International Journal of Research in Economics and Social Sciences (IJRESS)
Available online at: http://euroasiapub.org
Vol. 8 Issue 9, September - 2018
ISSN(o): 2249-7382 | Impact Factor: 6.939 |

ANALYSIS OF POLICIES OF BRETTON WOODS INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR EFFECT ON CERTAIN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Rahul Singh Rawat

Abstract

Following the 2008 U.S. Subprime mortgage crisis, economy of many European countries was left crippled as the financial sector of these countries intertwined with the U.S financial sector. To rescue these countries, IMF with its Bretton Woods twin i.e. World Bank and other institutions came up with Economic Adjustment Programme(EAP) which suggested some economic reforms. This paper looks at the policy measures suggested by them, to 2 Developing countries (in the form of Structural Adjustment Programme) as well as 2 Developed countries (in the form of Economic Adjustment Programme) and the impact of these policy measures on certain Economic indicators. The Developing countries taken for this paper are Pakistan and Bangladesh and the Developed countries taken for comparison with Developing countries are Ireland and Portugal.

Keywords: International Monetary Fund, Structural Adjustment Programme, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Economic Adjustment Programme, Ireland, Portugal.

Introduction

In 1944, with World War II at its penultimate year, USA with most of its allies, which were incidentally developed and capitalists too, met at Bretton woods, New Hampshire(USA) to address and find the solution to various problems with the following objectives in mind:

1. To establish an international bank which will help countries (which are involved in war) in post-war reconstruction.
2. To either restore or replace the gold standard.
3. To increase trade among countries so that they become interdependent which will reduce chances of conflicts and war in the future.

Working towards achieving these objectives, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), which later came to be known as the World Bank(WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were established and since IBRD & IMF were established during the conference at Bretton Woods they are known as Bretton Woods Institutions.

With the abandonment of the gold standard and fulfillment of the other objectives, the IMF embraced a new set of objectives i.e. to help "Economically troubled countries" by providing them conditional loans. These Conditional loans were less of a welfare aid and more of an arm-twisting tool as the IMF and the WB used to provide cheap loans to low income and developing nations with certain Economic Reforms conditions attached to it. These conditions used to range from increasing labor flexibility to increasing financial liberalization to decreasing investment in PSU's. The main aim of these conditions was to open up developing economies and allow free market to operate instead of the erstwhile government monopolization. These conditional loans were called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP).

Even though due to resistance from time to time in the Developing countries, the SAPs have been replaced with new initiatives such as Enhanced Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and

Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) but the WB and the IMF still force countries to adopt the same types of policies as SAPs.

Economic Adjustment Programme (EAP) on the other hand, came into the global picture after the financial crisis of 2008 when many European economies suffered the setback in their financial and real estate sectors and damaged the ability of the government to service debt and left them with private sector liabilities. This EAP Programme was suggested to these European countries by European Troika (a committee formed by European commission, European Central Bank and IMF).

The theme of this paper is to look whether the policies under SAP are any different from EAP through the comparison of policy measure, and to find the effectiveness of those policies through the time series analysis of economic parameters such as GDP, unemployment rate, inflation rate, gross fixed capital formation and BOP's current account.

Objectives

This research paper covers the following objectives:

1. Analyze the Economic Adjustment Policies (EAP) of Developed countries such as Portugal and Ireland and Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) of Developing countries such as Bangladesh and Pakistan and compare them both.
2. Analyze the impact of policies on certain economic parameters in the pre-reform, during reform and post reform period.

Research methodology

The methodology of this research paper is mixed method i.e. both qualitative and quantitative method. It is also a case study of comparison between quantitative data of 2 developed countries i.e. Portugal and Ireland and 2 developing countries i.e. Bangladesh and Pakistan. This research is based on in depth reading and studying of various journals, government data agencies, database websites and books.

Quantitative data is collected mainly from published sources and websites of the respective governments, World Bank & IMF websites, databases such as KNOEMA & STATISTA and International labor organization(ILO).

The rationale behind choosing Ireland and Portugal as representative samples for developed countries was that among all the European countries i.e. Cyrus, Greece, Ireland, Portugal which went for Economic Adjustment Programme of IMF & WB, Ireland exited the Programme in 2013, Portugal exited the Programme in 2014, Cyprus did it in 2016 (which doesn't give us enough years to do the analysis of Programme in post exit period) and Greece is still scheduled to run the Programme till 2018. So, to fully see the impact of EAP in post exit period we chose Ireland and Portugal.

Bangladesh and Pakistan were first among Developing Asian countries which went for Structural Adjustment Facility, setup in March 1986 by the IMF. Bangladesh went for the SAP in 1987 and Pakistan went for it in 1988. And the reason why Pakistan and Bangladesh were chosen over Nepal or Sri Lanka (which also went for SAP) is because their data was more accessible and reliable.

