

INFLATION EXPECTATIONS – A POLICY TOOL?

Olivier Coibion
(UT Austin and NBER)

Yuriy Gorodnichenko
(UC Berkeley and NBER)

Saten Kumar
(Auckland University of Technology)

Mathieu Pedemonte
(UC Berkeley)

WHY INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Key variable for economic decisions: perceived real interest rate

$$i_t - E_t \pi_{t+1}$$

WHY INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Key variable for economic decisions: perceived real interest rate

$$i_t - E_t \pi_{t+1}$$

■ Conventional monetary policy:

- Anchor inflation expectations $E_t \pi_{t+1}$
- Increase/decrease nominal interest rate i_t

WHY INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Key variable for economic decisions: perceived real interest rate

$$i_t - E_t \pi_{t+1}$$

■ Conventional monetary policy:

- Anchor inflation expectations $E_t \pi_{t+1}$
- Increase/decrease nominal interest rate i_t

■ Unconventional monetary policy

- Increase/decrease inflation expectations $E_t \pi_{t+1}$
- Nominal interest rate is at the zero lower bound (ZLB)

WHY INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Key variable for economic decisions: perceived real interest rate

$$i_t - E_t \pi_{t+1}$$

■ Conventional monetary policy:

- Anchor inflation expectations $E_t \pi_{t+1}$
- Increase/decrease nominal interest rate i_t

■ Unconventional monetary policy

- Increase/decrease inflation expectations $E_t \pi_{t+1}$
- Nominal interest rate is at the zero lower bound (ZLB)

Mario Draghi (2015): “*When inflation expectations go up with zero nominal rates, real rates go down. When real rates go down, investments and the economic activity improves. That’s the reasoning [of QE].*”

STANDARD MECHANISMS

- *Households consume more*: when inflation expectations rise and nominal interest rates are unchanged (ZLB), real interest rates are lower, so households should save less and spend more.
- *Firms invest more and hire more workers*: when inflation expectations rise and nominal interest rates are unchanged (ZLB), real interest rates are lower so user cost of capital and labor are lower, inducing firms to raise their capital and employment.
- *Firms raise their prices*: with sticky prices, inflation lowers firms' relative price over time, so expectation of higher inflation induces them to raise prices more than they would otherwise.
- *Workers raise their wage demands*: with sticky wages, inflation lowers the real wage over time, so expectations of higher inflation induce workers to raise wage demands, which should raise prices further.

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.
- Can central bank communications directly affect inflation expectations?

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.
- Can central bank communications directly affect inflation expectations?
 - Yes. Households and firms revise their beliefs in response to incoming information (but central banks often fail to reach households and firms)

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.
- Can central bank communications directly affect inflation expectations?
 - Yes. Households and firms revise their beliefs in response to incoming information (but central banks often fail to reach households and firms)
- Do economic agents react to changes in inflation expectations?

SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.
- Can central bank communications directly affect inflation expectations?
 - Yes. Households and firms revise their beliefs in response to incoming information (but central banks often fail to reach households and firms)
- Do economic agents react to changes in inflation expectations?
 - Yes. They update their consumption/employment/pricing/etc. (but mechanisms remain unclear)

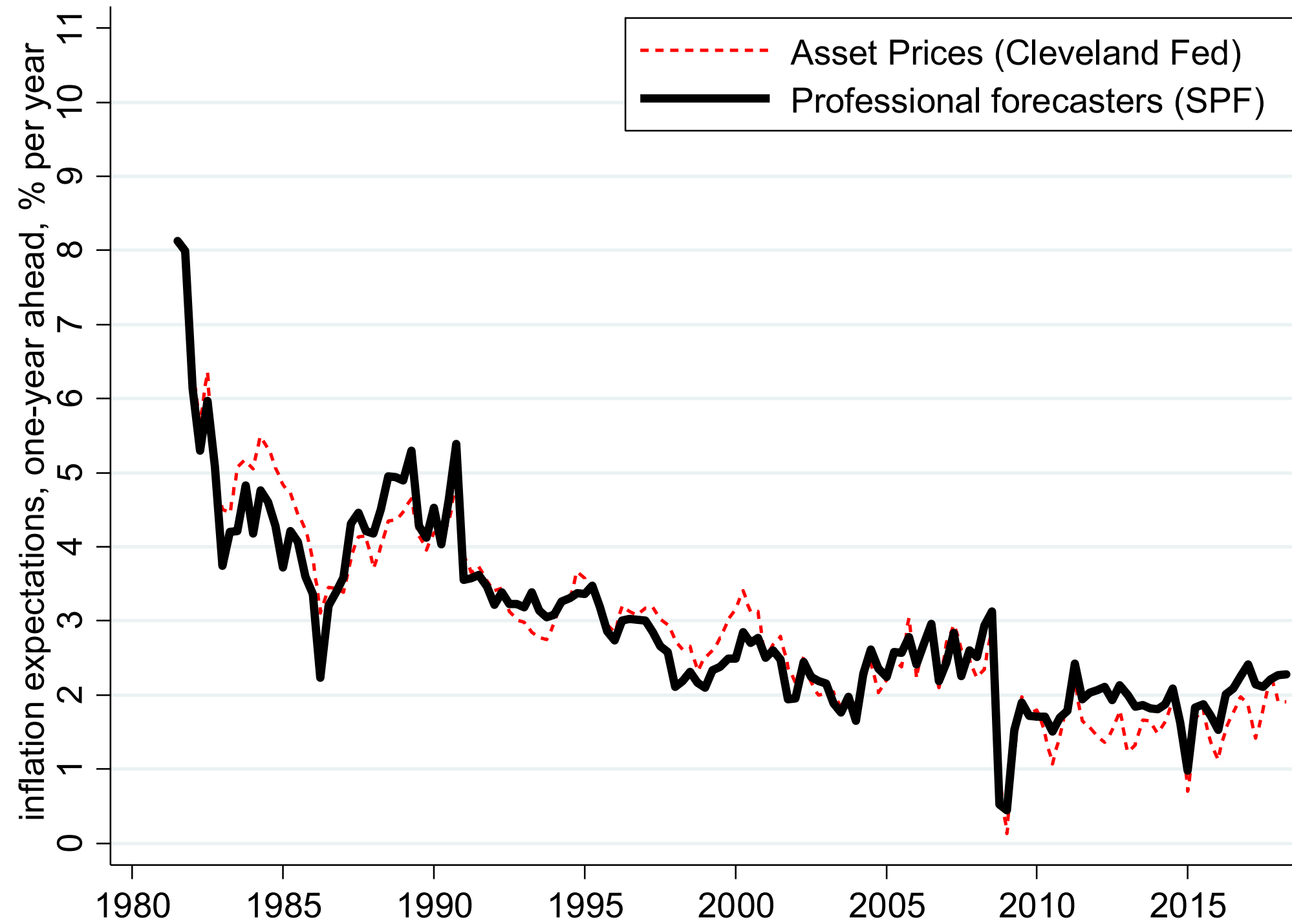
SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.
- Can central bank communications directly affect inflation expectations?
 - Yes. Households and firms revise their beliefs in response to incoming information (but central banks often fail to reach households and firms)
- Do economic agents react to changes in inflation expectations?
 - Yes. They update their consumption/employment/pricing/etc. (but mechanisms remain unclear)
- What are the challenges in using inflation expectations as a policy tool?

