

# Expectations Are Observables. And We Haven't Even Started Yet ...

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CESifo, ifo

CEMLA's Joint Research on Inflation Expectations.  
Webinar: Expectations, Learning and Monetary Policy

April 25, 2017.

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Even though macroeconomics has benefitted tremendously from such data.

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- Etc.

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Particles do not have a sense of future.

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Saying it with Heidegger (*Being and Time*): *An Existenziale of Dasein is temporality. Dasein is care, being-ahead-of-itself.*

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Studies empirically with survey data how firms form and update their expectations.



# Critique I

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Aside: recall the revealed preference approach to microeconomics.

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In a sense, rational expectations took expectations *as economic data* off the table, because the models took care of it.

## Both Strands of Critique Together

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So, we ended up with testing big rational expectations (often DSGE) models on “objective” outcome data. Aside: this is orthogonal to the estimation-calibration distinction.

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Was left to practitioners, to business cycle forecasters in (central) banks, think tanks, industry, etc.

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Both household and firm level expectation data are reasonably predictive of the business cycle, and contain often a strong news component about future productivity. (Barsky and Sims, 2012, American Economic Review: “Information, Animal Spirits, and the Meaning of Innovations in Consumer Confidence”.)



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- Rational expectations is still an important benchmark / first pass / default – but no longer the Alpha and Omega of economics.
- Economists see value again in testing not entire large models, but certain key elements / modules of them (the way they had been doing it in earlier times – think of all the PIH tests in the literature).

## More Recent Developments

This development has certainly been reinforced if not triggered by recent macroeconomic events and a resulting general openness / willingness to rethink the foundations of the field.

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*We need to encourage those who are trying to learn more about how people actually form expectations. [...] At the same time, we need to be a lot more flexible in our thinking about models and theory, so that they can be firmly grounded in this improved empirical understanding.*

# “What Can Survey Forecasts Tell Us about Information Rigidities?”

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- Expectations react gradually to news, ruling out full-information models.
- Disagreement in inflation forecasts does not seem to respond to shocks, which means that *noisy* information models are favored over *sticky* information models.

# “Is The Phillips Curve Alive and Well After All? Inflation Expectations and the Missing Disinflation”

Coibion and Gorodnichenko, 2015, American Economic  
Journal: Macroeconomics:

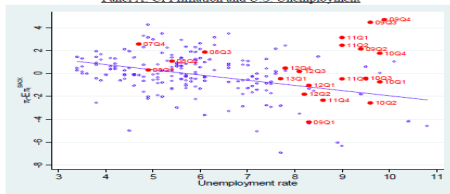
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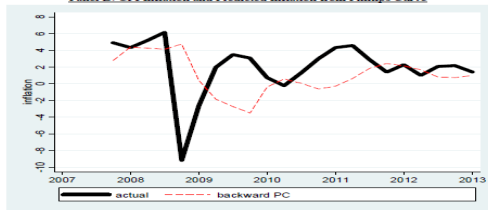
Use direct inflation expectations data to “save” the *Phillips Curve*, an important ingredient for monetary macroeconomics.

# “Is The Phillips Curve Alive and Well After All? Inflation Expectations and the Missing Disinflation”

FIGURE 1: THE MISSING DISINFLATION  
Panel A: CPI Inflation and U.S. Unemployment



Panel B: CPI Inflation and Predicted Inflation from Phillips Curve



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- Reason: oil price spikes during the time.

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- Taylor rule type reasoning especially prevalent when labor markets are weak (rational inattention story?).

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- Forecasts of future inflation: very uncertain, dispersed and volatile.

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- Have direct data on consumption growth and inflation expectations.
- Can thus estimate directly the *Euler equation* and the corresponding *elasticity of intertemporal substitution*, a key macroeconomic parameter.
- Recall, that the Euler equation features expected consumption growth, while the literature traditionally has estimated Euler equations on realized consumption growth (Attanasio and Weber in many papers), essentially presupposing rational expectations.

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- Test the Euler equation and estimate key structural parameters: elasticity of intertemporal substitution.