Policy Suggestion by Bretton-Wood Institutions

Pakistan

The need for structural adjustments was felt by Pakistan's authorities in the early 1980s when despite achieving admirable growth combined with low inflation, various internal and external imbalances like large fiscal deficit and BOP deficit crept in the economy. To face this crisis, Pakistan implemented medium term Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of IMF in 1988, which passed through 4 Phases: 1st Phase (1988-93), 2nd Phase (1994-97), 3rd Phase (1997-00) and 4th Phase (2001-04). Programme in first 2 phases came under the name of Structural Adjustment Fund (SAF) and the loans in 3rd and 4th Phase came under the name of Poverty Reduction Growth Facility (PRGF). The conditions of PRGF were more or less similar to the SAPs condition. The total amount of loan given to Pakistan in all these Phases was nearly 1.681 billion US$. These loans, like most of the loans by Bretton woods institutions came up with certain reforms-cum-conditions.

The conditions given by IMF for the loans ranged from fulfilling macroeconomic objectives (such as raising growth rate of GDP, reducing budgetary deficit, containing inflation) attaining external sector objectives (such as increasing foreign exchange reserves and reducing current account deficit) to implementing fiscal reforms (such as tax, reducing subsidies, privatizing State-owned enterprises and devaluing Rupee). These conditional credits also included reforms in financial sector and foreign exchange market.

Even though Poverty Reduction Growth Facility (PRGF) Programme of Pakistan from IMF ended on May 12, 2004 but still after that Pakistan continued borrowing money from IMF under different facilities.

Bangladesh

Within a year of getting independence Bangladesh joined the Bretton wood institutions i.e. WB & IMF on August, 1972 with the hopes of embarking on a journey of higher economic growth. Even after taking $1165 million from WB in the period 1972-1986, it couldn't give the economy desired push it expected to give. So, in 1987, Bangladesh went for Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) facility of IMF under a 3-year arrangement. Under this facility a loan of $345 million was approved by IMF. The Programme was extended again for the period 1990-93 under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Policy (ESAP) facility under which a loan of $201.25 million was approved. Policy Framework Papers (PFP) was prepared by IMF & WB according to which policies were aimed at improving efficiency of using resources, enhancing role of private sector and realizing higher rates of domestic savings and investment.

Various measures suggested by Bretton wood institutions under SAP & ESAP were Agricultural policy reforms, mobilization of public resources (by reforming direct taxes, toughening the tax administration), public sector expenditure reforms, financial sector reforms and external sector reforms.

The enhanced structural adjustment Programme (ESAP) ended in December,1993.

Ireland

Ireland commenced its Economic Adjustment Programme (EAP) at the end of last decade i.e. 16 December 2010 whilst it's economy was still nose diving following the financial crisis of 2007-2008. In case of Ireland the ripples of property market bubble outburst were further worsened by 3 domestic reasons: Internal banking crisis, loss in International competitiveness due to uncompetitive wages and heavy dependency on the tax revenue from the construction sector.

Ireland got €85 billion in "financial assistance". In the case of Ireland, reform policies were focused on 3 specific areas i.e. financial sector reforms, structural reforms and fiscal policy.

Financial sector reforms that were mainly aimed at downsizing, restructuring and recapitalization of the banking sector. Structural reforms were concentrated on reforms in labor market to raise competitiveness and employment. Under fiscal policy the aim of EAP was to restrain and refrain from exceeding fiscal deficit while keeping growth intact and protecting the most vulnerable in society.

Ireland exited the Economic Adjustment Programme (EAP) on 15th December, 2013, exactly 3 years after starting the Programme.

Portugal

Economic Adjustment Programme (EAP) for Portugal also known as Bailout Programme was a

Reform Policies		Developing Countries SAP		Developed Countries EAP	
		Bangladesh	Pakistan	Ireland	Portugal
Fiscal Policy Reforms	Expanding base of taxes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Reduction in subsidies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Liberalized regulated professions	No	No	Yes	Yes
	Restructuring Govt. departments	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reforms in Public Sector	Cutting down on jobs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Privatizing Public sector	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Reducing operating deficit of SOEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Financial Sector Reforms	Enhancing loan recovery Programme of banks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Interest rate liberalization	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Recapitalization of banks	No	No	Yes	Yes
External Sector Reforms	Exchange rate reforms	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Promote exports	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Removal of restriction on international payment	Yes	Yes	No	No
Agricultural Reforms	Reducing subsidy on agricultural input	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Maintaining low price incentive for producers	Yes	Yes	No	No
Liberalization of Domestic Trade	Opening of FDI	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Reducing legal monopoly	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Removing price control	Yes	Yes	No	No

financial assistance package worth € 79 billion that was provided by IMF, ECB (European Central Bank) and European Commission on the request of Portugal to deal with the aftermath of financial crisis of 2007-08. The effect of financial crisis added with the contracting government expenditure, rising taxes and uncompetitive wages made situation worse and finally a 3-year assistance Programme was signed in May 2011.

