

Learning from the Irish Crisis

Patrick Honohan

Prepared for the Central Bank of Iceland conference:

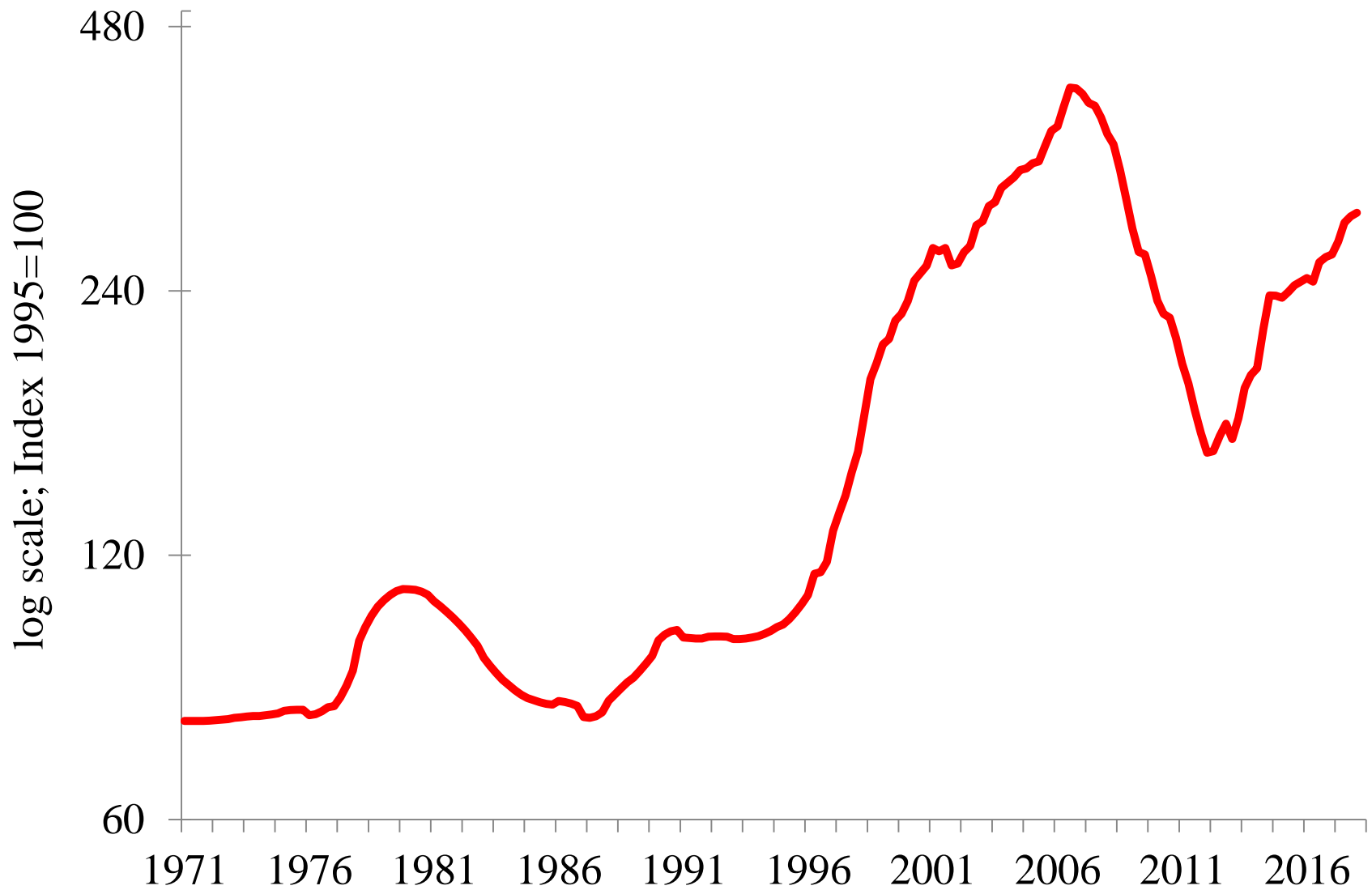
*Looking back and looking forward: How do we
preserve monetary and financial stability”*

