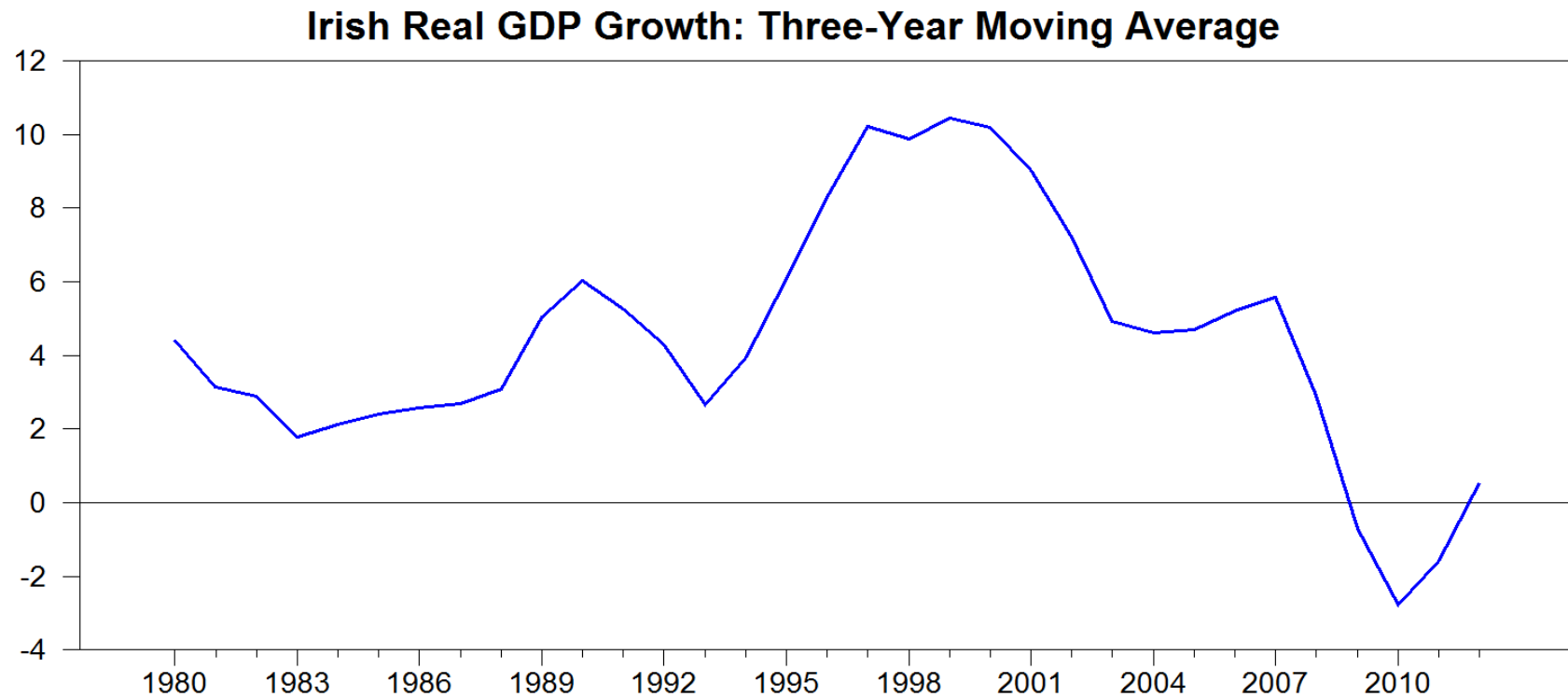
May 24, 2013

# Plan for the Talk

- Many aspects of Ireland's boom and bust are probably familiar to you.
- My talk focuses on shedding light on
  - Areas where international debate on Ireland sometimes misses some important facts.
  - Areas where Ireland serves as an example (both good and bad) for future euro area policy regimes.

# **1. IRELAND'S BOOM: MERELY A CREDIT-FUELLED BUBBLE?**

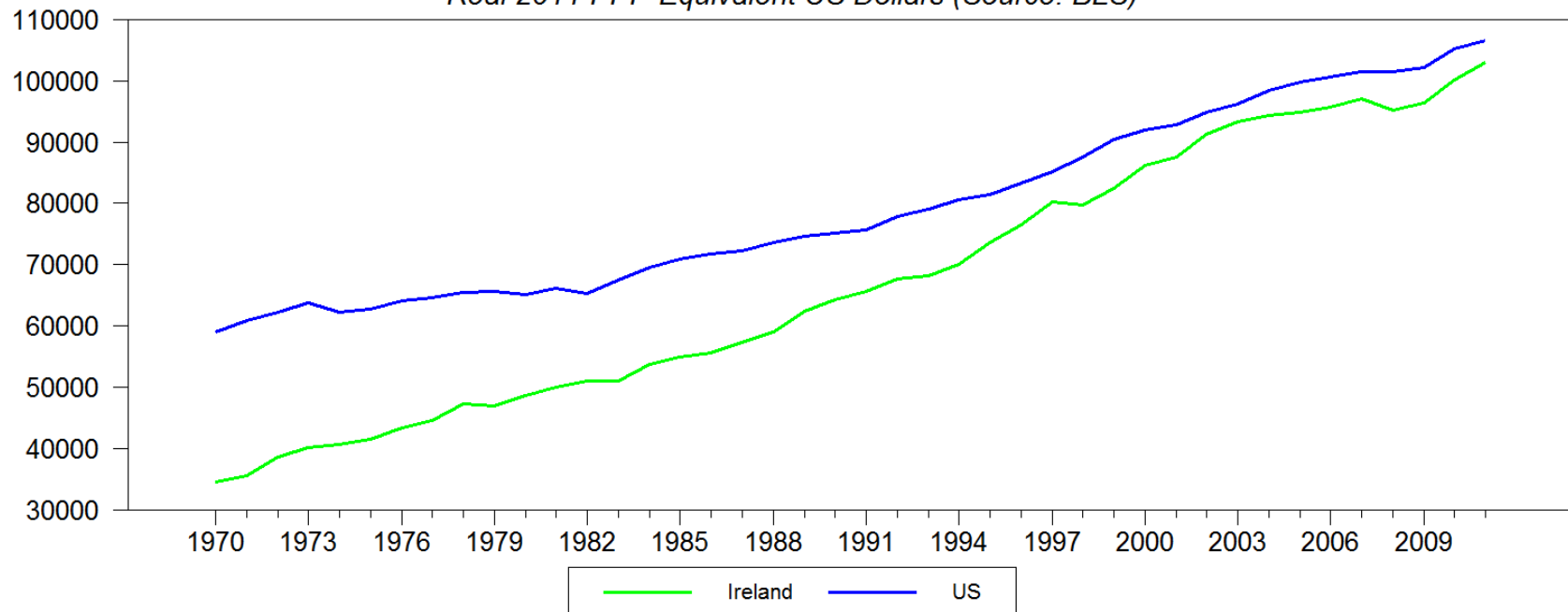
# Crash Came After a Long Period of High Growth