Table 1: Analysis of Policy Suggestion by Bretton wood institutions

But this assistance too like most of the assistance provided by IMF came with certain conditions. Conditions were to make reforms in 3 specific areas i.e. Structural reforms, Fiscal consolidation strategy and Financial sector reforms. Structural reforms suggested to Portugal was driven towards enhancing competitive capabilities, improving business environment and increasing flexibility. Fiscal consolidation Policy strategy focused on institutional reforms to improve public financial management, to rationalize and control public expenditures and to limit fiscal risks. Key

financial sector reforms included improving capital condition of Portuguese banks and increasing supervisory activities of Banco de Portugal (central bank)
In June 2014, Portugal exited the EAP Programme.

Result and Discussion of Policy Analysis

Broadly seeing, the Internal sector reforms of both the developing and the developed countries are the same. Same fiscal policy reforms were undertaken, like increasing the tax bases in the economies. A possible reason might be that the politics demanded increasing tax bases rather than increasing tax slabs. Moreover, this step ensures more equitability. Apart from that, reducing subsidies implied less dependence of the private individuals on the government and which thereby implies an open ground for competition. And lastly, corruption and inefficiencies seem to be a universal problem and so restructuring of governmental departments was of utmost necessity.

With the advent of neo-liberalist economic thought and its wide acceptance all around the world, its shades could be seen in these countries as well. In the public-sector reforms, the industries were privatized and with the tertiary sector acquiring a greater share of the GDPs, there was a rampant deduction of jobs.

In the financial sector, we can see that in both the sets of countries, there were steps taken to recover loans which implies that NPA is a great problem in both developed and developing countries which again implies that the rapport between the banking system and the general public is not very sound.

It is very easily seen that in the external sector, the policies were directed towards making the developing countries more open while no such initiatives were taken in case of the developed countries. This was a clear bias as the weaker countries were forced to open up their economies for the developed countries to dump their produce. Opening of FDI was also seen in the developing countries which meant that the control of foreign capital on these countries increased. This could be equated with losing economic sovereignty to the developed countries. In the agricultural sector, in which the developing countries mostly enjoyed comparative advantage, the allotment of subsidies was reduced, which again could adversely affect the already weak agriculturists.

So, in the case of the internal sector, there were no significant difference in the contents of the policies in the developed and developing countries. However, the case was the opposite for the external sector.

What does the data say?

Now will see the impact of those policy reforms which were undertaken by the respective governments of each country on parameters such as GDP, Inflation rate, unemployment rate, Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF) and Net current account of Balance of Payment. (see Appendix for the country specific data)

Pakistan's period is demarcated as:1980-87 as Pre-SAP Period, 1988-04 as SAP Period i.e. the period in which policies were implemented and steps were taken and 2005-10 as the Post-SAP Period. (see Appendix: Table 3)

Bangladesh's period: 1980-86 as Pre-SAP Period, 1987-93 as SAP Period and 1994-2000 as the Post-SAP Period. (see Appendix: Table 4)

Ireland's period: 2000-09 as Pre-EAP Period, 2010-13 as EAP Period and 2014-17 as the Post-EAP Period. (see Appendix: Table 5)

Portugal's period: 2000-10 as Pre-EAP Period, 2011-14 as EAP Period and 2015-16 as the Post-EAP Period. (see Appendix: Table 5)

Table 2: Comparative Analysis of Effect of Policies on certain Economic Parameters