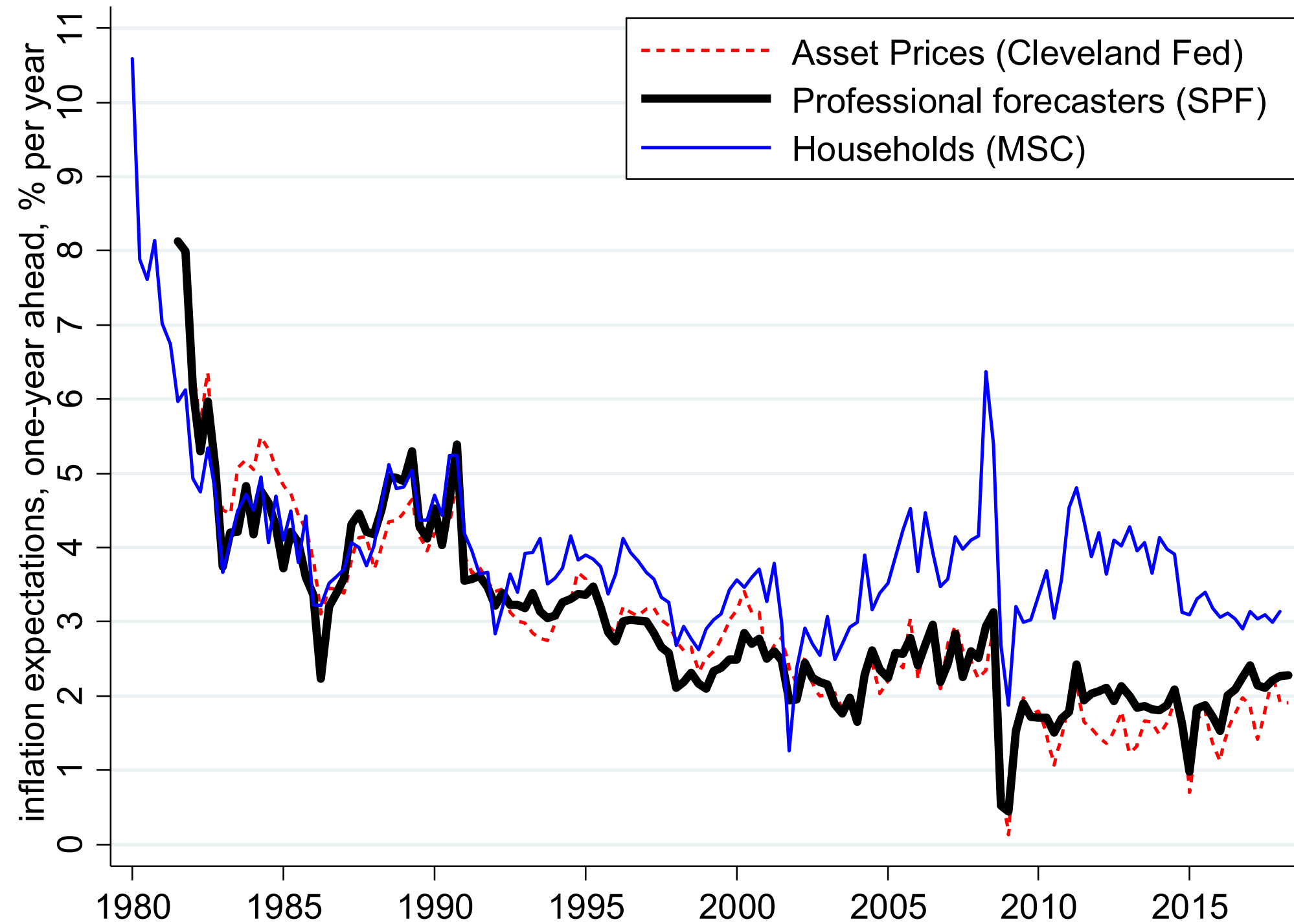
SOME PRACTICAL QUESTIONS

- Whose expectations should central banks use for policymaking?
 - Households and firms (and financial markets)
- What influences household/firm inflation expectations when inflation is low?
 - Salient prices of frequently-purchased, homogenous goods, not monetary policy.
- Can central bank communications directly affect inflation expectations?
 - Yes. Households and firms revise their beliefs in response to incoming information (but central banks often fail to reach households and firms)
- Do economic agents react to changes in inflation expectations?
 - Yes. They update their consumption/employment/pricing/etc. (but mechanisms remain unclear)
- What are the challenges in using inflation expectations as a policy tool?
 - Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
 - Breaking through the veil of inattention

