

---

Other

School of Marketing

---

2017-7

## The Evolution of an Enduring Expertise: Understanding Irish Economists in Irish public discourse in the Great Recession

Joe Fitzgerald

*Technological University Dublin*, josephkfitzgerald@gmail.com

Brendan O'Rourke

*Technological University Dublin*, brendan.orourke@tudublin.ie

Follow this and additional works at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/buschmaroth>



Part of the [Journalism Studies Commons](#), [Modern Literature Commons](#), and the [Sociology of Culture Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Fitzgerald, J. & O'Rourke, B. (2017) The Evolution of an Enduring Expertise: Understanding Irish Economists in Irish public discourse in the Great Recession, *24th International Conference of Europeanists*, University of Glasgow, UK July 12-14, 2017.

This Presentation is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Marketing at ARROW@TU Dublin. It has been accepted for inclusion in Other by an authorized administrator of ARROW@TU Dublin. For more information, please contact [yvonne.desmond@tudublin.ie](mailto:yvonne.desmond@tudublin.ie), [arrow.admin@tudublin.ie](mailto:arrow.admin@tudublin.ie), [brian.widdis@tudublin.ie](mailto:brian.widdis@tudublin.ie).



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-Share Alike 3.0 License](#)

# The Evolution of an Enduring Expertise: Understanding Irish Economists in Irish public discourse in the Great Recession

**Conference paper for the 24th International Conference of Europeanists University of Glasgow, UK July 12-14, 2017..**



Joseph K FITZGERALD & Brendan K. O'ROURKE, School of Marketing / Business, Society and Sustainability Research Centre , Dublin Institute of Technology, Aungier St, Dublin D02 HW71, IRELAND. Email: [JosephKFitgerald@gmail.com](mailto:JosephKFitgerald@gmail.com) / [Brendan.ORourke@dit.ie](mailto:Brendan.ORourke@dit.ie) .  
[www.brendanKORourke.com](http://www.brendanKORourke.com)

# Outline of Presentation

---

1. Introduction
2. Theoretical Understandings.
3. Economics' Order of Learning in Ireland
4. The Administrative Order in Ireland
5. Irish Profession's strength from the 1980s
6. Economics in a Celtic Tiger 1987-2007
7. Discussion and Conclusions

# 1. Introduction

# Experts on the economy – specifically economists

Economics expertise's high status (Fourcade, Olgan, and Algan 2015)

## Economists in Ireland.

- Large role of economists in the media

Out of 75 articles written by outside writers (non-journalists) in three top quality Irish newspapers during the period 2008-2012 concerning Irish budgets 35 (47%) are economists or working in the financial sector (Mercille, 2014, p.291).

