Subjective Inflation Expectations of Households: Implications for Inflation Targeting

> Michael Weber University of Chicago, CEPR, & NBER

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# Motivation

# Subjective Inflation Expectations

Inflation expectations are terribly important. We spend a lot of time watching them.

Jerome Powell (2021)

### The Role of Expectations for Household Decisions...

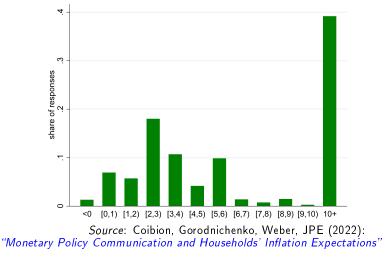
• Key variable for economic decisions: perceived real interest rate

$$r_t^i = i_t - \mathbb{E}_t^i \, \pi_{t+1}$$

- Most households' choices depend on inflation expectations
  - Consumption/saving choices (D'Acunto, Hoang, and Weber, 2018)
  - Mortgage Uptaking, Type (Malmendier and Steiny, 2024)
  - Stock Market Participation (Das, Kuhnen, et al, 2019)
  - Wage bargaining (role of size of informal sector?)
- Normal times:  $\Delta i_t \longrightarrow \Delta r_t$  if expectations anchored?
- Especially important when nominal rates low! (Coibion, Gorodnichenko, Kumar, and Pedemonte, 2018)
  - Policy needs to manage households' expectations
  - Examples: Unconventional Fiscal Policy, Forward Guidance

# Stylized Facts

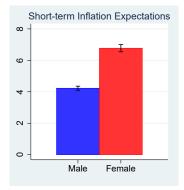
#### ...BUT Households have dispersed knowledge



• More than 40% of 25,000 Americans thought inflation target was > 10% in 2018

Expectations do react to info and determine actual consumption in scanner data

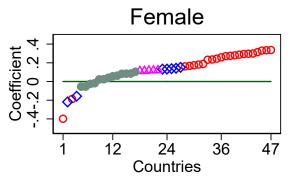
# Within-Household Inflation Expectations: Gender Gap



Source: D'Acunto, Malmendier, Weber, PNAS (2021): "Gender Roles Produce Divergent Economic Expectations"

- Realized inflation in 2016: < 2%
- $\bullet\,$  Average expected inflation for 2016: >5%
- Women have (more) positively biased inflation expectations

#### The Gender Gap Truly Global Phenomenon



Source: D'Acunto and Weber (2023): "Global Evidence on the Formation of Subjective Expectations"

- New survey on subjective expectations from 47,000 individuals in 47 countries
- Gender gap in inflation expectations truly global phenomenon
- Exception: Argentina, Egypt, Turkey, Zimbabwe

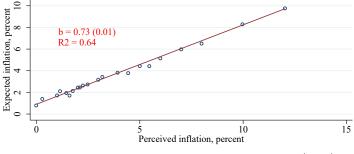
# Why Are Women (More) Biased? They Do the Groceries!



Source: D'Acunto, Malmendier, Weber, PNAS (2021): "Gender Roles Produce Divergent Economic Expectations"

- Large difference in inflation expectations by gender within household
- Unconditional difference driven by differences in grocery shopping

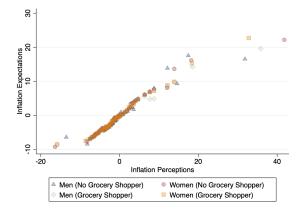
#### From Perceived Inflation to Inflation Expectations



Source: Weber, D'Acunto, Gorodnichenko, Coibion, JEP (2022): "The Subjective Inflation Expectations of Households and Firms"

- Strong link between what individuals perceive and expect to happen to inflation
- Need to understand which signals individuals see and notice

# Mapping from Perceptions to Expectations by Gender



Source: D'Acunto, Malmendier, Weber, PNAS (2021):

"Gender Roles Produce Divergent Economic Expectations"

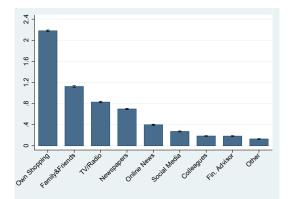
- Mapping from perceptions to expectations does not differ across genders
- Both true for shoppers and non-shoppers: observed signals crucial

Two Sources of Signals: Local vs. Aggregate Economy

- When forming expectations, two non-exclusive sources of signals:
  - ► Local Economy Sources:
    - Like in Lucas (1975)'s islands: info from local economic environment
    - Examples: Shopping activities, Family & friends, Work...
  - Aggregate Economy Sources:
    - Sources covering signals based on the aggregate economy
    - Examples: Gov't reports, Central bank communication, newspapers...