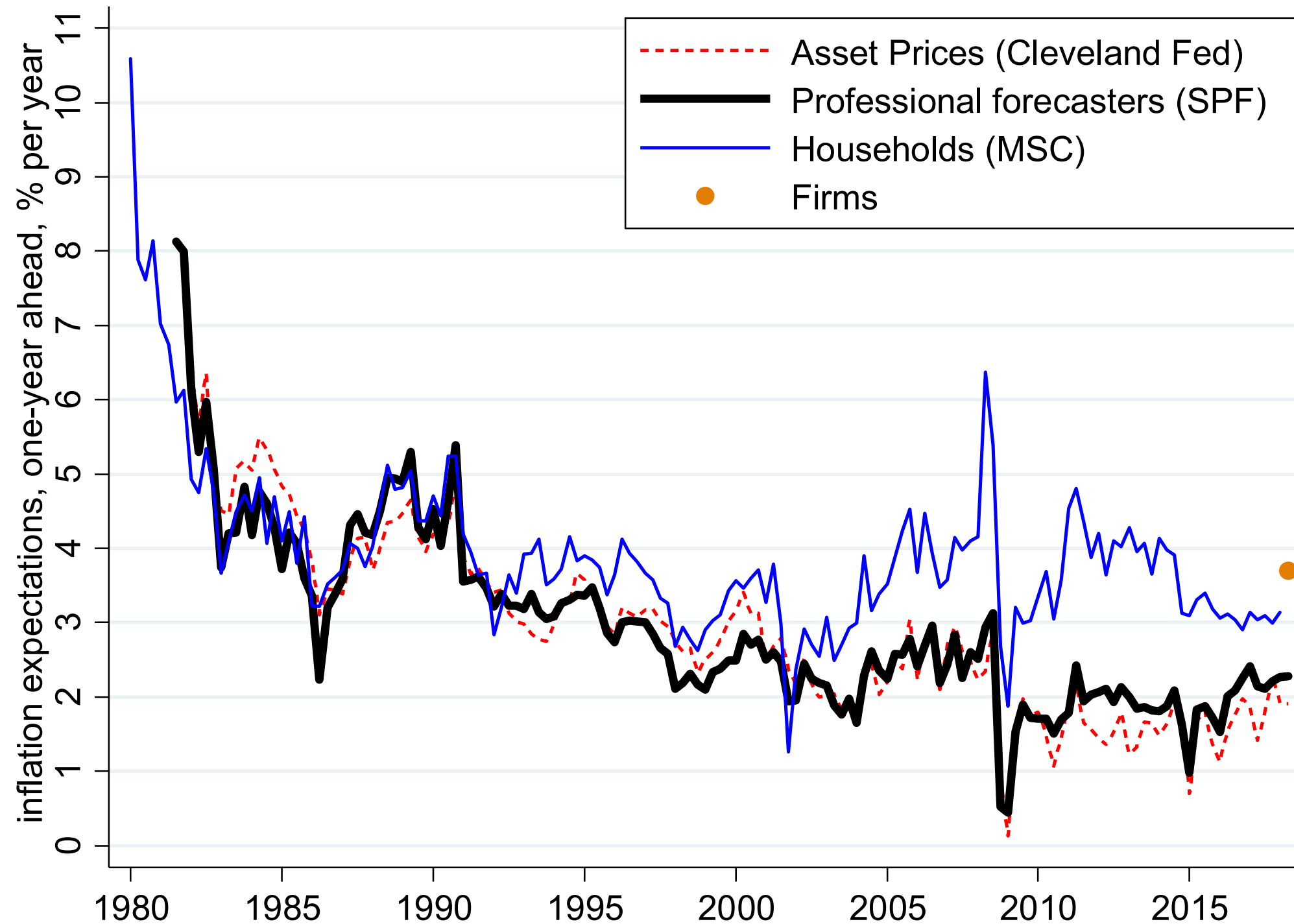
WHOSE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?



WHOSE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?



WHOSE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?



Expectations are not interchangeable across agents

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

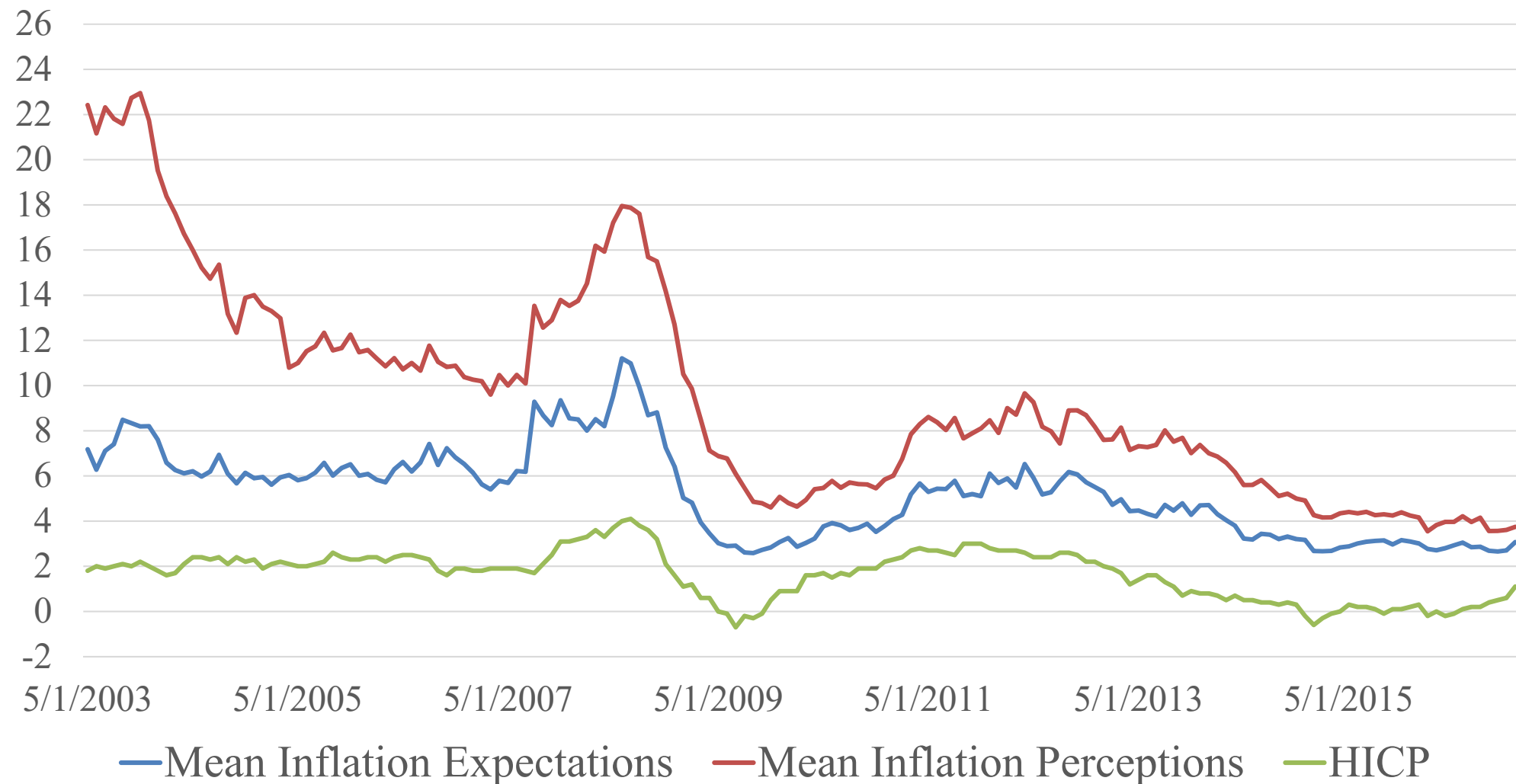
Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

- Perceptions of recent inflation (strong)
 - The strongest predictor of what a household/firm thinks inflation will be is what they believe it has been. But these perceptions are often disconnected from recent inflation.

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

- Perceptions of recent inflation (strong)
 - The strongest predictor of what a household/firm thinks inflation will be is what they believe it has been. But these perceptions are often disconnected from recent inflation.