Reykjavik, 12 July 2019

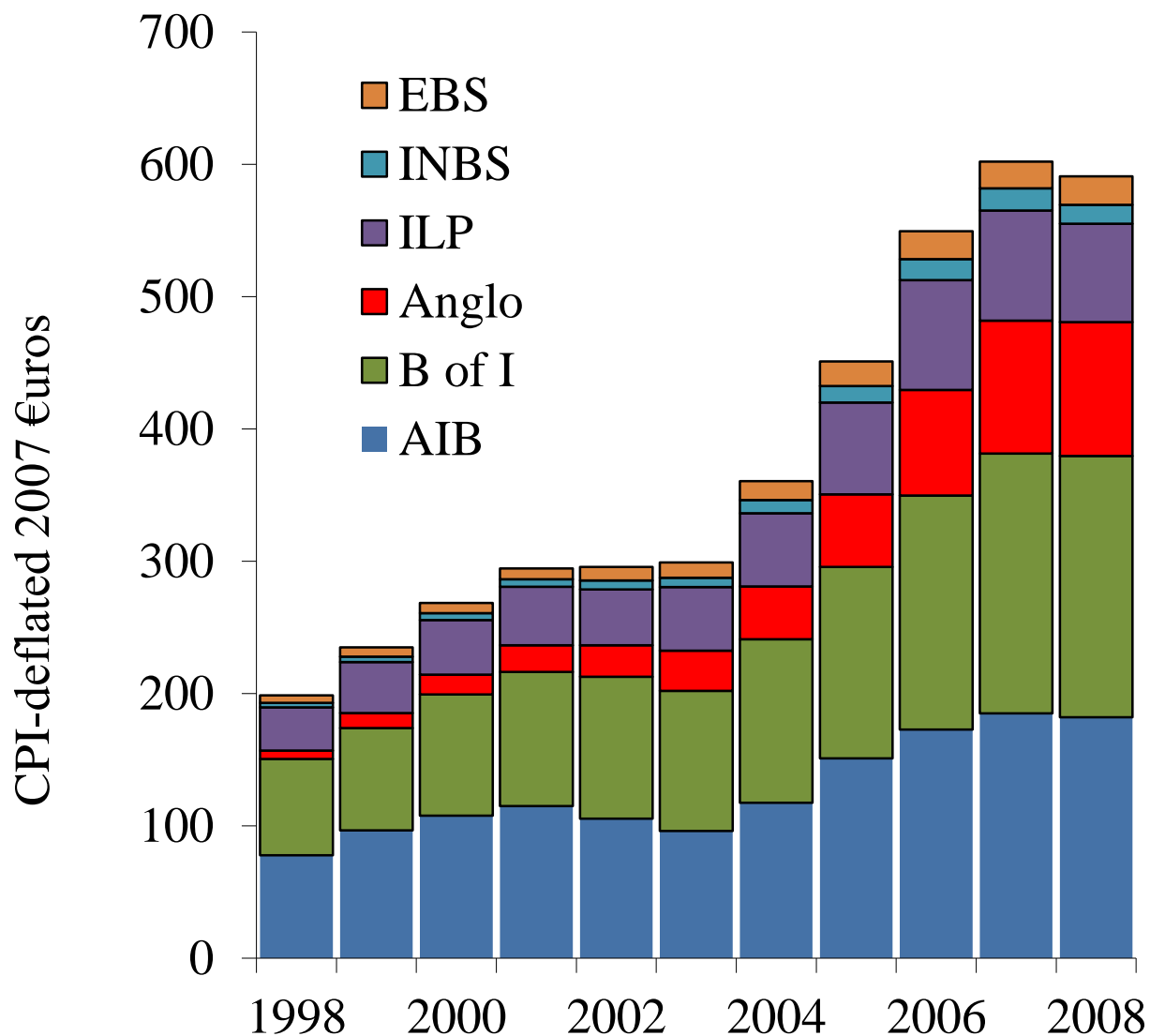
1. Sources

- Property **price** and construction boom
- Propelled by “Celtic Tiger” myth/narrative
- Financialization: fuelled by **bank** foreign borrowing at low international **interest rates**
- Banks poorly **managed** and weakly supervised
- (Some criminal abuses by bankers--less than Iceland)
- Boom led to fiscal and **wage**/price relaxation
- Bust collapsed construction employment; and exposed underlying fiscal imbalances and bank insolvency

