

# Central Bank Governance Issues

John B. Taylor  
Stanford University

Presentation at the Riksbank Conference on  
Rethinking the Central Bank's Mandate

June 4, 2016

# Charge

To discuss:

- Central bank independence, now and in the future
- The scope of the objectives given to central banks

# Central Bank Independence

- Research and experience show value of CBI for good economic performance.
  - Time consistency
    - applies to monetary policy proper
  - Trade off between price stability and output stability
    - Implies flexible IT or dual mandate
- But granting independence to a public agency in a democracy, requires
  - a limited purpose & strong accountability.*

# From Limited Purpose to Multi-Purpose Institutions

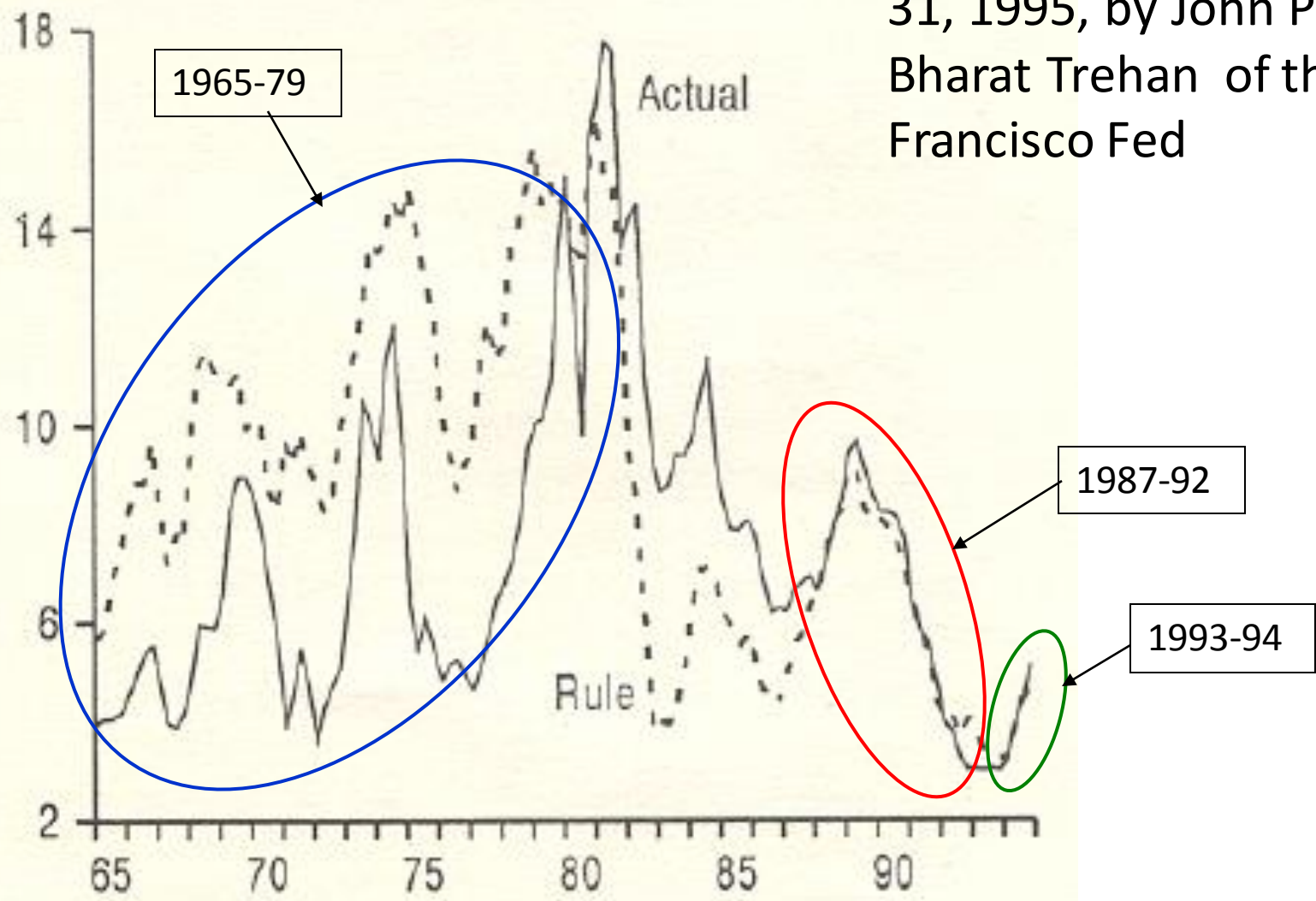
- If purpose is broadened, rationale for independence weakens
  - Close connection between financial stability and monetary policy, - LOLR
  - But financial regulatory activities can be in less independent agencies
- Independent multi-purpose institutions escape checks & balances
  - Inappropriate interventions and poor economic performance
  - Interventions in particular sectors or in credit allocation
    - US Consumer Financial Protection Bureau—with oversight of payday loans
- Reform? legislative appropriation for regulatory activity in central bank
- Future? If central banks do not keep to a limited purpose, they will be seen as too powerful and will lose independence

# Independence is Not Enough

- Large shifts to & away from rules-based monetary policy
  - 1970s: accompanied by high inflation and high unemployment.
  - 1980s, 1990s, early 2000s: improvements in price & output stability.
  - Move away from rules-based policy circa 2003-2005 followed by Great Recession & Not-So-Great Recovery.
  - Nikolsko-Rzhevskyy, Papell, Prodan provide statistical evidence
- Shifts occurred without change in *de jure* independence.
  - Numerical indices: Crowe and Meade (2007).
  - But closely correlated with shifts in *de facto* independence:
    - Meltzer (2009), Goodfriend (2012), Issing (2012)
    - Independence sometimes taken away; sometimes given away.
- Policy implication: Encourage more rules-based policy by reforming the objective, or the mandate, given to the central banks.