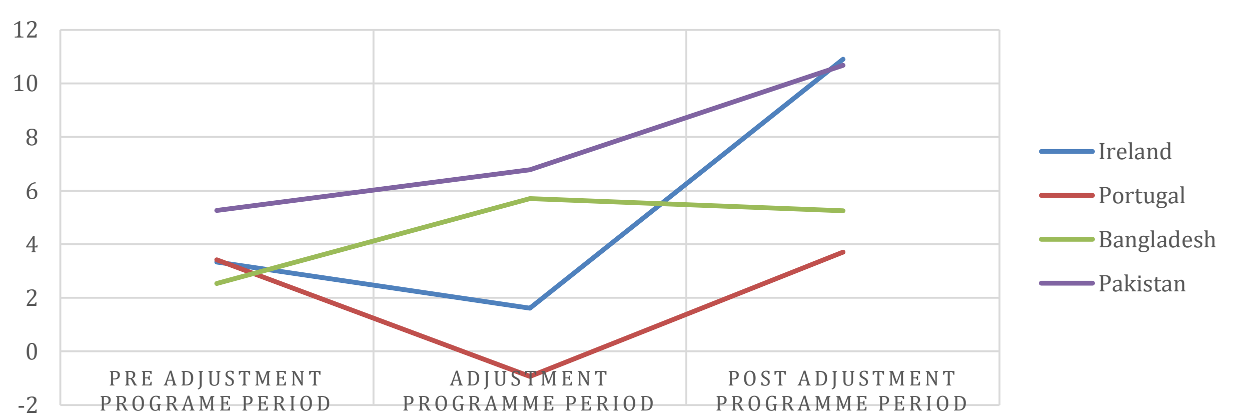
Periods	Parameters	Developed Countries		Developing Countries	
		Ireland	Portugal	Bangladesh	Pakistan
Pre-Adjustment Programme Period	AAGR of GDP	03.34	03.42	02.53	05.26
	Avg. Unemployment rate	12.18	06.98	01.43	03.56
	Avg. Inflation rate	03.18	02.50	11.91	06.99
	AAGR of GFCF	04.88	0.37	05.96	05.06
	GFCF as a % of GDP	24.09	0.02	13.96	17.00
	CAD as a % of GDP	04.30	0.009	02.36	02.90
Adjustment Programme Period	AAGR of GDP	01.61	(0.93)	05.70	06.78
	Avg. Unemployment rate	33.05	14.57	02.07	05.48
	Avg. Inflation rate	0.95	01.62	07.80	07.94
	AAGR of GFCF	(0.74)	(8.07)	07.84	06.12
	GFCF as a % of GDP	16.71	0.016	14.27	16.53
	CAD as a % of GDP	01.66	0.0015	01.49	03.44
Post Adjustment Programme Period	AAGR of GDP	10.91	3.71	05.25	10.68
	Avg. Unemployment rate	21.15	11.13	03.52	05.83
	Avg. Inflation rate	0.07	0.833	05.87	12.06
	AAGR of GFCF	38.87	4.43	11.80	10.50
	GFCF as a % of GDP	23.83	0.015	19.68	16.68
	CAD as a % of GDP	5.35 (surplus)	0.0003 (surplus)	0.94	04.32

Result and Discussion of Data Analysis

GDP

In the Pre-Adjustment Programme period, Portugal (3.42%) and Ireland (3.34%) started almost from the same point and then started witnessing a downward trend during the Adjustment Programme Period but after the implementation of the Adjustment Programme, the growth rates in both the countries rose considerably, more so in the case of Ireland. Though the rates of growth of Bangladesh and Pakistan, being developing countries, are quite higher than the developed countries but after the implementation of the Adjustment Programme, their rates of growth did not witness much change.

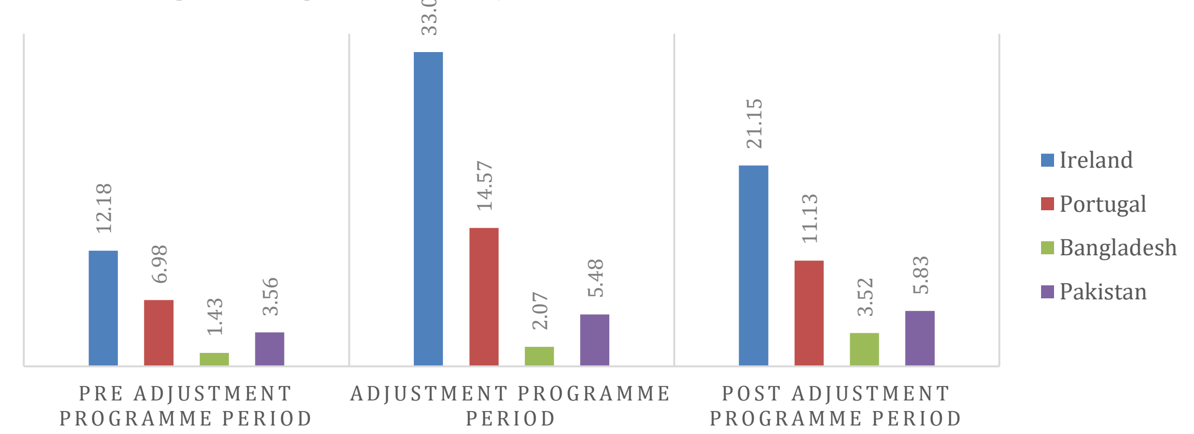
Fig. 1: AAGR Of GDP in Different Periods



Unemployment rate

The unemployment rate of the developed countries was exponentially high but the Adjustment Programme helped to reduce the same significantly in the post adjustment Programme period. On the other hand, though the unemployment rates of the developing countries were not very high as compared to the developed countries, but the unemployment rates continued to grow, though the number was small.