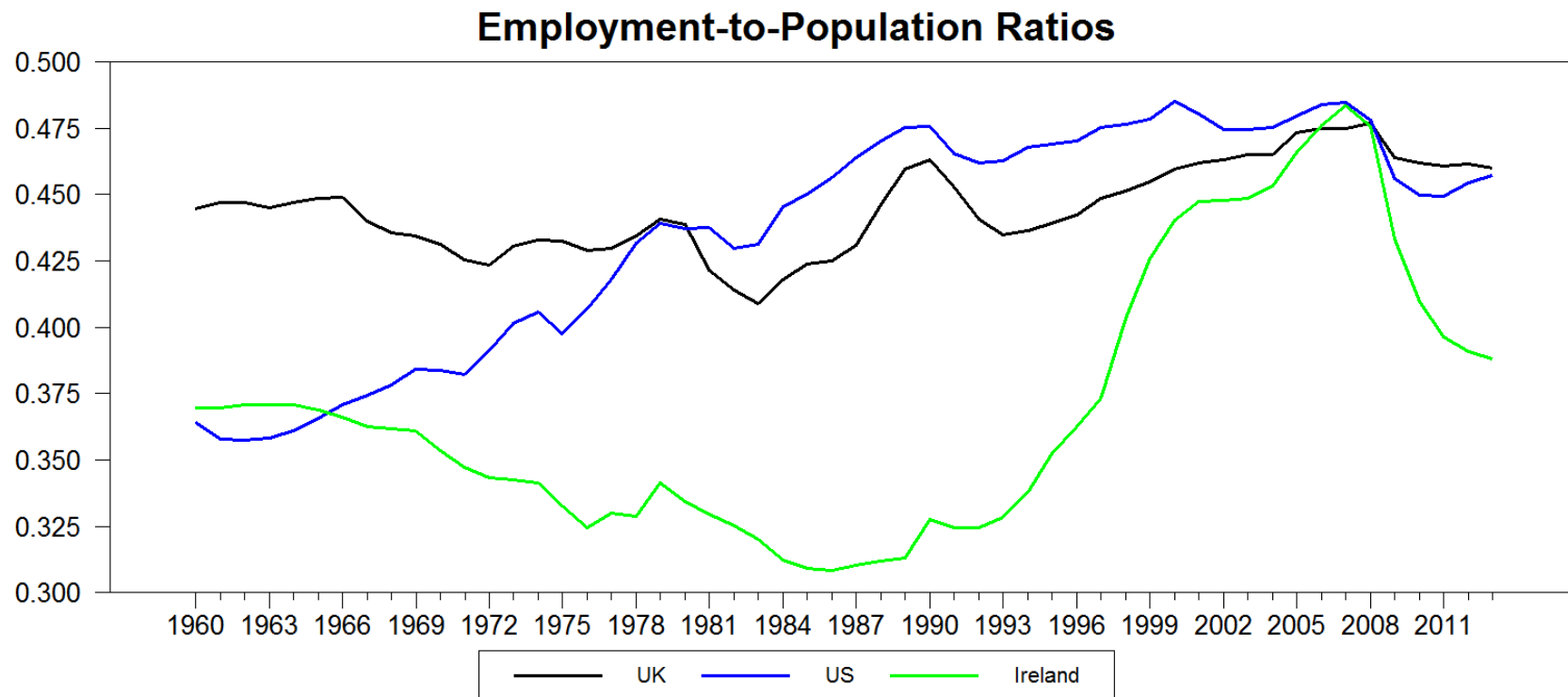
# Driven by Rising Productivity

## GDP Per Worker in Ireland and the US

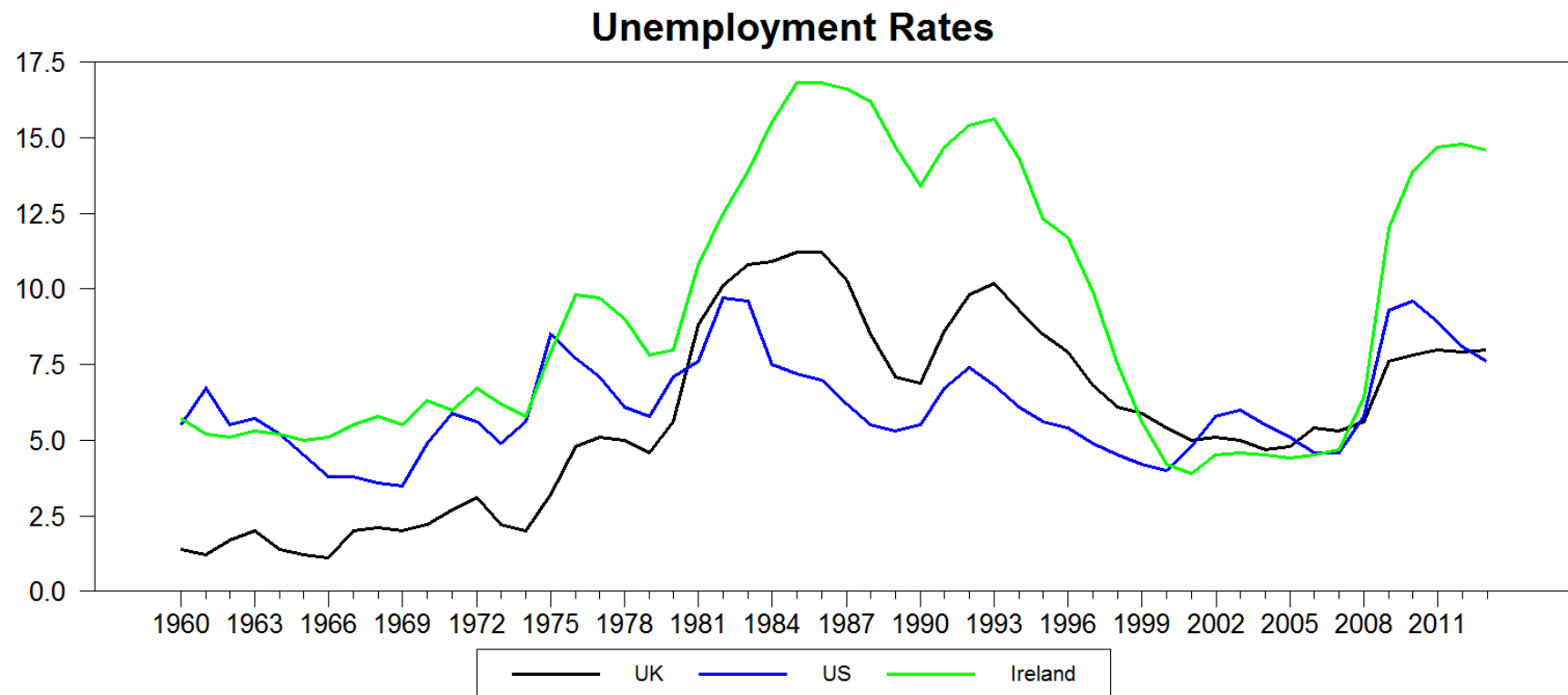
*Real 2011 PPP-Equivalent US Dollars (Source: BLS)*



