Information and Macroeconomic Expectations: Global Evidence

Francesco D'Acunto Georgetown University & CEPR

Michael Weber Purdue University, CEPR, & NBER

Macroeconomic Expectations' Importance: Aggregate...

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

Jerome Powell (2021)

Interest rate decisions will be based on our assessment of inflation outlook

.

Christine Lagarde (2025)

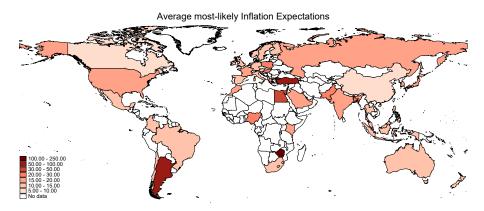
... And Individual Choices

Key variable for economic decisions: perceived real interest rate

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

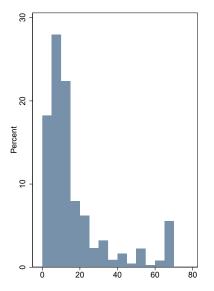
- Most households' choices depend on inflation expectations
 - Consumption/saving choices (D'Acunto, Hoang, and Weber, 2018)
 - Mortgage Uptaking, Type (Malmendier and Steiny, 2024)
 - ► Stock Market Participation (Das, Kuhnen, et al, 2019)
 - Wage bargaining
- Normal times: $\Delta i_t \longrightarrow \Delta r_t$ 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

...but They Vary Dramatically Across and Within Countries



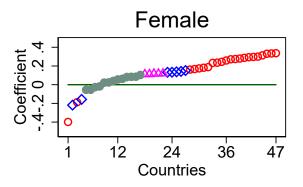
This paper: Large heterogeneity for both high- and low-inflation countries

...and Are Systematically Upward Biased



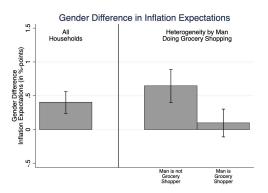
This paper: Large heterogeneity & systematic upward bias globally

Bias Correlates with Demographics (e.g., Gender Gap)



- This paper: Gender gap in inflation expectations truly global phenomenon
 - Exceptions: Argentina, Egypt, Turkey, Zimbabwe
- This paper: Persists after partialling out Fin. Literacy, Education, Age, Income

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



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

- Large difference in inflation expectations by gender within household
- Difference due to grocery shopping→Different signals about inflation

Theory: Can "Rational" Frameworks Explain This?

- Full-information Rational Expectations (FIRE)
 - ▶ NO. Can't explain either heterogeneity or systematic bias
 - Invalidated in many settings in economics and finance

- Rational Inattention
 - ▶ Agents only access economic info when benefits higher than costs
 - ► Can explain heterogeneity but not persistent systematic bias
- Any other parsimonious explanations?
 - e.g., Realistic adaptations of rational inattention framework?

This Paper — I

- First global survey of subjective macroeconomic expectations
 - ▶ 47 countries, 47K consumers & 90% world GDP
 - ► Homogeneous elicitation in April 2023
 - ► Inflation, Nominal interest rate & House-price expectations
 - ► Country-level representative samples (*Morning Consult*)
- Assess which facts are robust/consistent across and within countries
 - So far, inconsistent facts across settings (single-country surveys)
 - Hard to inform theory on what features should be captured
 - ► Three striking regularities:
 - Substantial heterogeneity within and across countries
 - Systematic upward bias in macroeconomic expectations
 - Several demographics predict bias (fin. literacy, gender, age, income)

This Paper — I

- First global survey of subjective macroeconomic expectations
 - ▶ 47 countries, 47K consumers & 90% world GDP
 - ► Homogeneous elicitation in April 2023
 - ► Inflation, Nominal interest rate & House-price expectations
 - Country-level representative samples (Morning Consult)
- Assess which facts are robust/consistent across and within countries
 - So far, inconsistent facts across settings (single-country surveys)
 - Hard to inform theory on what features should be captured
 - ► Three striking regularities:
 - Substantial heterogeneity within and across countries
 - Systematic upward bias in macroeconomic expectations
 - Several demographics predict bias (fin. literacy, gender, age, income)

