

Managing Capital Flows: An Asian Perspective

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Motivation

- Recently, some emerging economies, including those in Asia, have imposed capital controls to limit speculative capital inflows
- This suggests that managing capital inflows remains an important policy issue for many emerging economies that needs to be clearly understood and debated openly
- Policymakers of emerging economies need to develop a framework for managing capital flows that is consistent with macroeconomic and financial sector stability

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Outline of the Presentation

1. Introduction
2. Capital Flows in Emerging Asia
3. Impact of Capital Flows on Emerging Asia
4. Policy Challenges and Implications
5. Conclusion

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1. Introduction

- **Benefits of capital inflows**
 - Greater economic opportunities and cushion against shocks: to expand investment, smooth consumption, and diversify risks
- **Risks of capital inflows**
 - Loss of macroeconomic stability
 - Damage to financial system stability
 - Risk of sudden capital flow reversals

Procyclicality of global capital flows to emerging and developing economies can aggravate these risks

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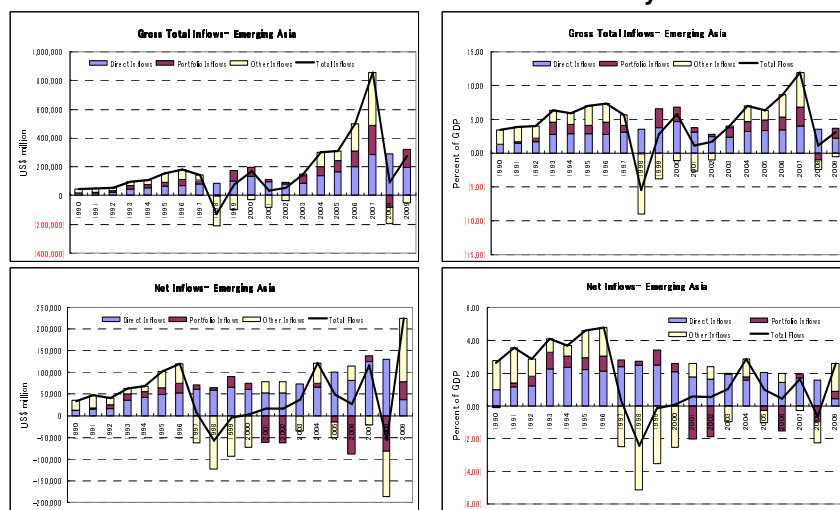
Introduction (cont'd)

- **Past experience**
 - 15% of the large capital inflow episodes over the last 20 years ended in a crisis
 - Emerging Asia experienced proportionately more episodes of hard landings, with the example being the Asian financial crisis of 1997-98
- **Objectives** of emerging Asia's authorities:
 - Manage these risks well so that they can fully enjoy the benefits of capital inflows
 - Achieve macroeconomic and financial stability

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2. Capital Flows in Emerging Asia

Emerging Asian economies have received net capital inflows, which have been volatile over the last 20 years



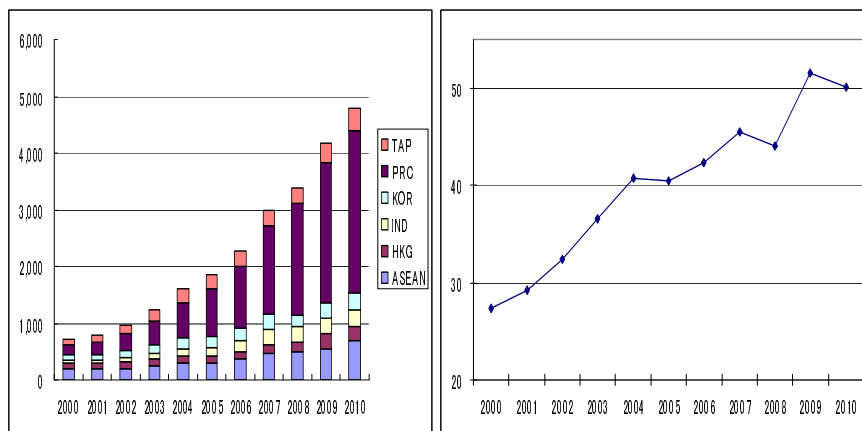
Notes: Emerging Asia: China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand
Source: CEIC, accessed on 15 April 2011