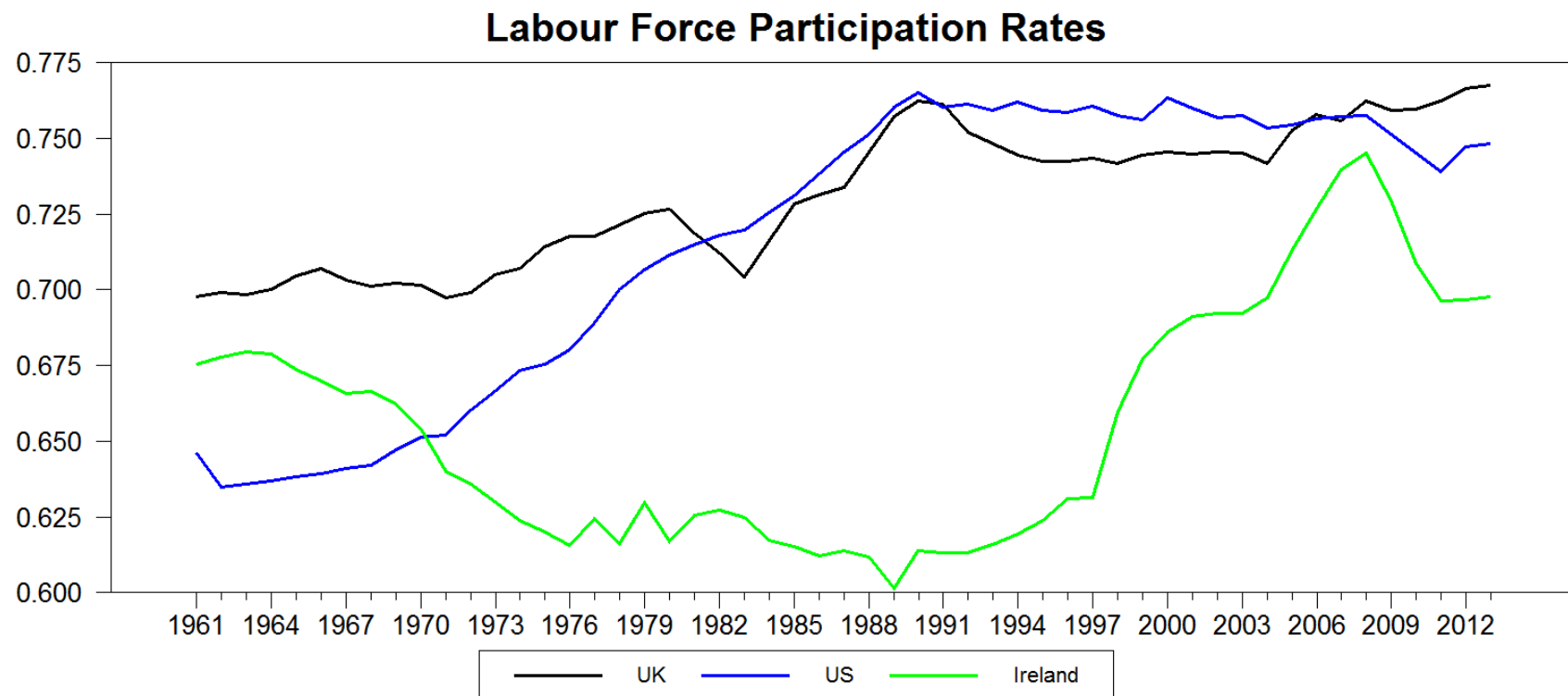
# And an Employment Boom



# Driven by Falling Unemployment

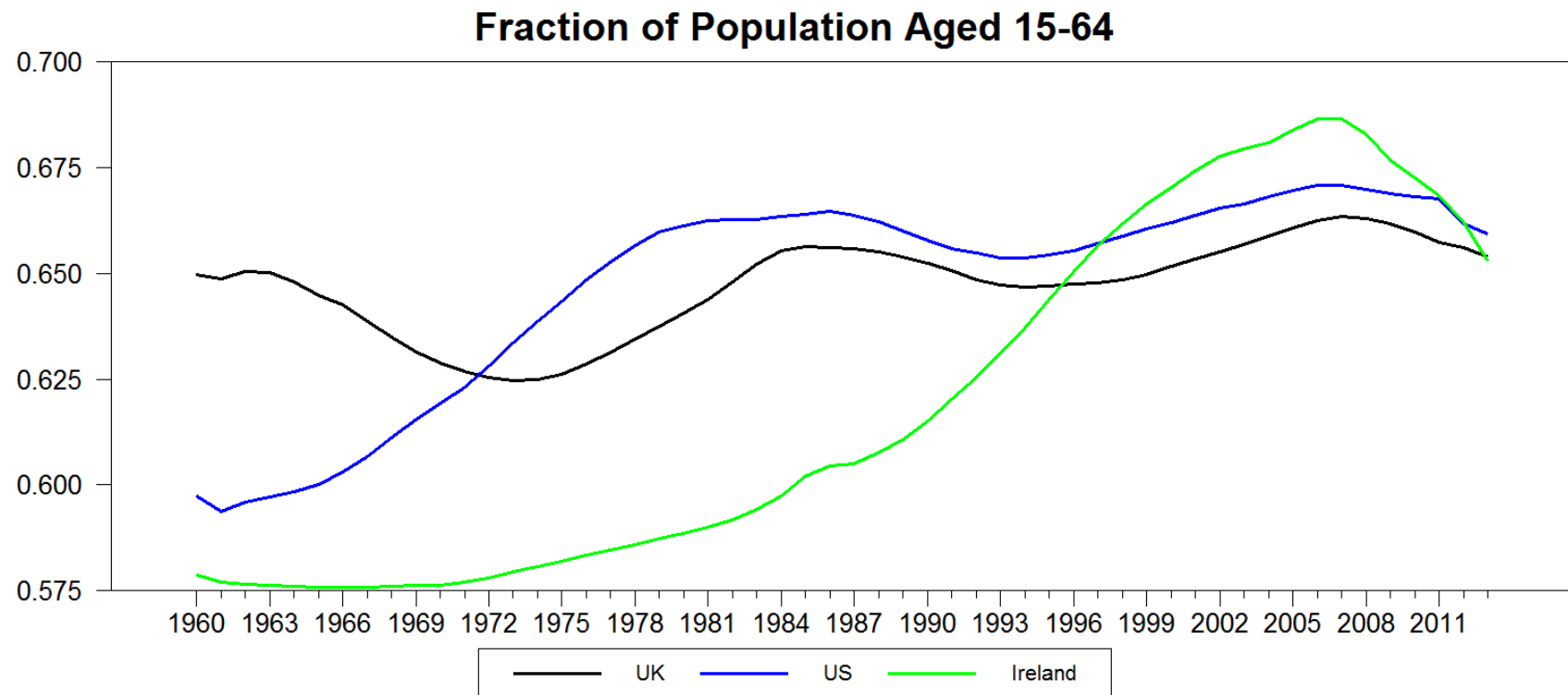


# Rising Labour Force Participation



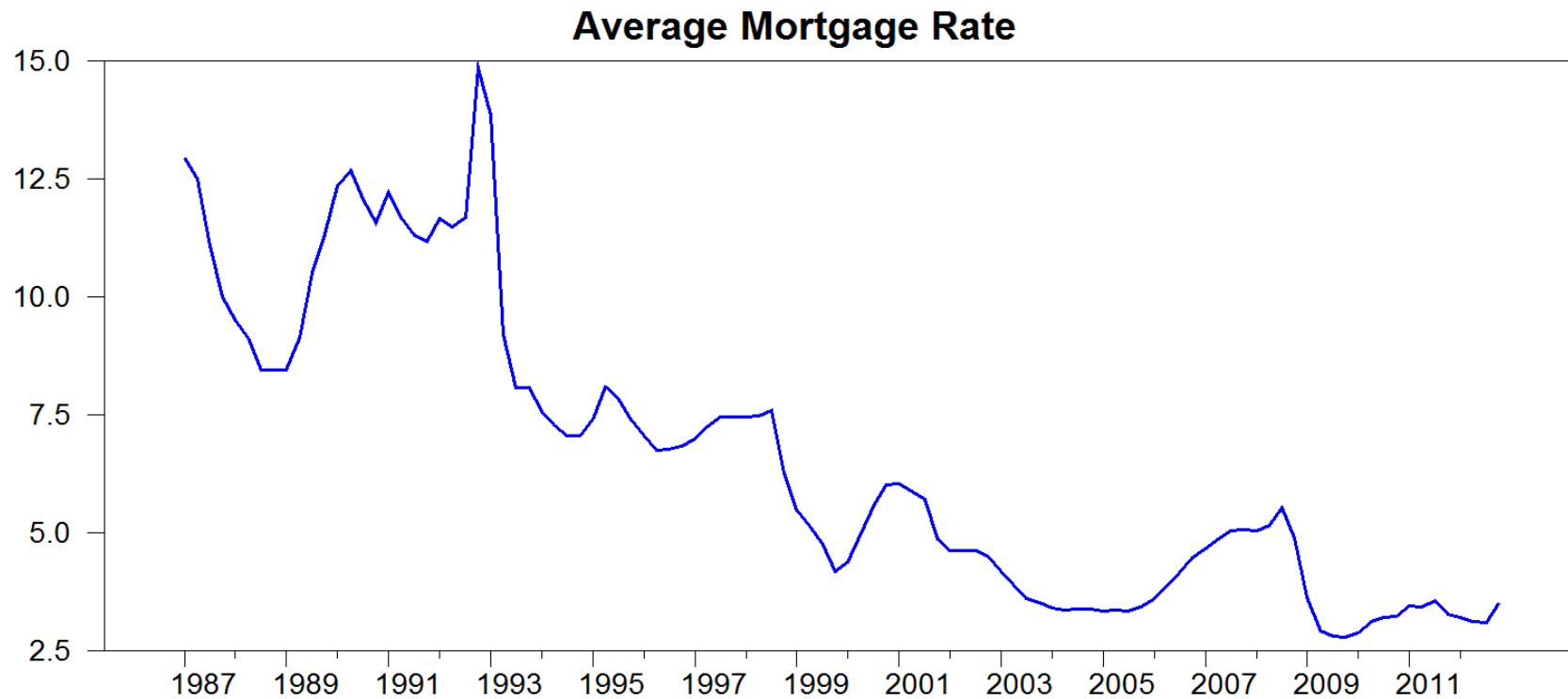


# And Positive Demographics



**2. BUT ECONOMY BECAME  
INCREASINGLY UNBALANCED:  