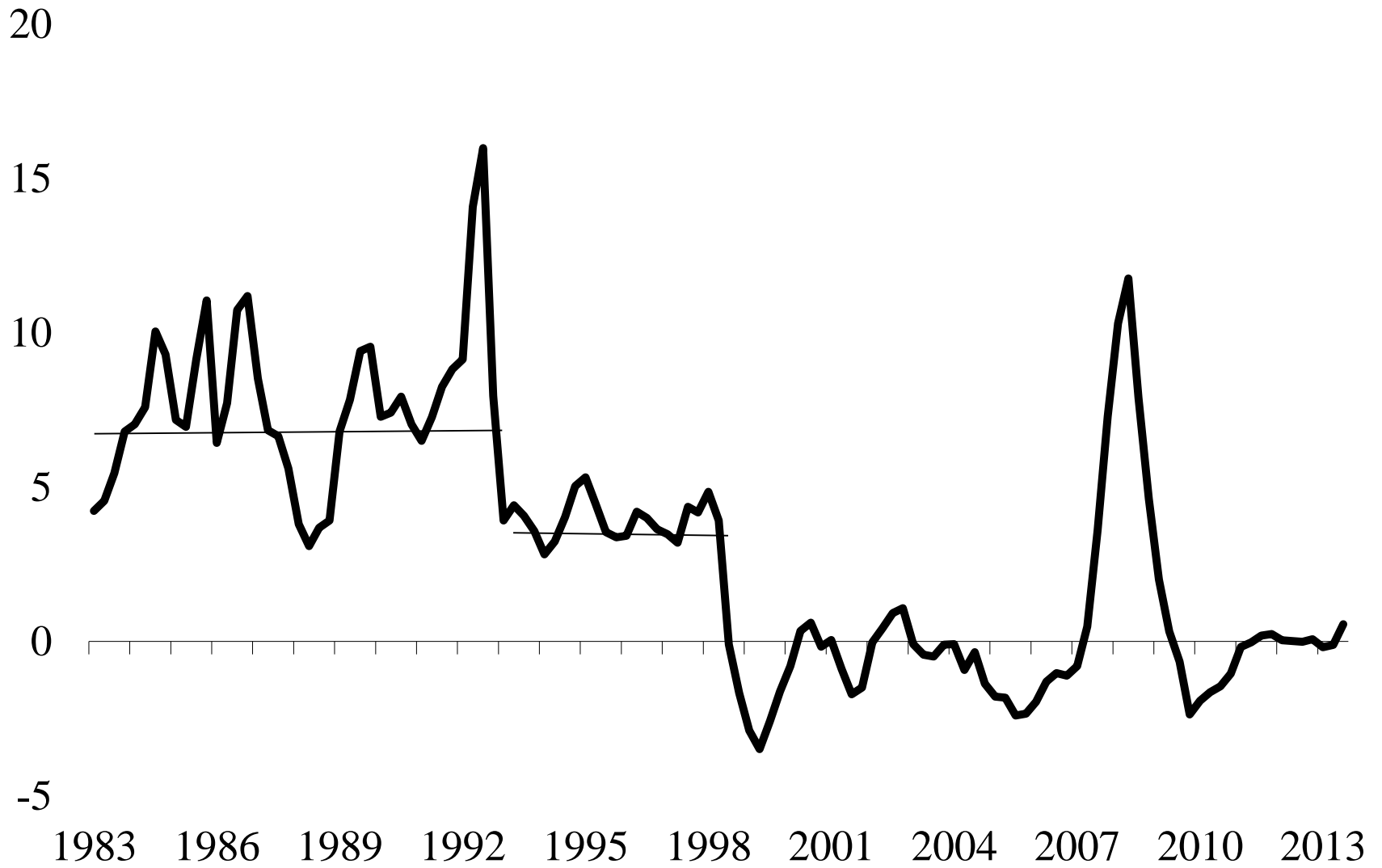
Dublin real house prices 1971-2018



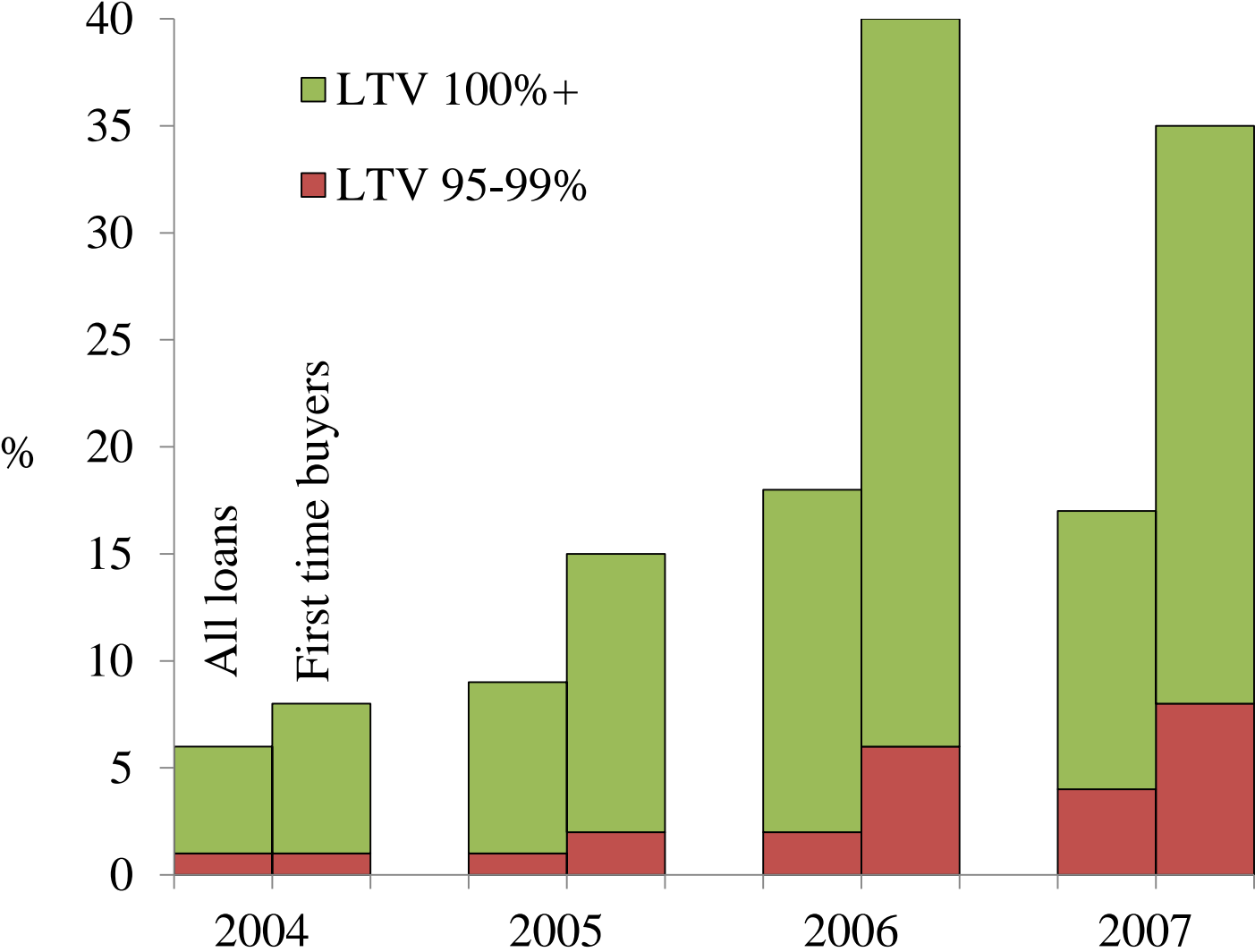
Size of Irish banks' balance sheets 1998-2008



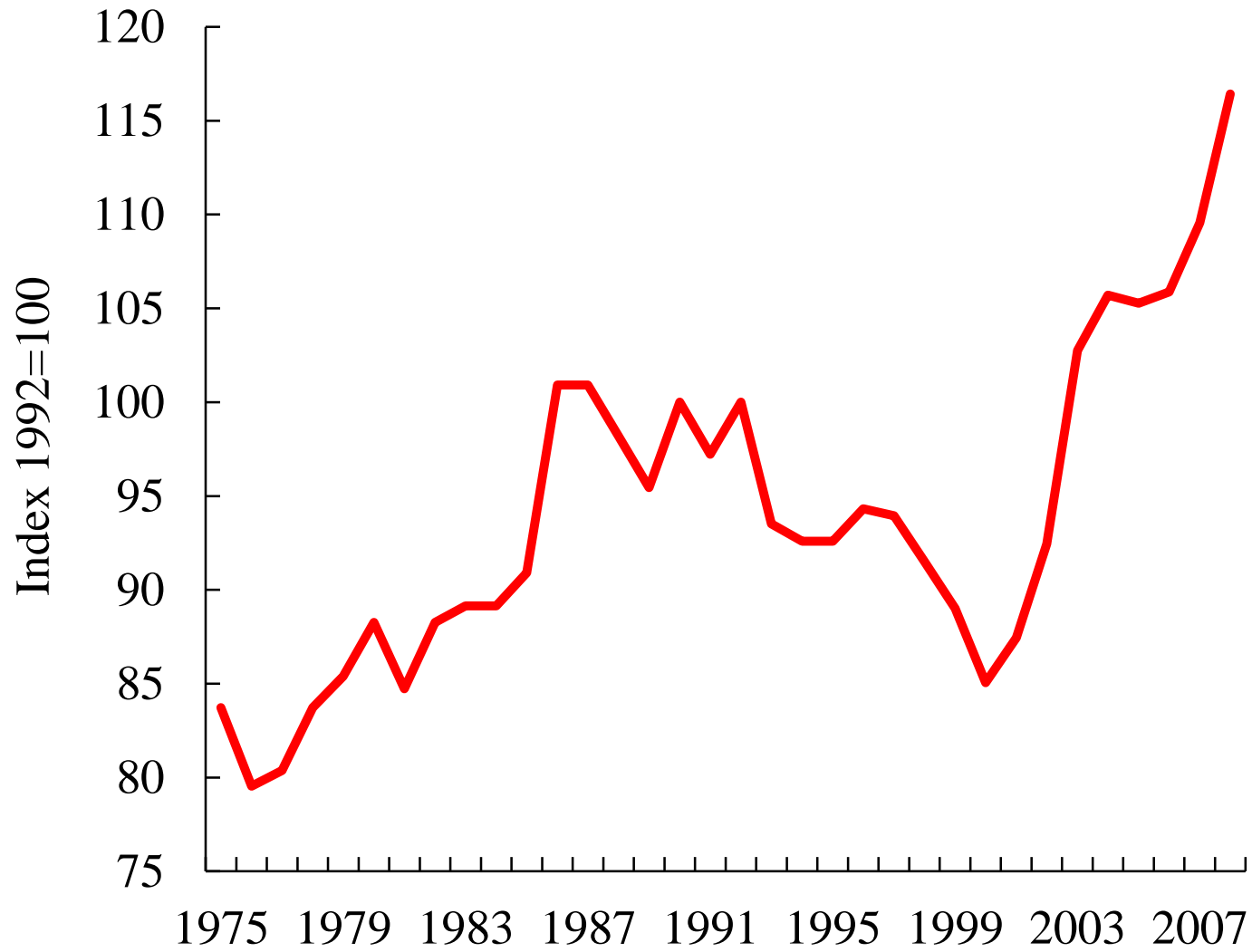
Real short-term interest rates 1983-2013 (%)