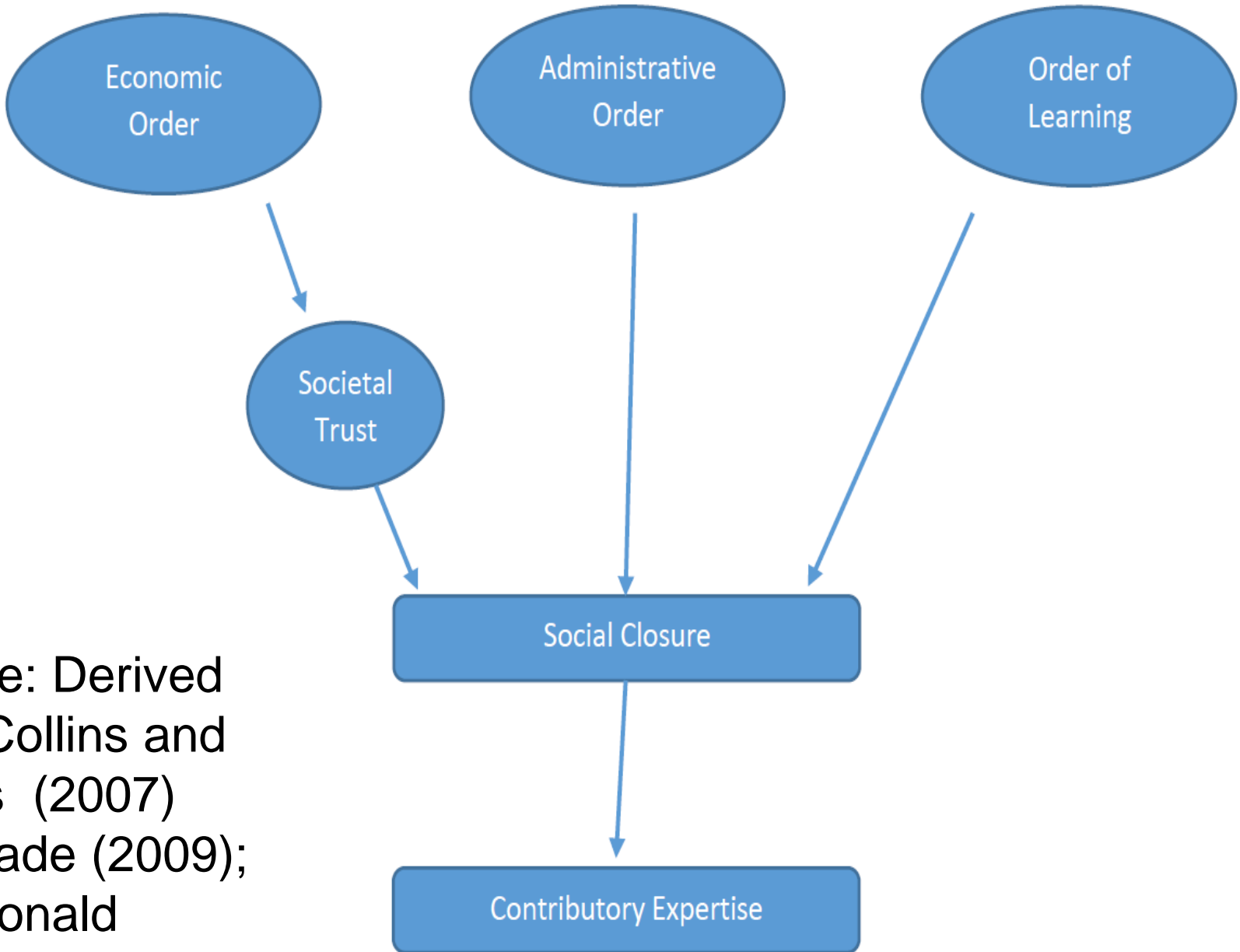
- Relatively diminished role in permanent civil service especially 1990-2010 (Christensen, 2017) but

- Post-crisis increased role in government (e.g. Central bank)

How does economics expertise seem to endure and even prosper – mostly notably as a contributory expertise to the media (Collins, Evans, and Weinel 2016; Montgomery 2008) in Ireland?

We explore this enduring expertise with mostly Fourcade's (2009) theory, some research interviews, archival research and secondary sources.

## **2. Theoretical Understandings**



Source: Derived from Collins and Evans (2007); Fourcade (2009); MacDonald (1995)



# **3. Economics' Order of Learning in Ireland: The Split.**

Ireland's Planter & Protestant Order of Learning in Economics as part of the UK

Oxford's chair in 1826.  
Whately Chair at Trinity College  
Dublin founded in 1832.

UK's Political Economy Club (1821)  
Ireland's SSISI (1847)  
UK's Royal Economics Society (1902)

UK's Economic Journal  
(1891)

# Nationalization of Economics Order of Learning in Ireland

Economics Professorships in the National university colleges, mostly importantly, in University College Dublin were established from 1900s on.

*Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, which covered social, cultural, political, and economic issues in Ireland and was founded by the Jesuits in 1912.

Irish independence in 1922 would mean that this split in Ireland's Order of Learning would complicate state administrative authorization of economics in Ireland.

# 4. The Administrative Order in Ireland

## **1922-1932**

The development of the economics in Ireland had been very tied to the UK state and its planter & protestant nature.