# Background: Stabilization Policy and Transmission

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In the Neokeynesian model:

monetary policy  
(at the ZLB)

fiscal policy  
 $\Delta G, \Delta VAT$



inflation expectations



demand / spending

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- Economic policy trust / confidence / uncertainty

## Some Quotes

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- *““They need to be willing, in fact actively pursue, letting inflation rise a bit more. That would encourage consumption. It would encourage investment.” – Ken Rogoff, National Public Radio, October 2011*
- *“Another possible effect is a temporary climb in inflation expectations. Ordinarily, this would be undesirable. But in the current situation, where nominal interest rates are constrained because they can't go below zero, a small increase in expected inflation could be helpful. It would lower real borrowing costs, and encourage spending on big-ticket items like cars, homes and business equipment.” – Christina Romer, New York Times, November 2011*

# Literature

*“But he could have paid the balance of 25 marks at any time and thus have made the teeth his own. If he did not do so, it was because he had heard from many people that the accession of the Nationalists to power would be followed by inflation of currency, [...]. And yet business was better than one might have expected during this rather quiet winter season. The talk of inflation induced many people to spend their money on household needs instead of putting it in the savings bank.”*

From: Lion Feuchtwangers “The Oppermanns” (in the translation by Ruth Gruber), about the business dealings of the furniture salesman Markus Oppermann with his dentist and his clients right after the rise to power of the Nazi party in January 1933.

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- Example of testing a key micro relationship, rather than a whole model.

# Michigan Survey of Consumers

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- About 500 households each month
- 40 % of households are reinterviewed six months later.
- Outlier cleaning: throw out all month-year observations on inflation expectations that are larger than 20 % in absolute value.

## Focus on Two Questions

Spending on durables:

*“About the big things people buy for their homes – such as furniture, a refrigerator, stove, television, and things like that. Generally speaking, do you think now is a good or a bad time for people to buy major household items?”*

## Focus on Two Questions

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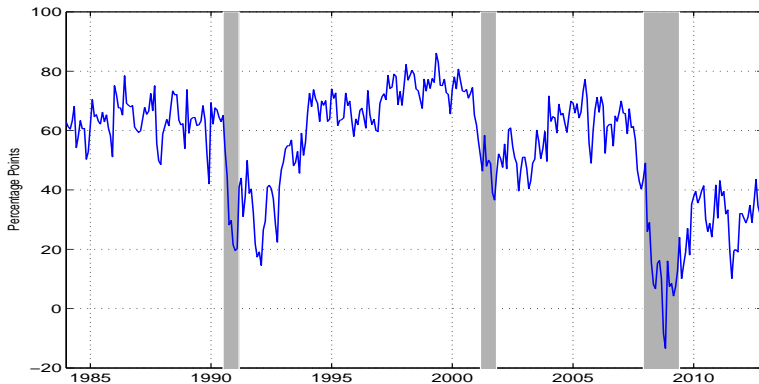
*“About the big things people buy for their homes – such as furniture, a refrigerator, stove, television, and things like that. Generally speaking, do you think now is a good or a bad time for people to buy major household items?”*

One-year inflation expectations:

*“By about what percent do you expect future prices to go (up/down) on the average, during the next 12 months?”*

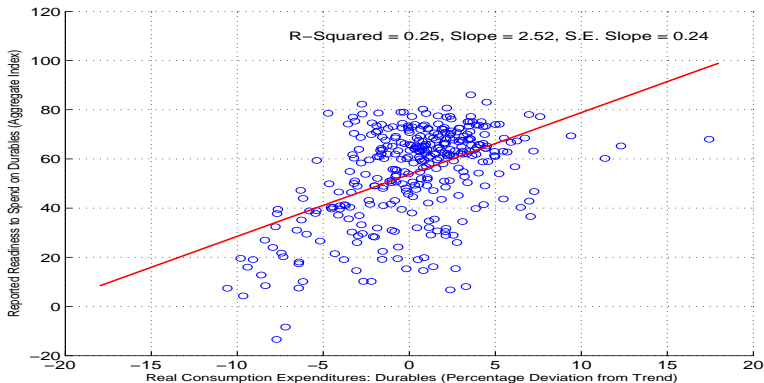
# Durables

Figure: Buying Conditions for Durable Goods - Aggregate Index



# Durables

**Figure:** Relationship between Aggregate Actual Consumption Expenditures on Durables and the Reported Readiness to Buy Durables



# Alternatives

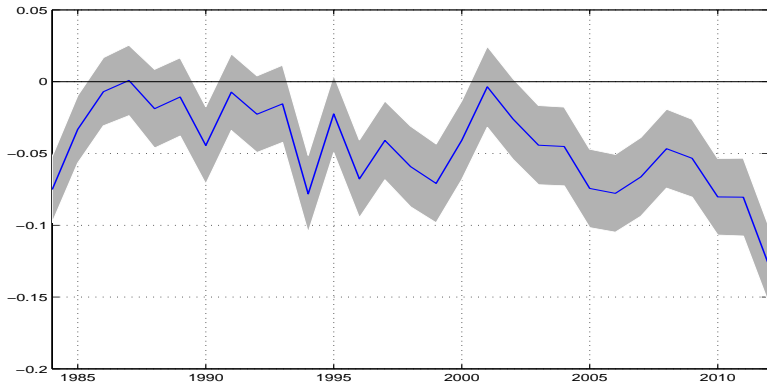
*“Speaking now of the automobile market – do you think the next 12 months or so will be a good time or a bad time to buy a vehicle, such as a car, pickup, van or sport utility vehicle?”*

