### INFLATION EXPECTATIONS

### SYMPOSIUM ON "INFLATION: RISKS, IMPLICATIONS AND POLICIES" NY FED AMEC SYMPOSIUM

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### **KEY QUESTIONS**

### Inflation expectations

- Determinants:
  - What determines and anchors LT inflation expectations?
  - How to measure the risk that inflation expectations become unanchored?
- Monetary Policy Response:
  - Which MP strategy and communication tools help (or hinder) adequate anchoring?

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- Siological [neuro, cognition]: Humans' views of the world and beliefs are altered by their personal experiences, by events that resonate ⇒ dynamically changing process (brain plasticity, trauma, scars), independent of information and processing abilities
  - Frictions: information processing function of prior exposure
  - Remedy: design of experiences

### EXAMPLE FROM THE FORMATION OF INFLATION EXPECTATIONS

What explains the overweighting of food and gas prices?

- **Traditional**: Different beliefs due to differences in information
- Behavioral: Biases / limited cognition
- Experience effects: Humans change their views of future inflation, as well as savings/spending decisions, after personally being affected
  - Even if fully informed about inflation data

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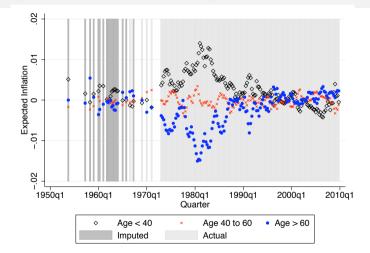
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# STEP 1: INFLATION EXPECTATIONS REFLECT THE LIVED REALITY OF HOUSEHOLDS (EXPERIENCE EFFECTS)

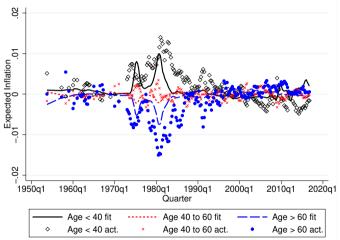
Disagreement about future inflation (MSC)



Four-quarter MAs of one-year  $E[\pi]$  shown as deviations from the cross-sectional mean.

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### FITTED EXPECTATIONS: LIFETIME INFLATION EXPERIENCES



Fitted and actual relative to full-sample c.s. mean (4-quarter MA)

## FINDINGS: INFLATION EXPERIENCES $\Longrightarrow$ INFLATION BELIEFS Malmendier and Nagel (2016), using MSC data since 1953

- When forming inflation expectations, individuals put a higher weight on realizations experienced over their life-times than on other available historical data.
  - Similar to adaptive learning: people learn following simple "rules of thumb" (e.g., Bray 1982; Marcet and Sargent 1989)
  - <u>Different from adaptive learning</u>: people learn (more) from data realized during their lifetimes. (adaptive learning: all historical data)
- Implicit weighting of past experiences very similar to weighting pattern in other applications, e.g., stock market!
  - Roughly linearly declining weights.
- Significant impact on individual financial decisions, namely, long-term nominal-rate borrowing and lending (tenure, ARM/FRM, refi, bonds).

### INFLATION EXPERIENCES OF FIRMS

KUMAR, AFROUZI, COIBION AND GORODNICHENKO (2015)

Survey of NZ managers: "How do you typically form your inflation expectations?"

Top 4 answers:

- Media
- Meetings and discussions (with co-workers and families)
- Shopping experience
- Prices of competitors and suppliers

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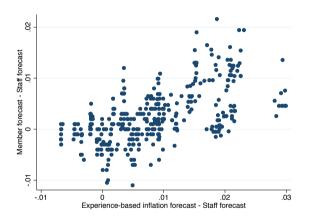
### INFLATION EXPERIENCES OF EXPERTS

MALMENDIER, NAGEL, AND YAN (2020)



- Henry (Heinrich) Wallich: Fed governor 1974-1986
  - Born in Germany in 1914 into a family of bankers.
  - Lived through Germany's hyperinflation in 1923.
  - Emigrated to the US in the 1930s.
- Wallich dissented 27 times (!) during his tenure on the Fed Board, the highest number of dissents in Federal Reserve history, decades later.

### FOMC Members' Inflation Experiences and Forecasts



Member forecast: from semi-annual Monetary Policy Report to Congress, 1992 - 2004.

Staff forecast: Greenbook forecast.

**Experience-based forecast**: AR(1) model forecast estimated based on weighted life-time inflation data for each FOMC member.

### STEP 2: NEURO, NOT (ONLY) KNOWLEDGE



#### Why?

- Every time we have a new experience, our brain forms a connection between two neurons (synapse).
  - Synapses tell our body how to react to the world around us. The govern the way we experience life.
- The brain can reorganize pathways, create new connections, and even create new neurons (neuroplasticity) in response to learning, experience, and memory foundation

### SYNAPTIC TAGGING



- How and how often we make an experience matters.
  - Repeated stimulation of hippocampal neurons can induce a prolonged increase in synaptic strength (long-term potentiation (LTP)),
    - Cf. Frey and Morris (Nature 1997, Trends in Neuroscience 1998))
  - Emotional Tagging: Emotional events attain privileged status in memory, Dolan *Science* (2002), LaBar and Cabeza *Nature* (2006).
  - Prior or subsequent "learned knowledge" has very limited power to undo the effects.
- Cf. literature on trauma: Synaptic changes caused by traumatic stress (Mahan and Ressler *Trends in Neuroscience* 1998, Zhang et al, *Front Psychol* 2020).

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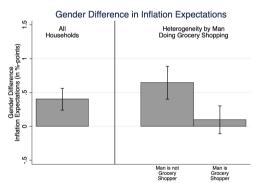
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  - Trauma with a big T: German Hyperinflation, Great Depression, Pandemics
  - trauma with a small t: Daily Exposure, daily worry about food, prices, unemployment
  - Other repeated (non-traumatic) exposure, including positive experiences

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### **EXAMPLE: GENDERED EXPERIENCES**

D'ACUNTO, MALMENDIER, WEBER (PNAS, 2020)

Within-Household Inflation Expectations



- Women have (more) positively biased inflation expectations, even within households.
- Unconditional difference driven by differences in grocery shopping.

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### IMPLICATIONS FOR MONETARY POLICY

- FREQUENCY: explains roles of food/gas prices, personal shopping ⇒ MP: limitations of focus on core inflation
- ② DURATION: inflationary experience extra-powerful if it remains high for a long time; the effect will last for a long time ⇒ MP: to be accounted for in policy choices
- EMOTIONS: "panic" = strong anchoring in memory ⇒ MP: acknowledge consumer reality, reassure, utilize "information resonance"
- COMMUNICATION:
  - "Expectations show whether central bank is doing its job" but not in the sense of "being credible," but in the sense of "fighting the inflation reality"
  - MP tools such as forward guidance less powerful than our standard macro models would imply.