Do Deficits Cause Inflation? A High Frequency Narrative Approach

St. Louis Federal Reserve

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Do Deficits Cause Inflation?

Fiscal stimulus worth 13% of US GDP in Dec '20 and Mar '21, inflation rose to 8%

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This paper: high frequency narrative approach for causal effect of deficits on inflation

- Narrative measure of shock: deficit news from key event [Friedman & Schwarz '67]
- High frequency response: inflation expectations from asset prices [Gurkaynak et al '05]

Advantage: causal effect of single episode specific shocks

A High Frequency Narrative Approach: 2021 Georgia Senate Runoffs



Narrative identification of event: 2021 Georgia Senate Election Runoffs

- November 2020: Democrats win presidency + 48 senators
- January 5th 2021: runoff election for 2 senators from Georgia
- If Democrats win both: majority in senate + fiscal stimulus, small difference for non-fiscal
- \rightarrow Democrat victory = news about deficits

Narrative identification of event: 2021 Georgia Senate Election Runoffs

Narrative measure of shock: deficit news from Georgia

- New hand collected data: time-stamped information from 20 investment banks
- P(Democrat victory) $\approx 50\%$, $\mathbb{E}[\text{Stimulus}] = \900 billion , 70% transfers, deficit financed
- \rightarrow Deficit news of \$450 bn = 2.1% of GDP
 - Reports: main consequence of Democrat victory was fiscal stimulus

Narrative identification of event: 2021 Georgia Senate Election Runoffs

Narrative measure of shock: deficit news from Georgia

High frequency response: inflation expectation from intraday swap prices

- Main identification strategy: single event study around election
 - Also: regression w/ daily beliefs of Dem. victory from betting markets
- Advantage: excludes lower frequency omitted variables
- Result: expected price level increase of 0.38% over 2 years [persistent effect on inflation]
- Dividend futures + forecast revisions suggest strong real GDP growth
- Robustness: Capitol Hill Riots

Narrative identification of event: 2021 Georgia Senate Election Runoffs

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Do deficits cause inflation?

- Many models: shocks to inflation expectations pass through to inflation via Phillips Curve
 [e.g. Coibion et al '18; Werning '22; Beaudry et al '24; Bigio et al '24]
- Stronger claim: expectations as unbiased forecast of inflation ["wisdom of the crowds"]
 - $\bullet \ \ \, \text{Evidence: response of expectations to shocks} \approx \text{unbiased [Coibion \& Gorodnichenko method]} \\$

Narrative identification of event: 2021 Georgia Senate Election Runoffs

Narrative measure of shock: deficit news from Georgia

High frequency response: inflation expectation from intraday swap prices

Combining narrative + high frequency: inflation multiplier + overall effect of '21 deficits Inflation multiplier: 0.18% price level growth per 1% deficit-to-GDP shock

- × 13.0% deficit-to-GDP shock in Dec '20 + Mar '21 [i.e. extrapolation]
- = 2.3% increase in price level over '21 + '22

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Bottom line: '21 deficits caused intermediate share of '21 + '22 inflation ($\approx 30\%$)

 $\rightarrow\,$ Deficits important for inflation but not only cause

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Loose monetary policy important: short term nominal rates unchanged after runoff

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Simple Heterogeneous Agent New Keynesian (HANK) model [Wolf '21, Angeletos et al '23]

- Calibrate to pre 2020 data incl. flat but upward sloping Phillips Curve [Hazell et al '22]
- Inputs: "deficit bundle" of interest rates + spending + transfers + debt
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Interpretations:

- HANK model "passes the market test"
- Stronger claim: HANK rationalizes response of inflation to deficits

Literature

High frequency + narrative identification. (Friedman & Schwarz '67, Romer & Romer '89, Ramey & Shapiro '98, Velde '09; Romer & Romer '10, Ramey '11, Mertens & Ravn '13; Coglianese et al '23; Gurkaynak et al '05, Krishnamurthy & Vissing-Jorgensen '11, Gertler and Karadi '15, Nakamura and Steinsson '18, Bahaj '20, Kaenzig '21, '23)

- Combine high frequency and narrative identification
- Causal effect of single episode specific shocks [e.g. Biden stimulus + Post pandemic inflation]

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Cause of Post Pandemic Inflation. (Reis '22, Bai et al '23, Bernanke & Blanchard '23, Gertler & Gagliardone '23, Guerrieri et al '23, di Giovanni et al '23; Benigno & Eggertsson '23, Bianchi et al '23, Bianchi & Barro '23, Cerrato & Gitti '23, Gitti '23, Benigno & Eggertsson '23; Cochrane, '22; Barro and Bianchi, '23; Bianchi, Faccini, and Melosi, '23; Kaplan, Nikolakoudis & Violante '24; Beaudry, Hou & Portier '24; Bigio, Caramp & Silva '24)

• Causal evidence that deficits explain intermediate share of '21-'22 inflation

Asset prices:

- Intraday risk neutral inflation expectations
 - 1, 2, 5 and 10 year inflation expectations from swaps (= contract on future inflation)
 - Inflation risk premium is stable over this period [Cieslak & Pflueger '23, Cleveland Fed]
- Intraday dividend futures 1, 2 years ahead [Gormsen & Koijen '20]
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Election odds from PredictIt—online exchange w/ traders betting on public events

- End-of-day and tick-by-tick probabilities associated with Georgia Senate election runoff
- Supplement with additional info. from BetFair