*“Generally speaking, do you think that now is a good time or a bad time to buy a house?”*

*“By about what percent per year do you expect prices to go (up/ down) on the average, during the next 5 to 10 years?”*

# Cross-sectional Correlations - Time Series

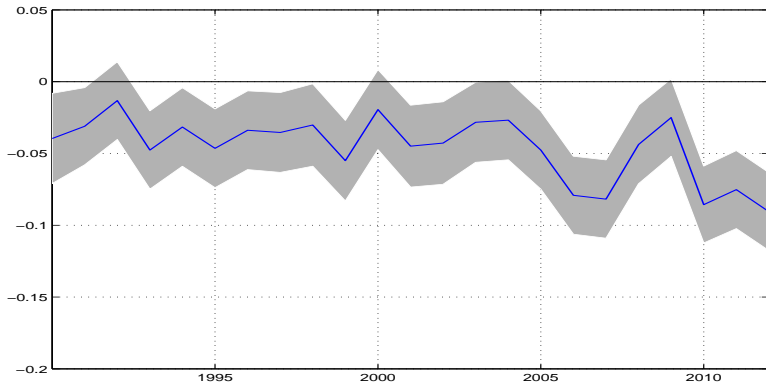
Figure: Durables (1Y)





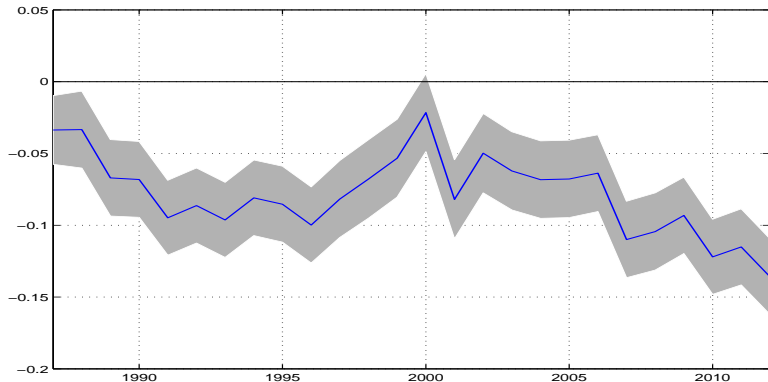
# Cross-sectional Correlations - Time Series

Figure: Cars (5Y)

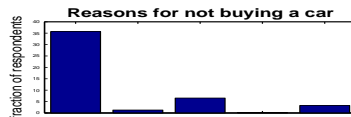
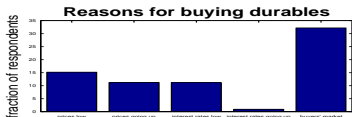


# Cross-sectional Correlations - Time Series

Figure: Houses (1Y)



# Reasons for Buying Durables



# Ordered Probits

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$$\text{Survey responses } y = \begin{cases} -1 & \text{if } y^* \leq \alpha_1 \\ 0 & \text{if } \alpha_1 < y^* \leq \alpha_2 \\ +1 & \text{if } \alpha_2 < y^* \end{cases}$$

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$x \Rightarrow$  controls, including  $D_{ZLB}$        $\gamma \Rightarrow$  coefficients of controls

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Are interested in  $\beta_1$  and  $\beta_2$  and the associated average marginal effects.



## Baseline

Dependent Variable: Buying Conditions for Durables		Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12	
Number of observations: 67855		Pseudo $R^2$ : 0.0671	
Independent Variables	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	
		at $D_{ZLB} = 0$	at $D_{ZLB} = 1$
Inflation Expectations (1Y)	-0.0009 (0.0015)	-0.0002 (0.0004)	-0.0047*** (0.0011)
ZLB Dummy Interacted with Expected Inflation (1Y)	-0.0112*** (0.0031)		