Source: D'Acunto and Weber, Annual Review of Economics (2024): "Why Survey-based Expectations are Meaningful and Important"

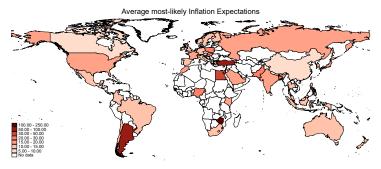
# Shopping is the Most Important Source of Information in US



Source: D'Acunto, Malmendier, Ospina, Weber, JPE (2021): "Exposure to Grocery Prices and Inflation Expectations"

- Most relevant sources of information when we asked their inflation expectations
- Own (and family) shopping much more common than media, other sources

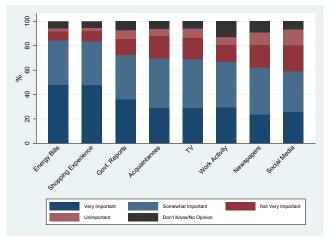
## Large Heterogeneity in Expectations around the World



Source: D'Acunto and Weber (2023): "Global Evidence on the Formation of Subjective Expectations"

• Large differences in average expected inflation rates globally

# Shopping Important for Inflation Expectations Globally ...

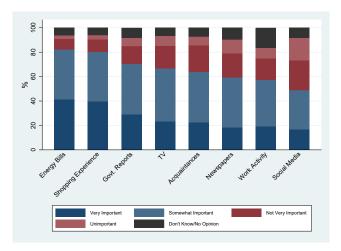


Source: D'Acunto and Weber (2023):

"Global Evidence on the Formation of Subjective Expectations"

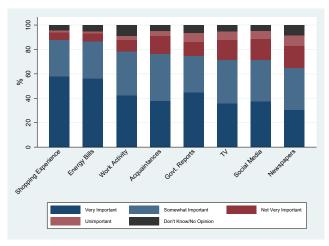
• Shopping important source of information for inflation globally

### ... in Low ...



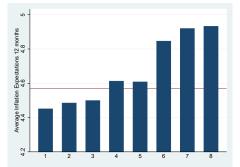
- In countries with historically low inflation
- Examples: Canada, Germany, Japan, Switzerland

### ... and in High Inflation Countries ...



- Shopping even more important in high inflation countries
- Examples: Argentina, Brazil, Turkey, Zimbabwe
- In general more attention to all information sources

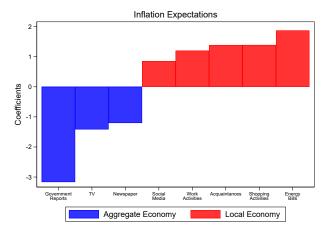
#### Variation in Households' Bundles $\rightarrow$ Inflation Expectations



Source: D'Acunto, Malmendier, Ospina, Weber, JPE (2021): "Exposure to Grocery Prices and Inflation Expectations"

- Sort households into bins by realized inflation in grocery bundles
- High-low portfolio: difference in expected inflation of 0.5 percentage points
- Economically sizeable given inflation target of 2%
- Higher weight on positive prices changes of frequently purchased goods

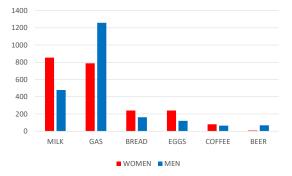
# Different Inflation Expectations by Info Sources Globally



Source: D'Acunto and Weber , Annual Review of Economics (2024): "Why Survey-Based Expectations are Meaningful and Important"

• Reliance on local information sources results in higher inflation expectations

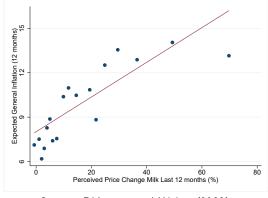
## Men and Women often Think about Individual Goods