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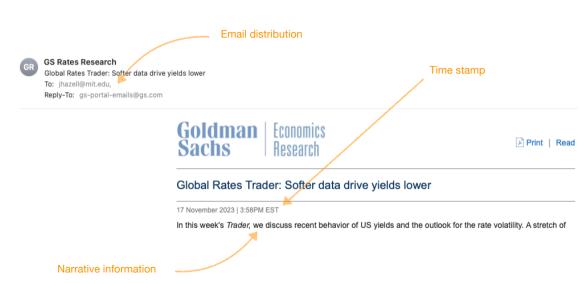
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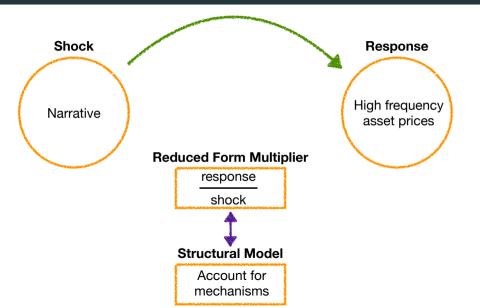
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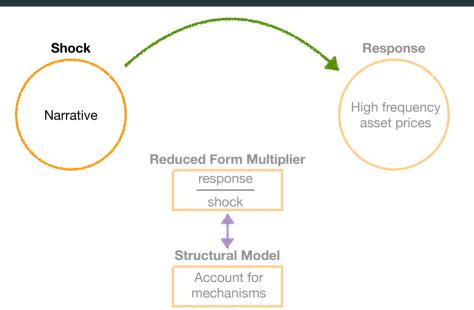
New narrative data from investment banks

- Source: investment banks + similar, 20 sources [e.g. Goldman Sachs, Bloomberg, Moody's]
- Hand collected via contacting each bank
- Reports around events, distributed to market participants, time stamped, narrative detail
- → Proxy for markets' beliefs

Reports as a Proxy for Market Beliefs







Mar '20: CARES Act \$2.2 trillion $\approx 10.3\%$ of GDP

Nov '20: Biden elected, Democrats with 48 Senate seats

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Outcome of Georgia: Jan 5-election day

- Jan 6 afternoon—Capitol Hill Riots
- Jan 7—both Democrats declared victors

Jan 5 '21 - Georgia Runoff Jan 6 '21 - Capitol Hill Riots

Jan 7 '21 - Democrats Declared Victors

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Jan 6 afternoon—Capitol Hill RiotsJan 7—both Democrats declared victors	March '21	- Georgia Runoff - Capitol Hill Riots Democrats Declared Victors American Rescue Plan Inflation Reduction Act
Democrat legislation: • Mar '21: American Rescue Plan, \$1.8 trillion, $\approx 8.4\%$ of GDP	Aug '22	Inflation Reduction Act

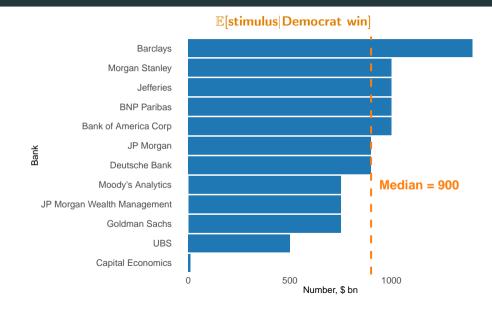
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• Aug '22: approx. deficit-neutral Inflation Reduction Act

What was the shock to expected fiscal deficits due to Georgia runoff?

- Challenge: need counterfactual beliefs if either Democrats or Republicans were to win
- Search hand collected data from 20 investment banks, one week window around election

Needed: $\mathbb{E}[\text{stimulus}|\text{Democrat win}]$, P(Democrat win), $\mathbb{E}[\text{stimulus}|\text{Divided govt.}]$



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- P(Democrat victory) ≈ 0.5
 - Median of 5 banks
 - Deutsche Bank: "The web now has sites suggesting odds are only 52% in favour of the Republicans maintaining control of the Senate—so a bit of a toss-up."
 - 4th January '21

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Rabobank: "If the Republicans manage to hold on to at least one of these two Georgia seats, they ... are likely to shoot down the ambitious spending plans of the Democrats."

— 5th January '21 ▶ Table

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Additional info:

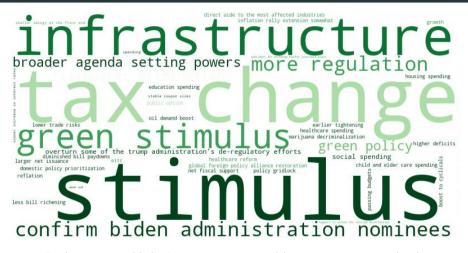
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Additional policy: delayed + tax financed infrastructure [quantitatively unimportant]

Main Outcome of Democrat Victory is Stimulus

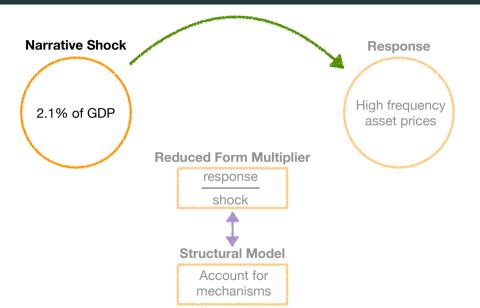
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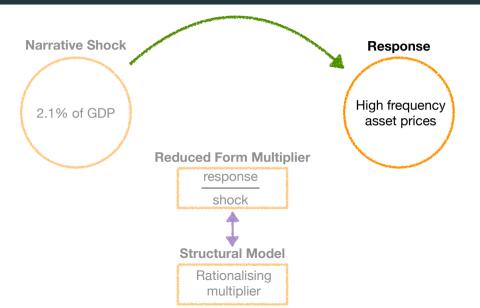
Darker = more likely, Larger = mentioned by more investment banks

Main outcomes: stimulus, tax + infrastructure

High Frequency Narrative Approach



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 - $\rightarrow \ \, \text{Eliminates lower frequency omitted variables} \,\, [\text{e.g. oil shocks, post pandemic bottlenecks}]$
- \bullet Single event study: around Georgia shock, asset price y_t follows process [MacKinlay '97]

$$y_t = egin{cases} arepsilon_t & ext{if } t < T \ arepsilon_t + lpha_t & ext{if } t > T \end{cases}$$

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- Identification assumption: distribution of ε_t did not change just before vs. just after T
 - ightarrow No other "atypical" shocks just after Senate election
 - ... But typical shocks "allowed"

How Wide Should the Event Window Be?