Share of loans made at high loan-to-value ratios 2004-8



Comparative wage rates 1975-2008



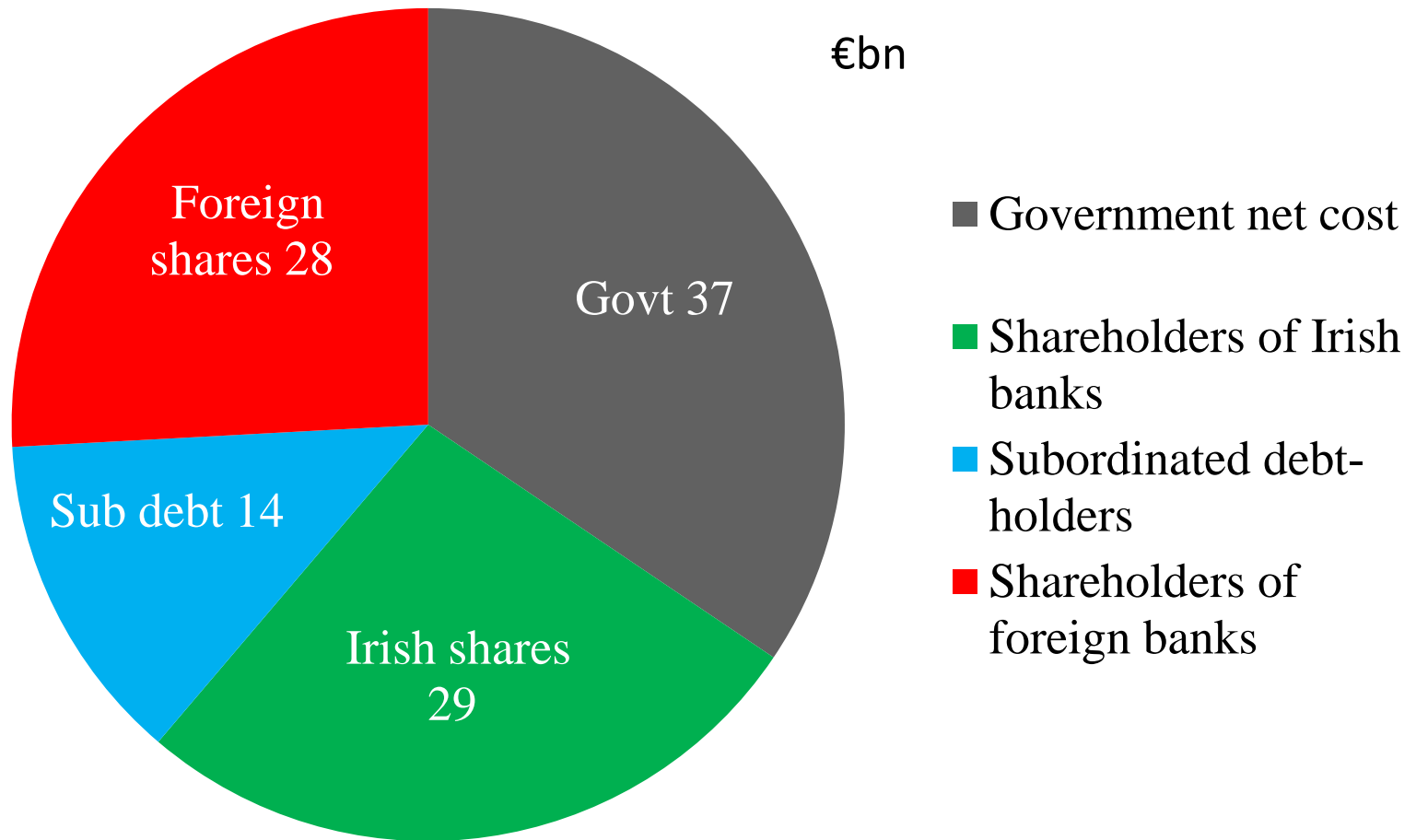
2. Tailor-made policies

- Blanket guarantee (Sept 2008) socialized about **1/3 of banking losses**
- Big property loans transferred from banks to asset management agency NAMA
- Calculating losses and recap needs with granular asset quality reviews and stress tests
- Banks recapitalized with Government and foreign shareholders (plus sub debt holders)
- Worst banks (Anglo and INBS) liquidated

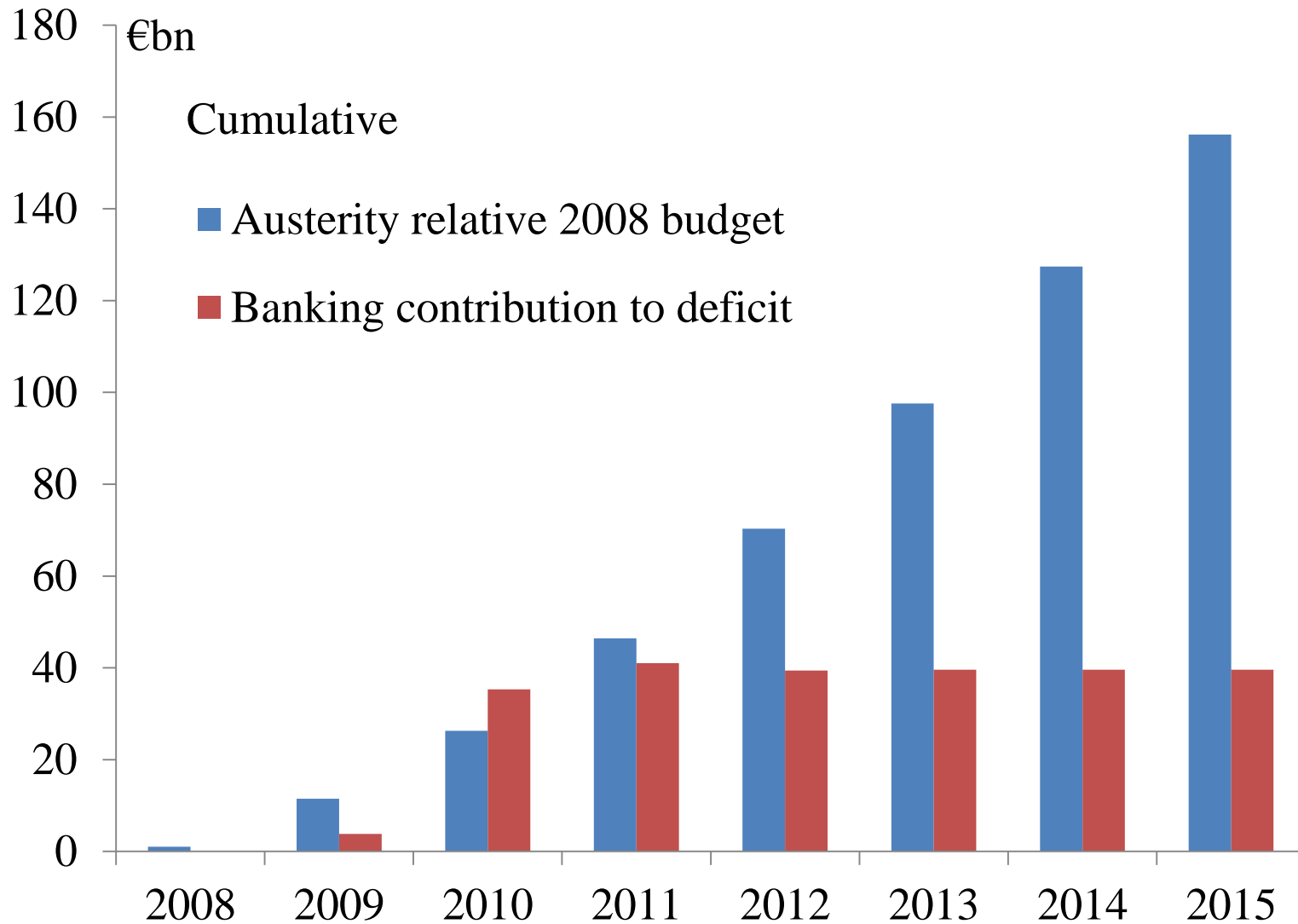
2. Tailor-made policies (continued)