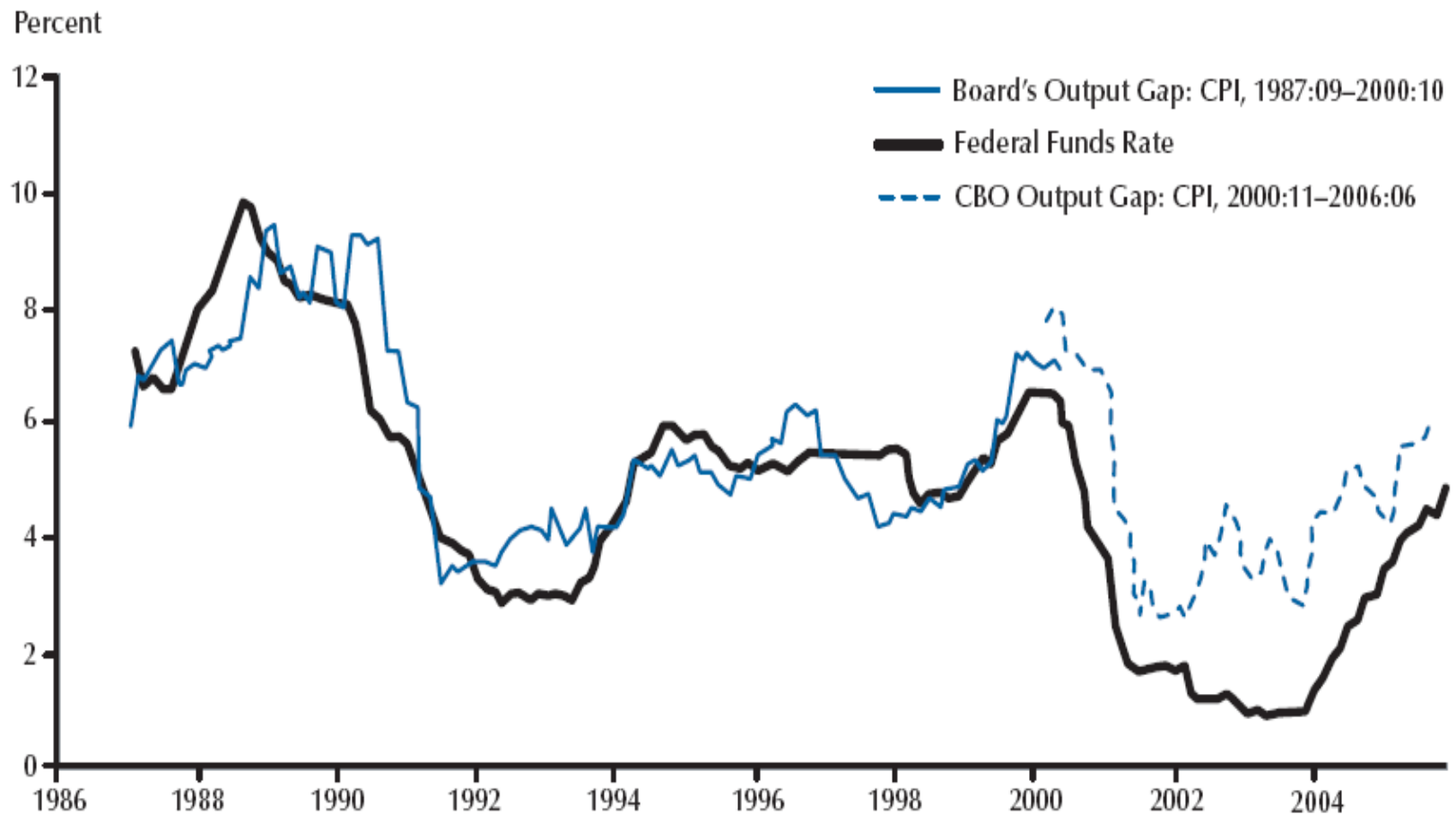
Monetary policy gets more predictable, inflation targets, rules-based

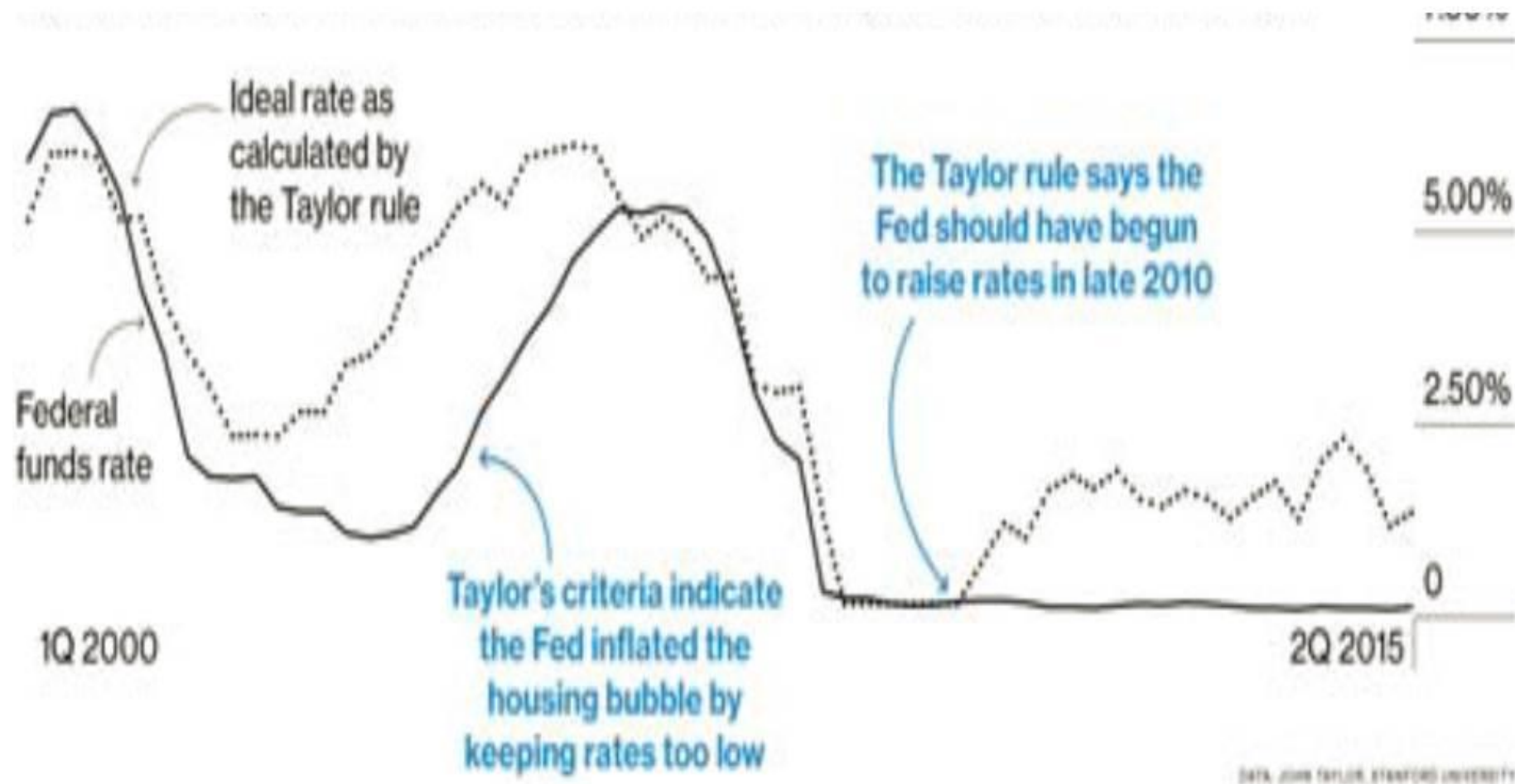
From "Has the Fed Gotten Tougher on Inflation?" The FRBSF Weekly Letter, March 31, 1995, by John P Judd and Bharat Trehan of the San Francisco Fed



