

The Fiscal Adjustment Program of Greece: Success or Failure?



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- I. Methodological issues
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I. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES (1)

1. Programs are based on forecasts.
2. The program parameters are often subject to renegotiation.
3. Not all policy decisions taken by a country result from the assistance program.
4. Program success is contingent on implementation by national authorities.
5. Program outcomes are affected by spillovers from other countries.



I. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES (2)

- Not an assessment based on the fulfillment of the targets set.
- Focus on specific topics of European relevance.
- Starting with the picture of Greece before and after the crisis.



II. GREECE 2008 vs GREECE 2013 (1)

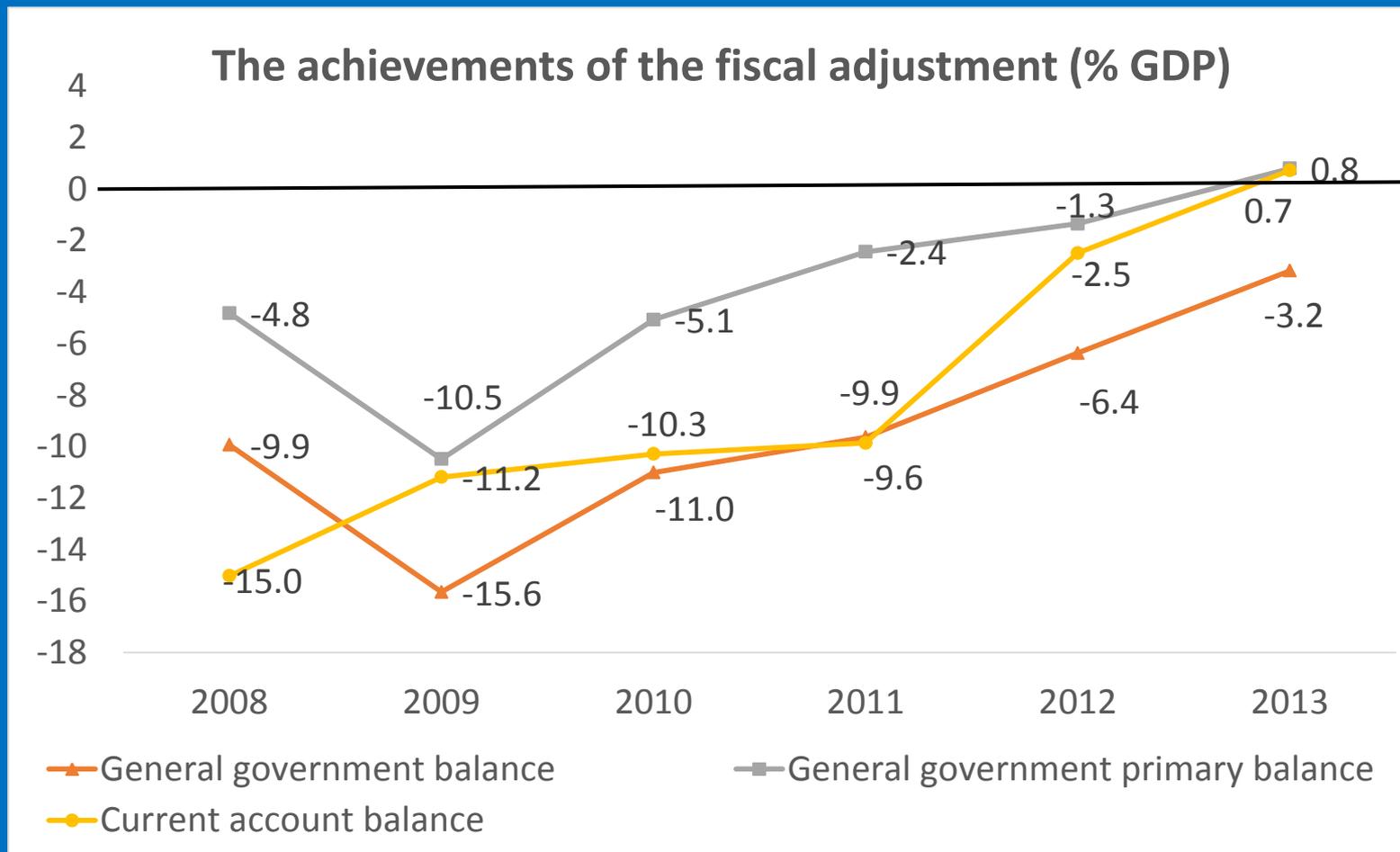
Variables	2008	2013
General government primary balance*	-4.8	0.8
General government balance*	-10	-3.2
current account balance*	-15	0.7
inflation**	4.2	-0.9
General government gross debt*	113	175
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion [#]	28.1	35.7
unemployment rate ***	7.7	27.3
GDP per capita****	21,000	16,500