BROADER MACRO SURVEILLANCE  
REQUIRED**

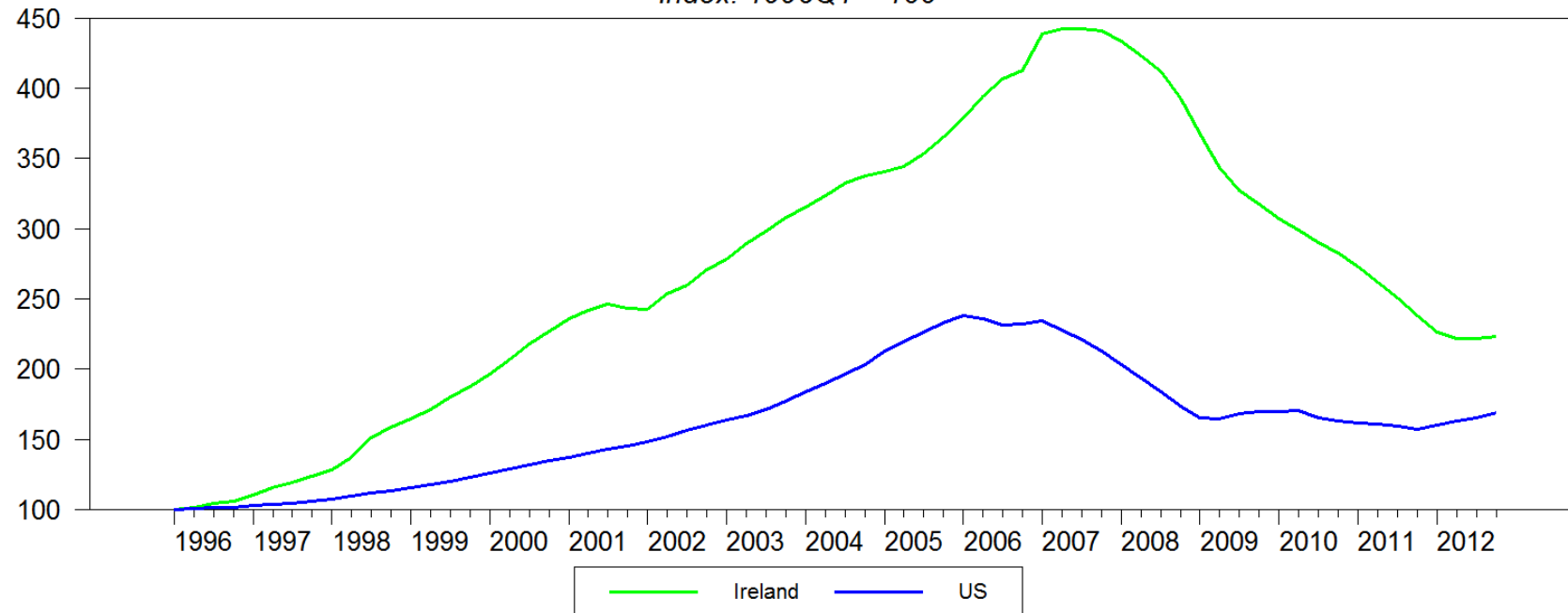
# Low Cost of Mortgage Credit Due to Euro



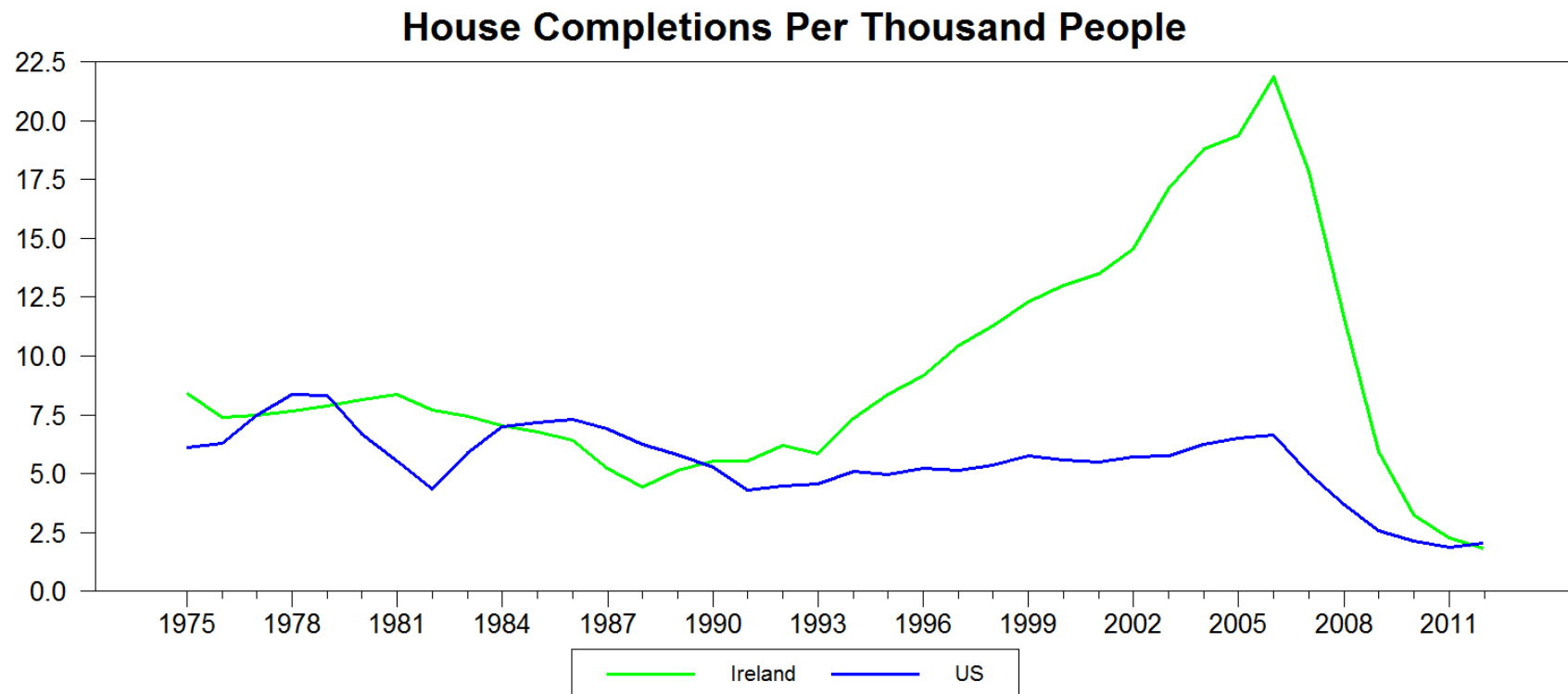
# Combined with Strong Growth to Produce a Huge Rise in House Prices