Fig. 2: Avg. Unemployment rate in Different Periods

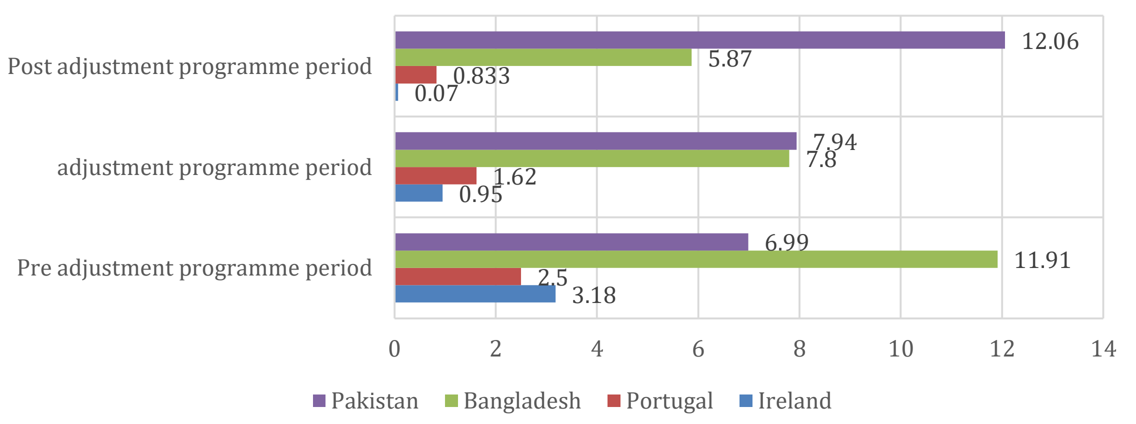


Average Inflation rate

In the case of the developed countries under study, the Adjustment Programme reduced the average rate of inflation to a great extent. However, while Bangladesh saw a fall in its rate of inflation, Pakistan saw a huge rise in the inflation rate.

From analyzing the rate of inflation and the unemployment rates, one can conclude that, in case of the developed countries, both of these factors were showing falling trends. On the opposite side, Philip's curve could be roughly seen in the case of the developing countries.

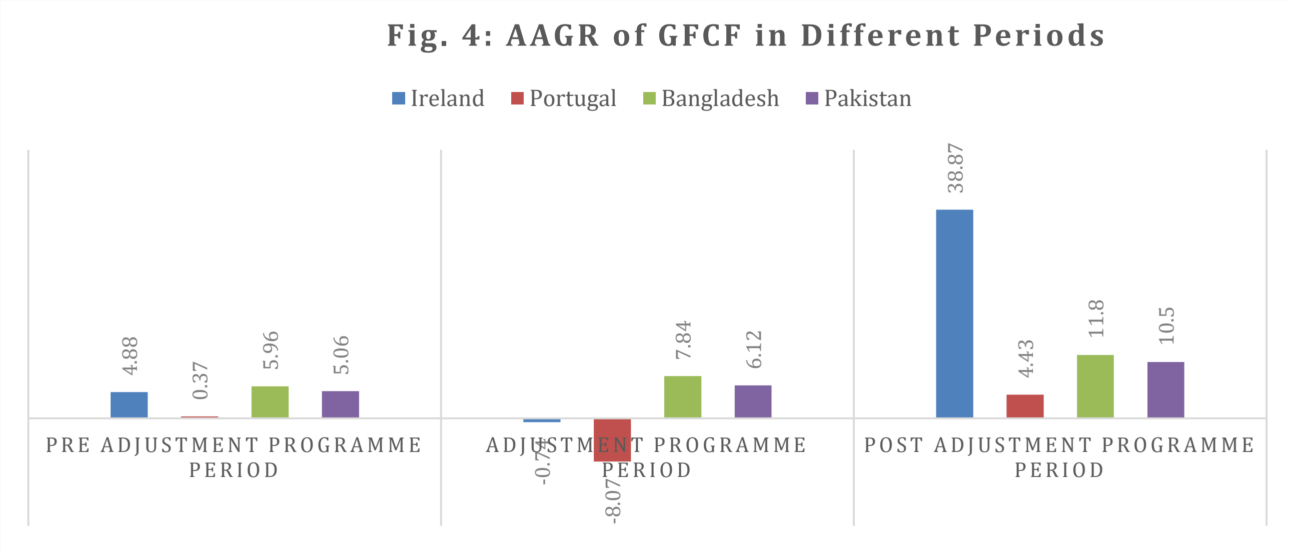
Fig. 3: Avg. Inflation rate in Different Periods