* % GDP, ** percent change, average consumer prices, # percentage of total population, *** percent of total labor force, **** current market prices in €

Source: IMF World Economic Outlook database, October 2014, Eurostat



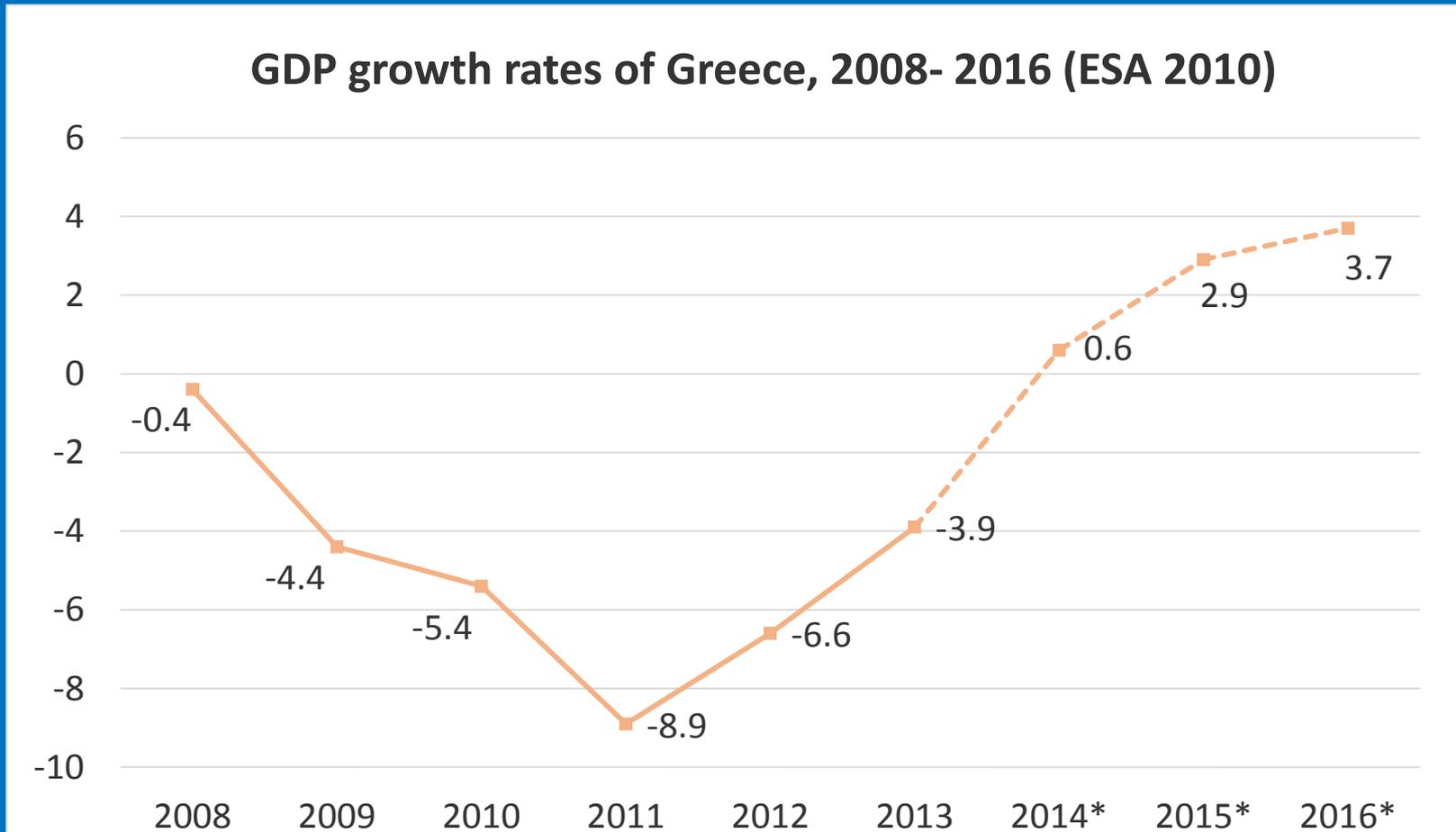
II. GREECE 2008 vs GREECE 2013 (2)