Key decision: event window should capture effect but exclude omitted variables

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Event window from beginning of January 5th to end of January 7th in baseline

- Inflation swaps take 2-3 days to incorporate fundamental information [Bahaj et al 2023]
 - Goldman Sachs: "democratic senate control looks likely" January 6th, 2:01 AM
 - Similar in high frequency betting data
 - Start on morning of election to include "pre-announcement drift" Petails
- Narrative evidence: Georgia main shock to asset prices until payroll release on January 8th
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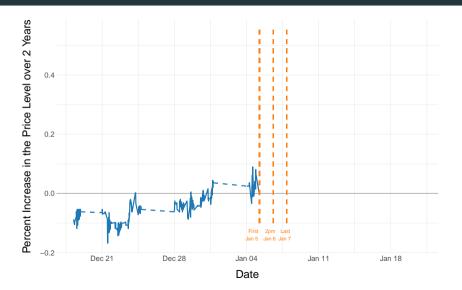
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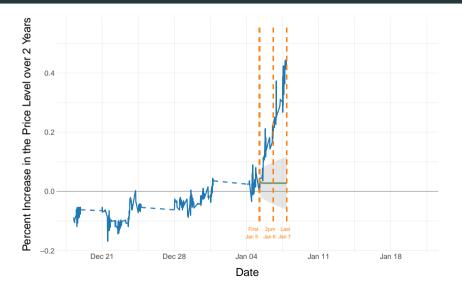
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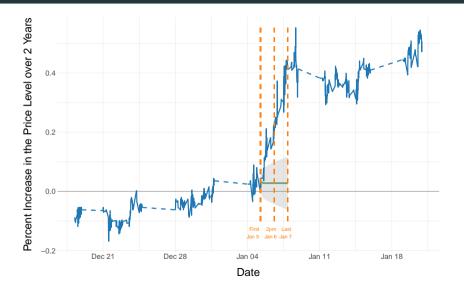
Potential confounder: January 6th Capitol Hill Riots

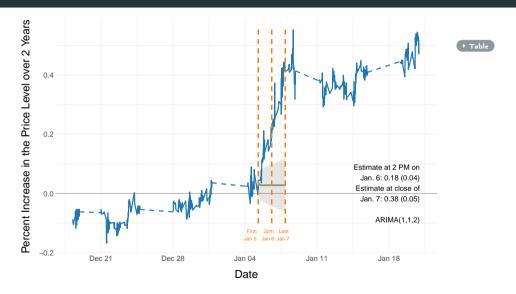
- Robustness: end event window at 2PM on January 6th + other robustness to come
- Bloomberg daily "round up": no other significant events Petails



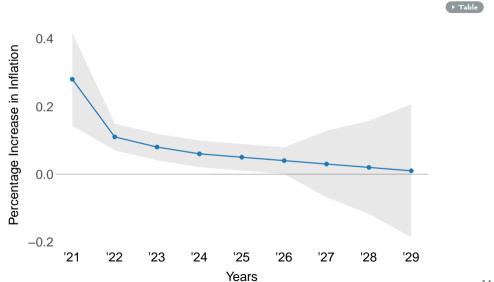




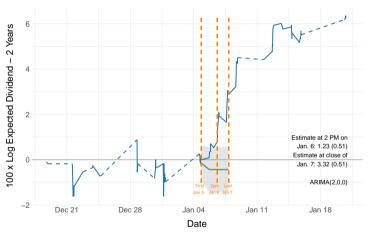




Dynamics: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Inflation Expectations

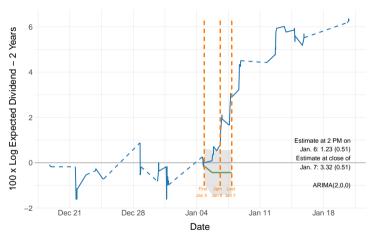


Dividend Futures + Investment Banks: Positive Growth ("Demand Shock")



2 year nominal dividend future ≈ forecast of 2 year nominal dividends ▶ Details ▶ Additional Results

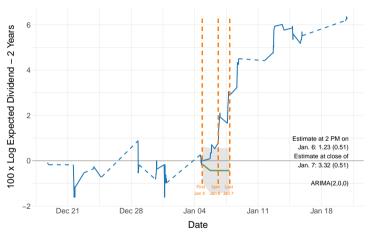
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 \rightarrow Increase in '22 real GDP of $\approx 1.9\%$ [Gormsen & Koijen '20]

Dividend Futures + Investment Banks: Positive Growth ("Demand Shock")



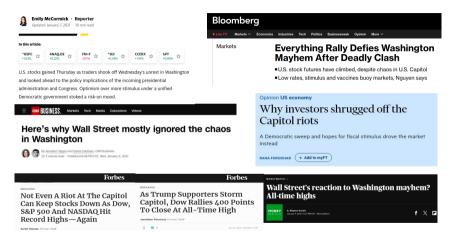
2 year nominal dividend future pprox forecast of 2 year nominal dividends Petails Additional Results

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After runoff: median investment bank raises '22 output forecast by 1.8%

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- 2. Inflation forecast remains high after Riots disperse
- ${\it 3. Real outcomes suggest expansionary shock}\\$

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- 2. Inflation forecast remains high after Riots disperse
- 3. Real outcomes suggest expansionary shock
- 4. Narrative evidence from news: Capitol Hill Riots not important for asset prices



"The markets appear to be putting zero probability on the U.S. becoming a banana republic ... [o]n Jan. 6, as a mob stormed the Capitol, the S&P 500 merely trimmed its gains."