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Independent Variables	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	
		at $D_{ZLB} = 0$	at $D_{ZLB} = 1$
Expected Financial Situation of Household	0.0263*** (0.0091)	0.0079*** (0.0027)	0.0101*** (0.0035)
Expected Real Household Income	0.0211** (0.0083)	0.0064** (0.0025)	0.0081** (0.0032)
Expected Change in Nominal Interest Rate	0.0436*** (0.0074)	0.0131*** (0.0022)	0.0168*** (0.0029)
Expected 1Y Aggregate Business Conditions (Idiosyncratic)	0.1300*** (0.0068)	0.0392*** (0.0020)	0.0500*** (0.0026)
Expected 5Y Aggregate Business Conditions (Idiosyncratic)	0.0623*** (0.0068)	0.0188*** (0.0020)	0.0240*** (0.0026)
Expected Unemployment	-0.0652*** (0.0089)	-0.0196*** (0.0027)	-0.0251*** (0.0034)
Current Financial Situation	0.1189** (0.0067)	0.0359** (0.0020)	0.0458** (0.0026)
Economic Policy Trust (Idiosyncratic)	0.1119*** (0.0088)	0.0337*** (0.0026)	0.0431*** (0.0034)

## Baseline

Dependent Variable: Buying Conditions for Durables    Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12  
 Number of observations: 67855    Pseudo  $R^2$ : 0.0671

## Marginal Effects

Independent Variables	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	
		at $D_{ZLB} = 0$	at $D_{ZLB} = 1$
Expected 1Y Aggregate Business Conditions (Index)	0.0016*** (0.0003)	0.0005*** (0.0001)	0.0006*** (0.0001)
Cross-sectional Dispersion in Expected Inflation (1Y)	-0.0810*** (0.0150)	-0.0244*** (0.0045)	-0.0312*** (0.0058)
VXO	-0.0047*** (0.0008)	-0.0014*** (0.0002)	-0.0018*** (0.0003)
Federal Funds Rate	0.0230*** (0.0036)	0.0069*** (0.0011)	0.0088*** (0.0014)
Civilian Unemployment Rate	-0.0504*** (0.0065)	-0.0152*** (0.0020)	-0.0194*** (0.0025)
Current Inflation Rate	-0.0236*** (0.0061)	-0.0071*** (0.0018)	-0.0091*** (0.0024)
Current Inflation Volatility	-0.0221*** (0.0067)	-0.0067*** (0.0020)	-0.0085*** (0.0026)
Relative Price of Durable Goods	0.0015 (0.0016)	0.0004 (0.0005)	0.0006 (0.0006)

# Baseline - Demographics

Dependent Variable: Buying Conditions for Durables    Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12  
 Number of observations: 67855    Pseudo  $R^2$ : 0.0671

## Marginal Effects

Independent Variables	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	
		at $D_{ZLB} = 0$	at $D_{ZLB} = 1$
Sex	-0.0692*** (0.0109)	-0.0208*** (0.0033)	-0.0266*** (0.0042)
Married	-0.0014 (0.0133)	-0.0004 (0.0040)	-0.0005 (0.0051)
College Degree	-0.0294** (0.0120)	-0.0089** (0.0036)	-0.0113** (0.0046)
African American	-0.0116 (0.0200)	-0.0035 (0.0059)	-0.0045 (0.0075)
Hispanic American	-0.1167*** (0.0248)	-0.0352*** (0.0075)	-0.0450*** (0.0096)
Native American	-0.0436 (0.0551)	-0.0131 (0.0166)	-0.0168 (0.0212)
Asian American	-0.1473*** (0.0390)	-0.0444*** (0.0118)	-0.0567*** (0.0150)
Current Real Household Income (in logs)	0.0525*** (0.0081)	0.0159*** (0.0025)	0.0202*** (0.0031)

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- Very consistent across demographic subgroups: income, age, education, birth cohort.

# Houses – ( $N = 5560$ , Sample: 2007:05 to 2010:12)

Independent Variables	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	
		at ZLB = 0	at ZLB = 1
Exp. Inflation(1Y)	-0.0148** (0.0059)	-0.0043** (0.0017)	-0.0059*** (0.0022)
ZLB Dummy × Exp. Inflation (1Y)	-0.0017 (0.0077)		
ZLB Dummy	-0.2657 (0.2314)	-0.0762 (0.0590)	
Subjective Prob. of Job Loss	-0.0010 (0.0008)	-0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.0003 (0.0003)
Subjective Prob. of Real Income Gains	0.0022*** (0.0009)	0.0006** (0.0003)	0.0008** (0.0003)
Expected Change in House Prices (1Y)	0.0719** (0.0285)	0.0206** (0.0084)	0.0255** (0.0114)
Expected Change in Gas Price (1Y)	0.0001 (0.0005)	0.0000 (0.0001)	0.0000 (0.0002)
Mortgage Rate	-0.1895 (0.1251)	-0.0543 (0.0332)	-0.0673* (0.0385)
S&P Case-Shiller Index	-0.0485** (0.0208)	-0.0139** (0.0062)	-0.0172*** (0.0053)
Home Owner	0.1803*** (0.0544)	0.0517*** (0.0163)	0.0640*** (0.0235)