Source: IMF World Economic Outlook database, October 2014



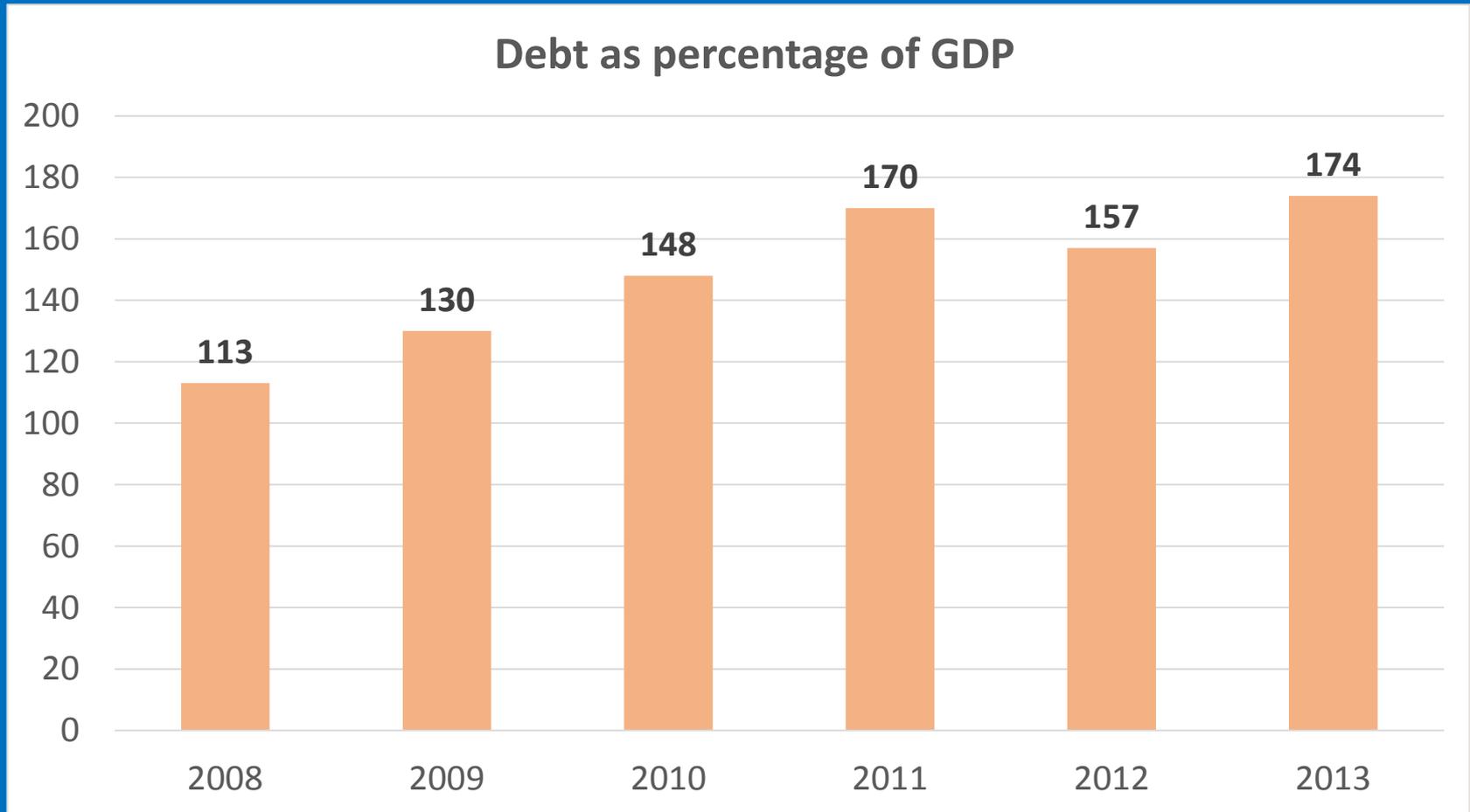
II. GREECE 2008 vs GREECE 2013 (3)