Despite the Irish revolution of 1916-1921, the administrative order's economics ( UK 'treasury model') continued into the new state in a way that retained more of the British element than most of the state machinery (Lee, 1989; O'Rourke & Hogan, 2017. Generalist UK civil service culture persisted (Christensen, 2017) but there was no Keynes equivalent.

The new Irish leaders were much closer to the National University of Ireland colleges, especially, University College Dublin, than Trinity College which had been much closer to UK government in Ireland.

## **Hibernation for Irish Economists' Administrative power 1930-1950**

The administrative order largely ignored Irish academic economists from 1930s to 1950s as it adopted protectionist policies and more nationalist ideas on its economy.

Irish economy was miserable with massive migration and poor living standards. Some state enterprise success but protectionist industrial policy unsuccessful.

Irish economists were generally non-Keynesian free Enterprise and free trade critics of the Irish government during this period.

## **From early 1950s**

In the early 1950s Ireland's policies begin to be more Internationally open and this was lead by a civil servant and an economist Ken Whitaker.

Whitaker renewed economics in Irish administration:

- Engaging with the profession through SSISI etc.

- Reengaging Irish academics in policy committees

- Setting the Economics & Social Research Institute

- Going abroad, to LSE for his formal economics training.

The new generation of economists would generally go abroad for the postgraduate training, sometimes to Britain but increasingly to the USA, inline with the economics Order of Learning internationally.

# **5. Irish Profession's strength from the 1980s**



During the 1960s & 1970s, the Irish profession grew with economists being employed in government departments, banks and stockbrokers.

There was an internationalization, largely Americanisation, of the academic economists.

Private sector economists provided the resources to enable economists form themselves into a quasi professional organization: The Dublin Economic Workshop in 1977, and the Irish Economics Association in 1986.

As the Irish economy engaged in disastrous economic expansion, Irish economics advocated Austerity. Its adoption in 1987 coincided with Ireland's recovery.

# **6. Economics in a Celtic Tiger 1987-2007**

Irish growth between 1987 and 2007 was extraordinarily high.

.

The Irish economy with its alleged 'expansionary fiscal contraction' became a poster-boy for neoliberal policies, adding to the prestige of Irish economics.

Irish academic and public research economists, and some international institutions began to warn of overheating from about 2000 but were publically attacked by politicians and private sectors economists including neoliberal ones.

# 7. Conclusions & Comments

The development of Irish economics from UK economics meant an early, highly authorised (by the UK state) and classical liberal form of economics.

Though the UK-nature of much of state authority created problems for economics in the new state, 'treasury model' and pre-Keynesian influences remained strong in Ireland.

Until 2007 Liberal and neoliberal policy dominance coincided with economic growth & recovery (1950s, 1987-2007 ) whereas alternatives policy approaches (1930s-50s, 1977-1986) were associated with failure.

During the late Celtic Tiger period (from 2000) academic and public research institute economics began to warn about overheating of the economy, and were attacked for doing so by politicians including neoliberal ones.

Irish Economists seemed to grow strongest in busts & recovery but are mostly ignored by the state in booms. A business cycle to add to Shaw's (2017) life-cycle?

Irish economics emerged with an enduring and strengthened authority after the crisis:

1. Strengthened role of profession in Finance Department.
2. Increased role in Central Bank of Ireland
3. An increase in media exposure for economists.

# Thank you.

Come visit on the web

([www.BrendanKORourke.com](http://www.BrendanKORourke.com)), in Aungier St. and  
at our future campus at DIT, Grangegorman, Dublin



[www.dit.ie/bssrc/](http://www.dit.ie/bssrc/)