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Foreign Exchange Reserves, Emerging Asia

Billion US\$

Percent of GDP



Notes: Emerging Asia: Cambodia, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Korea, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Taipei, China, Thailand, and Viet Nam
Source: World Bank databank accessed on 14 April 2011; CEIC accessed on 14 April 2011; Bloomberg accessed on 15 April 2011

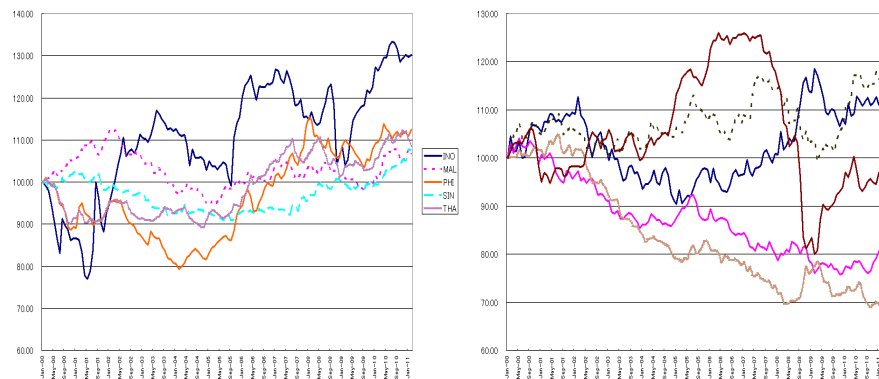
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3. Impact of Capital Flows on Emerging Asia

Real Effective Exchange Rate

ASEAN 5

Non-ASEAN

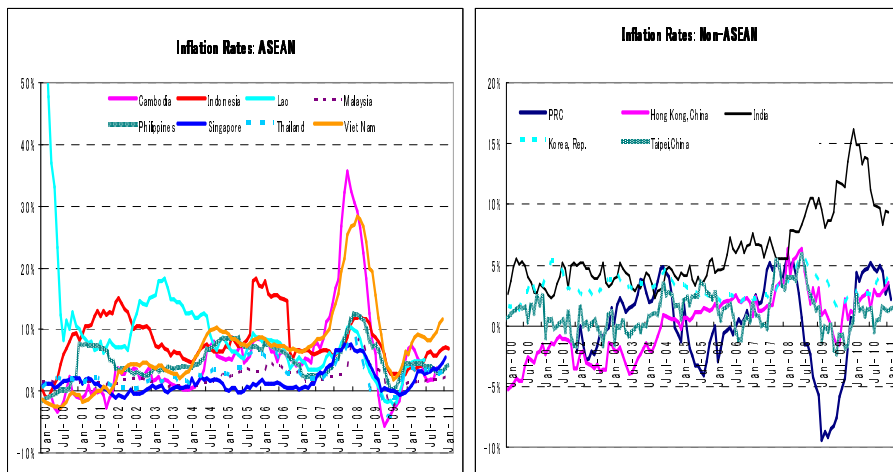


Source: Bank for International Settlements (BIS) accessed on 14 April 2011

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Inflation Rates

Generally low in the last decade except in 2008
But inflation has been rising in recent months