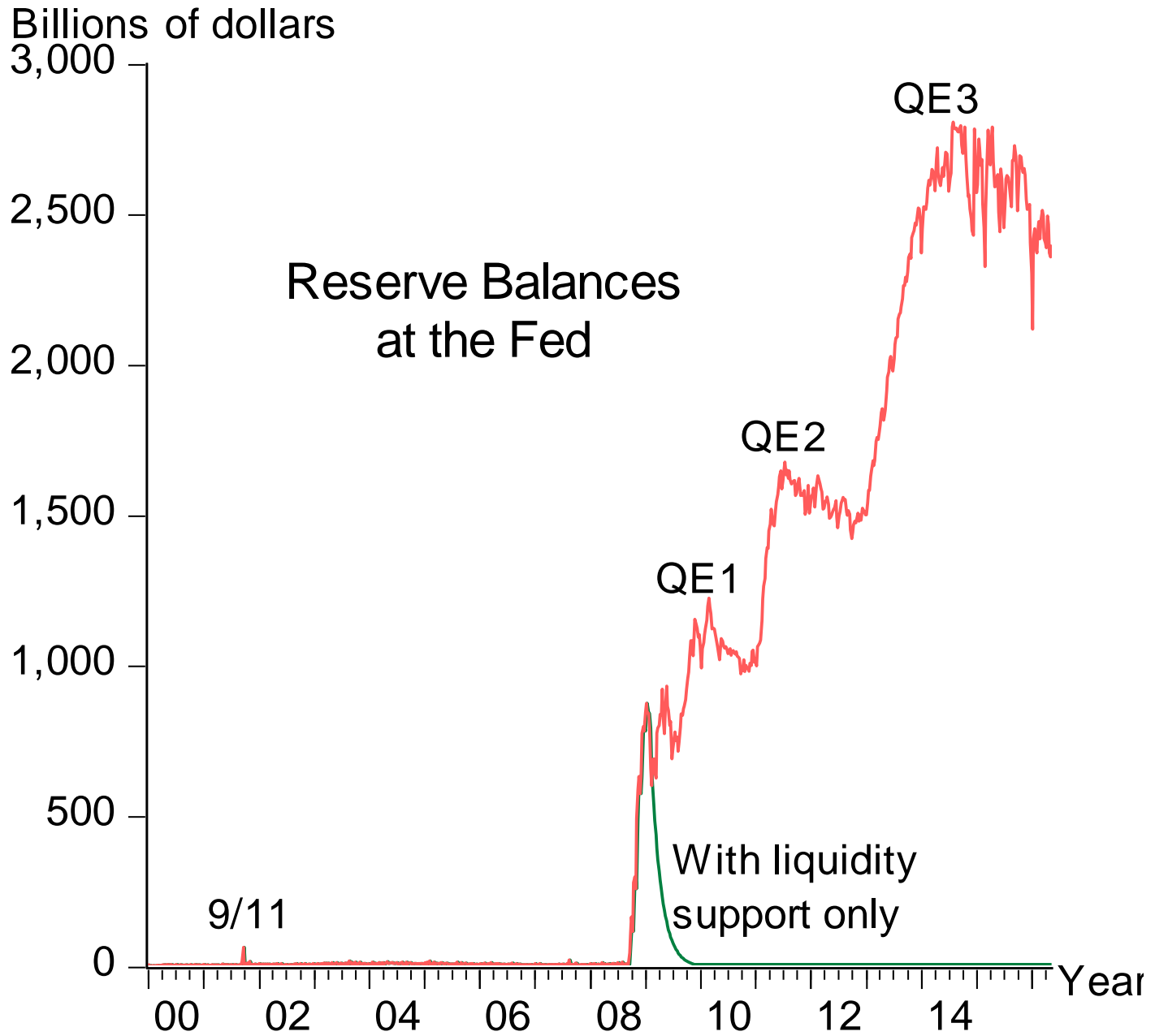
# Chart from Fed, St. Louis *Review*, William Poole (Jan/Feb 2007) Showing Shift Back Toward Discretion