<http://www.dit.ie/researchandenterprise/researchgroups/dag/>



# References

- AliAugello, M., & Guidi, M. (2001). *The Spread of Political Economy and the professionalisation of Economists: Economic Societies in Europe, America and Japan in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge.
- Bacon, P. (2000). *The Housing Market in Ireland: An Economic Evaluation of Trends & Prospects*.
- Barrett. (1983). The Capital Cuts - real or illusory? *Irish Times*.
- Barrett, S. (1981). Investment Plan will harm balance of payments. *Irish Times*.
- Barrett, S. (1982). The Economics of a bad budget. *Irish Times*.
- Barrett, S. (1984). Income Tax burden increased by 19%. *Irish Times*.
- Barrett, S. (1985). Public Spending still the problem. *Irish Times*.
- Barry, F. (1991). *The Irish recovery 1987-90: an economic miracle?* (Vol. PP91/5). <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.seppur.2006.01.013>.http
- Barry, F. (2010). Politics and economic policy making in Ireland. In J. Hogan, P. F. Donnelly, & B. K. O'Rourke (Eds.), *Irish business & society: Governing, participating & transforming in the 21st century* (pp. 28–43). Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- Barry, F., & Daly, M. E. (2011). *Irish Perceptions of the Great Depression* (IIIS Discussion Paper No. 349).
- Barry, F., & FitzGerald, J. (2001). Irish Fiscal Policy in EMU and the Brussels-Dublin Controversy. *Fiscal Policy in EMU: Report of the Swedish Committee on Stabilization Policy in EMU*.
- Besomi, D. (2008). James Anthony Lawson on commercial panics and their recurrence. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 19, 330–341.
- Bielenberg, A., & Ryan, R. (2013). *An Economic History of Ireland since Independence*. Routledge.
- Black, R. D. (1945). Trinity College, Dublin, and the Theory of Value, 1832-1863. *Economica*, 12(47), 140–148.

- Black, R. D. (1947). Economic Studies at Trinity College, Dublin - 1. *Hermathena*, 70, 65–80.
- Bourke, T. (1986). Nationalism and the Royal Irish Academy, 1916-1923. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 75(298), 196–208.
- Boylan, T., & Foley, T. (1992). *Political Economy and Colonial Ireland* (First). London: Routledge.
- Breathnach, P. (1998). Exploring the 'Celtic Tiger' Phenomenon Causes and Consequences of Ireland's Economic Miracle. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 5(4), 305-316
- Brennan, N. (2001). Reporting intellectual capital in annual reports: evidence from Ireland. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, 14(4), 423–436.
- Brown, T. (2004). *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History. 1922-2002*. London: Harper Collins.
- Brownlow, G. (2010). Fabricating Economic Development. *The Economic and Social Review*, 41(3), 301–324.
- Bucchi, M. (2008). Of deficits, deviations and dialogues: theories of public communication of science. In *Handbook of Public Communication of Science and Technology* (pp. 57–76).
- Burnham, J. B. (2003). Why Ireland Boomed. *The Independent Review*, VII(4), 537–556. Retrieved from <http://www.enterprise-ireland.com/en/Start-a-Business-in-Ireland/Food-Investment-from-Outside-Ireland/Why-Ireland/>
- Cassidy, A. (2008). Communicating the Social Sciences. In *Handbook of Public Communication of Science and Technology*. London: Routledge.
- Centeno, M. A., & Cohen, J. N. (2012). The Arc of Neoliberalism. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 38, 317–340.
- Central Bank of Ireland. (2004). *The Irish Housing Market: Fundamental and Non-Fundamental Influences*.
- Central Bank of Ireland. (2005). *The Growth in Mortgage Indebtedness in Ireland*.
- Central Bank of Ireland. (2006). Systemic Consequences of Long-Run Trends in Banking. *Financial Stability Report*, 63–96.