— Bloomberg Economics, January 19th '21

- 1. Similar results excluding January 6th riots
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- 4. Narrative evidence from news: Capitol Hill Riots not important for asset prices
- 5. Credit default swaps did not respond Petails

Causal Effect of Georgia Shock: Identification Strategies

- 1. Single event study
 - Drawback: relies on a single, high-powered observation

 $2. \ \textbf{Regression specification} \leftarrow$

Identification Strategy: Daily Democrat Win Probability

Motivation:

- Variation over November-January in probability of Democrat victory in Georgia
- Markets paid close attention Barclays Example

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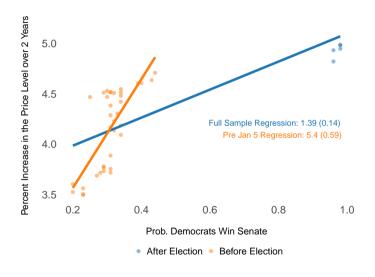
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Daily probability of Democrat victory from betting markets as measure of fiscal news

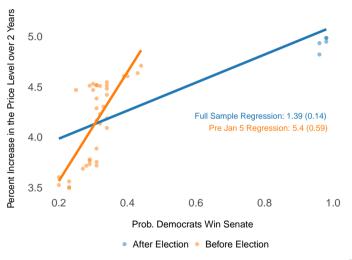
$$y_t = \alpha + \beta \operatorname{probability}_{t-1} + \varepsilon_t$$
,

- ullet probability $_{t-1}$ is daily probability of Democrat victory from Predictlt
- Sample: one week after November presidential election to one week after Georgia runoff
- Identification assumption: macro news does not cause P(Democrat Victory)
 - + No correlated macro shocks

Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Inflation Expectations

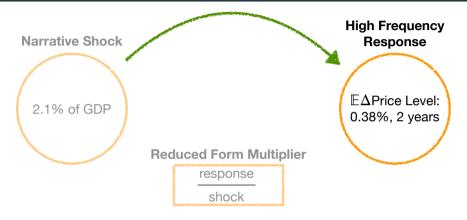


Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Inflation Expectations



Comparison across strategies: regression ≈ 40% larger than single event study • Table + Robustness

High Frequency Narrative Approach



Do Deficits Cause Inflation?

Two possibilities so far ...

- 1. Many models: shocks to inflation expectations pass through to inflation via Phillips Curve [e.g. Coibion et al '18; Werning '22; Beaudry et al '24; Bigio et al '24]
 - → These models + our evidence: deficits cause inflation → Household vs. Markets
- 2. Stronger claim: if response of expectations to shocks is unbiased ["wisdom of the crowds"]
 - Then Δ inflation expectations/ Δ deficits $\approx \mathbb{E}[\Delta$ actual inflation]/ Δ deficits
 - $\rightarrow\,$ From high frequency response of expectations to (low frequency) response of actual inflation

Evidence: Inflation Expectations as an Unbiased Forecast

Standard test: is response of expectations to shocks unbiased? [Coibion & Gorodnichenko '15]

$$\pi_{t,t+1} - F_t \pi_{t,t+1} = \alpha + \beta \left(F_t \pi_{t,t+1} - F_{t-1} \pi_{t,t+1} \right) + \varepsilon_t$$

- $\pi_{t,t+1}$ = year-over-year CPI inflation, sample: 2004-2023
- $F_t \pi_{t,t+1} =$ forecast of $\pi_{t,t+1}$ from swaps, $F_{t-1} \pi_{t,t+1} =$ forecast of $\pi_{t,t+1}$ a year earlier
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Estimates: $\beta = 0.05$ (0.3) [cf. professional forecasters]

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2019-2023 estimates + additional

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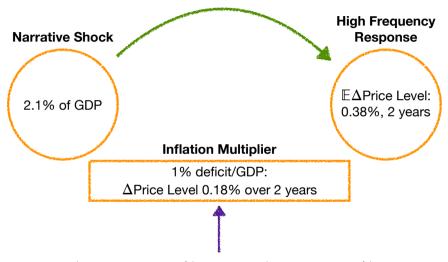
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Implication:

- Use response of expectations to learn about response of actual inflation
- Next section takes this approach

Narrative + High Frequency: Effect of '21 Deficits on Inflation



Assumes: Δ inflation forecast/ Δ deficits $\approx \Delta$ actual inflation/ Δ deficits

Inflation Multiplier

1% deficit/GDP:

 Δ Price Level 0.18% over 2 years

Inflation Multiplier

1% deficit/GDP:

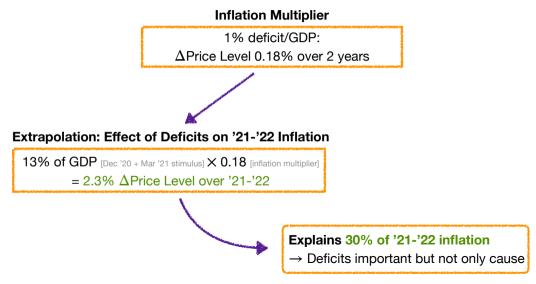
 Δ Price Level 0.18% over 2 years



Extrapolation: Effect of Deficits on '21-'22 Inflation

13% of GDP [Dec '20 + Mar '21 stimulus] \times 0.18 [inflation multiplier]

= 2.3% Δ Price Level over '21-'22





Extrapolation: Effect of Deficits on '21-'22 Inflation

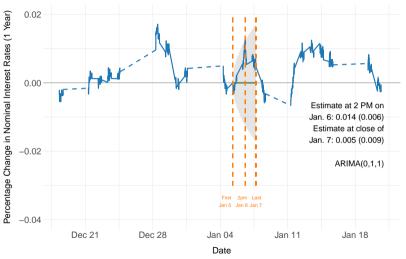
13% of GDP [Dec '20 + Mar '21 stimulus] \times 0.18 [inflation multiplier] = 2.3% Δ Price Level over '21-'22



Explains 30% of '21-'22 inflation

ightarrow Deficits important but not only cause

Loose Monetary Policy Important: Short Term Rates Unchanged



But long term rates rise [cf. Mian, Straub & Sufi 2024] Long Term Rates + Robustness

• Real rate multiplier of 0.1pp per 1% deficit-to-GDP shock (5 year - 5 year forward)

Can HANK models match the inflation multiplier?