- Sharp **fiscal adjustment** from 2008 (unwinding earlier tax cuts and public servant salary increases)
- Adjustment supported from end-2010 by EU-IMF loan
- Lenders vetoed haircuts on unguaranteed bank debt, despite doubts about fiscal debt sustainability
- Lowering of interest rates and lengthening of maturities on the EU loans helped remove those doubts
- Financing arrangements through CB for liquidated banks also helped

Who paid? Allocation of net banking losses



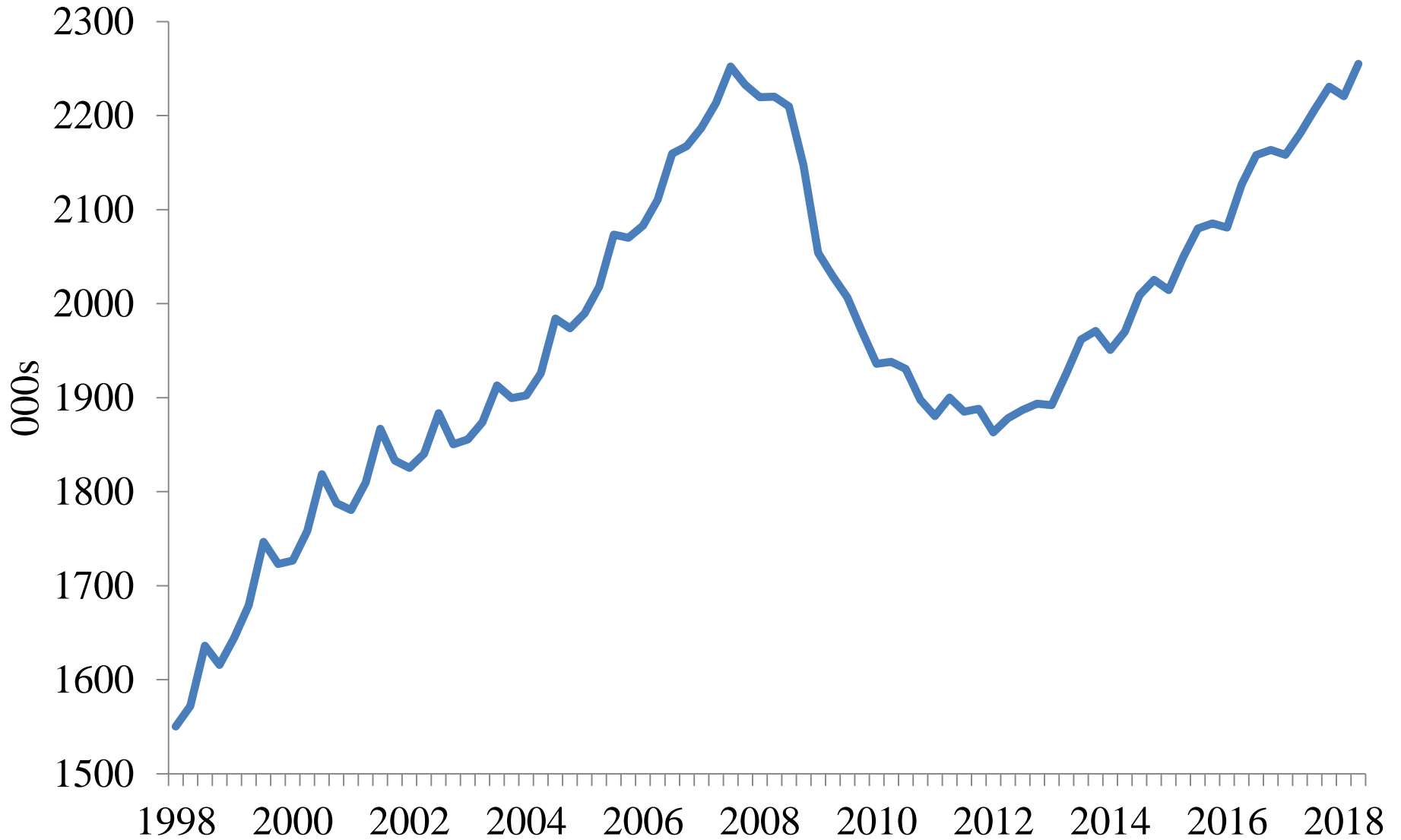
Contribution of banking losses to austerity