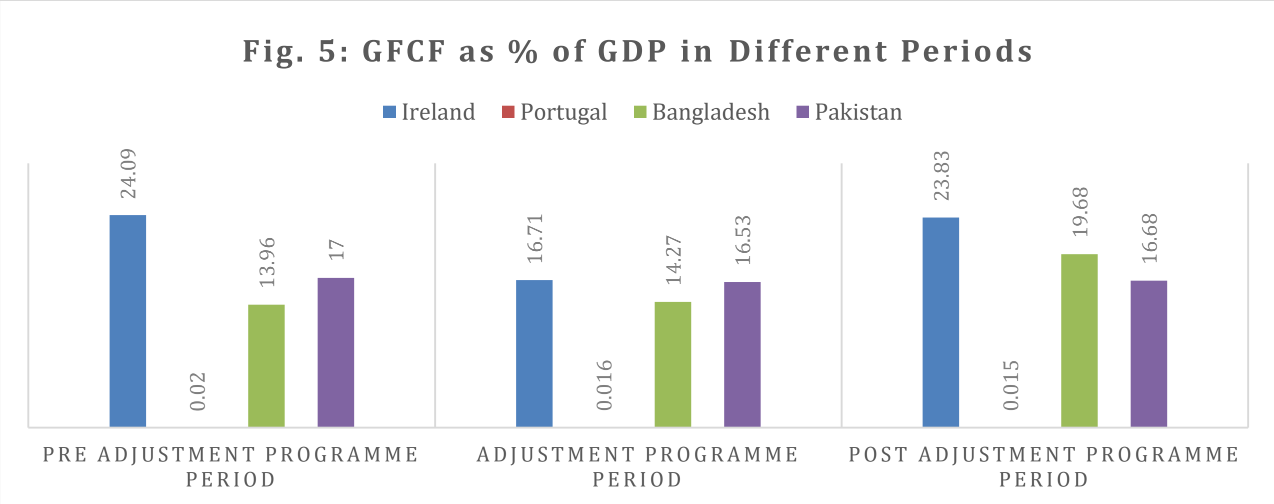
Gross Fixed Capital Formation

GFCF shows how much of the new value added in the economy is invested rather than consumed current account of BOP (which measures the value of export and import).

The Adjustment Programme had a distinct positive effect on the GFCF of developed countries. The AAGR of GFCF of Ireland increased drastically and so is the case in Portugal. However, the same effect is not seen in the case of the developing countries. One possible reason can be that the developed countries already had a significant capital base which made it easier to increase it further with a little boost from the Adjustment Programme.



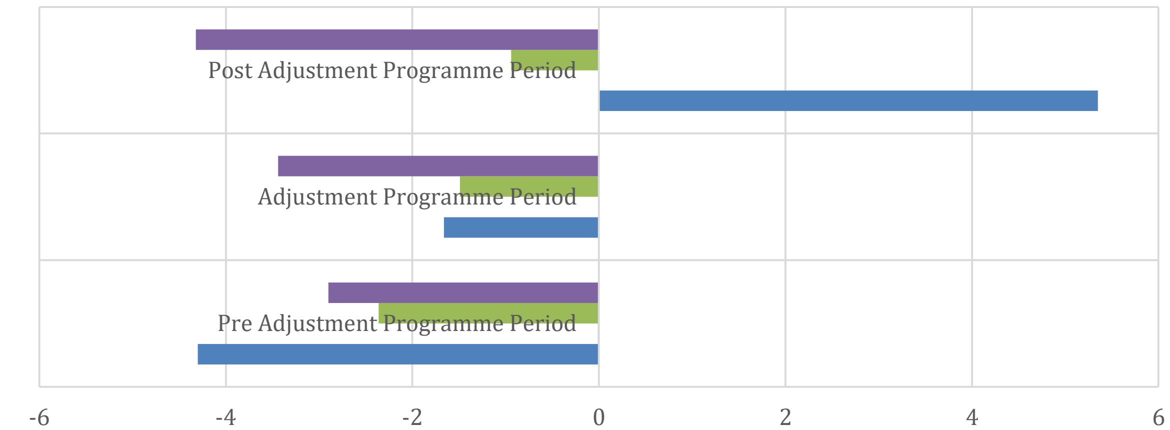
The Adjustment Programme led to growth of Gross Fixed Capital Formation (GFCF) as a percentage of GDP in all the countries, though its magnitude was different across countries. The repercussions of this growth can be seen in the growth rate of the GDP. This implies that for a high growth rate of GDP, a bigger portion of the GDP has to be invested in capital formation.



Current Account as a % of GDP

Regarding current account as a percentage of GDP, no generalization can be made. In Ireland, this percentage increased drastically which implies its huge growing export and lowering import. It also means its growing profit from international trade. However, its exact opposite is seen in case of Pakistan where this ratio worsened after the Adjustment Programme. The impact of the Adjustment Programme had almost negligible impact on Portugal while it had moderate effect on Bangladesh. Therefore, additional information is required to gauge the impact of Adjustment Programme on the current account of BOP of the countries.