## Greenspan Years: Federal Funds Rate and Taylor Rule (CPI $p^* = 2.0$ , $r^* = 2.0$ ) $a = 1.5$ , $b = 0.5$

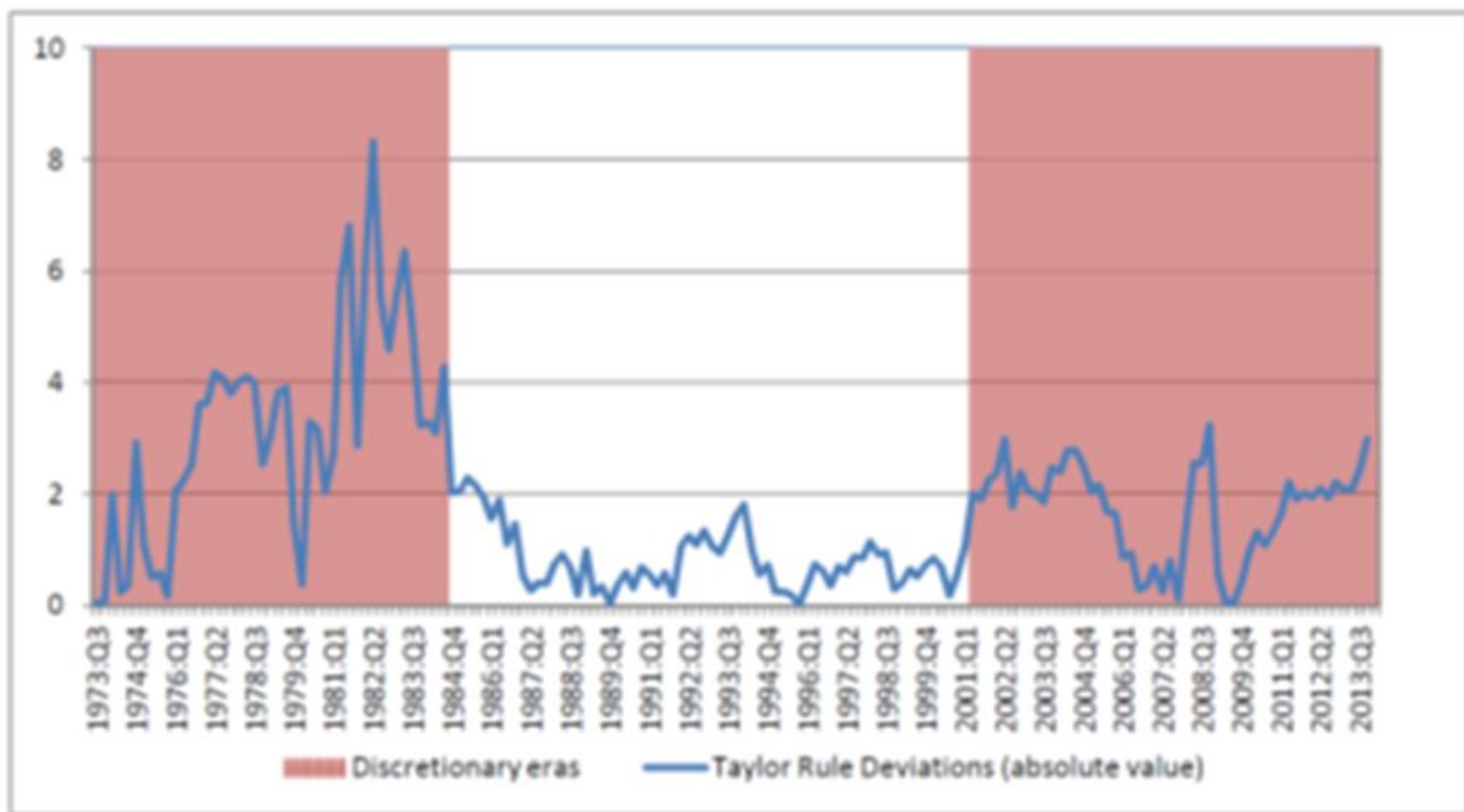








Historical analysis (Meltzer) and statistical tests (Nikolsko-Rzhevskyy, Papell, and Prodan) agree that when policy is rules-based performance is better



Variance  
of  
output

(post-2006)

C



Period	S.D.		Variance			
	Output	Inf.	Sum	Output	Inf.	Sum
1965.1 - 1983.4	3.6	2.4	6.0	13.0	5.8	18.8
1984.1 - 2006.4	1.5	0.8	2.3	2.3	0.6	2.9
2007.1 - 2012.3	5.4	0.8	6.2	29.2	0.6	29.8

A (1970s)

B

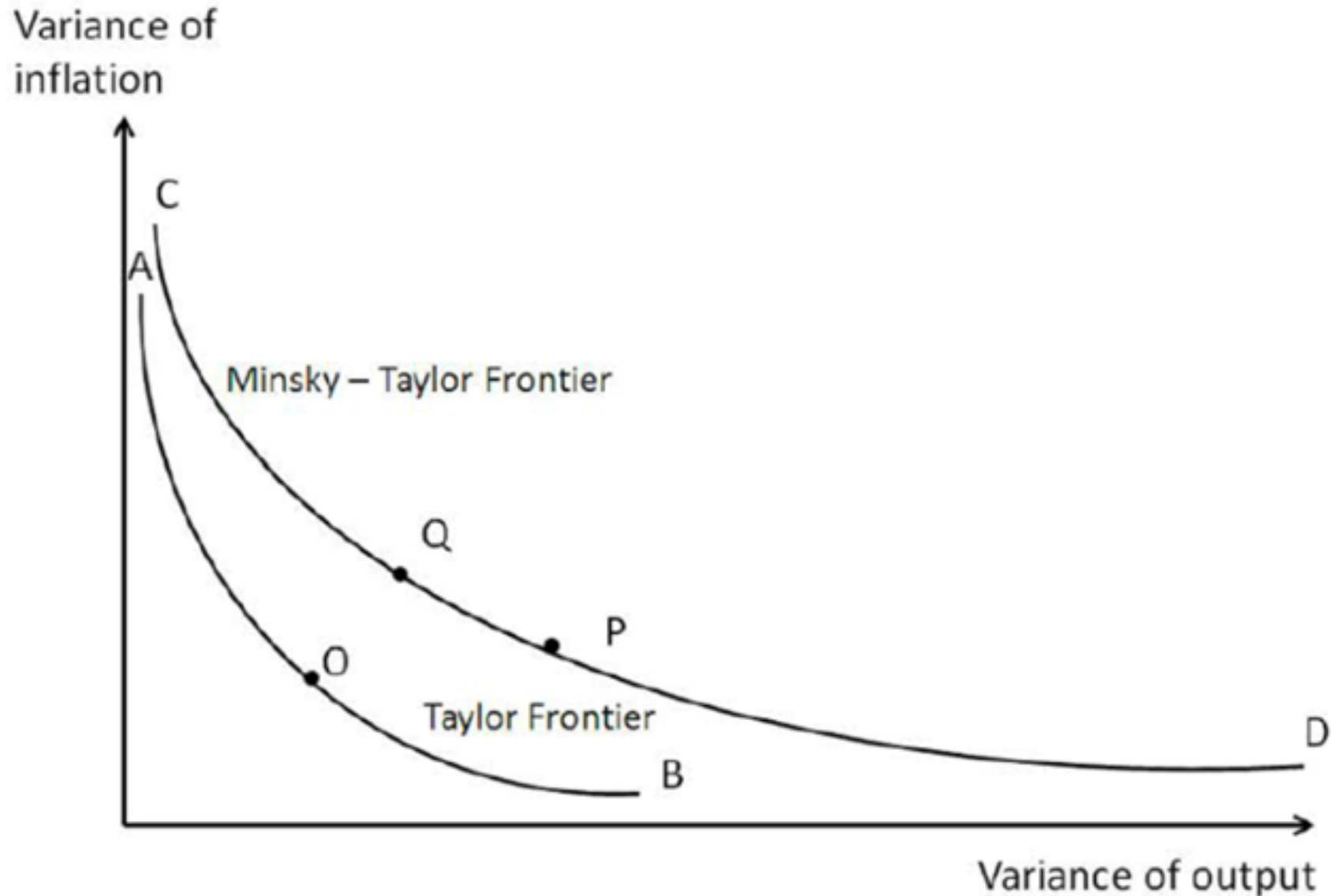
(post-1984)