**House Prices in Ireland and the US**

*Index: 1996Q1 = 100*



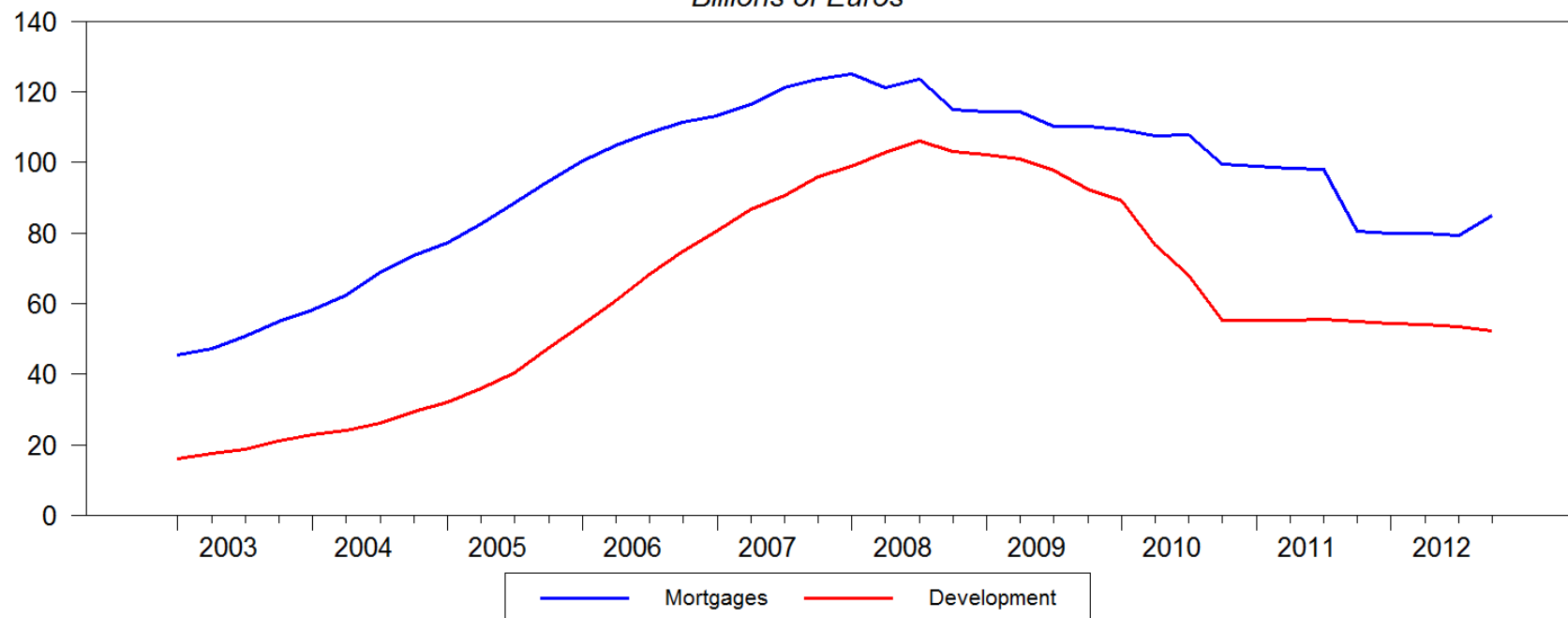
# Housing Completions Per Thousand People



# Huge Increase in Property-Related Lending (Much of it Speculative)

Property-Related Loans Outstanding at Irish Banks

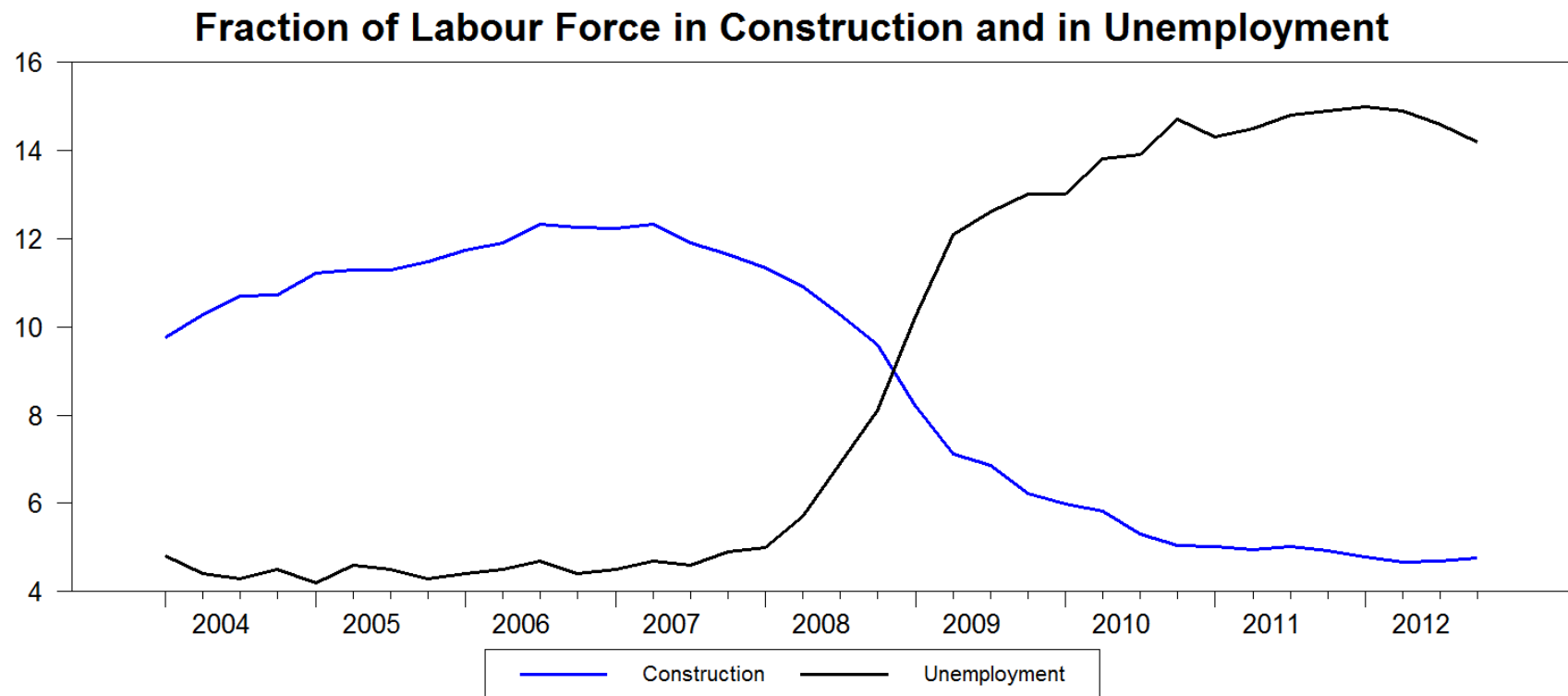
*Billions of Euros*



# Huge Bank Exposure to Property

- Domestic banks built up huge exposure to property.
  - Anglo Irish Bank, a property development specialist, grew from assets of €26 billion in 2003 to €97 billion in 2007.
  - Allied Irish Bank, a retail bank, increased property development loans from €16 billion in 2004 to €47 billion in 2007
- Mainly funded in international bond markets:  
Grew from less than €15 billion in 2003 to almost €100 billion by 2007

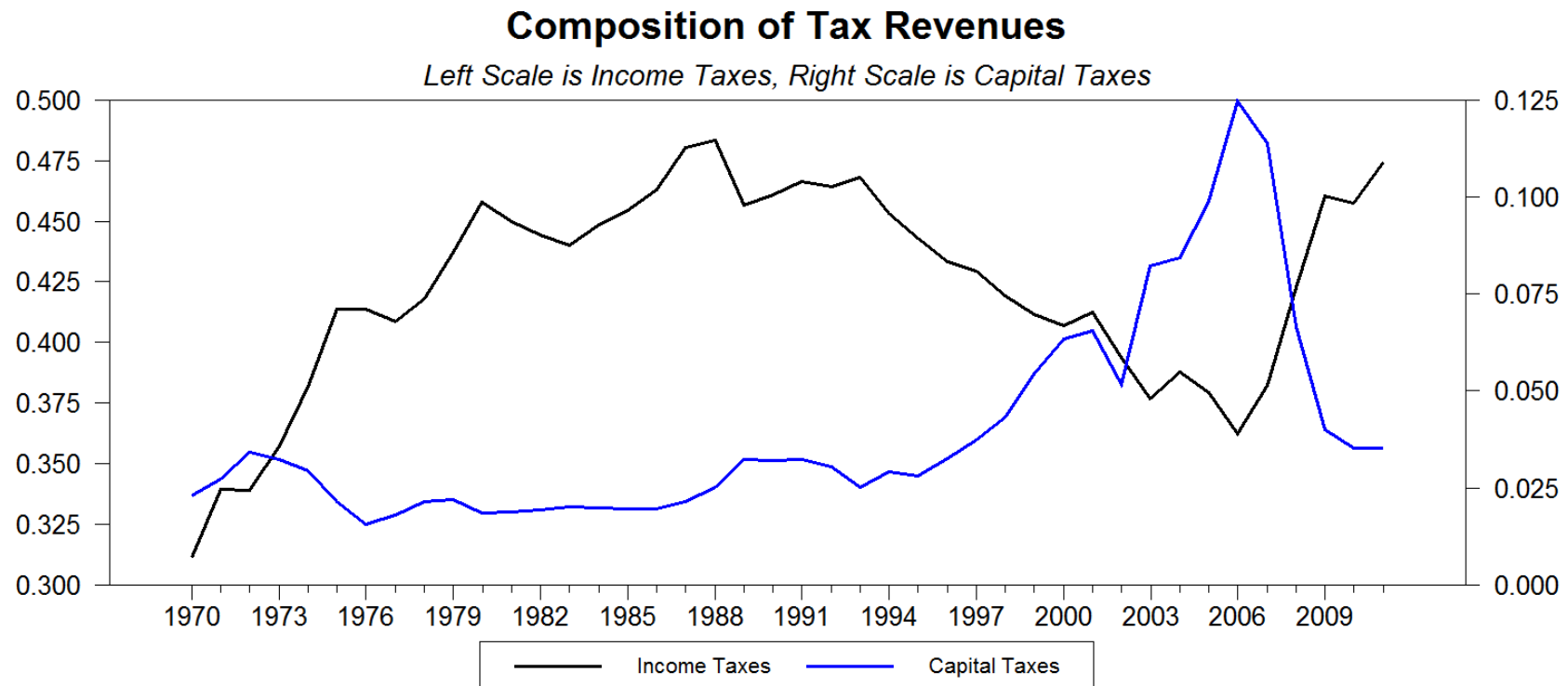
# Construction Collapse Drove Unemployment