Source: European Commission, Autumn Forecasts, 2014



II. GREECE 2008 vs GREECE 2013 (4)



Source: IMF World Economic Outlook database, October 2014



III. WHAT WENT WRONG?

- Austerity
- Expectations
- Policy mix
- Institutions
- Fairness
- Exports



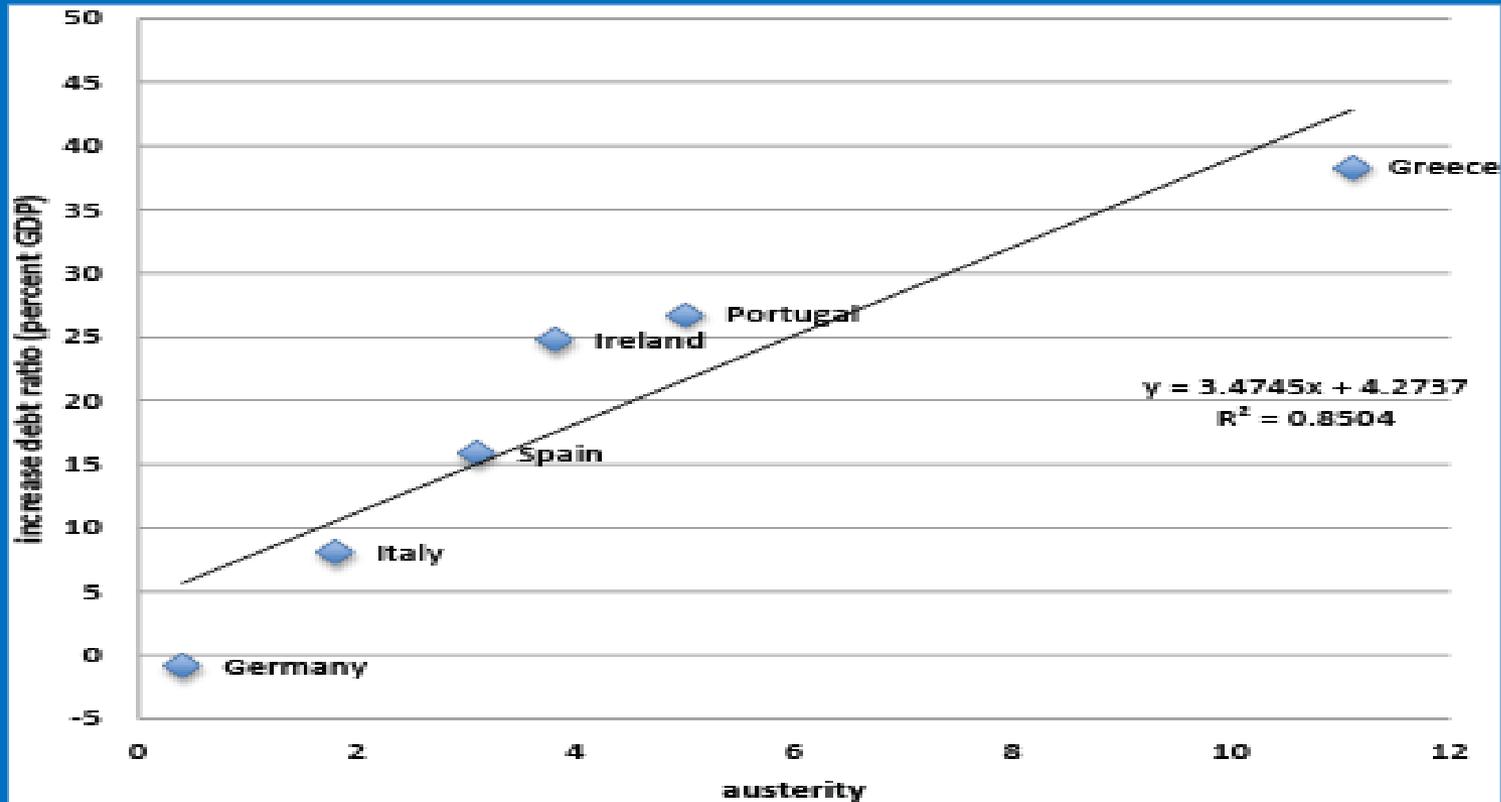
AUSTERITY

Paul de Grauwe, 2013

- Extremely frontloaded and implemented in panic, especially in Greece.
- Markets pushed the country into implementing severe austerity (through the increase of bond spreads).
- The more severe the austerity was, the deeper the recession of the economy (→ explosion of the debt to GDP ratio).
- Combined with severe liquidity constraints (in Greece).