TC<sub>2</sub>

TC<sub>1</sub>

Variance  
of  
inflation

# Alternative View: Curve Shifted for Other Reasons



Source: Mervyn King's Stamp Lecture (2012)

# Independence is Not Enough

- Large shifts to & away from rules-based monetary policy
  - 1970s: accompanied by high inflation and high unemployment.
  - 1980s, 1990s, early 2000s: improvements in price & output stability.
  - Move away from rules-based policy circa 2003-2005 followed by Great Recession & Not-So-Great Recovery.
  - Nikolsko-Rzhevskyy, Papell, Prodan provide statistical evidence
- **Shifts occurred without change in *de jure* independence.**
  - Numerical indices: Crowe and Meade (2007).
  - But closely correlated with shifts in *de facto* independence:
    - Meltzer (2009), Goodfriend (2012), Issing (2012)
    - Independence sometimes taken away; sometimes given away.
- **Policy implication:** Encourage more rules-based policy by reforming the objective, or the mandate, given to the central banks.

# The Scope of the Objective Given to Central Banks

- Deepen rather than widen
  - Do not need more goals
  - Need a strategy to achieve the existing goals,
    - With details about the rules-based policy for the instruments.
- How to achieve the reform?
  - Fed's statement is called "Longer-Run Goals and Monetary Policy Strategy"
  - ECB's statement is called "Strategy"
  - But these statements say little about the strategy for the instruments of policy

# Policy Rules Legislation

- Requires central bank to report its strategy for the instruments.
  - Suggested such legislation in 2010
  - Now written into a bill which passed the U.S. House in 2015
  - Similar bill passed out of committee in U.S. Senate
- Would require that Fed “describe the strategy or rule of the FOMC for the systematic quantitative adjustment” of policy instruments.
  - Central bank’s job to choose the strategy and how to describe it.
  - Could change its strategy, but it would have to explain why.
  - For concreteness, requires Fed to compare strategy to “reference rule.”
- Precedent for giving such an objective to the central bank.
- Central bank would not be chained to any mechanical rule or lose its independence.
- What about uncertainty about output gap, effective lower bound on interest rate, changes in the equilibrium real interest rate? Even more difficult for discretion

# Forecast Targeting Legislation?

- Rather than a policy rule for the instruments, the legislation could require the central bank to report its *forecast targeting* strategy
  - Woodford (2012): “Forecasting Targeting as a Monetary Policy Strategy”
  - Example  $(\pi_{t+h,t} - \pi^*) + \phi x_{t+h,t} = 0$
  - Dual to the same problem, like first-order condition & decision rule
  - As with the policy rule legislation one must write it into legislation without impinging on central bank independence
  - The central bank would decide on forecast targeting approach and how to describe it
  - Policy evaluation method of Svensson (2012) could be used
- Perhaps would meet requirement in existing bill!
- Much deeper than “constrained discretion” where all one has are goals & policymakers do whatever it takes
- Constrained discretion is an appealing term, but it does not induce rules-based policy as the term suggests.

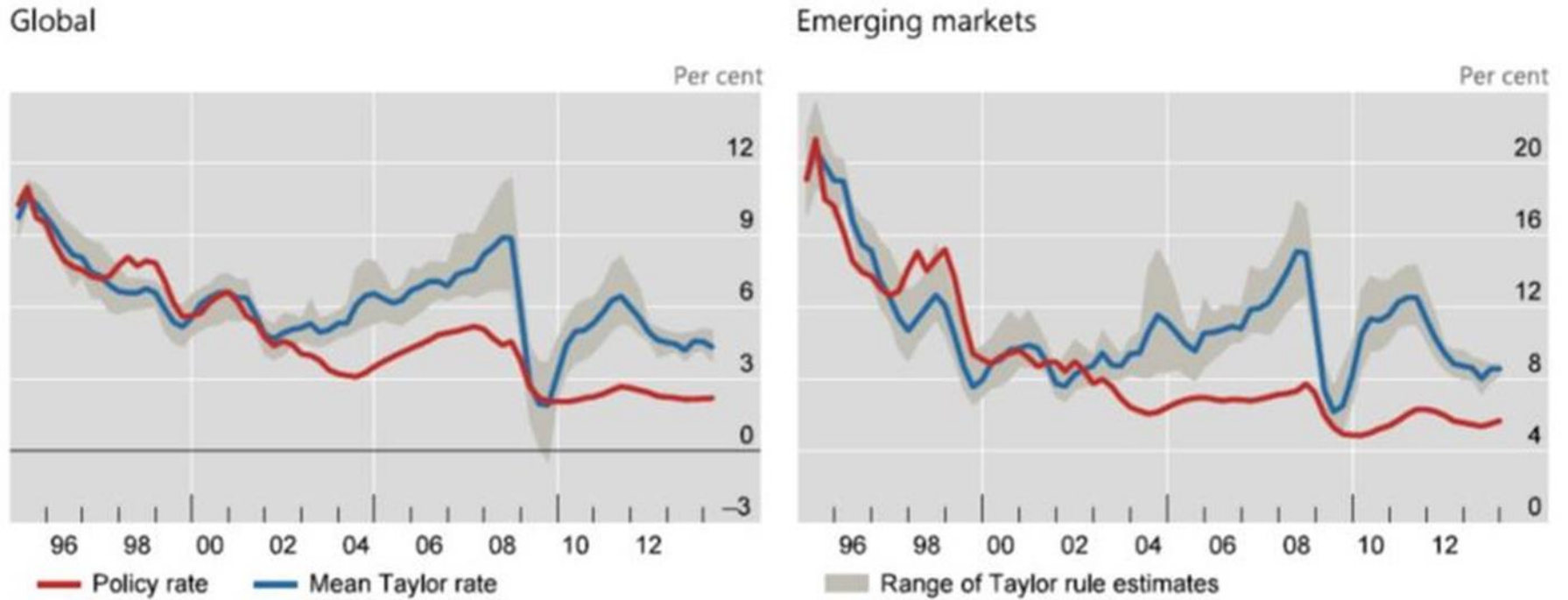


# International Considerations

- The deviations from rules-based policy spread.
- Central banks tend to follow each other.
  - Low interest rates in large countries are followed by low interest rates in other countries, trying to fight off currency appreciations.
  - QE begets QE
- So international monetary system has drifted away from a rules based system.
- International economic performance has been poor.
  - Huge swings of capital flows, increased volatility of exchange rates, and disappointing economic growth