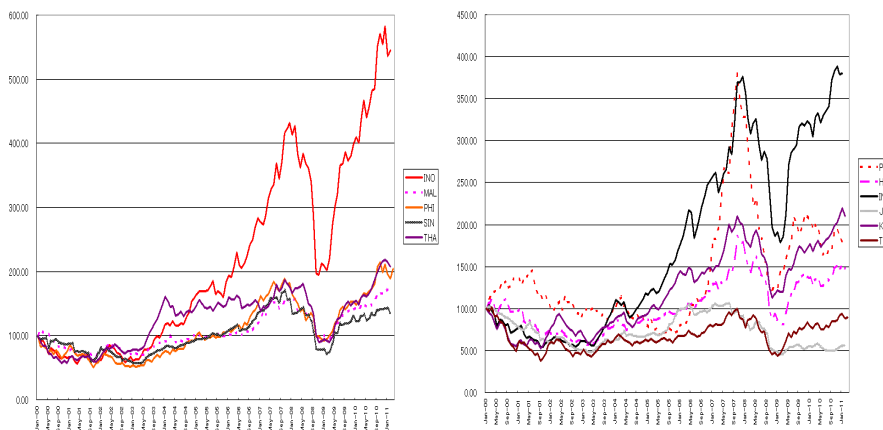
Source: CEIC accessed on 11 April 2011

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Asset Prices

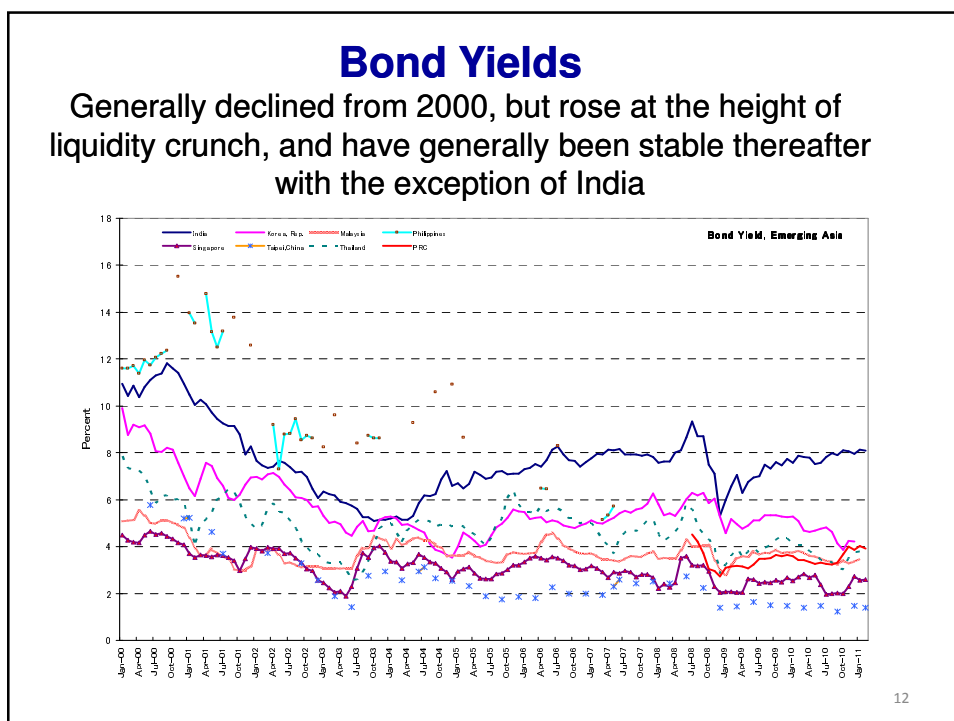
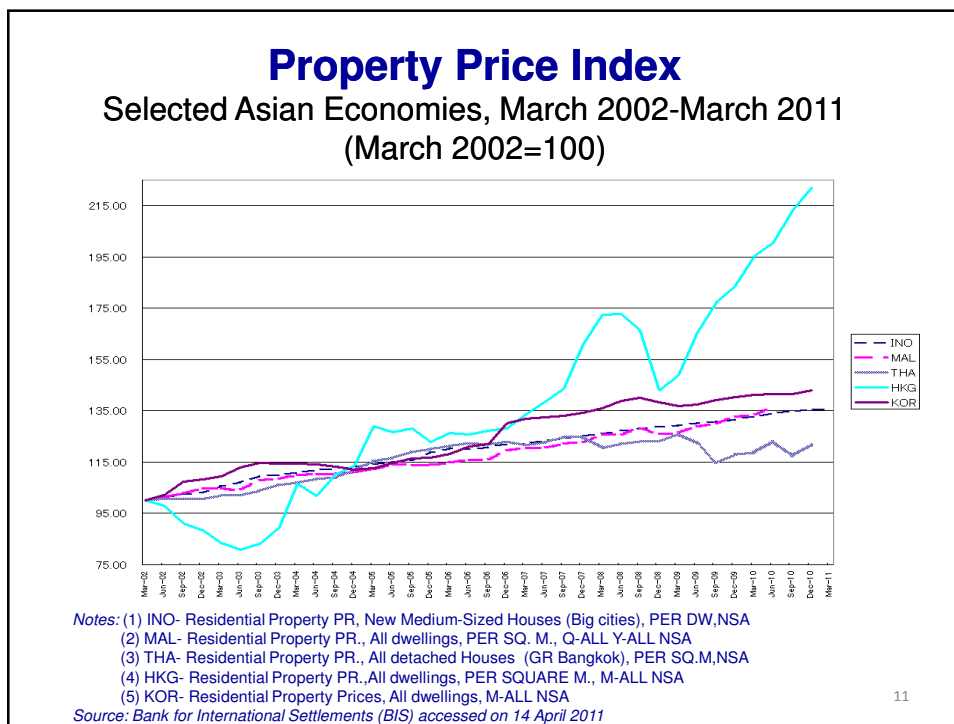
Rose markedly during large capital inflow episodes
and dropped sharply during capital flow reversal episodes