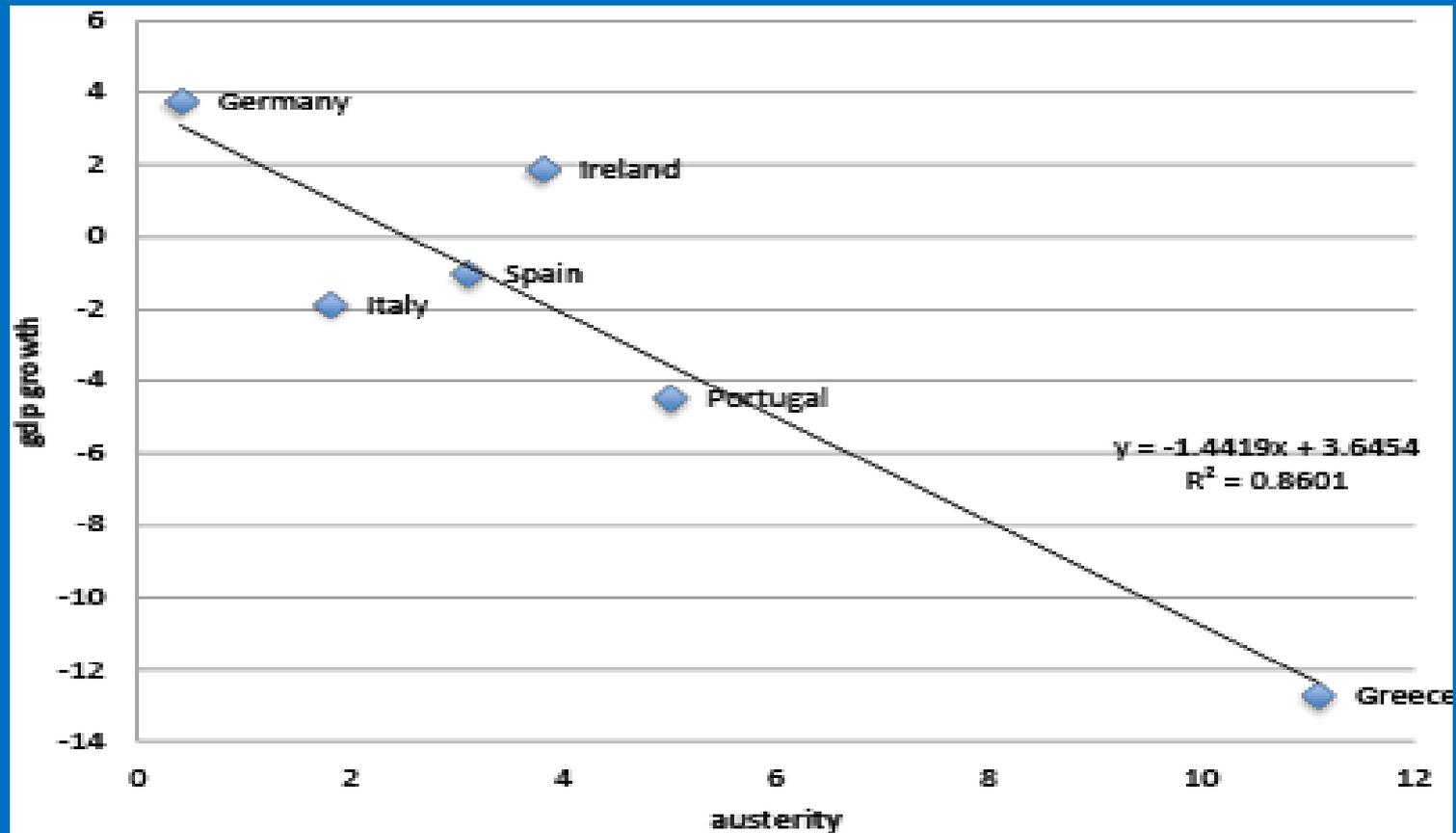
AUSTERITY AND DEBTS



Source: Paul De Grauwe



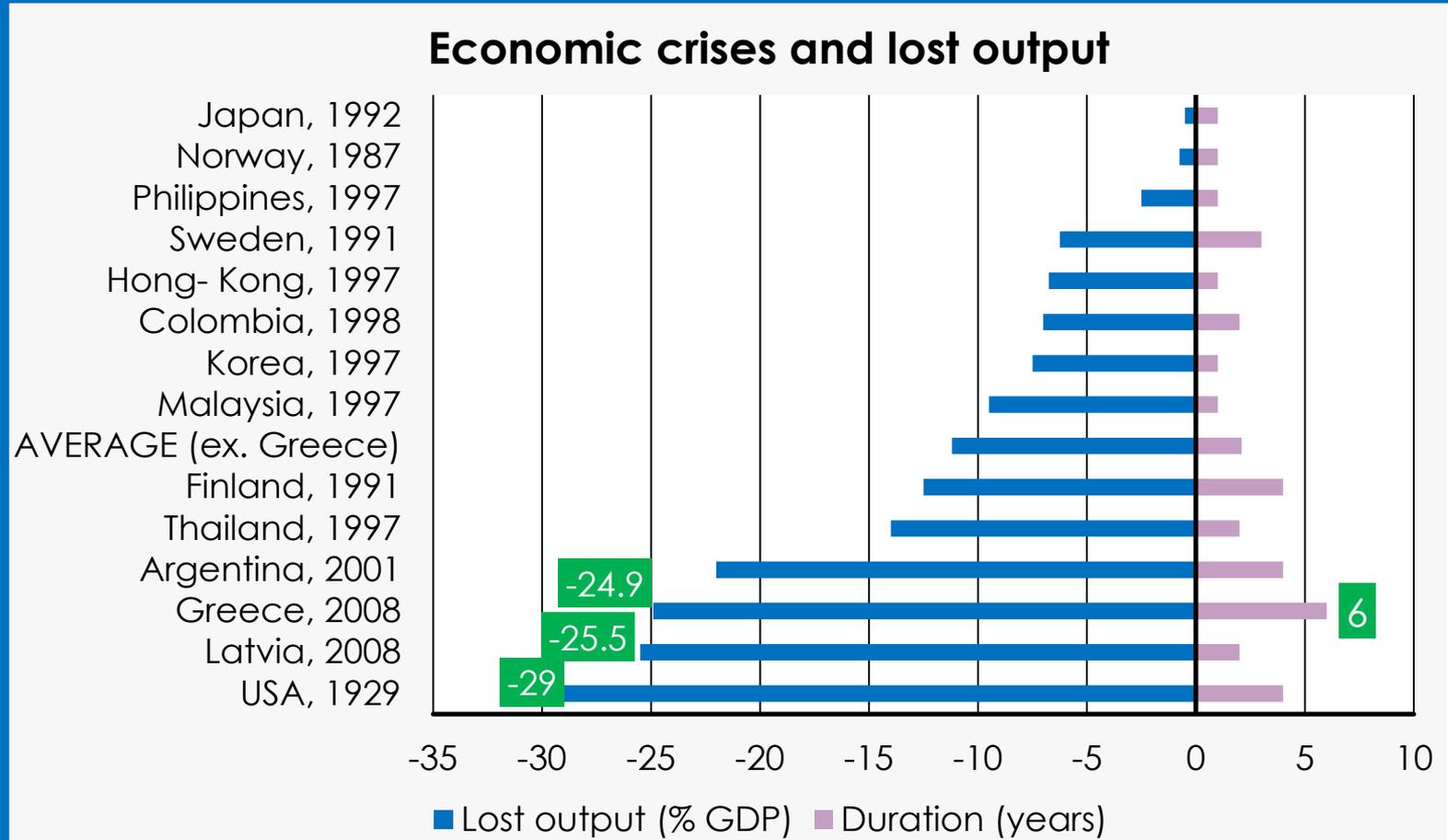
AUSTERITY AND GDP GROWTH



Source: Financial Times and Datastream



AUSTERITY AND RECESSION



Source: IMF, Reinhart & Rogoff (2009), Budget Introductory Report 2012 & 2013, Hellenic Statistical Authority



EXPECTATIONS (1)

Giavazzi and Pagano, 1990

- The policy choices failed to create positive expectations about the future developments of the Greek economy.
- The responsibility lies on both, domestic and foreign factors.
- The Greek government sent ambiguous signals to the markets:
 - Structural reforms lagged constantly behind the program
 - Great delays in dismissals of public sector's employees and privatizations
 - Excessive tax increases