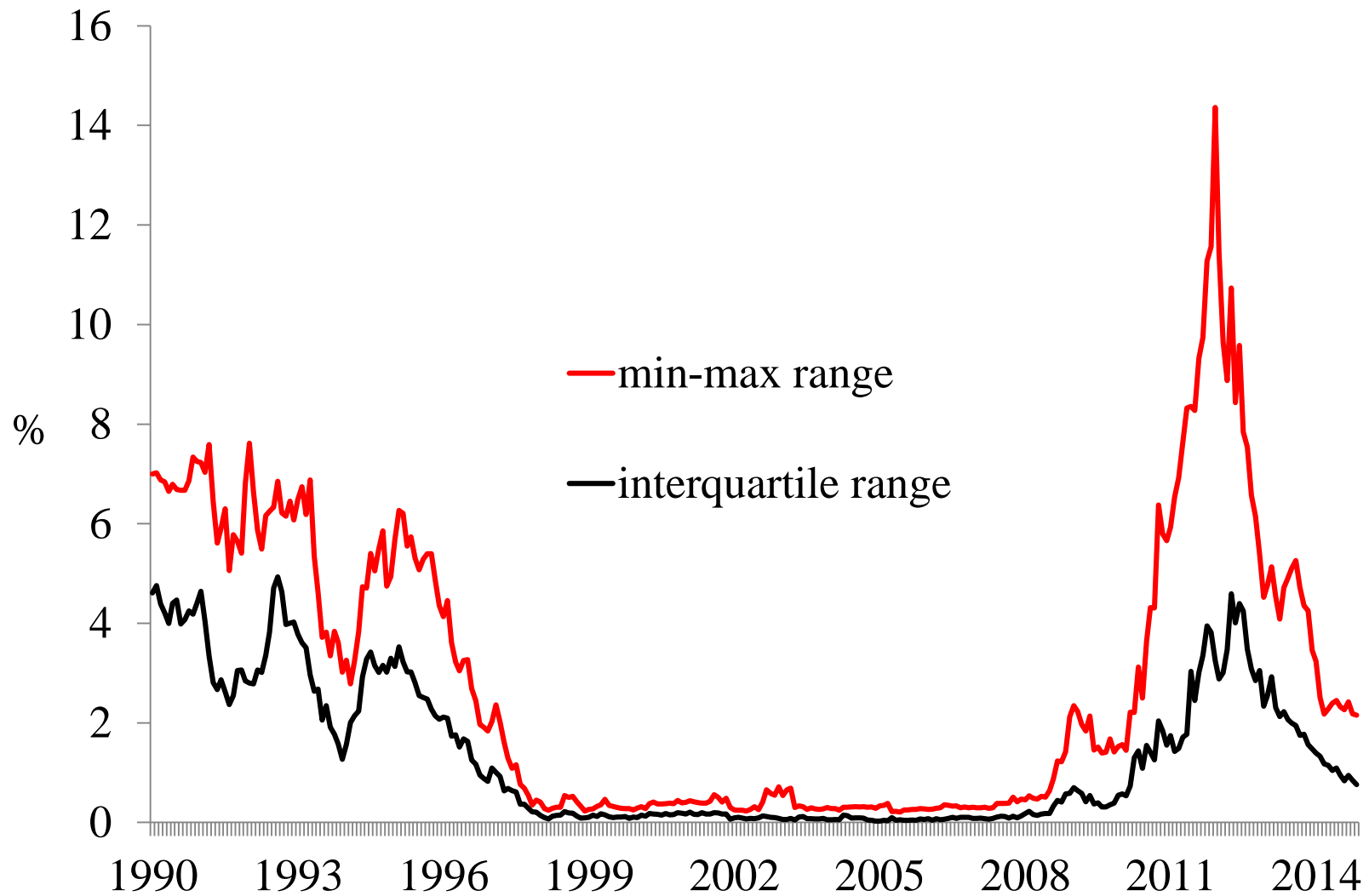
3. Recession and recovery

- Global recession on top of construction collapse meant soaring **unemployment** and emigration 2009-10
- Progressive recognition of banking losses and fiscal imbalance resulted in **loss of market access** September 2010
- **Credible macro forecasts** and banking stress test achieved by early 2011
- Easing of Program's financial conditions put turnaround in prospect
- Sustained and solid recovery from mid-2012

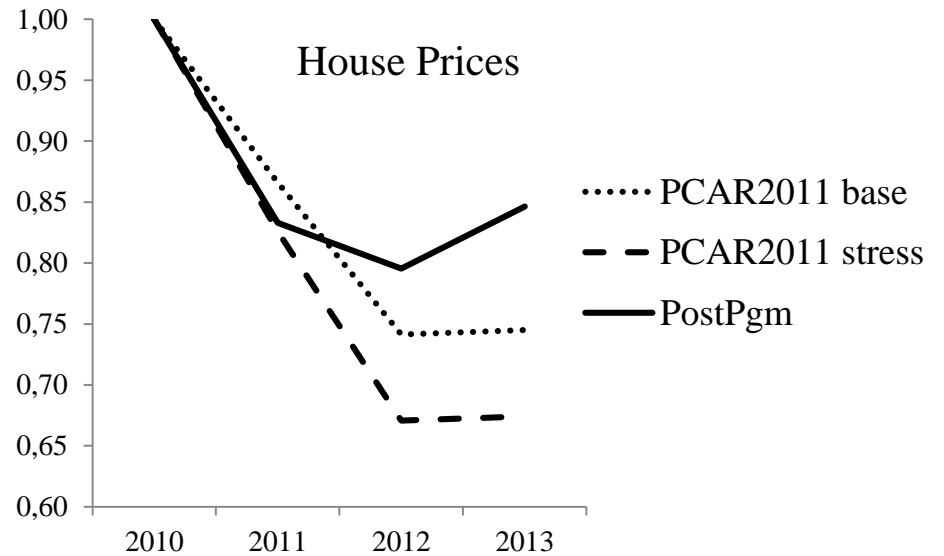
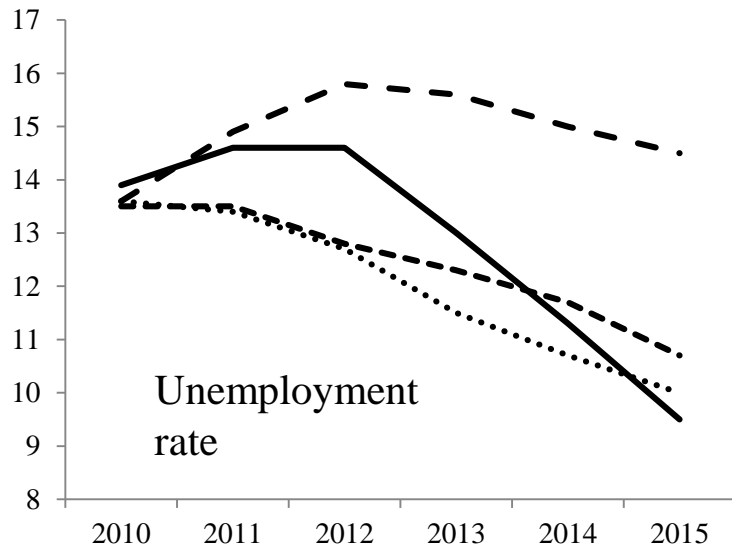
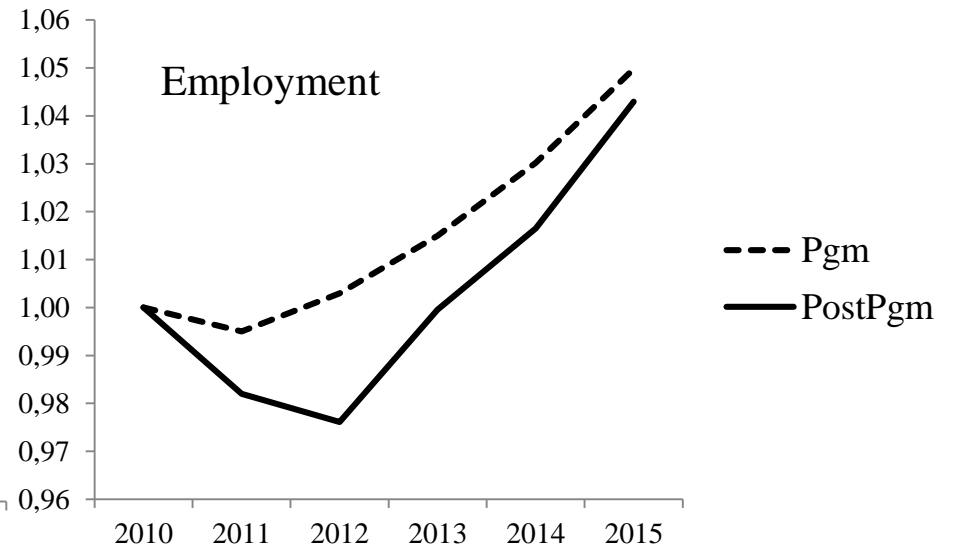
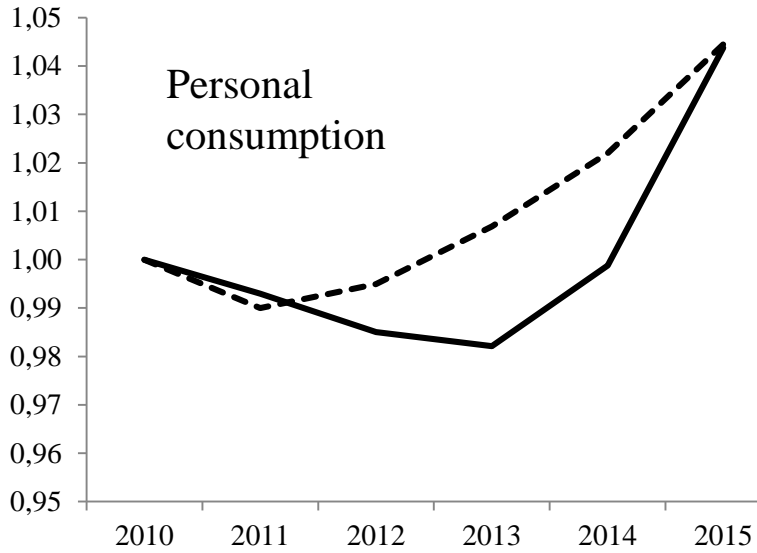
Total numbers at work 1998-2018