This Paper — II

- What helps explain these robust global facts?
 - ► Crucial driver: Sorting into different sources of economic information
 - As in rational inattention, households get info if higher benefits...
 - ...BUT, many access biased information sources= not representative of aggregate prices
 - ► More access to info leads to more systematically biased expectations
 - Demographics drive sorting into sources but not processing of information conditional on sorting
 - ► Higher trust in economic institutions (central bank & governments) leads to more sorting into unbiased sources

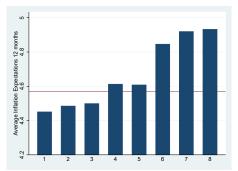
This Paper — II

- What helps explain these robust global facts?
 - ► Crucial driver: Sorting into different sources of economic information
 - ► As in rational inattention, households get info if higher benefits...
 - ...BUT, many access biased information sources= not representative of aggregate prices
 - ► More access to info leads to more systematically biased expectations
 - Demographics drive sorting into sources but not processing of information conditional on sorting
 - ► Higher trust in economic institutions (central bank & governments) leads to more sorting into unbiased sources

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 environments
 - Examples: Shopping activities, Family & friends, Work, Social Media...
 - ▶ Different from Lucas (1975), these sources are biased predictors of aggregate variables (see D'Acunto, Ospina, Malmendier, Weber, JPE 2021)

Variation in Households' Bundles → Inflation Expectations



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

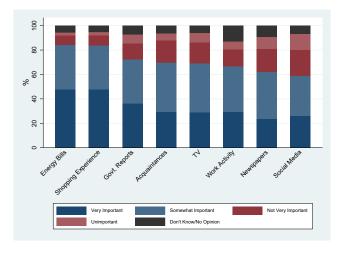
- Sort households into bins by realized inflation in grocery bundles
- High-low portfolio: difference in expected inflation of 0.5 percentage points
- Economically sizeable given inflation target of 2%
- Higher weight on positive prices changes of frequently purchased goods

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 environments
 - Examples: Shopping activities, Family & friends, Work, Social Media...
 - ▶ Different from Lucas (1975), these sources are biased predictors of aggregate variables (see D'Acunto, Ospina, Malmendier, Weber, JPE 2021)
 - Aggregate Economy Sources:
 - Sources covering signals based on the aggregate economy
 - Examples: Gov't reports, Central bank communication, newspapers...

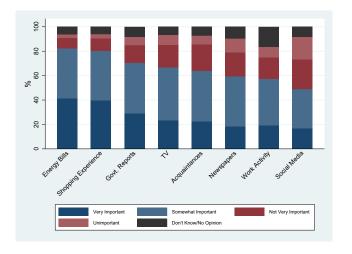
Source: D'Acunto and Weber, Annual Review of Economics (2024): "Why Survey-based Expectations are Meaningful and Important"

Heterogeneous Access to Information Sources ...



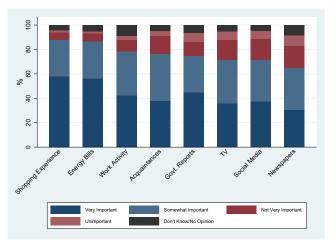
- Globally heterogeneous sorting into local vs. aggregate sources
- Shopping important for inflation expectations globally

... in Low ...



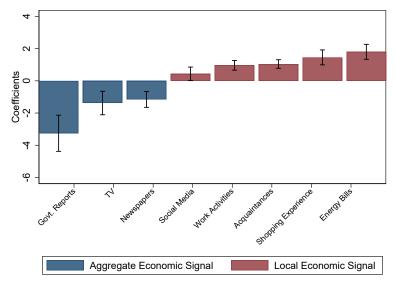
- In countries with historically low inflation
- Examples: Canada, Germany, Japan, Switzerland

... and in High Inflation Countries ...