- Qualitatively, yes. But quantitatively ...?
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- ullet Fraction μ of hand to mouth households
- Fraction $1-\mu$ of overlapping generation households with mortality risk Accurate approximation to richer HANK model [Wolf 2021, Angeletos et al 2023]
- New Keynesian Phillips Curve for wages

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Results:

- Model quantitatively matches size + persistence of inflation multiplier
- Loose monetary policy key mechanism for multiplier

A Simple Heterogeneous Agent Model

Environment:

- Fraction μ hand to mouth: consume after tax income $C_{H,t} = W_t N_{H,t} T_{H,t}$
- ullet Fraction $1-\mu$ of OLG households with survival probability ϕ [Wolf '21; Angeletos et al '23]

$$\max_{\{\mathsf{C}_{i},\mathsf{A}_{i}\}} \mathbb{E}_{t} \sum_{j=0}^{+\infty} (\beta \phi)^{j} \left[\frac{C_{i,t+j}^{1-\frac{1}{\sigma}} - 1}{1-\frac{1}{\sigma}} - \frac{N_{i,t+j}^{1+\frac{1}{\phi}}}{1+\frac{1}{\varphi}} \right] \quad \text{s.t.} C_{i,t} + A_{i,t} = \frac{1}{\phi} \frac{1+i_{t-1}}{\Pi_{t}} A_{i,t-1} + W_{t} N_{i,t} - \frac{T_{i,t}}{I_{t}} + Z_{i,t}$$

- Market clearing: $Y_t = C_t + G_t$
- Sticky wages: $\pi_t = \kappa \left(y_t \frac{\varphi}{\varphi + \sigma \frac{C_{SS}}{V_{SS}}} \frac{g_t}{g_t} \right) + \beta \mathbb{E}_t \pi_{t+1}$ [Phillips Curve]

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Policy: government sets $\{i_t, T_t, T_t^H, G_t\}_{t=0}^{\infty}$ s.t. budget constraint

Calibration and Modelling '21 Deficit Shock

Standard calibration to pre 2020 data: Calibration Details

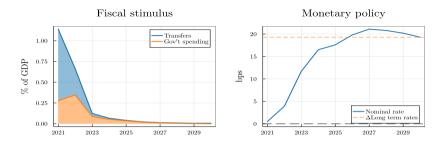
- Calibrate consumption block to target intertemporal MPC [Fagereng et al '21; Auclert et al '23]
- Flat but positively sloped Phillips Curve [Hazell et al '22]

Main exercise: evaluating inflation response implied by model to "deficit bundle" from Georgia

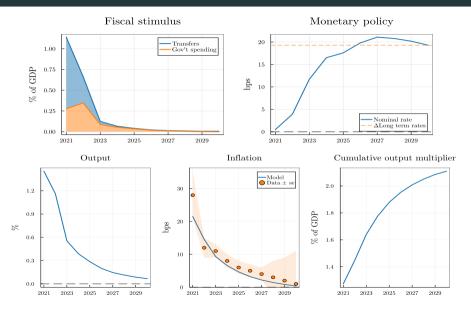
Measuring policy shock $\{i_t, T_t, T_t^H, G_t\}_{t=0}^{\infty}$

- Deficit size + composition (i.e. G vs. T) from narrative reports
- Timing of spending from realized American Rescue Plan [Edelberg & Sheiner '21]
- Debt repayment from long term interest rates + Congressional Budget Office debt forecast
- Nominal interest rate shocks from high frequency response of interest rates
- Assume economy in steady state after 10 years

Model Quantitatively Matches Size + Persistence of Inflation Multiplier



Model Quantitatively Matches Size + Persistence of Inflation Multiplier



Key Mechanism for Inflation Response: Loose Monetary Policy

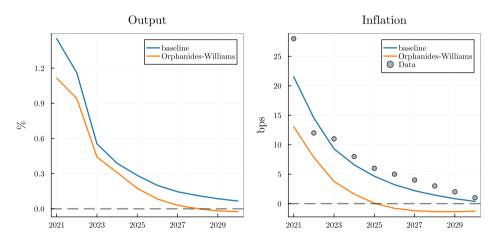
Counterfactual: Fed follows historical policy rule [Orphanides & Williams 2002, Campos et al 2024]

$$\rightarrow i_t = i_{t-1} + \phi_{\pi} \pi_t \quad \phi_{\pi} = 1.5$$

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Interpretation of the Model Results

- 1. HANK "passes the market test": market agrees w/ HANK about how inflation affects deficits
- 2. Stronger claim: HANK rationalizes response of inflation to deficits

Conclusion

Conclusion

This paper: high frequency narrative approach for causal effect of deficits on inflation

- Narrative measure of shock: deficit news from key event
- High frequency response: inflation expectations from asset prices

Bottom line:

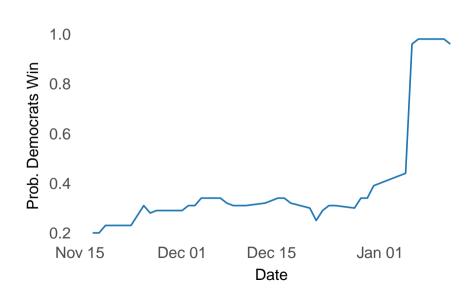
- Dec '20 + Mar '21 stimulus explains intermediate share of '21-'22 inflation
- → Deficits important for inflation but not only cause

High frequency narrative approach estimates causal effect of single episode specific shocks

• In principle applicable to other influential episodes

Appendix

Betting Markets • Return



Polling Data

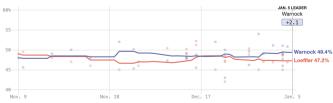
Georgia's regular Senate election

Republican Sen. David Perdue is running for reelection against Democrat Jon Ossoff in a regularly scheduled election.