Source: D'Acunto, Malmendier, Weber, PNAS (2021): "Gender Roles Produce Divergent Economic Expectations"

- Individuals often focus on price changes of specific items
- ullet NB: gas price changes largely uniform across US, can't drive dispersion in  $\mathbb{E}\,\pi$
- Inflationary impulse in narrow categories can result in spike in  $\mathbb{E}\,\pi$

#### From Recalled Good-Specific Signals to Aggregate Beliefs



Source: D'Acunto and Weber (2022): "Memory and Beliefs: Evidence from the Field"

- Survey January 2022: Elicit recalled milk prices, milk inflation
- Perceived milk inflation correlates with general inflation expectations

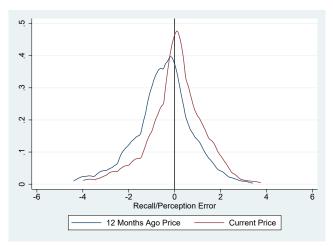
### Selective Recall: The Role of Interference

#### • Proactive Interference:

older memories formed in same context crowd out newer memories

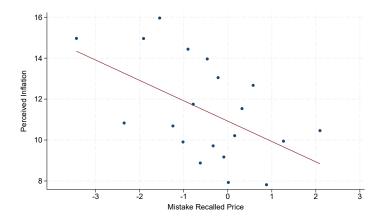
- ▶ If recall price 12 months before, earlier stored price signals recalled
- ▶ Prices grow over time→underestimate price 12 months before
- Potential driver of systematic upward bias inflation expectations

#### Proactive Interference: Recalling Lower Past Prices



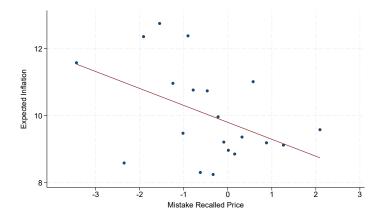
- Many agents recall past prices of milk that are lower than actual prices they paid
- No similar recall error for current prices of milk
- Do we observe an upward bias in perceived milk inflation?

#### Lower Past Price Perception $\rightarrow$ Higher Perceived Inflation



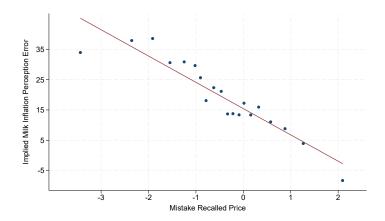
• Lower perceived prices for milk associated with higher perceived overall inflation

#### Lower Past Price Perception $\rightarrow$ Higher Expected Inflation



• Lower perceived prices for milk associated with higher expected overall inflation

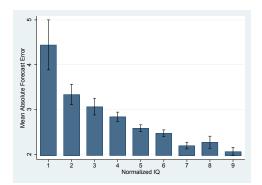
#### Proactive Interference: Lower Past Price & Error



• Lower perceived past prices associated with higher milk inflation perception error

# Managing Expectations: Communication

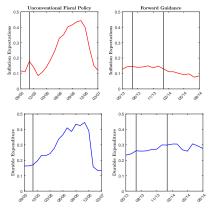
#### Forecast Accuracy and Expectations



Source: D'Acunto, Hoang, Paloviita, Weber, Restud (2023): "IQ, Expectations, and Choice"

- IQ data for all men in Finland from military
- Men with low IQ: absolute forecast error for inflation of 4.5%
- Decreases monotonically with IQ
- Effect unrelated to income and education

# Simple Policies vs Complex Policies



Source: D'Acunto, Hoang, Weber, RFS (2022):

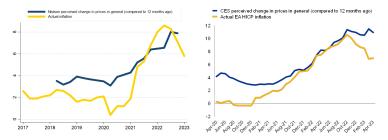
"Managing Household Expectations with Unconventional Policies"

- Pre-announced VAT increase (left): inflation expectations AND spending react
- Fwd guidance announcements (right): nothing moves
- Both policies theoretically operate through identical channel: Euler equation