**3. WAS IRELAND'S FISCAL CRISIS  
DUE TO ITS BANK BAILOUT? WHAT  
WAS THE ROLE OF THE ECB?**

# Tax Base Increasingly Relied on the Housing Market



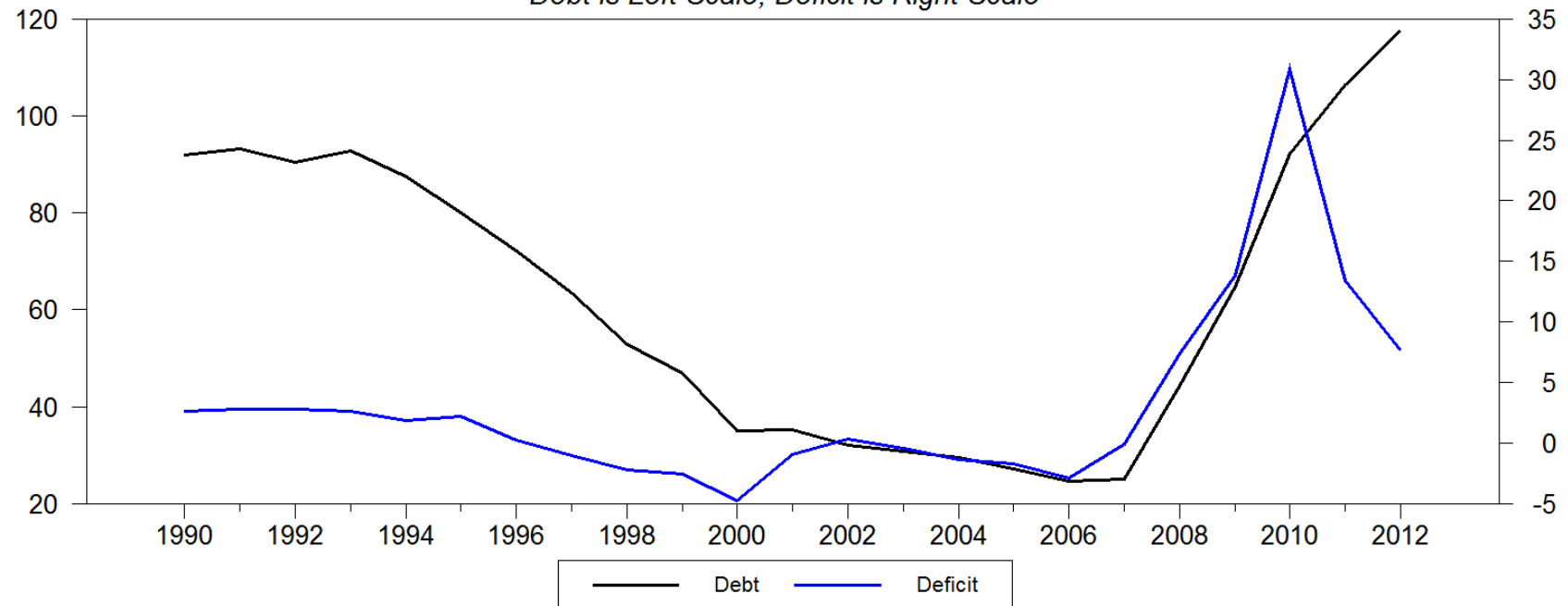
# The Bank Bailout

- Irish government passed a near-blanket guarantee in September 2008. ECB not responsible for this policy.
- However, ECB made repayment of senior bondholders an implicit condition of their co-operation with EU-IMF bailout.
- Final cost of about €64 billion or 40% of GDP but most was incurred prior to EU-IMF program.
- In light of Cyprus, worth noting that Anglo (which cost about €35 billion) had relatively few domestic retail depositors.

# Debt Crisis Only Partly Due to Bank Bailout

**Public Debt and Deficit Ratios to GDP**

*Debt is Left Scale, Deficit is Right Scale*



# Did Euro Membership Help or Hurt?

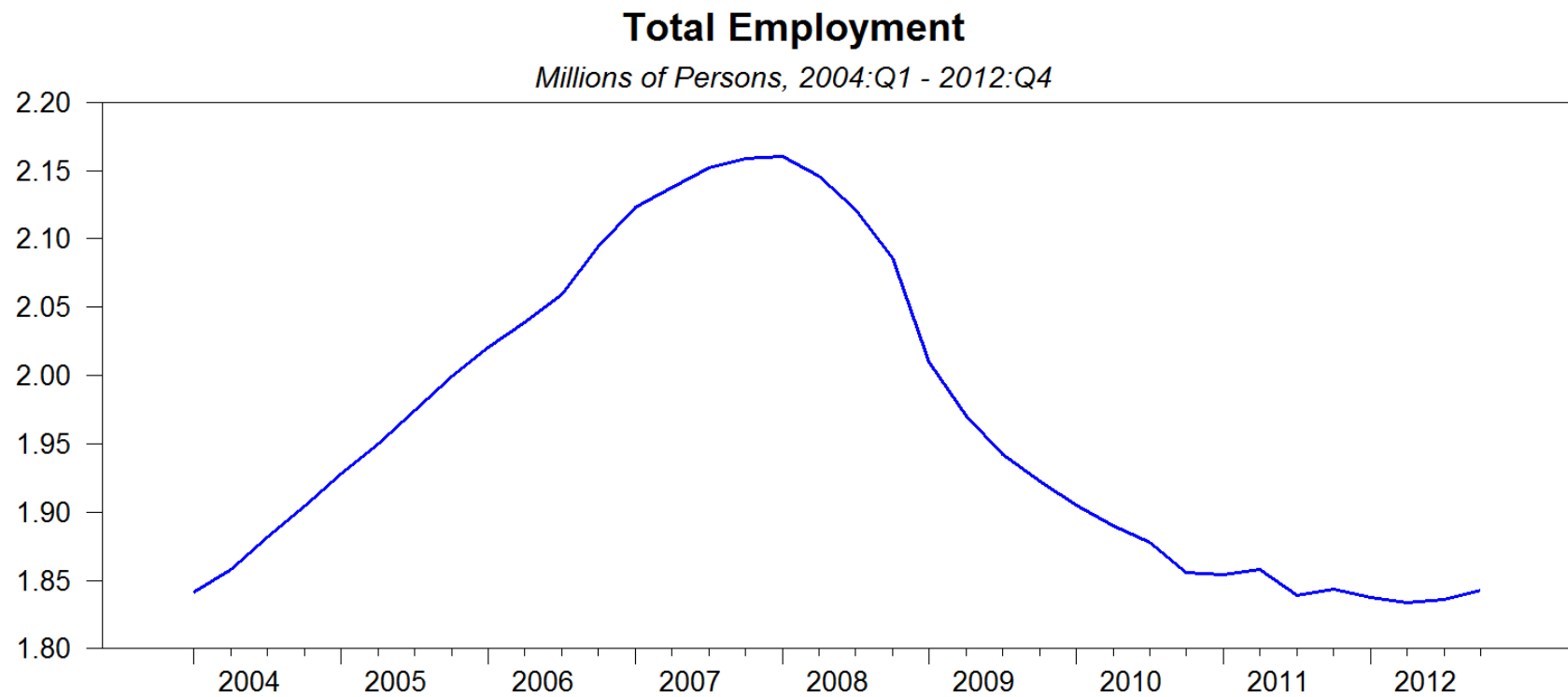
- Euro membership proved a mixed blessing. It helped prevented a liquidity crisis in 2008 and kept the money flowing from the ATM machines.
- However, there were severe negatives:
  - Enabled a denial-driven policy on bank losses.
  - LOLR function had limits: By Autumn 2010, much of the liquidity support (the ELA) required Irish fiscal guarantees.
  - Bondholders being paid back in full became an explicit condition of ECB funding.
  - Relative to Iceland, for example, can argue that euro membership offered Ireland more than enough rope to hang itself.
- Without a clear policy on bank resolution, the Eurozone was not a good place to have a systemic banking crisis.