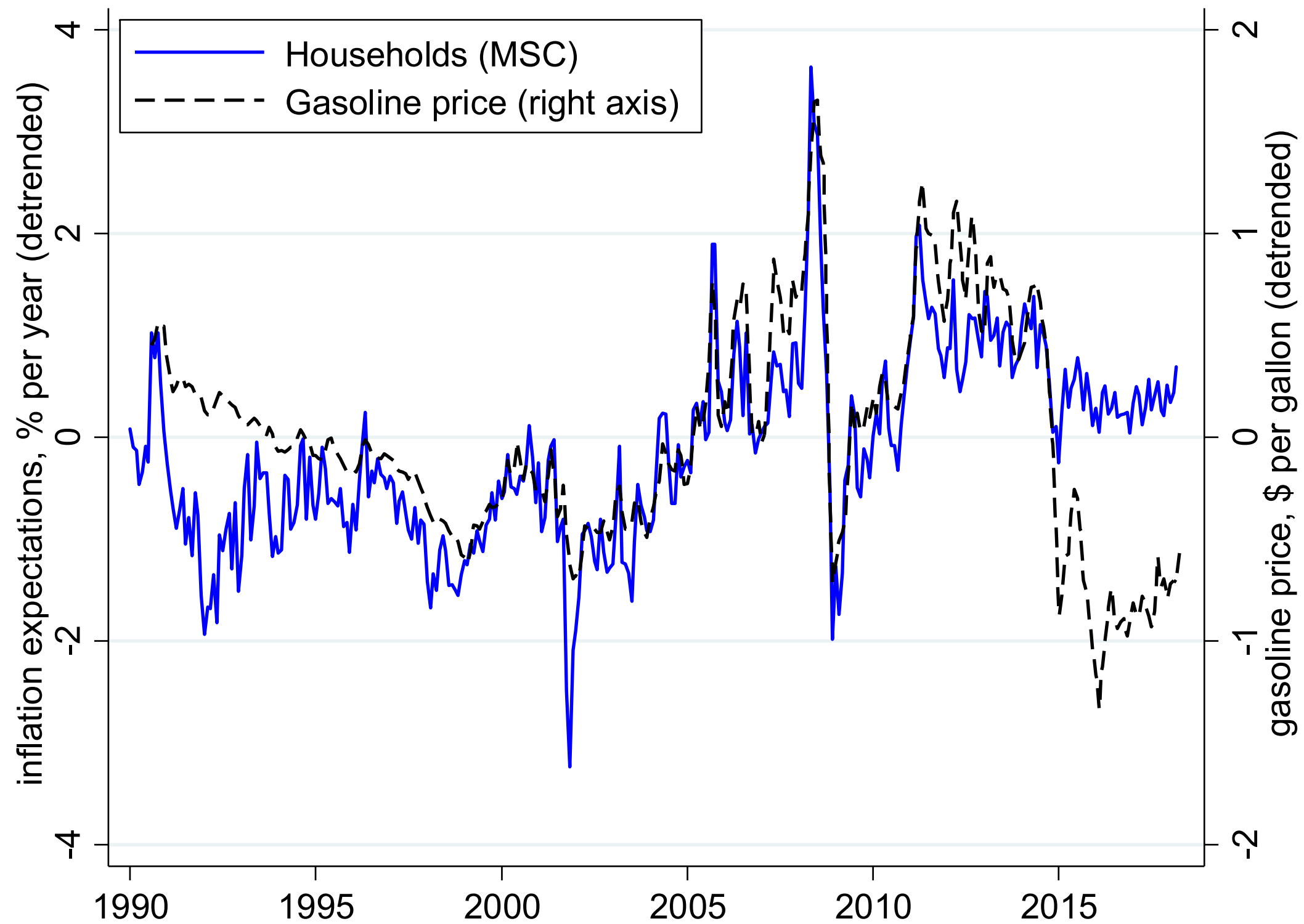
Source: European Commission data.

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

- Perceptions of recent inflation (strong)
- Shopping: (strong)
 - Particularly important in the determination of perceived inflation are recent price changes of a few easily observed goods/services, e.g. gasoline or exchange rate.

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?



WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

- Perceptions of recent inflation (strong)
- Shopping (strong)
- Media: (intermediate)
 - Managers in New Zealand report that their primary sources of information about inflation are their own experience with prices and news reports about inflation.
 - News reports focus primarily on negative reports about inflation.
 - Managers are more likely to seek out more information when they hear negative news reports about inflation than positive reports.
 - Exposure to news reports leads consumers to revise their expectations, but not necessarily (or even generally) closer to professional forecasters.

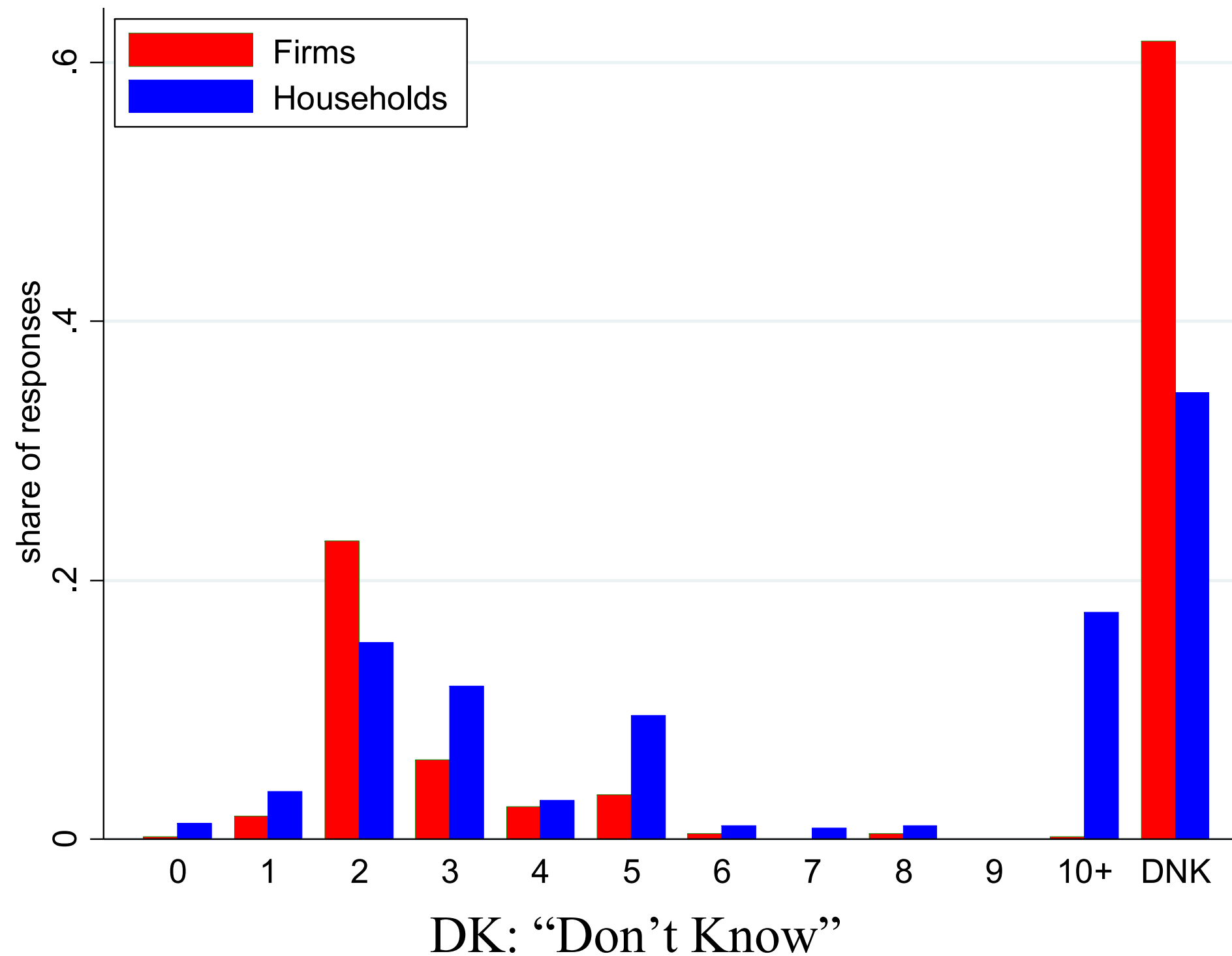
WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