Fig. 5 : Current account as a % of GDP in Different Periods



	Pre Adjustment Programme Period	Adjustment Programme Period	Post Adjustment Programme Period
Pakistan	-2.9	-3.44	-4.32
Bangladesh	-2.36	-1.49	-0.94
Portugal	-0.009	-0.0015	0.0003
Ireland	-4.3	-1.66	5.35

Pakistan Bangladesh Portugal Ireland

Conclusion

While the Adjustment Programmes were more or less similar in respect of reforming the internal sectors of both the sets of countries, they were clearly biased towards the developed countries in respect of reforming the external sectors. This made the developed and developing countries competent internally but at the same time made the flow of resources from the latter to the former easier thereby displaying a complex regime of class-division.

Moreover, the Adjustment Programmes had different effects on developed countries and developing countries. While it had a clear positive impact on the developed countries in respect of growth rate of GDP but it was not the case with the developing countries. In the case of employment rate, it had virtually no impact on the developed countries but it definitely has shown quite a good side in the case of developing countries. The effect was not clearly seen in case of inflation in the developed countries but inflation rose in Pakistan while there was recessionary trend in Bangladesh. As already mentioned, nothing concrete can be said about the change of GFCF as a part of GDP but it is stark clear that the growth rate of GFCF is much higher in favor of the developed countries. The current account as a percentage of GDP had no significant impact in the developing countries while in Ireland it showed a positive impact.

Thus, we can come to a broad conclusion that the developed countries were better off after the implementation of the Adjustment Programme compared to their developing counterparts.

References

1. Greer, S.L. (2013) '(Why) Did we forget about history? Lessons for the Eurozone from the Failed Conditionality Debates in the 80s', *European Social Observatory,* No. 11
2. Hazakis, K.J. (2015) 'The Political Economy of Economic Adjustment Programs in the Eurozone: A Detailed Policy Analysis', *Politics & Policy,* 46(6)

3. Greer, S. (2014) 'Structural adjustment comes to Europe: Lessons for the Eurozone from the conditionality debates', *Global Social Policy,* 14(1)
4. The Least Developed Countries 2000 Report
5. IMF's Report "Experience under the IMF's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility" September 1997
6. Edwards, S. (1989) 'Structural Adjustment Policies in Highly Indebted Countries', *National Bureau of Economic Research,* (), pp. 159-208.
7. Richard, P. (2002) *UNHOLY TRINITY: The IMF, World Bank and WTO*, 2nd edn., New York: Zed Books.
8. Hasan, P. (1982) 'Growth and Structural Adjustment in East Asia', *WORLD BANK STAFF WORKING PAPERS,* (529)
9. Moghadam, R. and Tweedie, A. (2009) 'The Fund's Facilities and Financing Framework for Low-Income Countries', *INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND*
10. Hermann, C. (2016) 'Another 'Lost Decade'? Crisis and Structural Adjustment in Europe and Latin America', *Globalizations,* 14(4), pp. 519-534.

Appendix

Table 3: Pakistan Data (amount in US$ billion)

Year	GDP	Unemployment rate	Inflation rate	GFCF	Current account
1980	23.69	3.6	11.94	4.176	-0.866
1981	28.101	3.5	11.88	4.821	-0.912
1982	30.726	3.5	5.90	5.173	-0.794
1983	28.692	3.9	6.36	4.866	0.043
1984	31.152	3.8	6.09	5.135	-1.184
1985	31.145	3.6	5.62	5.139	-1.067
1986	31.899	3.6	3.51	5.431	-0.636
1987	33.352	3.0	4.68	5.828	-0.556
1988	38.473	2.2	8.84	6.338	-1.422
1989	40.171	3.1	7.84	6.950	-1.338
1990	40.01	2.0	9.05	6.922	-1.661
1991	45.452	5.8	11.79	7.942	-1.266
1992	48.635	5.2	9.51	9.088	-1.876
1993	51.478	4.3	9.97	9.902	-2.901
1994	51.895	4.3	12.37	9.326	-1.812
1995	60.636	5.0	12.34	10.329	-3.349
1996	63.32	5.4	10.37	11.003	-4.436
1997	62.433	5.8	11.37	10.203	-1.712
1998	62.192	5.7	6.23	9.357	-2.248
1999	62.974	5.9	4.14	8.773	-0.920
2000	73.952	7.2	4.37	11.74	-0.085
2001	72.31	7.8	3.15	11.325	1.878
2002	72.307	7.8	3.29	11.049	3.854
2003	83.245	8.3	2.91	12.574	3.573
2004	97.978	7.4	7.44	14.675	-0.817
2005	109.502	7.7	9.06	19.12	-3.606
2006	137.264	6.1	7.92	24.34	-6.747
2007	152.386	5.1	7.60	26.191	-8.301
2008	170.078	5	20.29	29.944	-15.655
2009	168.153	5.5	13.65	26.819	-3.993
2010	177.407	5.6	13.88	25.2	-1.354