- Christensen, J. (2017). *The Power of Economists within the State* (1 edition). Stanford University Press.
- Colander, D., Goldberg, M., Haas, A., Juselius, K., Kirman, A., Lux, T., & Sloth, B. (2009). The financial crisis and the systemic failure of the economics profession. *Critical Review*, 21(2–3), 249–267.
- Collins, H., & Evans, R. (2002). The Third Wave of Science Studies: Studies of Expertise and Experience. *Social Studies of Science*, 32(2), 235–296.
- Collins, H., & Evans, R. (2007). *Rethinking Expertise*. Chicago: The University of Chicago
- Collins, H., Evans, R., & Weinel, M. (2016). Expertise revisited, Part II: Contributory expertise. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A*, 56(April), 103–110.
- Cullen, L. M. (1987). *Economic history of Ireland since 1660*.
- Daly, M. E. (1992). *Industrial development and Irish national identity, 1922-1939*. Syracuse University Press.
- Daly, M. E. (1997). *The Spirit of Earnest Inquiry*. Dublin: Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland.
- De Buitlear, D. (2003). Patrick Lynch (1917-2001): Moderniser and Man of Ideas. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 92(365), 13–18.
- Devlin, P. (n.d.). Robert Mitchell Henry (1873 - 1950): Classical Scholar. Retrieved from <http://www.newulsterbiography.co.uk/index.php/home/viewPerson/664#>
- Dorgan, S. (2006). How Ireland became the Celtic tiger. *The Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, June 23(1945), 5–7. Retrieved from <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2006/06/how-ireland-became-the-celtic-tiger?ac=1>
- Duffy, D. (2002). A Descriptive Analysis of the Irish Housing Market. *Quarterly Economic Commentary*, 40–55.
- Duncan, G. (1928a). The Currency System of the Irish Free State. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 42(2), 263–277.
- European Commission. (2001). *European Economy. Public Finances in EMU*.
- European Commission. (2006). *European Economy. Public Finances in EMU*.

- Fanning, R. (1978). *The Irish Department of Finance 1922-58*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- Fanning, R. (1983). Economists and governments: Ireland 1922-52. In A. Murphy (Ed.), *Economists and the Irish Economy*. Dublin: Irish Academy Press.
- Ferriter, D. (2004). *The Transformation of Ireland, 1900-2000*. London: Profile Books.
- Fitzgerald, G. (1959). Mr Whitaker and Industry. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 48(190), 138–150.
- FitzGerald, J. (2005). The Irish housing stock: Growth in number of vacant dwellings. *Quarterly Economic Commentary*, Spring(24), 1–22.
- Fonseca, G. L. (n.d.). The Political Economy Club. Retrieved October 11, 2016, from <http://www.hetwebsite.net/het/schools/peclub.htm>
- Fourcade, M. (2009). *Economists and Societies: Discipline and Profession in the United States, Britain, and France, 1890s to 1990s*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fourcade-Gourinchas, M. (2001). Politics, institutional structures, and the rise of economics: A comparative study. *Theory and Society*, 30, 397–447.
- Fourcade, M., Ollion, E., & Algan, Y. (2015). The Superiority of Economists. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 29(1), 89–114.
- Geary, R. C. (1951). Irish Economic Development since the Treaty. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 40(160), 399–418.
- Hessels, L. K., van Lente, H., & Smits, R. (2009). In search of relevance: The changing contract between science and society. *Science and Public Policy*, 36(5), 387–401. <https://doi.org/10.3152/030234209X442034>
- Hirschman, D., & Berman, E. P. (2014). Do Economists Make Policies? On the Political Effects of Economics. *Socio-Economic Review*, 12(4), 779–811.
- Honohan, P. (1992). Fiscal Adjustment in Ireland in the 1980s. *The Economic and Social Review*, 23(3), 285–314.
- Honohan, P. (1997). Currency Board or Central Bank? Lessons from the Irish Pound's link with sterling, 1928-79. *BNL Quarterly Review*, 200, 39–67.