# “Accurate” and “Reasonable” Inflation Expectations

Specification	Coefficients	Marginal Effects	
		at $D_{ZLB} = 0$	at $D_{ZLB} = 1$
Within one time series std of actual inflation ( $N = 20814$ , Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12)	0.0084 (0.0097)	0.0025 (0.0029)	0.0057 (0.0083)
Within one time series std of actual inflation, 2x ( $N = 6551$ , Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12)	0.0157 (0.0184)	0.0044 (0.052)	0.0222 (0.0157)
Within 0.5 percentage points of actual inflation ( $N = 8577$ , Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12)	0.0019 (0.0190)	0.0006 (0.0056)	0.0379** (0.0177)
Outside 0.5 percentage points of actual inflation ( $N = 59278$ , Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12)	-0.0010 (0.0015)	-0.0003 (0.0004)	-0.0048*** (0.0011)
Within 1.28 percentage points of mean inflation expectations ( $N = 22439$ , Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12)	0.0040 (0.0126)	0.0012 (0.0038)	0.0019 (0.0098)
Within 1.28 percentage points of mean SPF inflation expectations ( $N = 22061$ , Sample: 1984:01 to 2012:12)	-0.0218 (0.0142)	-0.0066 (0.0044)	-0.0200 (0.0122)

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- We view the results as suggestive that raising inflation expectations may at the very least pose a tough communication problem for central bankers.
- Panel dimension: for “good” inflation forecasters / informed households, we get a significantly positive sign.
- Quantity expectations matter positively (Old Keynesianism appears to be alive and well).

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  - Agents may not yet have understood how monetary policy works at the ZLB.
  - Agents come from a long period of low inflation and low inflation volatility, so that rational inattention makes them not pay attention to inflation until it actually happens.
  - Inflation expectations may rather work through investment, rather than consumption demand.

# Other Literature

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- Micro literature in the wake of BBS:
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  - Ichiue and Nishiguchi (2015): Japanese households have a positive sign (long life under a ZLB regime?)

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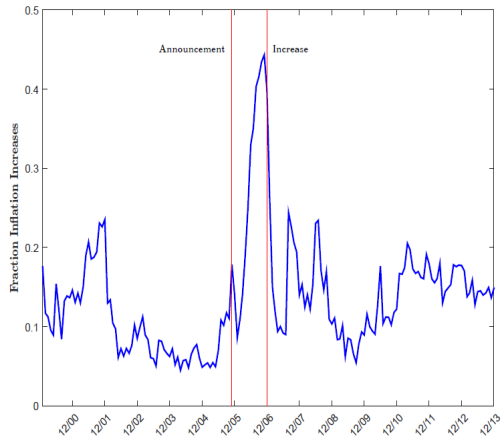
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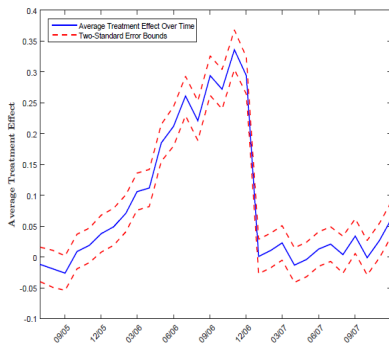
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- Inflation expectations build up during 2006 in Germany, but not other European countries.
- Germany part of Euro zone and no independent monetary policy.
- Nominal rate did not increase to offset inflation expectations.

# Inflation Expectations Increased in Germany ...



# ... and So Did Readiness to Spend Relative to Other European Countries





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- ... helps us test a key part of an important stabilization policy mechanism;
- ... tells us ways to conduct the management of inflation expectations - communication and salience seem key.

# Potential Next Steps

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“What Drives Aggregate Investment? Evidence from German Survey Data,” joint with Peter Zorn, 2016, working paper.

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- In this paper: investment fluctuations.
- Even more specifically: the fluctuations of the year-over-year investment growth rate.
- Novel approach: narrative, survey-based.



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- In other words: we move from investment determinants to economic shocks.

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- 1 First distinguishing technology shocks versus non-technological shocks (need a minimal set of assumptions).
- 2 Making more assumptions and putting more structure on the empirical model: extract also aggregate demand and finance shocks.