Stock Price Indexes, 2000-2011 (Jan. 2000 = 100)



Source: CEIC accessed on 14 April 2011

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4. Policy Challenges and Implications

Challenges of capital inflows:

- The past surges in capital inflows, followed by capital flow reversals, still fresh in emerging Asia's mind
- Most recently, foreign capital has started to return to emerging Asia
 - External conditions (record low interest rates in advanced economies)
 - Internal conditions (rapid recovery and monetary policy tightening in emerging Asia)
- Massive capital inflows could continue, posing serious policy challenges to emerging Asia for macroeconomic & financial system stability

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Advanced economy view on policy responses to large capital inflows

- **“Best” policy mix:** Fully flexible exchange rate, capital account openness (no capital control), and low-inflationary monetary policy
- This is appropriate for **advanced economies** with deep, liquid and broad financial markets
- **Problems** for emerging economies
 - Lack of depth of foreign exchange markets, risk tolerance, and industrial diversification for wide exchange rate swings
 - Shallow financial markets and systems, not resilient enough to large inflows and outflows of capital

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Emerging economies' realistic policy responses to inflow surges

- **Structural measures**
 - Develop and deepen financial markets
 - Liberalize imports and capital outflows
- **Macroeconomic measures**
 - Sterilize FX market intervention
 - Ease monetary policy
 - Tighten fiscal policy
 - Allow exchange rate appreciation
- **Macroprudential measures**
 - Tighten macroprudential supervision and regulation over domestic markets
 - Control short-term capital inflows

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Pros & cons of currency appreciation

- If capital inflows are permanent and driven by fundamentals, the best response should include exchange rate appreciation
- Currency appreciation has the benefit of:
 - discouraging speculative capital inflows
 - allowing the central bank to pursue independent monetary policy to contain inflation, asset price increases and financial vulnerabilities
- But, the loss of international price competitiveness is a major concern, when only one country allows currency appreciation
- This suggests a need for coordination on exchange rates

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Effectiveness of capital inflow controls