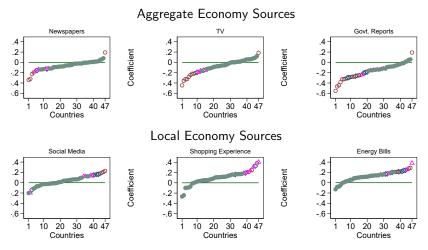
- Shopping even more important in high inflation countries
- Examples: Argentina, Brazil, Turkey, Zimbabwe
- In general more attention to all information sources

Inflation Expectations Vary Systematically by Sources



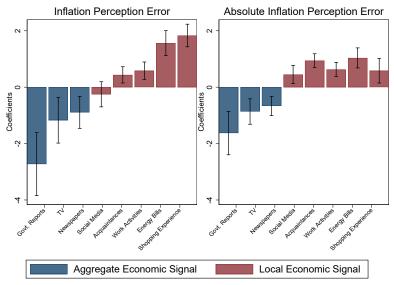
- Regression of $\mathbb{E}(\pi)$ on sources and country FE and demographic controls
- Reliance on local information sources → higher inflation expectations

Same Result Country by Country



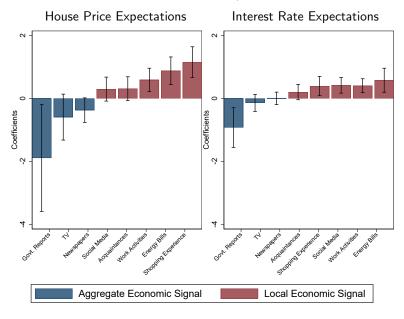
- By country, regress std inflation expectations on dummy for high use source
- Higher Sorting into aggregate sources
 - → Lower expectations biases

Why? Sources Produce Biases in Inflation Perceptions

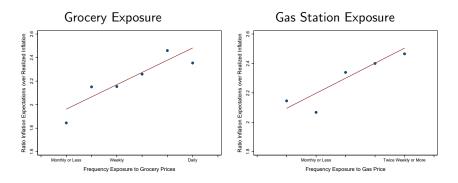


- Regression of errors on sources and country FE and demographic controls
- ullet Reliance on local information sources o upward-biased inflation perceptions

Same for other Macroeconomic Expectations



Intensive Margin of Information Sources

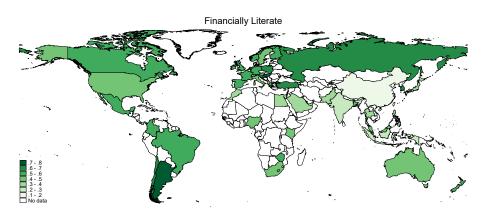


- Many unobservables can drive sorting into information sources
- Condition on source and exploit frequency of exposure
- ullet More frequent attendance to grocery and gas prices o more biased expectations

Why Do Demographics Relate to Expectations Biases?

- These demographics relate to expectations biases within countries:
 - ► Financial Literacy
 - ► Sophistication (IQ, formal education)
 - ► Age
 - Gender
 - ► Income
 - ► Financial Constraints
 - ► Homeownership status
- We find they all matter for sorting into local vs. aggregate sources...
- ...BUT conditional on sorting, they barely matter at all
- i.e., demo groups process the same economic information similarly

Financial Literacy Around the Globe

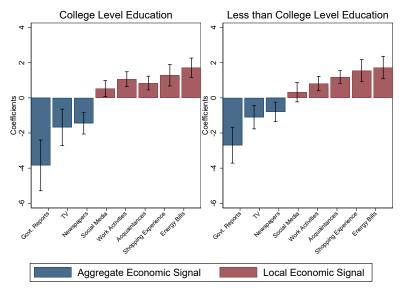


% respondents answering at least 2 of the Big 3 Lusardi-Mitchell questions correctly

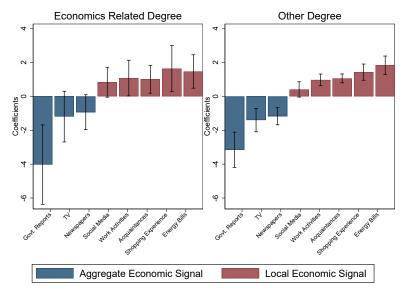
Why Do Demographics Relate to Expectations Biases?