# Basic Idea

We see the advantage of a survey-based approach towards identifying shocks in its putative *directness*: the survey respondents (*decision makers*) directly report whether their investment activity in a given year was influenced by, for instance, technological considerations and, if so, how strongly.



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See, for instance, Romer (2004, 2010).

Also: these data are confidential, so there is probably little danger of decision makers strategically lying.

# Preview of Results

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# Preview of Results

- ① On average and in the long-run, technological considerations are the most important investment determinant in the survey. A very neoclassical result!
- ② But: technology shocks explain (only) roughly *one third* of the variance of aggregate (manufacturing) investment growth.
- ③ Aggregate demand shocks: explain roughly *one half*. Find suggestive evidence that these demand shocks are sentiment shocks.

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## Historical analysis:

- Boom in the 1990s and the slump in the early 2000s clearly related to technological factors.
- Recovery from the slump in the latter half of the 2000s is a positive sentiment shock.
- Great Recession shock looks like a combination of a negative sentiment shocks and a significant technological slow down.

# Some Background on the Survey

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- Manufacturing.
- Starts in 1955, but the for us relevant questions start only in 1989. Our baseline sample period: 1989-2008, to focus on regular year-to-year business cycle fluctuations first.

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- Drawbacks:
  - Investment determinants only annually asked (fall).
  - Relatively short time series, few data, though sectoral disaggregation can help here.

# Our Two Questions

## Q1. Gross Fixed Capital Formation in Fiscal Year *[Last Year]*

*[Last Year]* \_\_\_\_\_  
(in 1000 Euro)

## Q2. Investment Determinants *[This Year]*

Our investment activity in the Old Laender in *[This Year]* was positively/negatively affected by:

Investment Determinant	<i>[This Year]</i>				
	strongly positive influence	weakly positive influence	no influence	weakly negative influence	strongly negative influence
Sales Situation and Expectation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Finance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Profit Expectation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Technical Factors	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Macro Policy Environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>[Codification]</i>	<i>[+2]</i>	<i>[+1]</i>	<i>[0]</i>	<i>[-1]</i>	<i>[-2]</i>

# Investment Determinants

Terminology: Tech, Finance, Sales, Profit, Macro, and Other

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Quantification: -2 (strongly negative influence), -1 (weakly negative influence), 0 (no influence), +1 (weakly positive influence), or +2 (strongly positive influence)

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Then the aggregate investment growth rate,  $\Delta I_t^{IFO}$ , is given by:

$$\Delta I_t^{IFO} = \sum_{i=1}^{N_t} \omega_{it-1} \frac{inv_{it} - inv_{it-1}}{inv_{it-1}}$$

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Similarly, let  $x_{it}$  denote one of the six firm-level investment determinants.

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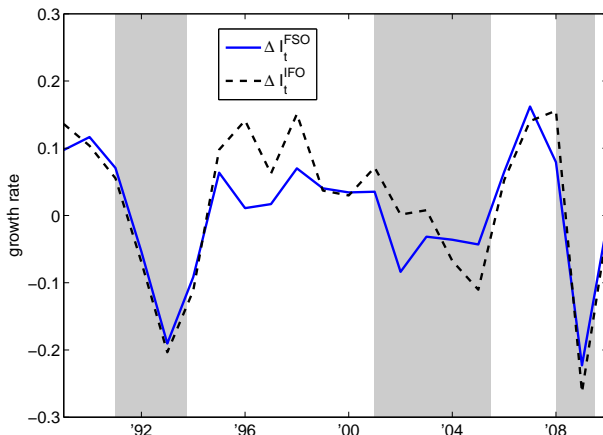
Similarly, let  $x_{it}$  denote one of the six firm-level investment determinants.

Then, for every investment determinant, we aggregate up to an investment determinant index,  $X_t$ , as follows:

$$X_t = \sum_{i=1}^{N_t} \omega_{it} x_{it}$$

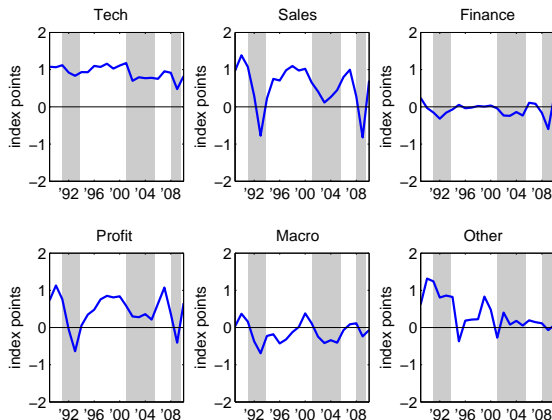
# A First Look at the Data - Investment Growth Rate