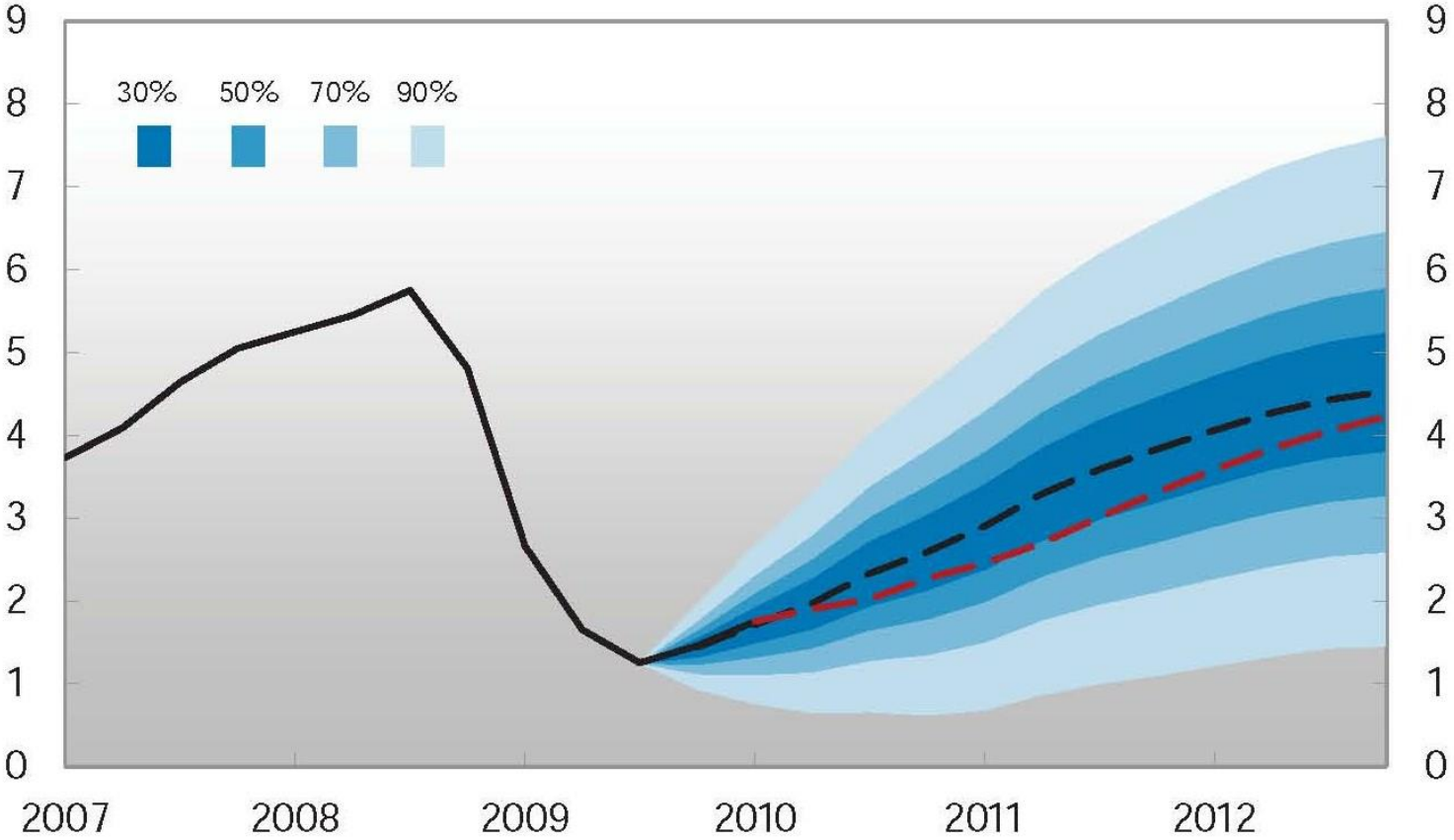
# Policy rates compared to Taylor rules<sup>1</sup>