- These demographics relate to expectations biases within countries:
 - ► Financial Literacy
 - ► Sophistication (IQ, formal education)
 - ► Age
 - ▶ Gender
 - ► Income
 - ► Financial Constraints
 - ► Homeownership status
- We find they all matter for sorting into local vs. aggregate sources...
- ...BUT conditional on sorting, they barely matter at all
- i.e., demo groups process the same economic information similarly

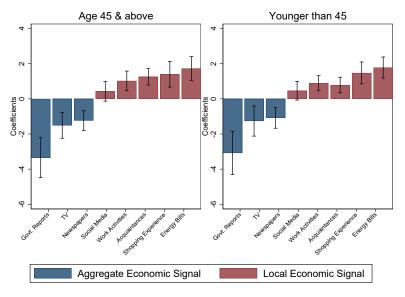
Sophistication Does not Matter Beyond Sorting into Sources



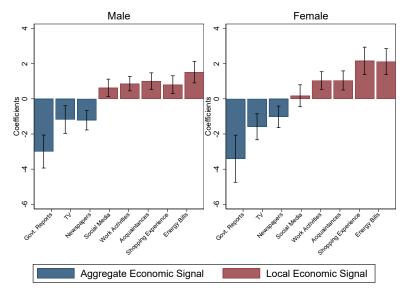
Same for Economic Sophistication!



Age Does not Matter Beyond Sorting into Sources...



...Not Even Gender Matters Beyond Sorting into Sources

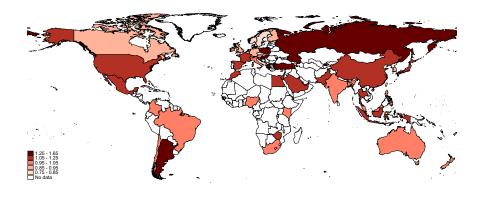


What Explains Sorting into Information Sources?

- Within countries, demographics help explain sorting hence biases
- Why do different demographics sort systematically into different sources of economic information?
- Is there any higher-level characteristic that explains sorting?
- Let's move from a within-country to a global perspective...

0

Sorting Into Economic Information Sources by Country

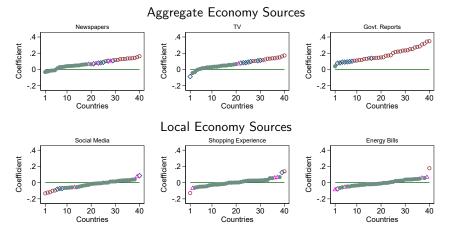


- Ratio of average usage of local vs. aggregate sources by country
- Darker countries: higher use local sources, lower use aggregate sources

What Explains Sorting into Information Sources?

- Within-country, demographics help explain sorting hence biases
- Why do different demographics sort systematically into different sources of economic information?
- Is there any higher-level characteristic that explains sorting?
- Let's move from a within-country to a global perspective...
- We find that Trust in economic institutions (central banks & governments), i.e. the producers of aggregate economic information, is a crucial driver

Trust in Economic Institutions and Information Sources



- By country, regress dummy for high use source on trust in economic institutions
- Higher Trust in economic institutions
 - → Higher Sorting into aggregate sources
 - → Lower expectations biases

Conclusions

First global evidence on subjective macroeconomic expectations

- We confirm heterogeneity and systematic upward bias
- Sorting into aggregate vs. local sources of economic information drives biases in perceptions and expectations of macro variables
 - Obtaining more information does not reduce biases
- Trust in economic institutions (=producer of information) important driver of sorting into aggregate vs. local sources
- Implications and open questions:
 - ► Rational inattention framework needs quality information sources
 - Important role of building trust by central banks
 - Do expectations biases grow with the diffusion of social media?
 - ▶ Do expectations biases grow with polarization of political discourse? (e.g., Trump vs. Powell, Modi vs. Rajan, Germany vs. Lagarde)

Conclusions

First global evidence on subjective macroeconomic expectations

- We confirm heterogeneity and systematic upward bias
- Sorting into aggregate vs. local sources of economic information drives biases in perceptions and expectations of macro variables
 - Obtaining more information does not reduce biases
- Trust in economic institutions (=producer of information) important driver of sorting into aggregate vs. local sources
- Implications and open questions:
 - ▶ Rational inattention framework needs quality information sources
 - ► Important role of building trust by central banks
 - ▶ Do expectations biases grow with the diffusion of social media?
 - ▶ Do expectations biases grow with polarization of political discourse? (e.g., Trump vs. Powell, Modi vs. Rajan, Germany vs. Lagarde)

Recent Reviews of This Literature

Annual Review of Economics (2024)

 "Why Survey-based Subjective Expectations Are Meaningful and Important"
 D'Acunto and Weber

 "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)