- Perceptions of recent inflation (strong)
- Shopping (strong)
- Media (intermediate)
- Policy (weak)
 - A very high fraction of households and firms in the U.S., New Zealand, and Euro-Zone cannot identify the inflation target of their respective central banks.

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Responses to question about Fed's inflation target



Source: Coibion, Gorodnichenko, Kumar and Piedmonte (2018)

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

- Perceptions of recent inflation (strong)
- Shopping (strong)
- Media (intermediate)
- Policy (weak)
- Incentives (strong)
 - Managers in New Zealand are more attentive to inflation when:
 - their firms face more competition
 - they expect to change their price soon
 - their profit function is steeper (making information more valuable)

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

Predictors of inflation expectations in *higher-inflation* economies:

- While households and managers in low-inflation economies are largely uninformed about recent inflation, those in higher-inflation economies seem to be much better informed about recent inflation:
 - Households in U.S. vs households in Argentina
 - Managers in U.S. and New Zealand vs managers in Iran, Ukraine, and Uruguay (Frache and Lluberas 2018)

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

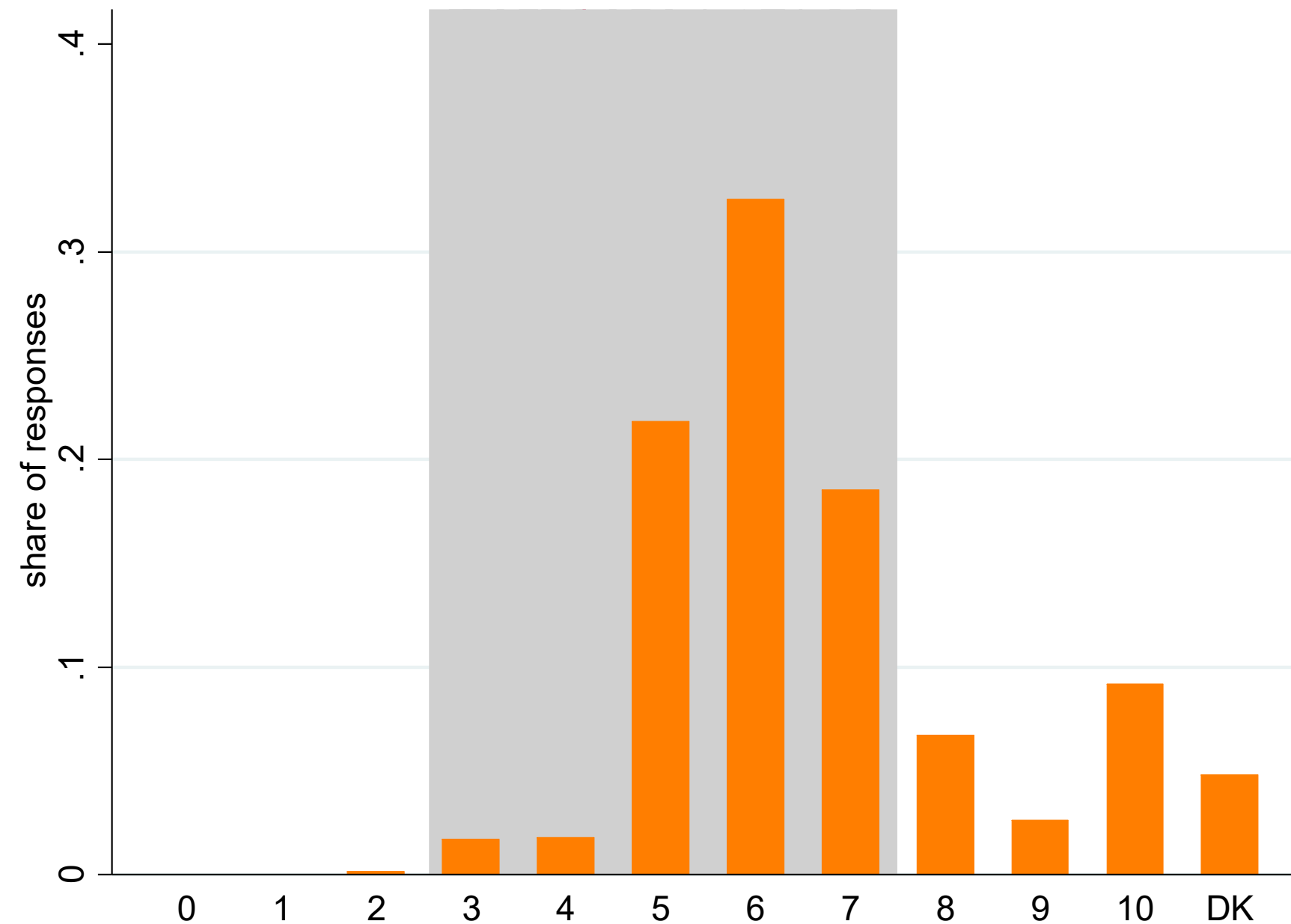
Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

Predictors of inflation expectations in *higher-inflation* economies:

- While households and managers in low-inflation economies are largely uninformed about recent inflation, those in higher-inflation economies seem to be much better informed about recent inflation.
- It also seems to be the case that managers in higher-inflation economies are much better informed about monetary policy objectives and actions than those in low-inflation economies.

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Responses to question about Central Bank of Uruguay's inflation target



In a 2018 survey of Urugayan managers, almost 80% picked answers in the target range.

Source: Coibion, Frache, Gorodnichenko, and Lluberas (2018)

WHAT FORCES INFLUENCE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Predictors of inflation expectations in low inflation economies.