## **4. LESSONS FROM IRELAND'S RECOVERY**

# Economy Tentatively Returning to Growth

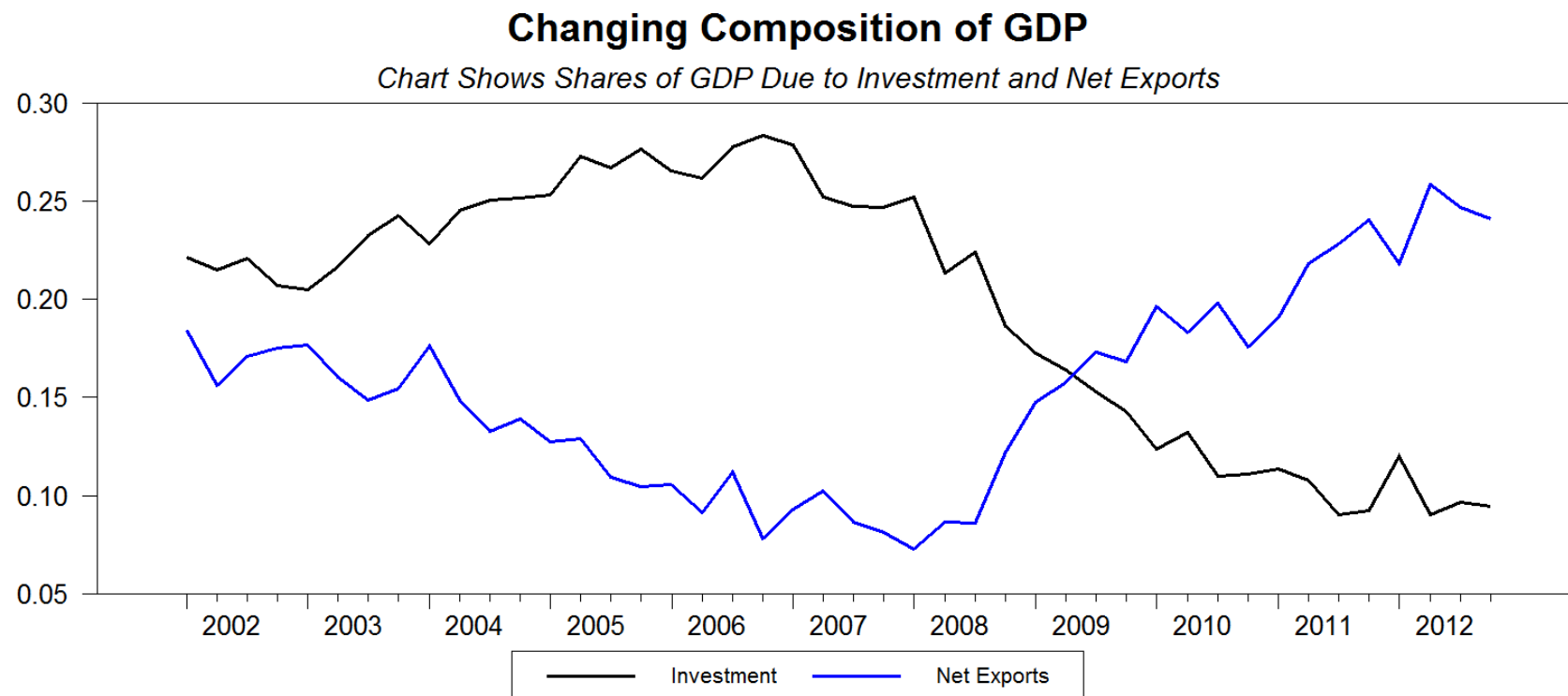


# Employment Stabilizing





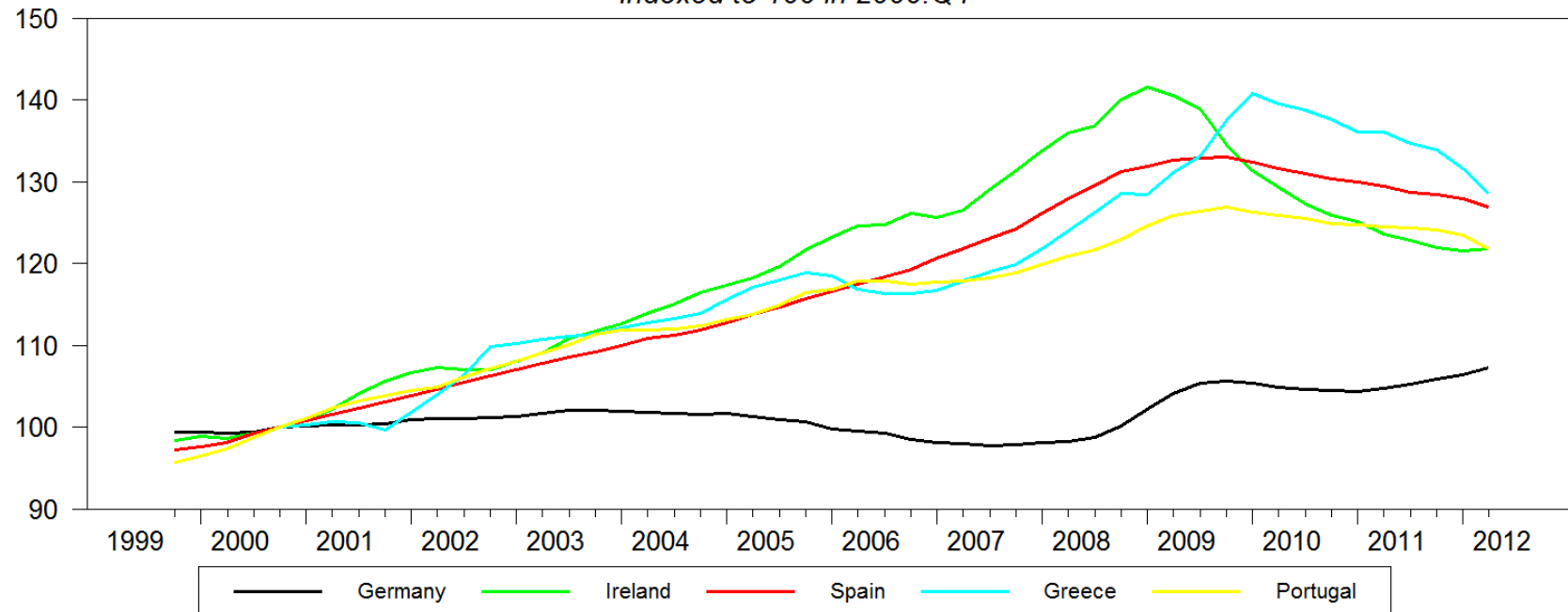
# Economy is Re-Balancing



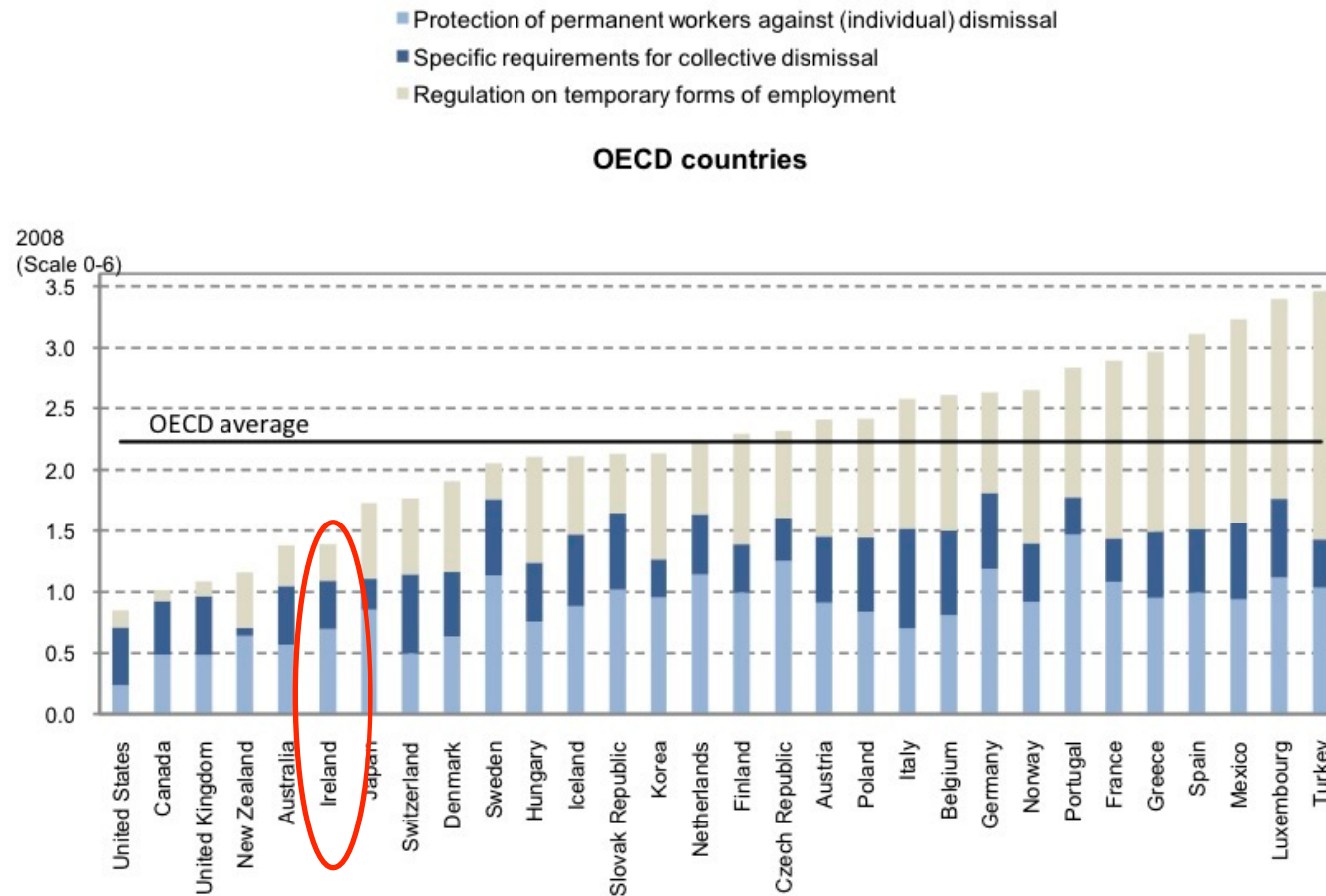
# Relatively Flexible Labour Markets Mean Improving Competitiveness

**Unit Labor Costs in Selected Countries**

*Indexed to 100 in 2000:Q4*



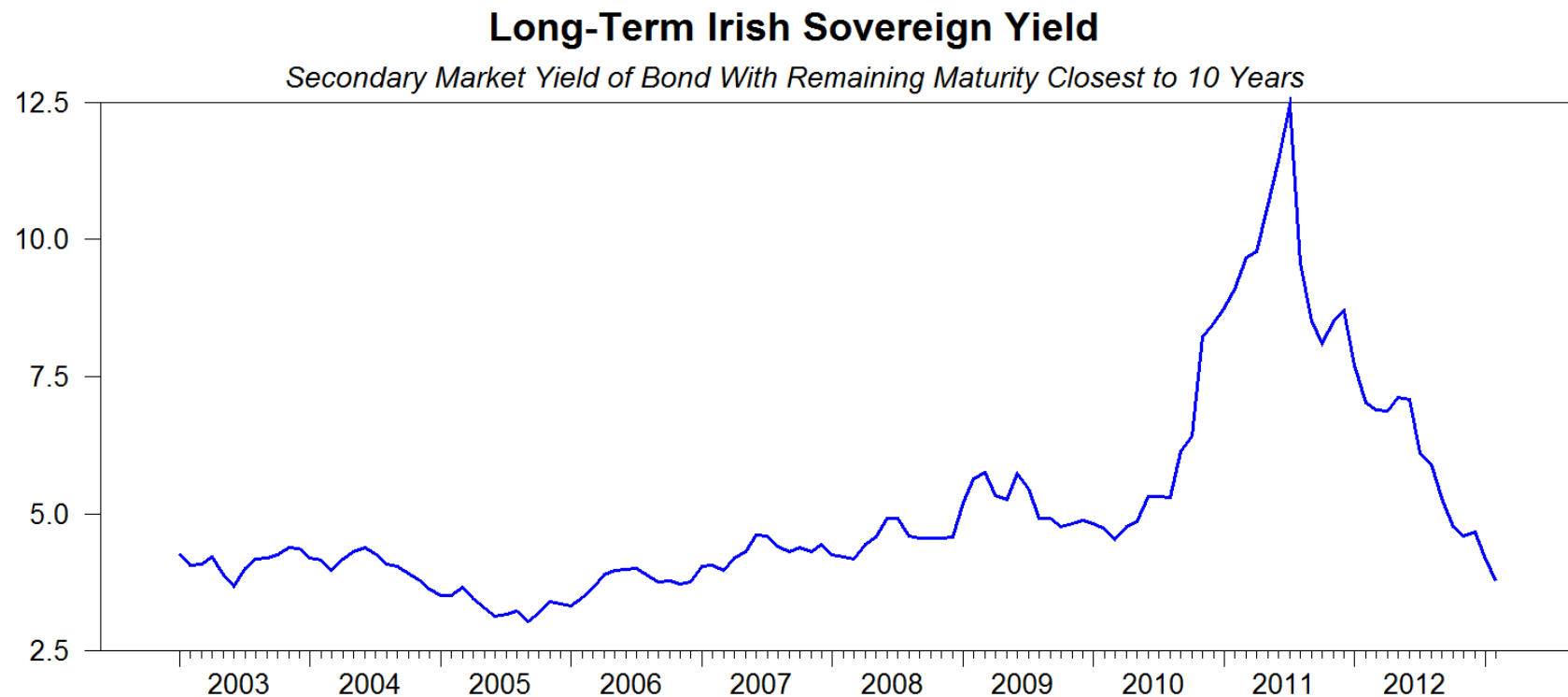
# Ireland Has Low Level of Employment Protection



## Reflecting Historical Approach, Not New Reforms

- One narrative suggests “Ireland shows how structural reforms in product and labour markets can boost growth while an economy undergoes fiscal austerity.”
- In reality, there have been very few structural reforms (Minimum wage was cut in EU-IMF programme and the raised again by new government.)
- Different message is correct: Flexible labour markets facilitate adjustment.
- But difficult to reform in recession and positive results are slow while negative impact of austerity is immediate.

# Falling Sovereign Yields and a Return to the Bond Market



# The Negatives

- Many previous sources of fast growth are played out.
- Factors constraining domestic demand
  - More fiscal adjustment to come.
  - Banks still overly reliant on central bank funding and reducing credit.
  - Overhang of personal and business debt.
  - Mortgage arrears rising to critical levels.
  - Uncertainty about the health of banks.
- Reliant on exports from growth but Euro Area and UK economies are in a slump.
- Hard to see return to projected rates of growth (and significant downward movement in debt-GDP ratio) without a general EU recovery.