 - Lack of strong political determination



EXPECTATIONS (2)

Giavazzi and Pagano, 1990

- Inappropriate statements (about “Grexit”) from European officials further fueled uncertainty around the Greek economy (→ investment nosedive, under-consumption, stock market turbulence).



POLICY MIX (1)

Alesina and Perotti, 1997

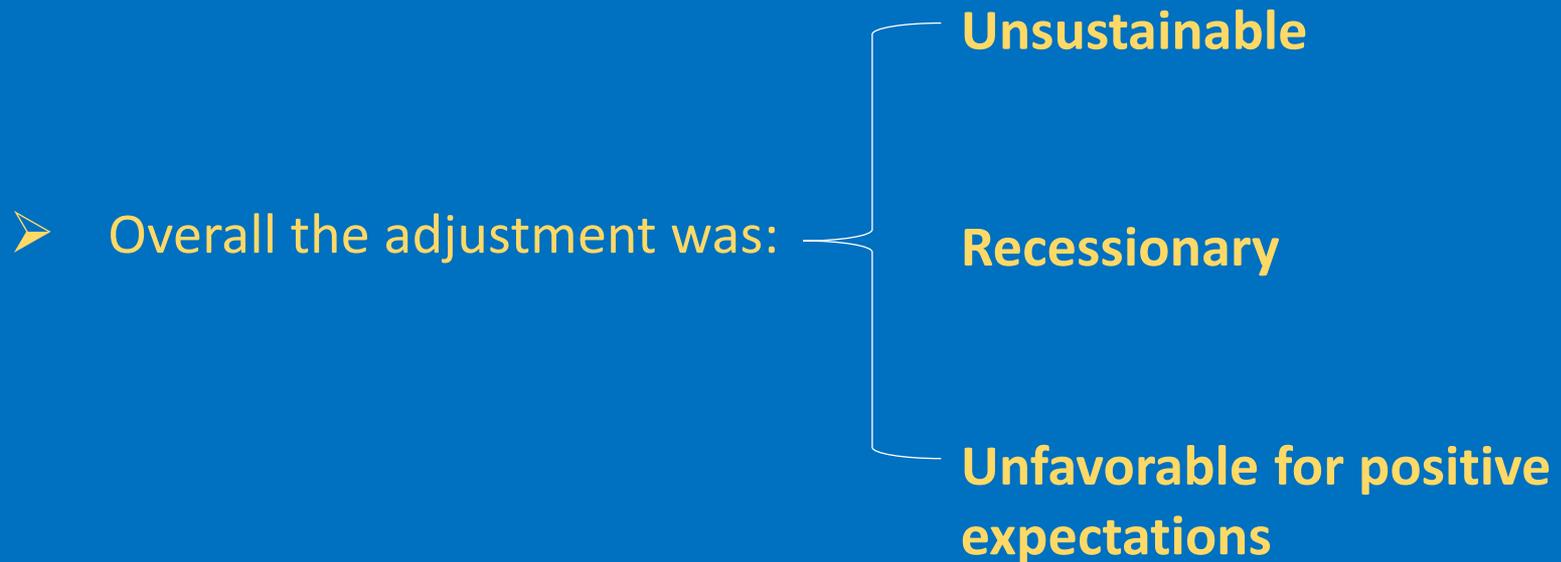
- The Greek adjustment was not sufficiently based on permanent cuts on primary expenditure.
- Empirically optimal: (at least) 70% on the expenditures side (except for public investment) and (at most) 30% on revenue side.
- Only in 2010 and 2013, this fact was hardly implemented.
- In the depression years 2011 and 2012 (cumulative loss of 15.5% of GDP), only 45% and 49% respectively were on the expenditures side.