Predictors of inflation expectations in *higher-inflation* economies:

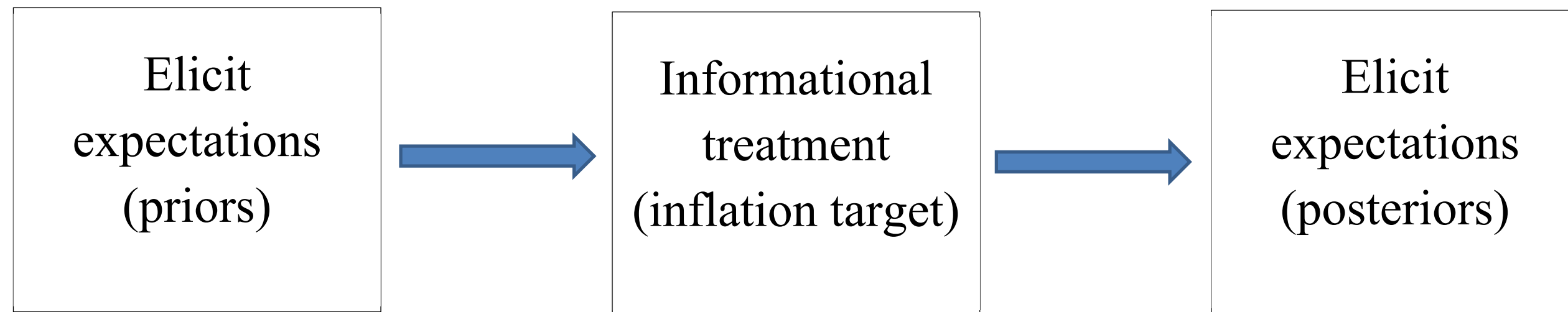
- While households and managers in low-inflation economies are largely uninformed about recent inflation, those in higher-inflation economies seem to be much better informed about recent inflation.
- It also seems to be the case that managers in higher-inflation economies are much better informed about monetary policy objectives and actions than those in low-inflation economies.

Implication for policymakers: An extended period of successful inflation stabilization alters the incentives of economic agents, making it optimal for them to become less informed about inflation in general and monetary policy in particular.

CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

- Randomized controlled trials: provide subsets of firms or households with various bits of information and see how they update beliefs about inflation



CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Example with U.S. Households: Coibion, Gorodnichenko and Weber (2018)

Dependent variable:

Revision of one-year-ahead inflation forecasts of U.S. consumers

Treatment groups (coefficients are relative to the control group)

Past inflation

-1.954***
(0.366)

CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Example with U.S. Households: Coibion, Gorodnichenko and Weber (2018)

Dependent variable:

Revision of one-year-ahead inflation forecasts of U.S. consumers

Treatment groups (coefficients are relative to the control group)

Past inflation	-1.954*** (0.366)
Inflation target	-1.411*** (0.341)

CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

Example with U.S. Households: Coibion, Gorodnichenko and Weber (2018)

Dependent variable:

Revision of one-year-ahead inflation forecasts of U.S. consumers

Treatment groups (coefficients are relative to the control group)

Past inflation	-1.954*** (0.366)
Inflation target	-1.411*** (0.341)
FOMC inflation forecast	-2.004*** (0.384)

CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

- Randomized controlled trials: provide subsets of firms or households with various bits of information and see how they update beliefs about inflation
 - Households and firms appear to be Bayesian learners and respond to signals
 - Strength of priors
 - Strength of signals } Posterior beliefs
 - Information effects are short-lived (less than 6 months)

CAN WE CHANGE INFLATION EXPECTATIONS?

- Randomized controlled trials: provide subsets of firms or households with various bits of information and see how they update beliefs about inflation
 - Households and firms appear to be Bayesian learners and respond to signals
 - Strength of priors
 - Strength of signals } Posterior beliefs
 - Information effects are short-lived (less than 6 months)
- **Summary:**
 - Households and firms in low-inflation economies are ill-informed about inflation and monetary policy.
 - Providing them with information about inflation or monetary policy has large effects on their expectations.
 - Does a change in expectations affect their decisions?

HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

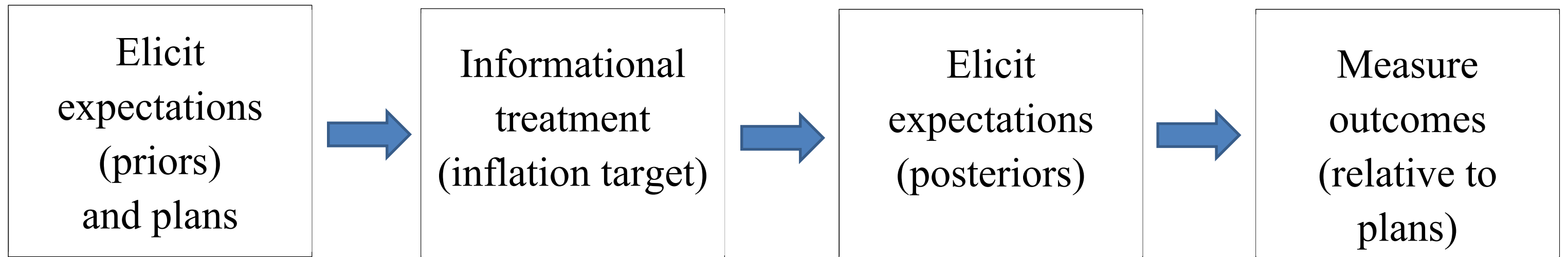
- Identification challenge: most of the time we see correlations

HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

- Identification challenge: most of the time we see correlations
- Causal estimates are scarce
 - Natural experiments (fiscal policy)
 - Randomized controlled trials

HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

- Identification challenge: most of the time we see correlations
- Causal estimates are scarce
 - Natural experiments (fiscal policy)
 - Randomized controlled trials



HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

- Consumers: higher expected inflation → higher consumer spending
 - Evidence of causal relation remains limited but an active area of research.

HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

- Consumers: higher expected inflation → higher consumer spending
- Firms: higher expected inflation →
 - New Zealand (2014-2016):
 - higher employment and investment, no effect on prices

HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

- Consumers: higher expected inflation → higher consumer spending
- Firms: higher expected inflation →
 - New Zealand (2014-2016):
 - higher employment and investment, no effect on prices
 - Italy (2012-2018):
 - lower employment, lower investment plans, higher prices
 - At ZLB: even higher prices, no decline in investment or employment.

HOW DO CONSUMERS/FIRMS ACT ON EXPECTATIONS?

- Consumers: higher expected inflation → higher consumer spending
- **Firms: higher expected inflation →**
 - New Zealand (2014-2016):
 - higher employment and investment, no effect on prices
 - Italy (2012-2018):
 - lower employment, lower investment plans, higher prices
 - At ZLB: even higher prices, no decline in investment or employment.
 - France (1992-2016):
 - higher prices, employment, hours and investment
 - Uruguay:
 - Ongoing!
- **Conclusions:** Changes in inflation expectations affect economic decisions but exact mechanisms remain unclear.