Range of interest rates in euro area countries 1990-2014



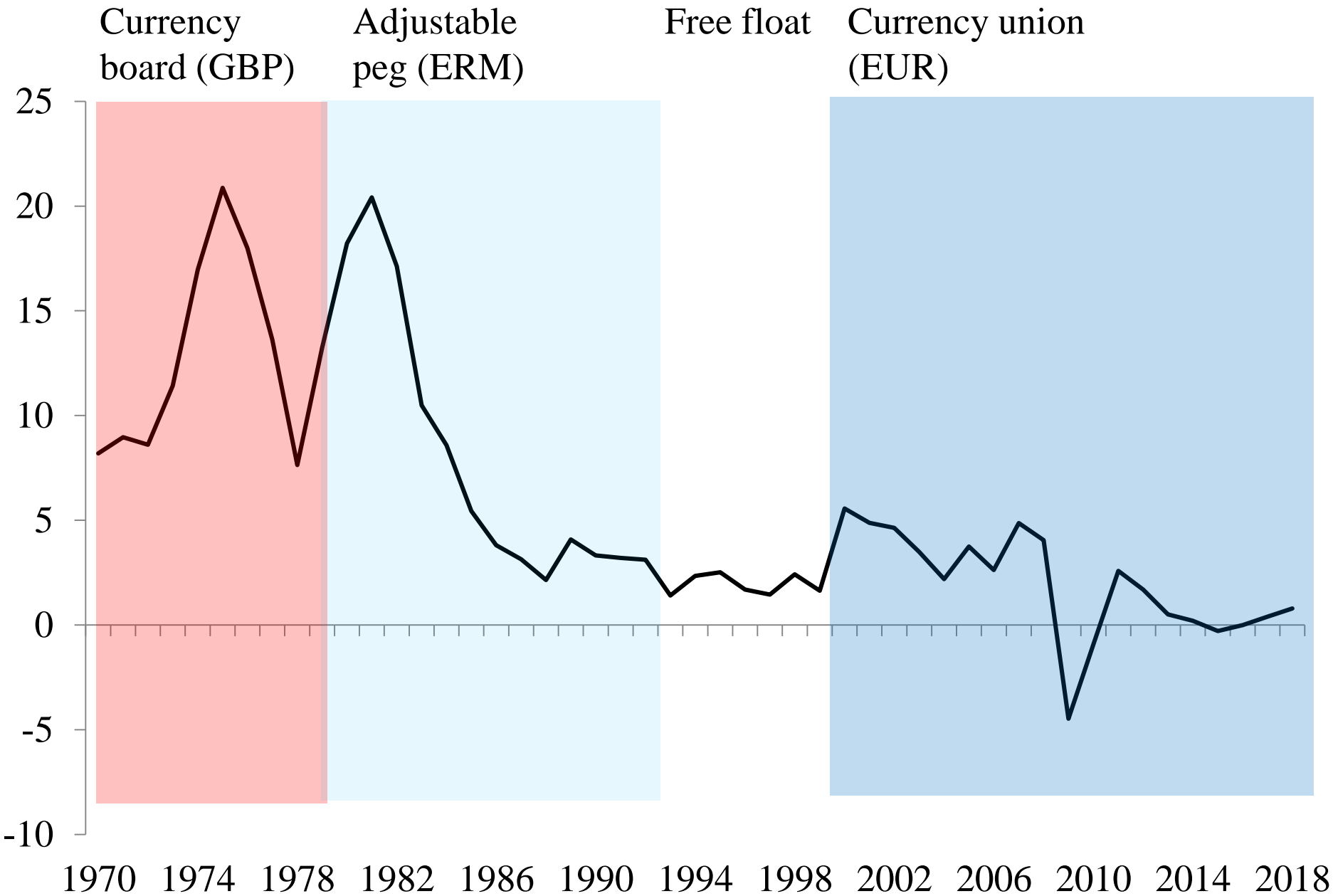
Programme projections and outcome



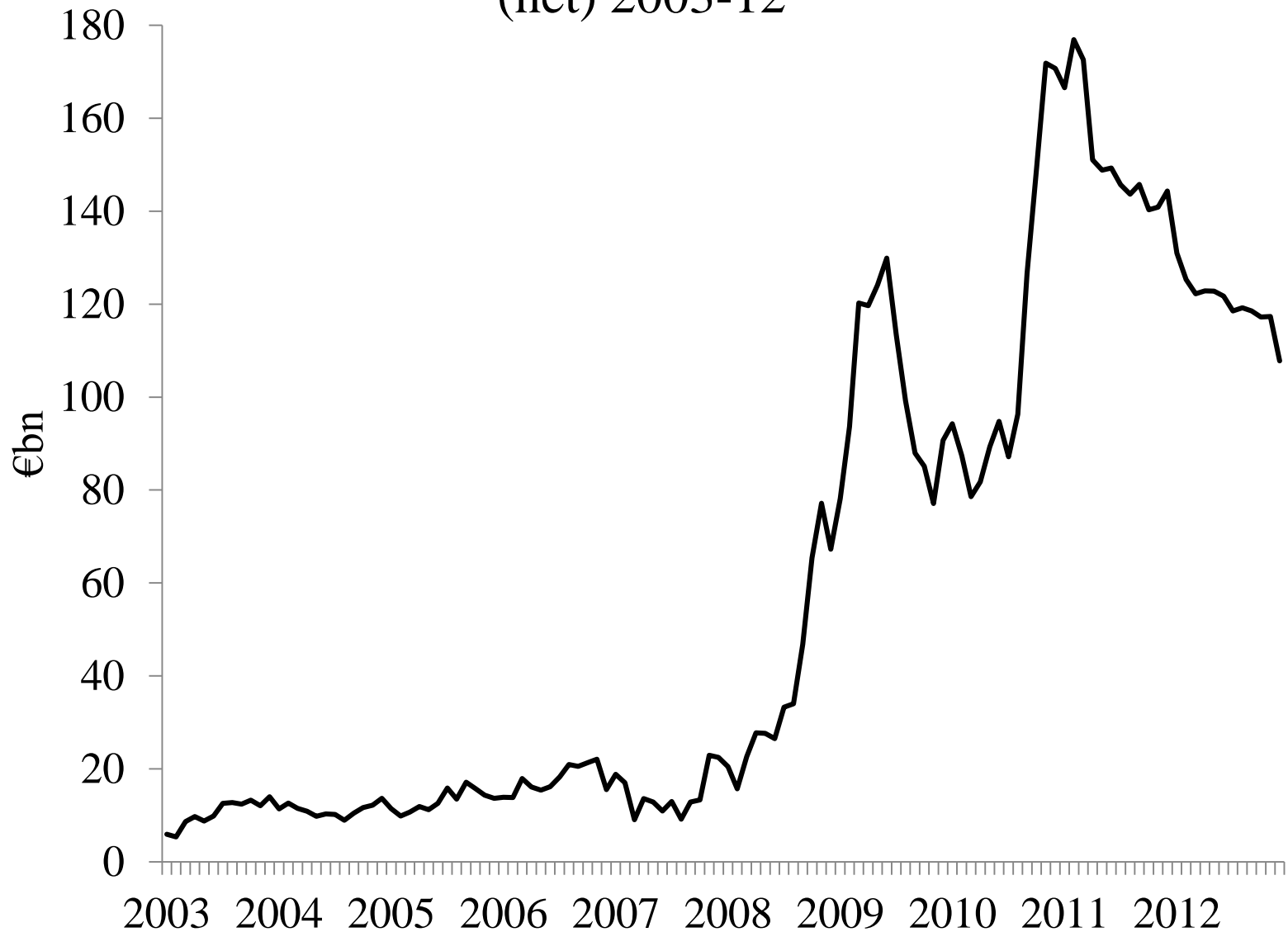
4. Impact of monetary regime

- Almost no effect on **inflation**
- **Liquidity available** throughout from ECB (despite threats)
- **Contrast with Iceland: real wages slow to fall in Ireland so employment fall is greater than in Iceland.**
- Prolonged Central Bank financing of deposit outflow from failed banks avoids crippling interest costs on this element

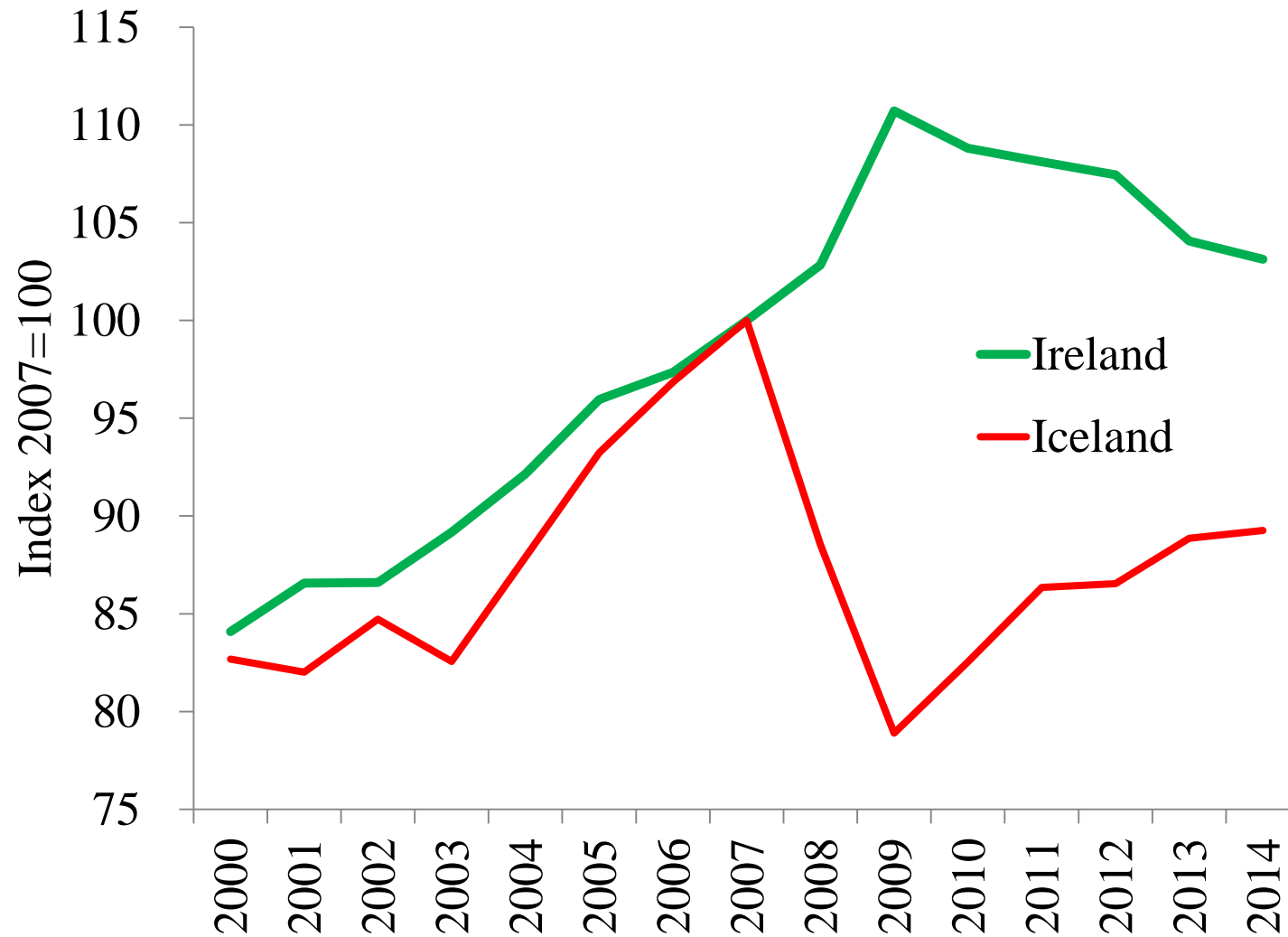
Inflation rate in different currency regimes



Central bank financing of Irish banking system (net) 2003-12



Real wages: Ireland and Iceland



5. Preventing a recurrence

- A regulatory push to improve quality of banking (operations; loan appraisal; culture)
- Macroprudential instruments (including limits on high LTV, LTI mortgages) introduced to avoid recurrence of price-credit-price boom
- SSM distances bank supervision; CRD increases capital; BRRD provides for bail-in
- Fiscal Advisory Council strengthens analytical debate on fiscal balance

After the crisis

- Sizable **debt-related legacy issues** remain.
- Still, despite the crisis, employment in Ireland has grown substantially in the 20 years of the euro
- But its close ties to the UK make Ireland exceptionally vulnerable to a no-deal **Brexit** (EW trade of more economic importance than the Irish border)