Graph 2



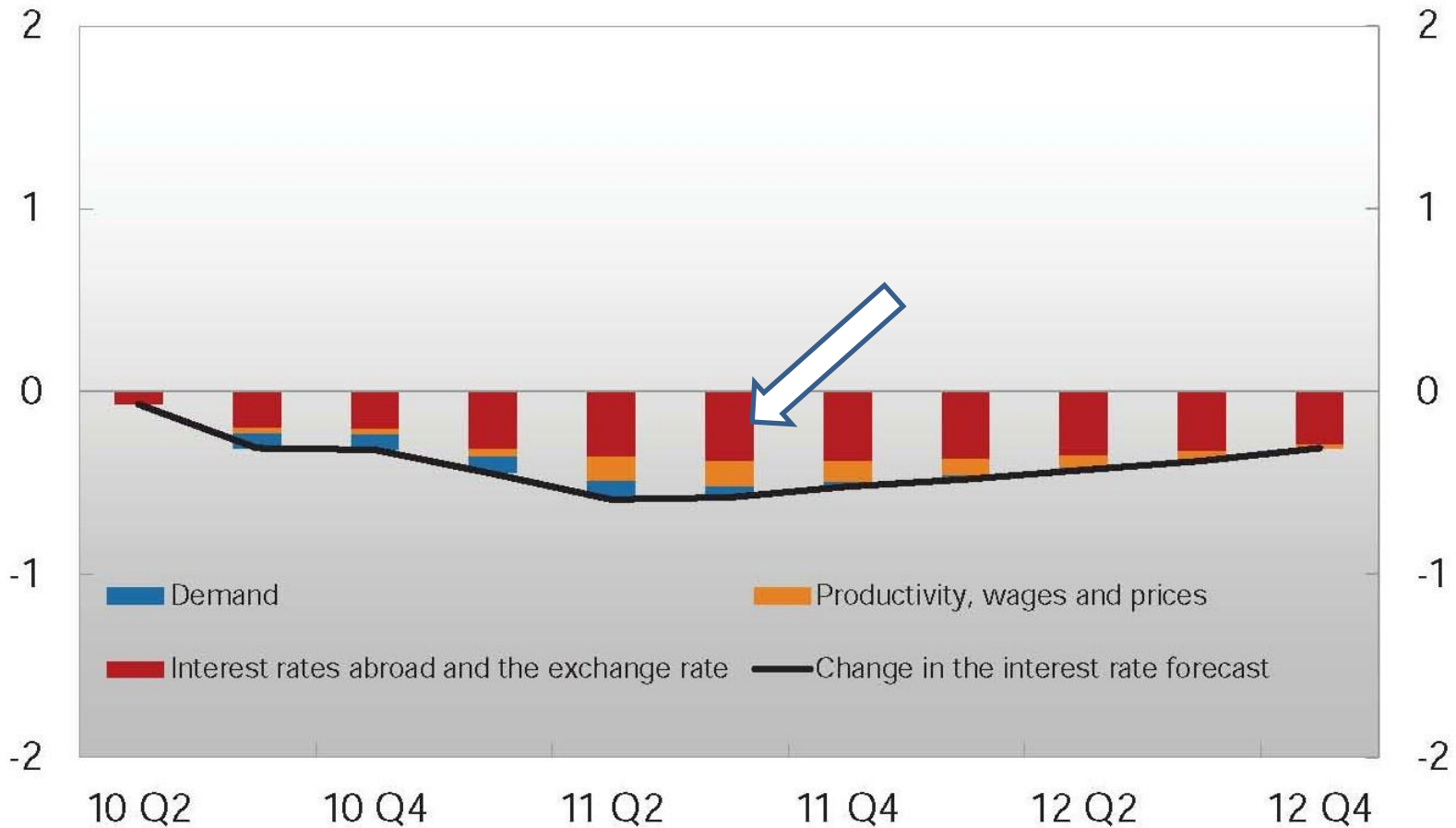
Source: BIS, Shin

# A cut in the Norges bank policy rate (black line to red line)...

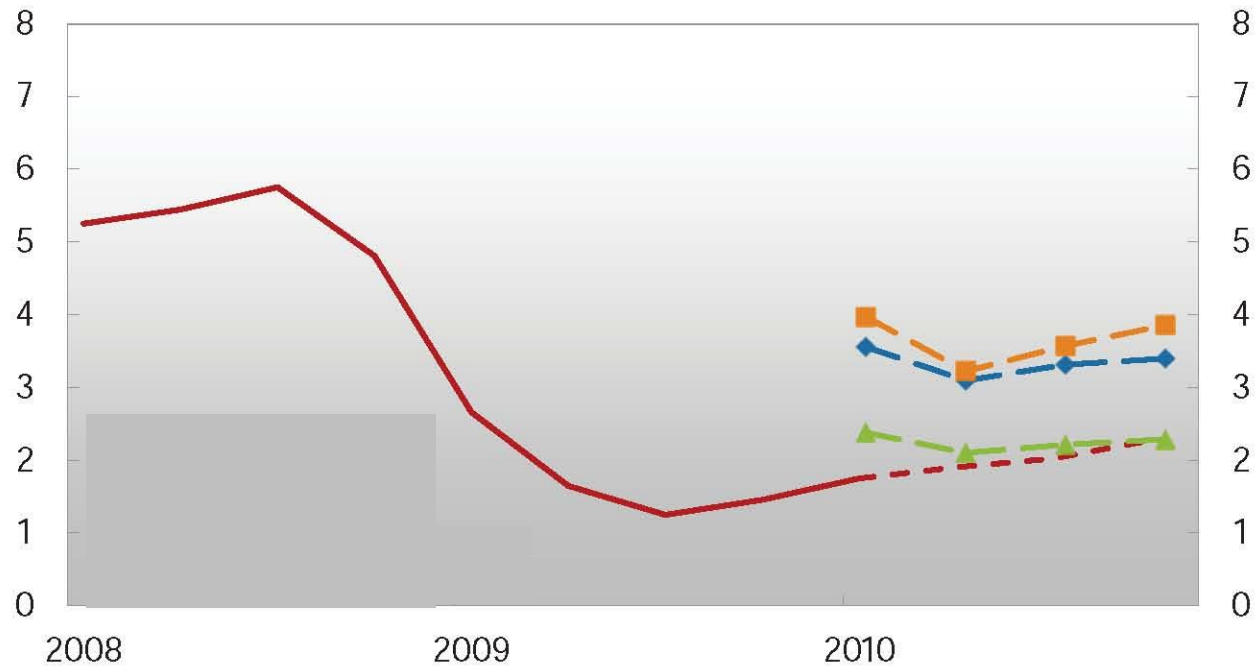


Source: Norges Bank

....because of interest rates were cut abroad.