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- We have reasonably good measures of inflation expectations for households
- We have poor measures of inflation expectations for firms

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- We have reasonably good measures of inflation expectations for households
- We have poor measures of inflation expectations for firms
 - Small, non-representative samples
 - Example: Industry Trends Survey (Confederation of British Industry)

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- We have reasonably good measures of inflation expectations for households
- We have poor measures of inflation expectations for firms
 - Small, non-representative samples
 - Example: Industry Trends Survey (Confederation of British Industry)
 - Qualitative questions about inflation (“same”, “up”, “down”)
 - Example: Business Survey (European Commission)

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- We have reasonably good measures of inflation expectations for households
- We have poor measures of inflation expectations for firms
 - Small, non-representative samples
 - Example: Industry Trends Survey (Confederation of British Industry)
 - Qualitative questions about inflation (“same”, “up”, “down”)
 - Example: Business Survey (European Commission)
 - Priming of responses (e.g., restrict possible responses)
 - Example: Business Outlook Survey (Bank of Canada)

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- We have reasonably good measures of inflation expectations for households
- We have poor measures of inflation expectations for firms
 - Small, non-representative samples
 - Example: Industry Trends Survey (Confederation of British Industry)
 - Qualitative questions about inflation (“same”, “up”, “down”)
 - Example: Business Survey (European Commission)
 - Priming of responses (e.g., restrict possible responses)
 - Example: Business Outlook Survey (Bank of Canada)
 - Questions about firm-specific outcomes rather than aggregate outcomes
 - Example: Business Inflation Expectations (BIE; FRB Atlanta)

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

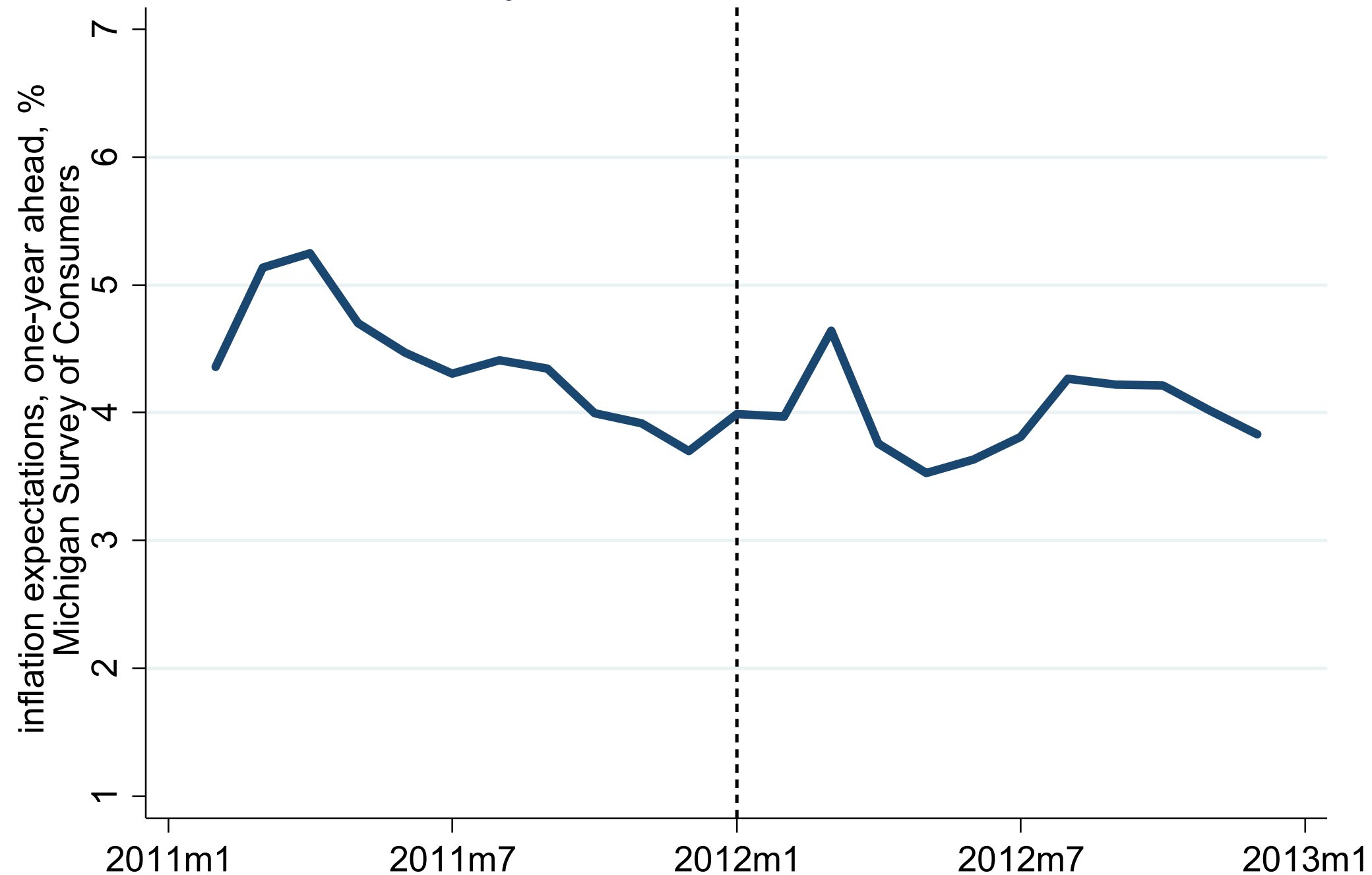
- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- We have reasonably good measures of inflation expectations for households
- We have poor measures of inflation expectations for firms
 - Small, non-representative samples
 - Qualitative questions about inflation (“same”, “up”, “down”)
 - Questions about firm-specific outcomes rather than aggregate outcomes
 - Priming of responses (e.g., restrict possible responses)
- Surveys of firms’ inflation expectations are expensive but they are most useful!
- Best surveys: Ukraine (1,000 firms per quarter) and Uruguay (300 firms per quarter)

CHALLENGES IN USING INFLATION EXPECTATIONS AS A POLICY TOOL?

- Measurement of inflation expectations (especially firms)
- Breaking through the veil of inattention:
 - Firms and households don't seem to respond to monetary policy announcements in the U.S. and Euro-Zone.
 - We need new communications strategies to reach these audiences.