POLICY MIX (2)

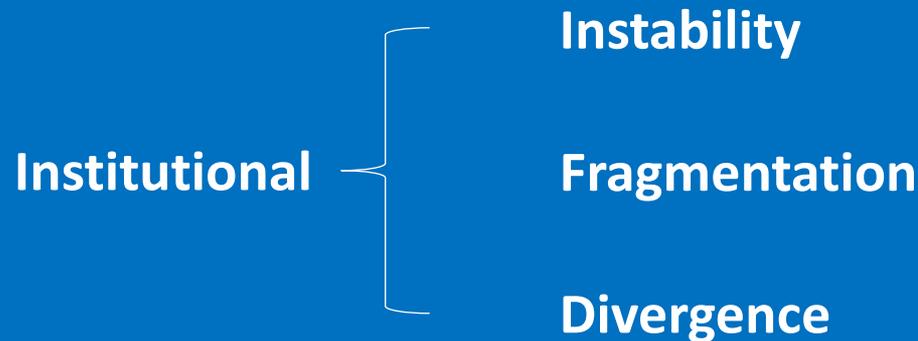
Alesina and Perotti, 1997

- Excessive cuts on the Public Investment Program even in 2015.



DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS

Daron Acemoglu, 2014



- Was the timing wrong?
- Institutions should amplify the positive outcomes of the consolidation and not undermine them.

e.g. Tax Administration enhancement should have been prior to the large tax increases in 2011 (→ **increased tax revenue**).

e.g. Goods market liberalization should have been prior to the private sector's wage cuts (→ **reduced prices**).



EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS

Daron Acemoglu, 2014

- They did not seem to be ready for a Eurozone member State debt crisis (→ participation of the IMF).
 - Delayed reaction
 - Lack of experience
 - Insufficient know- how
 - Relied on a USA “partner”
 - Fragmentation

- Eventually, Europe managed to create mechanisms (ESM) for any future cases.



FAIRNESS (1)

Kaplanoglou, Rapanos and Bardakas, 2013

- The sixth commandment of O. Blanchard and C. Cottarelli.
- Fiscal consolidations → **serious distributional consequences.**
- Fairness is crucial for the success of fiscal consolidations.
- “Fair fiscal adjustments” may provide the double dividend of enhancing the probability of success of the adjustment and of promoting social cohesion.



FAIRNESS (2)

Kaplanoglou, Rapanos and Bardakas, 2013

- Measures like:
 - targeted and effective social transfers
 - higher public expenditure on active labor market programs
 - decreasing the VAT rate on necessities