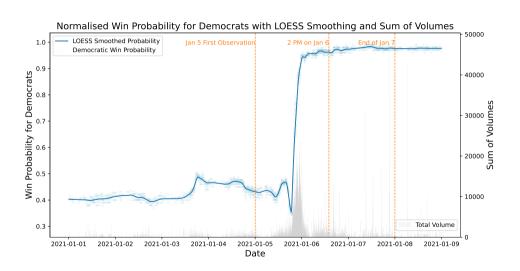


Georgia's special Senate election

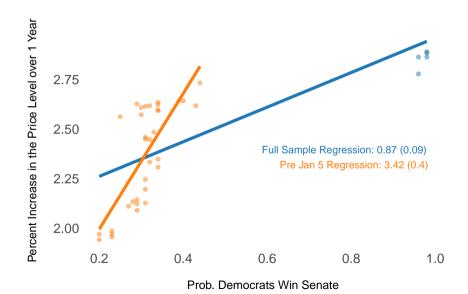
Republican Sen. Kelly Loeffler faces Democrat Raphael Warnock in a special election. Loeffler was appointed to fill former Sen. Johnny Isakson's seat after he resigned.



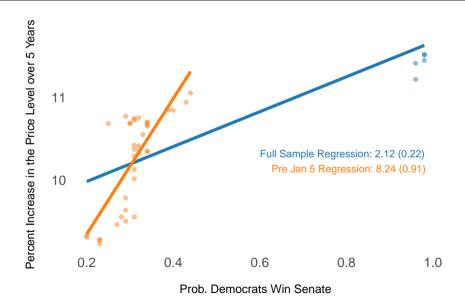
High Frequency Betting Data • Return



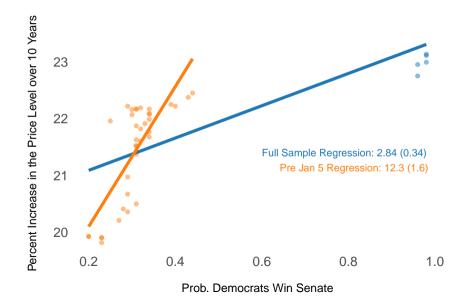
Swaps IV - 1 Year



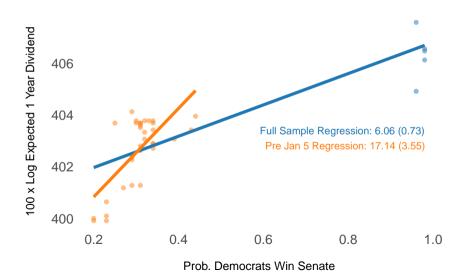
Swaps IV - 5 Years



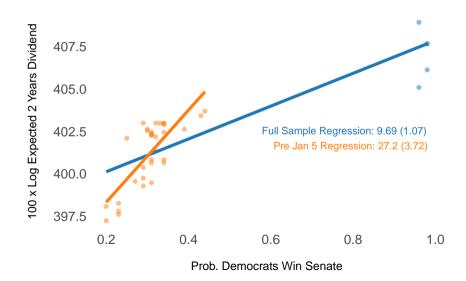
Swaps IV - 10 Years



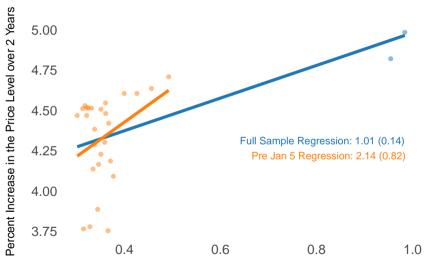
Dividends IV - 1 Year



Dividends IV - 2 Years

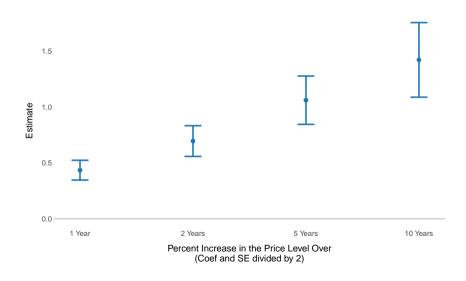


Betfair Regular IV - 2 Years

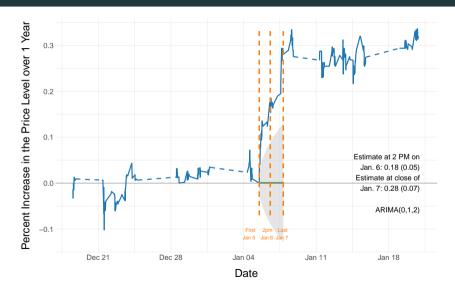


Prob. Democrats Win Senate BetFair Regular

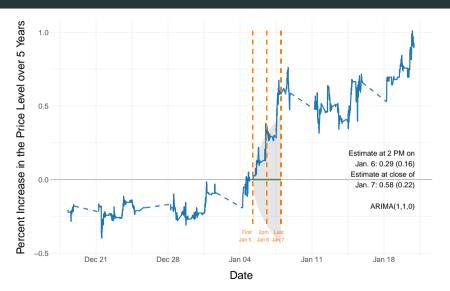
Coefplot IV Full Model Swaps



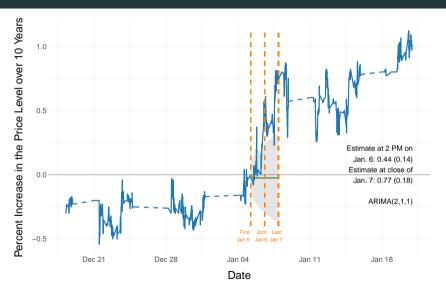
Swaps Single Event Study - 1 year



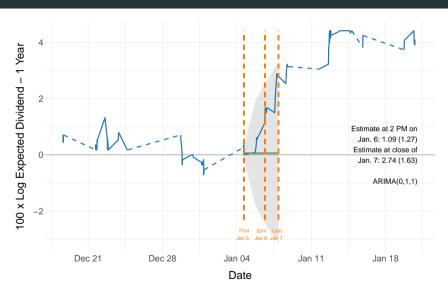
Swaps Single Event Study - 5 Years



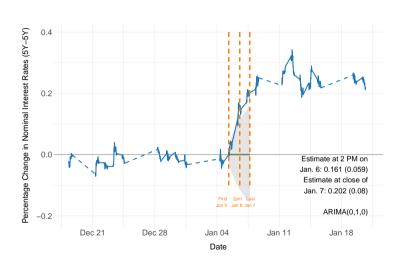
Swaps Single Event Study - 10 Years



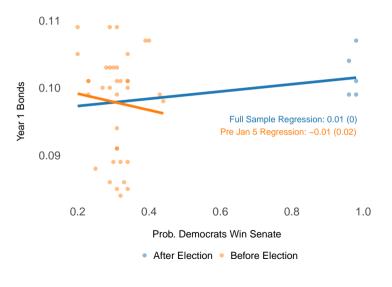
Dividends Single Event Study - 1 Year • Return



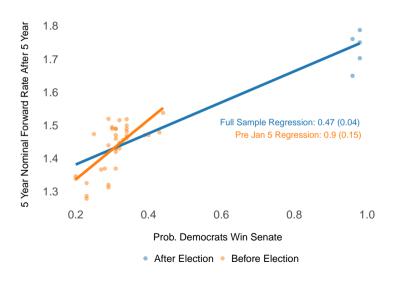
Long Term Interest Rates Event Study • Return



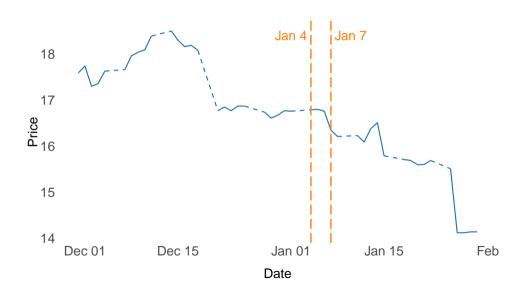
Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Short Term Rates



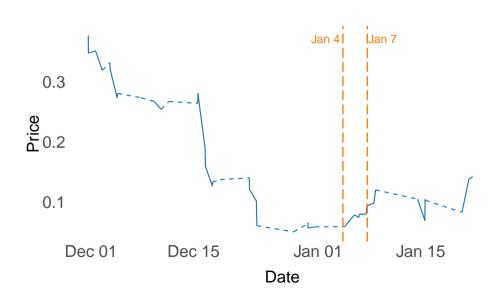
Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Long Term Rates



Credit Default Swaps • Return