Measures of aggregate investment growth ( $\rho = 0.91$ )

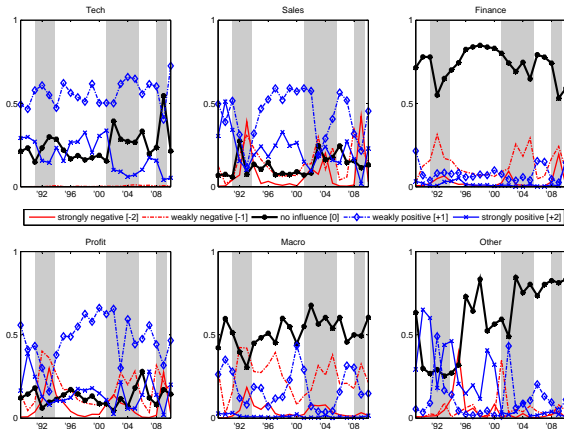


# A First Look at the Data - Investment Determinant Indices

## Aggregate investment determinant indices



# A First Look at the Data - Investment Determinant Indices



# A First Look at the Data

	Tech	Sales	Finance	Profit	Macro	Other	$\Delta I_t^{FSO}$
<b>Baseline Sample Results (1989-2008)</b>							
<i>Panel A:</i>							
Tech	1						
Sales	0.6071***	1					
Finance	0.4574**	0.5801***	1				
Profit	0.5434***	0.9434***	0.5920***	1			
Macro	0.5253***	0.7337***	0.4674***	0.7746***	1		
Other	0.1676	0.0879	-0.1100	0.0241	0.2073	1	
<i>Panel B:</i>							
$\Delta I_t^{FSO}$	0.5029***	0.8392***	0.6279***	0.8849***	0.7601***	-0.1073	1
<i>Panel C:</i>							
$\mu$	0.9602	0.6347	-0.0641	0.4947	-0.1275	0.4062	0.0166
$\sigma$	0.1490	0.4889	0.1391	0.4173	0.2846	0.4567	0.0832

## Economic Content: Tech

Mean of Tech, conditional on investment in restructuring and rationalization:

Tercile	N	Mean(Tech)
1	11341	0.7818501
2	7690	0.9721699
3	9411	1.125008

Difference in means statistically significant at the 1% level.



# Economic Content: Tech

Mean of |Tech|, conditional on Eurostat's Technology Classification:

Industries	N	Mean( Tech )
Low-technology	10911	0.8956025
Medium-low-technology	8448	0.9669374
Medium-high/High-technology	8645	0.9783141

# Economic Content: Tech and Sales

We just recently matched the investment survey with a pricing survey and found that Tech is negatively correlated with price increases, and positively with price decreases; and vice versa for Sales.

# Economic Content: Finance

Mean of  $|\text{Finance}|$ , conditional on share of external finance (IFO survey):

Share of External Finance	N	Mean( $ \text{Finance} $ )
up to 33.33%	11564	0.2520984
33.33% to 66.66%	2194	0.5049183
above 66.66%	1982	0.5344153

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- 2 Within non-technological shocks:
  - 1 Orthogonalize Profit, Macro and Other with respect to Technology, Finance and Sales.
  - 2 Baseline: Orthogonalize Finance with respect to Sales.  
External finance is not that important in Germany.



# Orthogonalization - Regression Framework

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Tech}_t &= v_1 + \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t \\
 \text{Sales}_t &= v_2 + \delta_{21} \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t + \widehat{\text{Sales}}_t \\
 \text{Finance}_t &= v_3 + \delta_{31} \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t + \delta_{32} \widehat{\text{Sales}}_t + \widehat{\text{Finance}}_t \\
 \text{Profit}_t &= v_4 + \delta_{41} \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t + \delta_{42} \widehat{\text{Sales}}_t + \delta_{43} \widehat{\text{Finance}}_t + \widehat{\text{Profit}}_t \\
 \text{Macro}_t &= v_5 + \delta_{51} \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t + \delta_{52} \widehat{\text{Sales}}_t + \delta_{53} \widehat{\text{Finance}}_t + \delta_{54} \widehat{\text{Profit}}_t + \widehat{\text{Macro}}_t \\
 \text{Other}_t &= v_6 + \delta_{61} \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t + \delta_{62} \widehat{\text{Sales}}_t + \delta_{63} \widehat{\text{Finance}}_t + \delta_{64} \widehat{\text{Profit}}_t + \delta_{65} \widehat{\text{Macro}}_t + \widehat{\text{Other}}_t
 \end{aligned}$$

Remark: we verify that orthogonalized series are not autocorrelated.