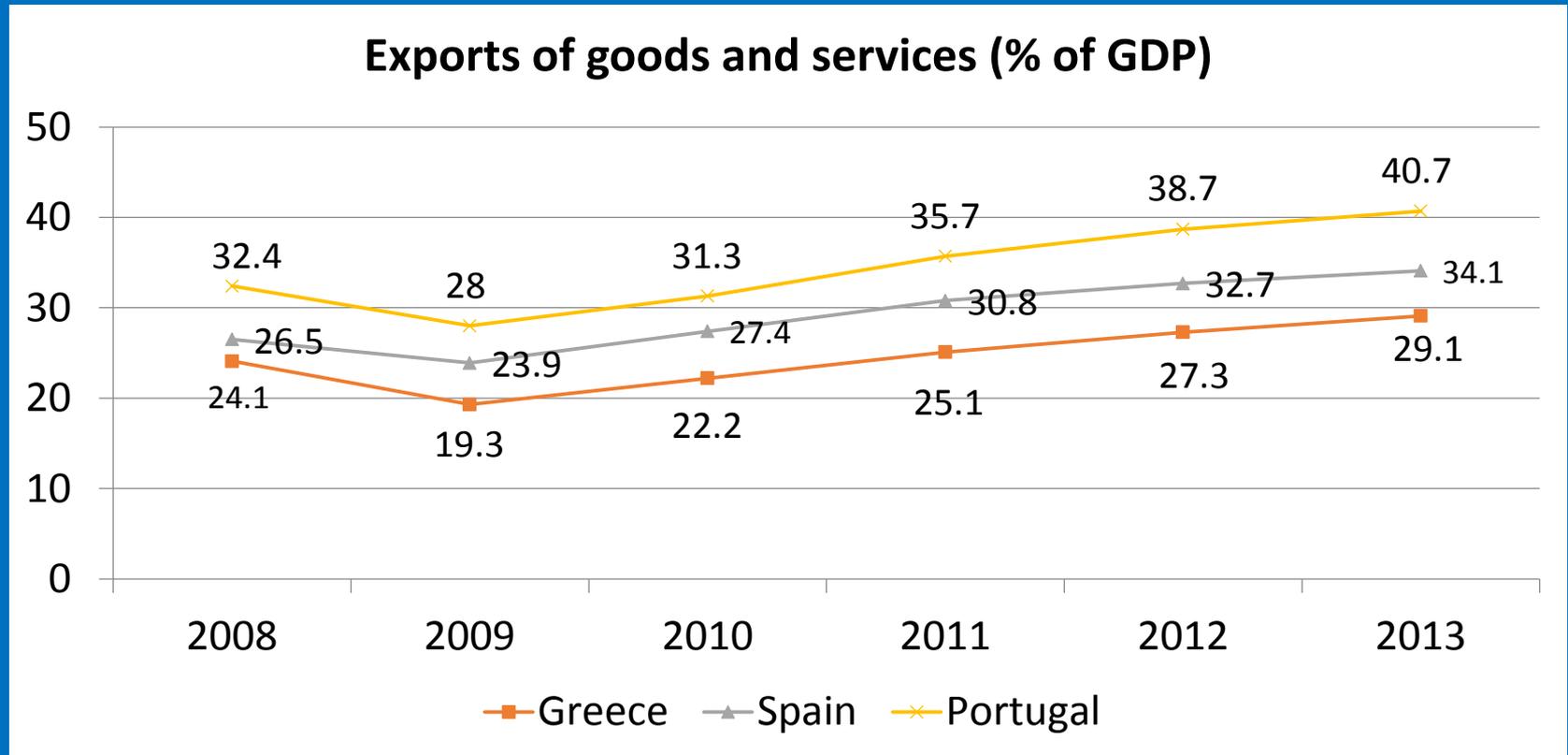
- In Greece, the consecutive tax increases (**combined with the huge tax evasion**) levied a disproportionate burden on pensioners and wage earners.

- A safety net is only provided by the recently launched pilot program for the Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI).



EXPORTS (1)

Daniel Gros, 2014



Source: Eurostat



EXPORTS (1)

Daniel Gros, 2014

- Greece seems to have the poorest export performance among the countries of Southern Europe.
- Ireland increased its exports to over 100% of GDP in the respective period.



EXPORTS (2)

Daniel Gros, 2014

- The really important target for any country starting an adjustment program with a double-digit current-account deficit must be **export growth**.
- The Greek economy has remained so distorted (despite any reforms) that it has not responded to changing price signals.
- Low international competitiveness, narrow production base.
- Except for tourism that skyrockets.
- Greece should transform its productive structure based on innovation and technology towards an export orientation.



IV. WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE? (1)

Sustainability of growth pattern. This depends on:

- a) The relief of the public debt
- b) The quality and the continuation of the outstanding structural reforms
- c) The political stability
- d) Any sudden external shocks



IV. WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE? (2)

- The Greek problem is part of a general European problem of competitiveness and fiscal governance and developments in the EU favor solutions such as: *Less austerity, more and deeper structural reforms plus European solidarity (joint initiatives for growth and employment).*
- Do not underestimate the potential of a country that faces difficulties to raise funds from the ESM on favorable terms and use the new tools provided by the ECB and the EIB.



Thank you for your attention!