Source: World Bank, Unemployment rate (1980-90 National estimates & 1991-10 ILO)

Table 4: Bangladesh Data (amount in US$)

Year	GDP	Inflation rate	Unemployment rate	GFCF	Net current account
1980	22.63	15.4	-	2.619	-702,138,191
1981	22.06	14.5	-	3.474	-1,016,620,063
1982	20.20	12.9	-	3.217	-500,670,224
1983	21.17	9.5	-	2.917	-45,800,313
1984	24.06	10.4	2	3.119	-477,650,345
1985	24.76	10.5	1.3	3.527	-455,173,415
1986	25.95	10.2	1	3.522	-625,181,389
1987	28.63	10.8	1.1	3.760	-237,116,009
1988	30.90	9.7	1.3	4.182	-272,836,597
1989	34.05	8.7	0.9	4.640	-1,099,566,161
1990	35.38	10.5	2.8	5.201	-397,909,577
1991	36.47	8.3	2.2	5.231	64,593,233
1992	36.48	3.6	3.8	5.487	180,790,960
1993	38.23	3	2.4	5.952	359,263,638
1994	41.54	6.2	2.9	6.214	199,568,821
1995	45.92	10.1	3.6	7.254	-823,880,197
1996	48.17	2.5	2.5	9.627	-991,418,975
1997	50.34	5	5.1	10.525	-286,312,953
1998	51.93	8.6	2.7	11.057	-35,165,989
1999	53.98	6.2	4.6	11.649	-364,355,314
2000	54.59	2.5	3.3	12.707	-305,831,651

Source: World Bank, KNOEMA

Table 5: Ireland Data (amount in € million)

Year	GDP	Unemployment rate (in %)	Inflation rate	GFCF	Current account
2000	135,462	8.32	5.6	25,771	667
2001	143,323	7.95	4.9	29,236	215
2002	152,366	9.14	4.6	32,106	337
2003	157,119	9.57	3.5	36,257	713
2004	167,616	9.65	2.2	42,108	-153
2005	177,684	9.88	2.5	50,828	-6,026
2006	187,495	10.63	4	57,356	-9,905
2007	197,261	11.64	4.9	56,614	-12,826
2008	189,497	15.98	4.1	46,528	-11,716
2009	180,730	29.07	-4.5	35,909	-7,904
2010	183,986	32.74	-1	29,482	-2,012
2011	189,478	34.25	2.6	28,813	-2,810
2012	189,548	34.36	1.7	34,452	-4,605
2013	192,654	30.87	0.5	33,627	3,855
2014	208,700	26.75	0.2	40,420	3,203
2015	262,037	22.61	-0.3	53,160	26,157
2016	275,510	19.47	0	87,662	12,544
2017	216,215 (till Q3)	15.78	0.4	--	22,186 (till Q3)

Source: World Bank, CSO of Ireland

Table 6: Portugal Data (amount in US$)

Year	GDP	Unemployment rate (in %)	Inflation rate	GFCF	Current account
2000	128,466,305	3.9	2.9	35,959.1	-13,875.6
2001	135,827,522	4	4.4	37,172.1	-14,174.2
2002	142,631,414	5	3.6	36,860	-12,102.1
2003	146,158,277	6.3	3.2	34,705.4	-10,475.8
2004	152,371,562	6.6	2.4	35,645.8	-12,691.6
2005	158,652,559	7.6	2.3	36,644.7	-15,679.1
2006	166,248,715	7.6	3.1	37,407.3	-17,743.5
2007	175,467,717	8	2.5	39,447.2	-17,088.6
2008	178,872,582	7.6	2.6	40,850.4	-21,690.5
2009	175,448,190	9.4	-0.8	37,106.8	-18,285.1
2010	179,929,812	10.8	1.4	36,937.7	-18,260.1
2011	176,166,578	12.7	3.7	32,451.8	-10,571.8
2012	168,397,969	15.5	2.8	26,672	-3,017.9
2013	170,269,327	16.2	0.3	25,122	2,688.8
2014	173,079,055	13.9	-0.3	25,993.1	140.0
2015	179,809,061	12.4	0.5	27,843.9	209.4
2016	185,493,978	11.1	0.6	28,329.1	1,101.2

Source: Statista, KNOEMA, World Bank, PorData