Surprise Index Hourly • Return



Event Study: Percent increase in the price level from inflation swaps

▶ Return

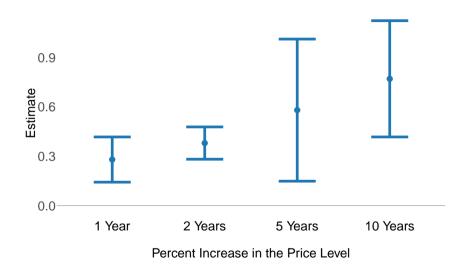
Panel A: Percent increase over 1 year

	Jan 7, non Stationary (1)	Jan 6, non Stationary (2)	Difference (3)	Jan 7, Stationary (4)	Drop missing (5)	
Jump in Expectations	\ /		0.28 (0.03)	0.28 (0.03)	0.28 (0.12)	
Observations	231	231	231	232	231	
	Po	nnel B: Percent increase	over 2 year			
Jump in Expectations	0.38 (0.05)	0.18 (0.04)	0.37 (0.04)	0.45 (0.05)	0.38 (0.09)	
Observations	659	659	659	660	659	

Event Study: Percent increase in the price level from inflation swaps

Panel C: Percent increase over 5 year						
Jump in Expectations	$0.58 \\ (0.22)$	0.29 (0.16)	0.58 (0.08)	0.76 (0.08)	0.58 (0.23)	
Observations	1048	1048	1048	1049	1048	
	Pa	nel D: Percent increas	se over 10 year			
Jump in Expectations	0.77 (0.18)	0.44 (0.14)	0.74 (0.12)	0.99 (0.11)	0.75 (0.49)	
Observations	647	647	647	648	647	

Event Study: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Price Level



Regression: Causal Effect of Democrat Victory on Swaps

Overall Outcome: Percent increase in the price level from inflation swaps

	Panel A: Percent increase over 1 year					
	Full Sample	Before Jan 5	Outliers Dropped	Diff		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
Democrats Win Probability	0.87 (0.09)	3.42 (0.40)	$0.95 \\ (0.14)$	$0.08 \\ (0.04)$		
Observations	40	35	35	38		
	Pane	el B: Percent in	crease over 2 years			
Democrats Win Probability	1.39 (0.14)	5.40 (0.59)	1.50 (0.22)	0.23 (0.07)		
Observations	41	36	36	40		