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

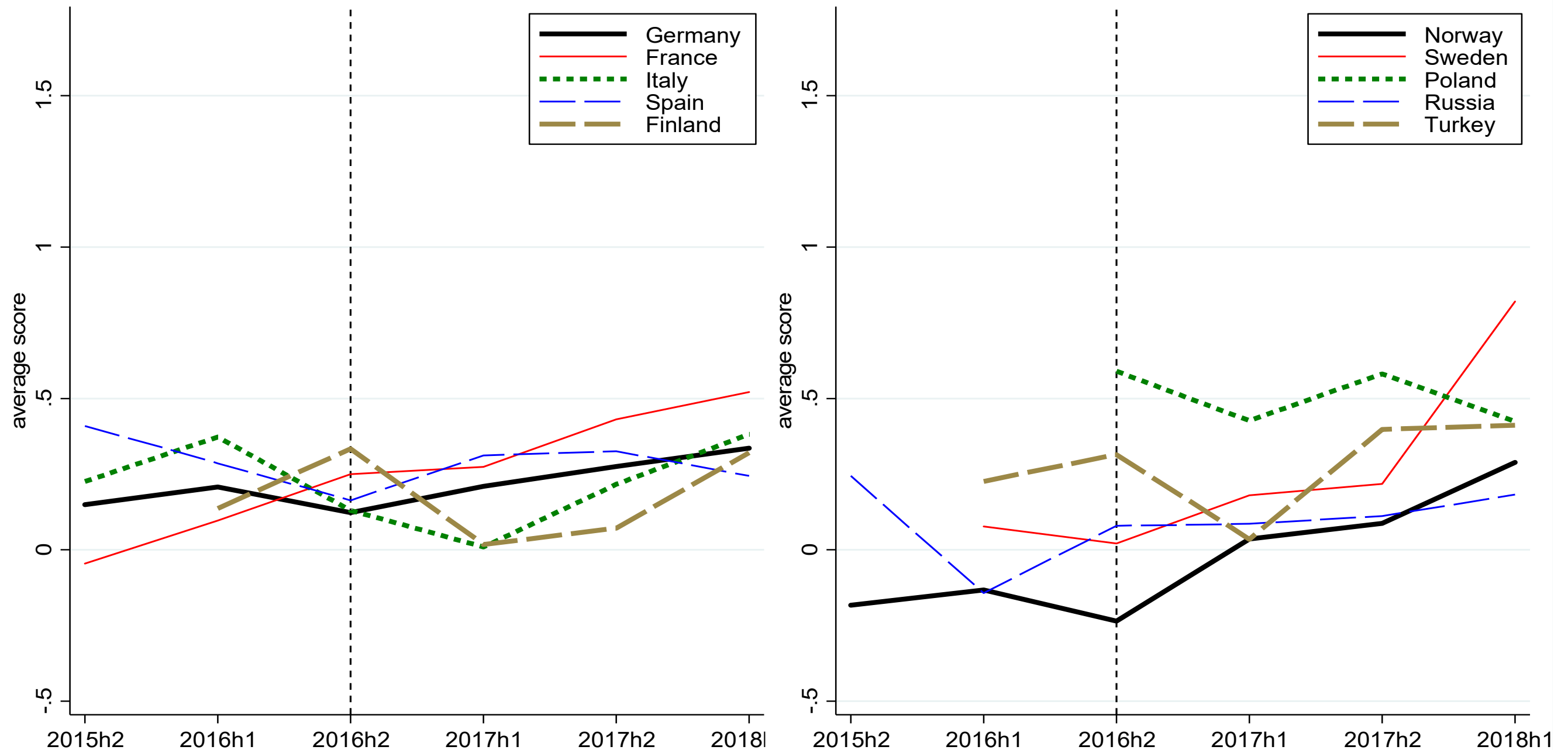
January 2012: Fed announces 2% IT



The announcement of a 2% inflation target by the Federal Reserve had no discernible impact on U.S. household expectations of inflation.

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

Employment outlook; ECB announces QE tapering



Source: Deloitte Survey of Chief Financial Officers

The announcement of tapering QE by the ECB had no discernible impact on Euro area firms' employment outlooks relative to non-Euro area firms.

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
 - Public campaigns for other policies (healthcare, fiscal) work
 - Information treatment moves expectations

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages work better
 - simple messages/facts are as effective as complex policy statements

Dep. var.: Revision of one-year-ahead inflation forecasts of U.S. consumers

Treatment groups (coefficients are relative to control)

FOMC inflation forecast	-2.004*** (0.384)
FOMC statement	-2.272*** (0.335)

Source: Coibion, Gorodnichenko and Weber (2018)

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
 - One-time announcements do not have long-lasting effects on expectations of firms and households (information “depreciates” within months)
 - Need information campaigns to have persistent effects on expectations.

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough

Dep. var.: Revision of one-year-ahead inflation forecasts of U.S. consumers

Treatment groups (coefficients are relative to control)

FOMC statement -2.272***

(0.335)

USA Today coverage of FOMC statement -0.950**

(0.397)

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough → Advertising, social media

Dep. var.: Revision of one-year-ahead inflation forecasts of U.S. consumers

Treatment groups (coefficients are relative to control)

FOMC statement -2.272***

(0.335)

USA Today coverage of FOMC statement -0.950**

(0.397)

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough → Advertising, social media
 - Potentially differentiate messages across audiences

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough → Advertising, social media
 - Potentially differentiate messages across audiences
 - Currency bloc with booming “North” and lagging “South”

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough → Advertising, social media
 - Potentially differentiate messages across audiences
 - Currency bloc with booming “North” and lagging “South”
 - One interest rate as a tool is not enough to address regional imbalances...

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough → Advertising, social media
 - Potentially differentiate messages across audiences
 - Currency bloc with booming “North” and lagging “South”
 - One interest rate as a tool is not enough to address regional imbalances...
 - But one can have different messages for “North” to slow down and for “South” to accelerate.

BREAKING THROUGH THE VEIL OF INATTENTION

- Communication *can* work
- Simple messages are better
- Repeat the message
- Take the message directly to the target audience
 - Conventional media may be not good enough → Advertising, social media
 - Potentially differentiate messages across audiences
- Target the message to the scenario
 - For example, if inflation is too low, emphasize the inflation target (rather than actual inflation) to raise inflation expectations

CONCLUDING REMARKS

- Inflation expectations as a policy tool: large potential!
 - Move consumption/employment/investment
 - Directly influence prices
 - Target specific areas, industries, or types of consumers

CONCLUDING REMARKS

- Inflation expectations as a policy tool: large potential!
 - Move consumption/employment/investment
 - Directly influence prices
 - Target specific areas, industries, or types of consumers
- *Are we ready to use it?*

CONCLUDING REMARKS

- Inflation expectations as a policy tool: large potential!
 - Move consumption/employment/investment
 - Directly influence prices
 - Target specific areas, industries, or types of consumers
- *Are we ready to use it? Not yet...*
 - More research to study how inflation expectations translate into actions
 - More high-quality surveys of firms' inflation expectations
 - New communication strategies to reach consumers and firms