- The best market-based controls (temporary, selective, price-based controls a la Chilean unremunerated reserve requirements) are less distortionary and can **lengthen the maturity** of inflows without much impact on overall inflows
- Investor-based controls (e.g., China and India), rather than type-based controls, could be more effective in limiting the **total volume of inflows** as it is easier to monitor who is investing than how inflows are coming
- Authorities' **administrative capacity** is essential
- Effectiveness of capital controls tends to weaken over time as agents in the markets find ways to **circumvent** them
- One country's capital controls can potentially affect others' capital inflows, suggesting a need for **coordinated action**

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Recent capital controls in emerging Asia

China	2002: QFII introduced 2006: QDII limits introduced 2011: Limits on Hong Kong banks' net open positions and ability to access yuan through mainland foreign exchange market
India	2007: Capital controls introduced against "participatory notes"
Indonesia	2010: One-month holding period on SBIs (central bank notes) 2010: Short-term external bank borrowing limited to 30% of capital
Korea	2010: Limits on FX derivative contracts on domestic banks (50% of capital) and foreign banks (250%) 2010: Reimposing a withholding tax on foreign investors' earnings from government bonds
Taipei, China	2009: Prohibited use of time deposits by foreign funds 2010: One-week deadline for money to be invested or repatriated
Thailand	2006: Unremunerated reserve requirements (30%) on loans, bonds, mutual funds, swaps and non-resident Baht accounts 2010: 15% withholding tax on capital gains and interest income on foreign bonds

Notes: QFII = qualified foreign institutional investors; QDII = qualified domestic institutional investors
Source: Central bank reports and other reports

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~~New IMF Orthodoxy?~~

- IMF now views capital controls, or so-called “capital flow management measures” as part of the policy toolkit to manage capital inflows
- IMF recommends the use of macroeconomic policies and prudential policies as primary policy tools to respond to capital inflows
- IMF places capital controls at the bottom, that is, the use of capital controls must come after other tools have been adjusted in response to the inflow surge.

* Ostry, et.al., “Managing Capital Inflows: What Tools to Use?” IMF Staff Discussion Note, SDN/11/06 (April 2011)

But why should capital controls be a last resort policy measure?

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Scope for regional coordination

Regional financial monitoring

- A need to step up regional financial market monitoring
- Creation of an Asian financial stability dialogue (AFSD) among the region’s finance ministry officials, central bankers and financial regulators

Coordinated capital inflow controls

- A country’s successful capital inflow controls could drive foreign capital to countries without such controls
- To be effective, coordinated capital controls are desirable

Exchange rate policy coordination

- Asian economies need to work together for collective currency float vis-à-vis the USD while keeping relative currency stability within the region, so as to:
 - (1) maintain national financial & macroeconomic stability,
 - (2) support intra-regional trade and investment
 - (3) minimize loss of national price competitiveness
- This requires greater exchange rate flexibility in China

Financial safety nets (CMIM and AMRO)

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5. Conclusion

- Given the robust growth prospects in the region relative to the US and Europe, emerging Asia continues to attract capital inflows and, as a result, face significant challenges in macroeconomic management and financial sector reform
- Some of these economies exhibit signs of overheating, inflation and asset-price bubbles, and they need to consider its best response policy in the event of surges in capital inflows
- Advanced economy view would be to adopt a freely flexible exchange rates and an open capital account
- IMF policy responses include: macroeconomic policy (greater exchange rate flexibility, fiscal policy tightening) and prudential policy as primary tools

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5. Conclusion (cont'd)

- A combination of policies is needed, including capital inflow controls—as a macroprudential policy tool—to limit volatile capital inflows
- But it is often difficult to implement these policies at the national level alone because of regional interdependence
- Asia needs to strengthen regional financial and monetary cooperation:
 - Asian financial stability dialogue, CMIM/AMRO
 - Coordinated capital inflow controls
 - Exchange rate policy coordination for collective currency appreciation, to better achieve each country's macroeconomic and financial sector stability while maintaining intraregional exchange rate stability

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