- Honohan, P. (2006). To What Extent has Finance been a Driver of Ireland's Economic Success? *Quarterly Economic Commentary: Special Articles, 2006(4–Winter)*, 59–72.
- Honohan, P., & O'Gráda, C. (1998). The Irish macroeconomic crisis of 1955-56 : how much was due to monetary policy. *Irish Economic and Social History, 24*, 52–80.
- Honohan, P., & Walsh, B. (2002). Catching-up with the leaders: the Irish hare. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 1*, 1–77.
- IMF. (2001). *IMF Country Report - Ireland*.
- IMF. (2003). *International Monetary Fund Staff Report*.
- IMF. (2006). *IMF Country Report*.
- IMF. (2007). *IMF Country Report*.
- Kavanagh, E. (1997). Irish macroeconomic performance under different exchange rate regimes. *Journal of Economic Studies, 24(1/2)*, 10–42.
- Kearns, A. (2007). *A Financial Stability Perspective on Irish Banks ' Foreign Business*.
- Kelly, J. (2003). The Irish Pound: From Origins to EMU. *Quarterly Bulletin, Spring*, 89–115.
- Kelly, M. (2007). On the Likely Extent of Falls in Irish House Prices. *Quarterly Economic Commentary, Summer*, 42–54.
- Keynes, J. M. (1933). National Self-Sufficiency. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, 22(86)*, 177–193.
- Lane, P. R. (1998). On the Cyclicity of Irish Fiscal Policy. *The Economic and Social Review, 29(1)*, 1–16.
- Leary, J. O. (2010). *External Surveillance of Irish Fiscal Policy During the Boom* (Working Papers Series No. N210-10).
- Lee, J. J. (1989). *Ireland 1912-1989 Politics and Society*. Wiltshire: Redwood Books.
- Lefsrud, L. M., & Meyer, R. E. (2012). Science or Science Fiction? Professionals' Discursive Construction of Climate Change. *Organization Studies, 33(11)*, 1477–1506.
- MacDonald, K. (1995). *The Sociology of the Professions*. Sage Publications.
- MacSharry, R., White, P., & Kennedy, K. (2000). *The Making of the Celtic Tiger*.

- Maesse, J. (2015). Economic experts: a discursive political economy of economics . *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 10(3), 279–305.
- McAleese, D. (1990). Ireland's economic recovery. *Irish Banking Review*, 18–32.
- McClintock, M. (2002). Sir Charles Carter. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2002/aug/02/guardianobituaries.highereducation>
- McGuire, M., & Smyth, D. (2005). The Implications of a “Correction” in the Residential Construction Sector. *Financial Stability Report*, 153–162.
- Meenan, J. (1974). George O'Brien 1892-1973. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 63(249), 17–28.
- Meenan, J. (1980). *George O'Brien: A Biographical Memoir*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- Mercille, J. (2014). *The Political Economy and Media Coverage of the European Economic Crisis: The Case of Ireland*. Taylor & Francis.
- Mirowski, P. (1991). The When, the How and the Why of Mathematical The Expression in the History of Economic Analysis . *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5(1), 145–157.
- Mirowski, P., & Plehwe, D. (2009). *The road from Mont Pèlerin*. Harvard University Press.
- Montgomery, M. (2008). The Discourse of the Broadcast News Interview. *Journalism Studies*, 9(2), 260–277.
- Moss, L. (2011). Value and distribution theory at Trinity College Dublin, 1831-1844. In T. Boylan, R. Prendergast, & J. D. Turner (Eds.), *A History of Irish Economic Thought* (pp. 109–139). London: Routledge.
- Murphy, A. (2006). George Alexander Duncan. *The Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, 9(3), 71–74.
- Murphy, A. E. (1983). Mountifort Longfield's appointment to the chair of political economy in Trinity College Dublin. *Hermathena*, 135, 13–24.
- O'Brien, G. (1962). The Economic Progress of Ireland: 1912-1962. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 51(201), 9–26.
- O'Broin, L. (1977). Joseph Brennan, Civil Servant Extraordinary. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 66(261), 25–37.
- O'Grada, C. (1997). *A rocky road: The Irish Economy since the 1920s*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- O'Grada, C. (2002). Is the celtic tiger a paper tiger? *ESRI Quarterly Economic Commentary, Spring*, 51–62.
- O'Hearn, D. (2000). Globalization, “New Tigers,” and the End of the Developmental State? The Case of the Celtic Tiger. *Politics & Society*, 28(1), 67–92.
- O'Malley, E. (1986). Reflections on Ireland's Economic Identity. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 75(300), 477–486.
- O'Rahilly, A. (1962). The Irish University Question. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 51(201), 147–170.
- O'Riain, S. (2000). The Flexible Developmental State: Globalization, Information Technology, and the “Celtic Tiger.” *Politics & Society*, 28(2), 157–193.
- O'Rourke, B., & Hogan, J. (2013). Reflections in the Eyes of a Dying Tiger: Looking back on Ireland's 1987 Economic Crisis. In A. De Rycker & Z. M. Don (Eds.), *Discourse and Crisis: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 215–238). Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
- O'Rourke, B. K., & Hogan, J. (2017) Frugal Comfort from Ireland: Marginal tales from an austere isle. In S. McBride & B. M. Evans (Eds.), *The Austerity State* (pp.144-168). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- O'Connor, C. (1949). Origins of the Royal Irish Academy. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 38(151), 325–337.
- Oslington, P. (2001). John Henry Newman, Nassau Senior, and the Separation of Political Economy from Theology in the Nineteenth Century. *History of Political Economy*, 33(4), 825–842.
- Pautz, H. (2014). British Think-Tanks and Their Collaborative and Communicative Networks. *Politics*, 34(4), 345–361.
- Powell, B. (2003). Economic Freedom and Growth: The Case of the Celtic Tiger. *Cato Journal*, 22(3), 431–448.
- Pratschke, J. L. (1985). Economic philosophy and ideology in Ireland. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 74(294), 145–154.
- Quinn, G. (1969). The Third Economic Programme. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 58(230), 179–189.