Communication as Monetary Policy Tool

- Policy communication can manage expectations
- Policy medium matters
  Coibion, Gorodnichenko, Weber (JPE 2022)
  - Purely relying on media not effective
- Policy message matters
  D'Agunta Haang Delouits Wahay
  - D'Acunto, Hoang, Paloviita, Weber (WP 2021)
    - Policy targets move expectations more than instruments
- Policy messenger matters
  D'Acunto, Fuster, Weber (WP 2023)
  - Comm by underrepresented member reaches minorities more

# Time Varying Attention to Inflation



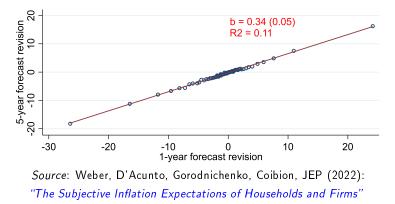
*Source*: Weber et al (ECMA forthcoming):

"Tell me Something I don't Already Know: Learning in Low- and High-Inflation Settings"

- HHs perceptions closer to actual inflation when inflation high
- Implications for policy communication
  - When inflation is low: the challenge is reaching public
  - Conditional on reaching them, simple messages are very powerful
  - When inflation is high: reaching the public is much easier
  - But changing their views is harder
  - These are two very different communication environments

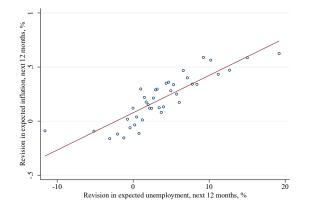
# Term Structure and Joint Expectations Formation

#### $\Delta$ in long- and short-term Inflation Expectations Comove



- Central banks aim for stable long-term inflation expectations
- Short-term expectations might temporarily move due to shocks
- Households with high trust should have well anchored long-term expectations
- When households revise short-term expectations, so they so for long-term as well

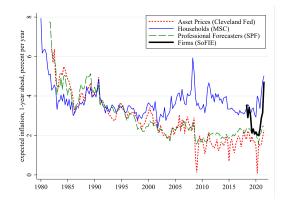
#### Joint Formation of Expectations



Source: Weber, D'Acunto, Gorodnichenko, Coibion, JEP (2022): "The Subjective Inflation Expectations of Households and Firms"

- Supply-side view: strong correlation between expected  $\pi$  and UR
- Also true for revisions at individual level!

#### Firms and Households Form Expectations Alike



Source: Weber, D'Acunto, Gorodnichenko, Coibion, JEP (2022): "The Subjective Inflation Expectations of Households and Firms"

• Limited evidence for firms suggest general biases of HH also prevalent for firms

## Recent Reviews of This Literature

- "The Subjective Inflation Expectations of Households and Firms: Measurement, Determinants, and Implications" Weber, D'Acunto, Gorodnichenko, Coibion Journal of Economic Perspectives (2022)
- "What Do the Data Tell Us About Inflation Expectations?" D'Acunto, Malmendier, Weber

Handbook of Subjective Expectations (2023)

• "The Expected, Perceived, and Realized Inflation of U.S. Households before and during the COVID19 Pandemic" Weber, Gorodnichenko, Coibion

IMF Economic Review (2023)

 "Subjective Inflation Expectations: Models meet Reality" D'Acunto and Weber

Annual Review of Economics (2024)

 "Household Inflation Expectations: An Overview of Recent Insights for Monetary Policy"
 D'Acunto, Charalambakis, Georgarakos, Kenny, Meyer, and Weber
 ECB Discussion Paper (2024)

#### Take Aways I

- Households focus on specific goods to form expectations
- $\bullet$  Spike in inflation in narrow categories  $\rightarrow$  in spike in expectations
- Larger weight on positive price changes
  - Risk  $\mathbb{E} \pi$  stays elevated even even after  $\pi$  comes down
- Messaging by Central Bank important
  - Message, medium, and sender matter

#### Take Aways II

- Limited knowledge of inflation target
- Focus on groceries rather than anchored expectations
- Upward bias in inflation expectations in levels
- Comovement between perceptions and expectations
- Comovement between short- and long-term inflation expectations
- Comovement between unemployment and inflation expectations

Sign of success or challenge for central banks?

• NB: Inattention of households not innocuous when inflation spikes