# Final Regression

$$\Delta I_t^{FSO} = c + \beta_1 \widehat{\text{Tech}}_t + \beta_2 \widehat{\text{Sales}}_t + \beta_3 \widehat{\text{Finance}}_t + \beta_4 \widehat{\text{Profit}}_t + \beta_5 \widehat{\text{Macro}}_t + \beta_6 \widehat{\text{Other}}_t + u_t$$

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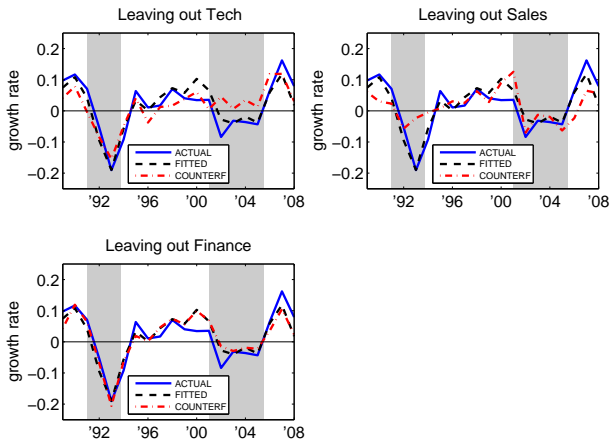
Residuals do not display significant autocorrelation.

# Variance Decomposition

Relative contributions to the  $R^2$  (in percent) with different orthogonalizations of Tech - Total  $R^2$ : 84 percent!

<i>Orthogonalization:</i>	Tech	Tech
	Sales	Finance
	Finance	Sales
	Profit	Profit
	Macro	Macro
	Other	Other
$\widehat{\text{Tech}}$	30.19	30.19
$\widehat{\text{Sales}}$	53.89	33.73
$\widehat{\text{Finance}}$	3.73	23.89
$\widehat{\text{Profit}}$		7.65
$\widehat{\text{Macro}}$		1.67
$\widehat{\text{Other}}$		2.87
$R^2$		0.8377

# Counterfactuals



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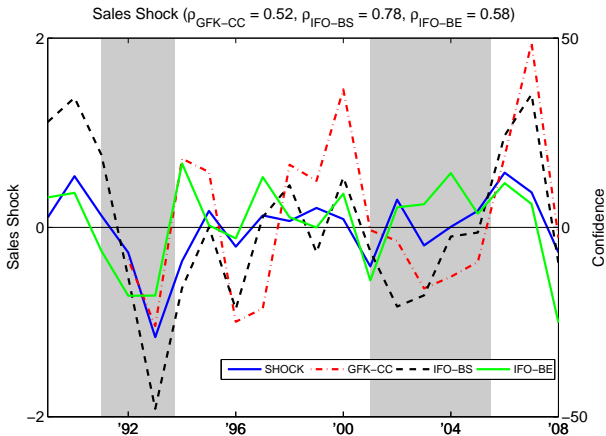
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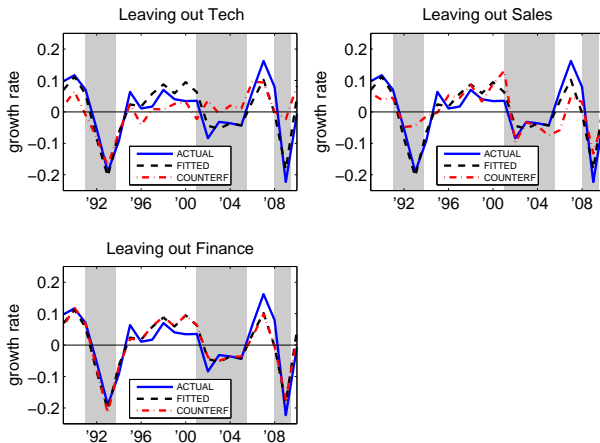
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- Disaggregate results for Laender and 2-digit industries tell the same story.

# What Are the Demand Shocks?



# Counterfactuals - Extended Sample



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- “Subjective” survey data are back on the map!
- Especially expectation data have a lot to teach us about important macroeconomic ideas and issues.
- I would argue we should go a step further and ask economic agents why they did what they did.
- I applied this idea of looking at “subjective reasons” to study the ultimate business cycle question: What drives aggregate fluctuations?