Source: Norges Bank



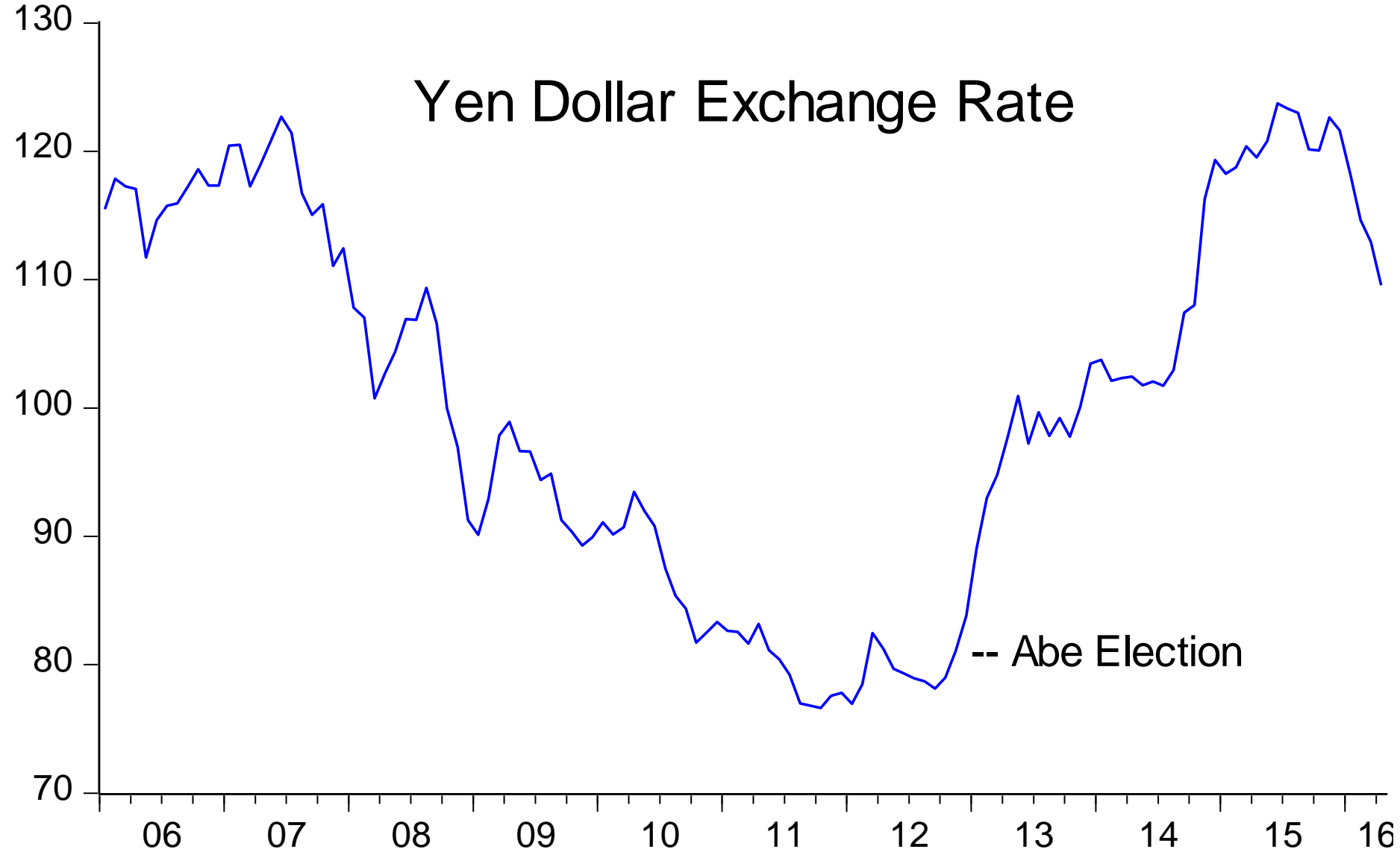
Taylor Rule     - - - - -

Key Policy Rate     - - - - -

Rule with external interest rates     - - - - -

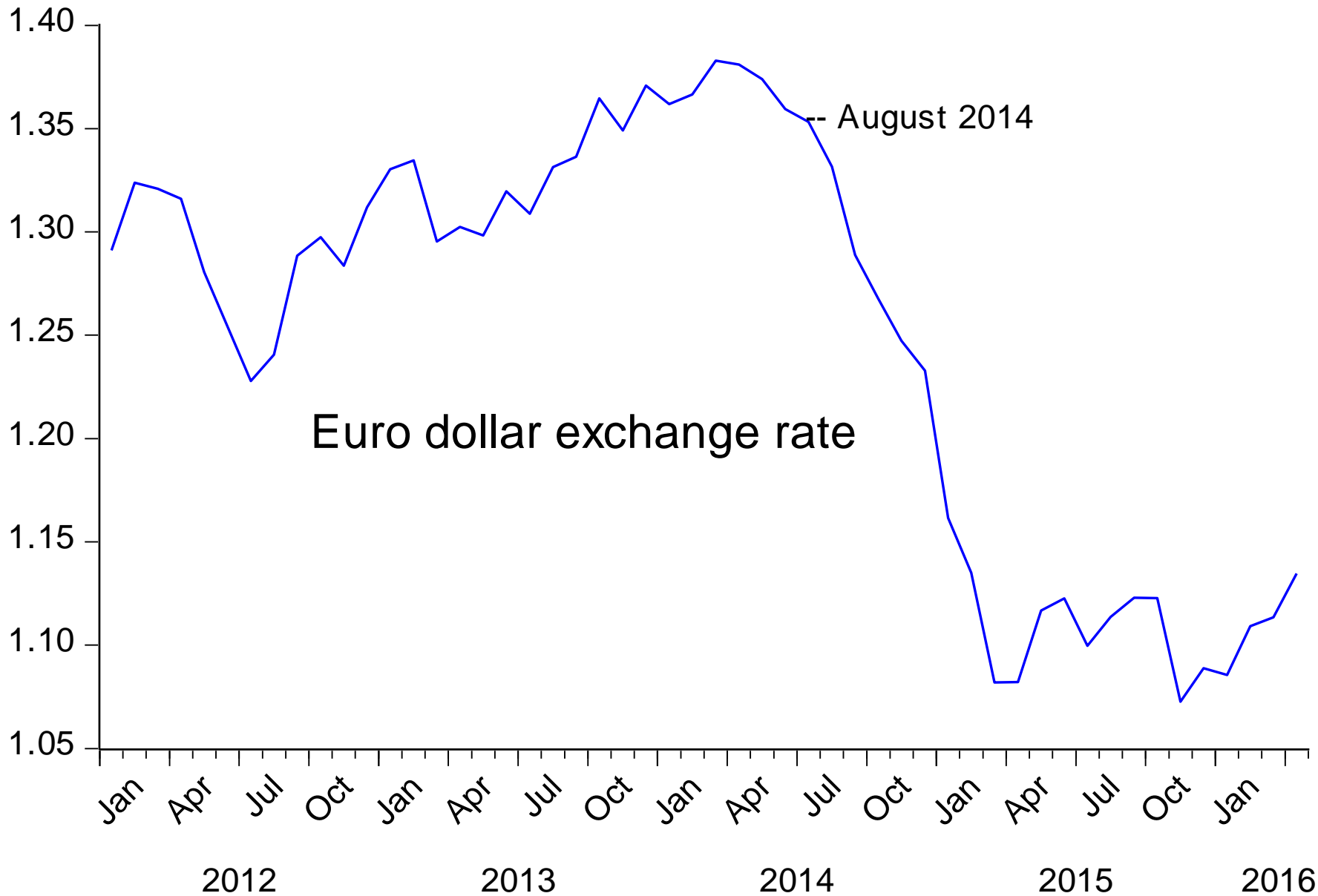
Growth rule     - - - - -

yen per dollar



-- Abe Election

dollars per euro



# International Considerations

- The deviations from rules-based policy spread.
- Central banks tend to follow each other.
  - Low interest rates in large countries are followed by low interest rates in other countries, trying to fight off currency appreciations.
  - QE begets QE
- **So international monetary system has drifted away from a rules based system.**
- International economic performance has been poor.
  - Huge swings of capital flows, increased volatility of exchange rates, and disappointing economic growth



# Calls for International Monetary Reform

- Jaime Caruana: global instability shows need for reform
- Paul Volcker: “the absence of an official, rules-based, cooperatively managed monetary system has not been a great success.”
- Raghu Rajan: “what we need are monetary rules that prevent a central bank’s domestic mandate from trumping a country’s international responsibility.”
- This proposal: A rules-based international monetary system built on policy rules in each country
  - Research (old and new) shows it will work well even with capital mobility and flexible exchange rates

# Specific Proposal

- Countries forge an international agreement:
  - each central bank describes and commits to a monetary policy strategy for the policy instruments.
- Important lessons from previous international monetary agreements: 1945, 1973, 1985
- Given many calls for reform, now is a good time.
- Need for a transition to more rules-based policy.