- Rashid, S. (1977). Richard Whately and Christian Political Economy at Oxford and Dublin. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 38(1), 147–155.
- Roche, M. J. (1999). Irish house prices: Will the roof cave in? *Economic and Social Review*, 30(4), 343–362.
- Research Interviews. (2017) . Interviews with a number of Irish Economists carried out for the purpose of this research.
- RTE. (2007). Ahern apologises for suicide remark. Retrieved from <http://www.rte.ie/news/2007/0704/90808-economy/>
- RTE. (2017). Former public servant and economist TK Whitaker dies aged 100. *RTE*. Retrieved from <https://www.rte.ie/news/2017/0109/843778-whitaker-death/>
- Shaw, Kate Alexander. (2017). Where's the Great Transformation? Narrative, uncertainty and confirmation bias in British economic policymaking. Presented at the 24th International Conference of Europeanists, Glasgow, July 13<sup>th</sup>.
- Smith, J. G., Champernowne, D. G., Kaldor, N., & Guelfat, I. (1945). Obituary: C. F. Bastable. *The Economic Journal*, 55(217), 127–137.
- Tail, A. A. (1982). Mountifort Longfield 1802-1884: economist and lawyer. *Hermathena*, 133(Winter), 15–28.
- Tribe, K. (2001). Economic Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. In *The Spread of Political Economy and the Professionalisation of Economists: Economic Societies in Europe, America and Japan in the Nineteenth Century* (pp. 32–52).
- Walsh, B. (1996). Stabilization and Adjustment in a Small Open Economy: Ireland, 1979—95. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 12(3), 74–86.
- Walsh, B. (2014). Frankly and Robustly National: Pádraig Pearse, the Gaelic League and The Campaign for Irish at the National University . *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* , 103(410), 135–146.
- Walsh, B., & McCarthy, C. (1980). Need to reduce borrowing requirement to 4% of GNP. *Irish Times*.
- Walsh, P. P., & Whelan, C. (2010). Hirschman and Irish Industrial Policy. *Economic and Social Review*, 41(3), 283–299.



- Weigel, R. H., & Pappas, J. J. (1981). Social Science and the Press: A Case Study and Its Implications. *American Psychologist*, 36(5 (May)), 480–487.
- Whelan, K. (2011). *Ireland's Sovereign Debt Crisis*. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*.
- Whitaker, T. K. (1974). From Protection to Free Trade - The Irish Experience. *Social and Policy Administration*, 8(2), 95–115.
- Woods, M. (2007). A Financial Stability Analysis of the Irish Commercial Property Market.