Regression: Causal Effect of Democrat Victory on Swaps

Democrats Win Probability	$ \begin{array}{c} 2.12 \\ (0.22) \end{array} $	8.24 (0.91)	$ \begin{array}{c} 2.33 \\ (0.33) \end{array} $	0.33 (0.10)
Observations	41	36	36	40
	Pane	l D: Percent inci	rease over 10 yea	irs
Democrats Win Probability	2.84 (0.34)	12.30 (1.60)	3.16 (0.51)	0.64 (0.19)
Observations	41	36	36	40

Event Study: Nominal Interest Rates

Panel A: Percentage increase over 1 year

	Jan 7, non Stationary	Jan 6, non Stationary	Difference	Jan 7, Stationary	Drop missin	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Jump in Interest Rate 0.005 (0.009)		0.014 0.0047 (0.006) (0.0051		$0.005 \\ (0.005)$	0.005 (0.015)	
Observations	570	570	570	571	570	
	Par	nel B: Percentage increas	e over 5 year	rs, after 5 years		
Jump in Interest Rate	0.202	0.161	0.2024	0.202	0.202	
•	(0.08)	(0.059)	(0.0213)	(0.025)	(0.106)	
Observations	570	570	570	571	570	

Event Study: Dividends

 $Overall\ Outcome:\ Increase\ in\ 100*Log(Expected\ S\&P\ 500\ dividends)$

		Panel A: 20	21 dividends		
	Jan 7, non Stationary	Drop missing			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Jump in Expectations	2.74 (1.63)	1.09 (1.27)	2.79 (0.31)	2.79 (0.54)	2.89 (1.55)
Observations	77	77	77	78	77
		Panel B: 2022 divid	ends		
Jump in Expectations	3.32 (0.51)	1.23 (0.51)	2.88 (0.52)	3.32 (0.51)	3.49 (0.51)
Observations	76	76	75	76	76

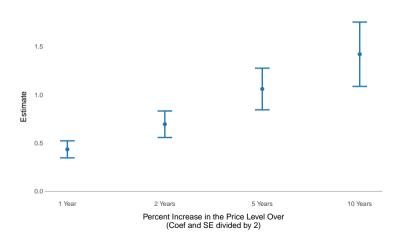
IV Controls • Return

Controls	1 Year	2 Years	5 Years	10 Years
1. No Control	3.93 (0.70)	5.78 (1.17)	10.31 (1.81)	16.41 (3.12)
Observations	29	30	30	30
2. 10-year Bonds	2.12 (0.84)	2.77 (1.39)	6.30 (1.60)	10.97 (2.91)
Observations	29	30	30	30
3. Surprise Index	0.90 (0.63)	1.38 (1.20)	5.90 (1.83)	11.84 (3.50)
Observations	23	23	23	23
4. Oil Price	-0.05 (1.29)	-0.003 (1.87)	4.39 (1.59)	9.13 (3.36)
Observations	29	30	30	30

Regression Specification: IV + Controls

5. S&P 500	1.1 (1.03)	1.03 (1.71)	5.34 (1.89)	10.46 (3.67)
Observations	28	29	29	29
6. Vaccine Dummy	3.77 (0.66)	5.51 (1.11)	9.96 (1.7)	15.9 (2.95)
Observations	29	30	30	30
7. COVID Effect	3.96 (0.74)	5.76 (1.22)	10.39 (1.97)	16.5 (3.45)
Observations	29	30	30	30

Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Inflation Expectations



Real Dividends

Overall Outcome: Increase in the real dividends

	Panel A: 1-year real dividends						
	Jan 7, non Stationary	an 7, non Stationary Jan 6, non Stationary Difference		Jan 7, Stationary	Drop missing		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Jump in Expectations	2.46	0.91	2.51	2.51	2.61		
		Panel B: 2-years real da	ividends				
Jump in Expectations	2.94	1.05	2.51	2.87	3.11		

Expected Stimulus After Elections • Return



Date	Bank	Number,	Exact Phrasing
		\$(billion)	
06.01.2021	Goldman Sachs 750		"With control of the Senate by a narrow margin, Democrats are likely to pass further fiscal stimulus in Q1 that we expect to total about \$750bn."
06.01.2021	term spending – upwards of \$1 trn, split betw		"We expect the unified Democratic government to enact significantly more near- term spending – upwards of \$1 trn, split between Covid-19 and non-Covid related fiscal support – than under our previous assumption of a GOP-led Senate and divided government."
06.01.2021	Jefferies	1000	"Jefferies LLC economists see Democratic victories in both seats spurring an additional \$1 trillion of stimulus in the next few months."
06.01.2021	Capital Economics	0	"We are not going to be factoring in any further fiscal stimulus into our forecasts yet."
07.01.2021	JP Morgan Wealth 750 Management		"We are assuming another support bill of around \$750 billion will be passed sometime between February and early April."
07.01.2021	JP Morgan	900	"Our best guess \dots is a spending package of around \$900 billion passed in the next few months."
07.01.2021	Deutsche Bank	900	"In the first quarter, we anticipate passage of a bill of approximately \$900bn."

Expected Stimulus Dem Win Before Elections

Date	Bank	Election	Number,	Expectation	Exact Phrasing
		Results	\$(billion)	Phrase	
04.01.2021	Goldman	before	600	"we would	"If Democrats manage to win both of the Senate seats in
	Sachs			expect"	play in Georgia, they would win 50 seats, which would
					allow Vice President-elect Harris to cast the tie-breaking
					vote. This would lead to greater fiscal stimulus—we
					would expect around \$600bn more on top of the re-
					cently enacted \$900bn—but would also likely mean tax
					increases to finance additional spending."
05.01.2021	Barclays	before	2000	"the size of	"If the Democrats control the Senate, a larger stimulus
				the pack-	package could be more likely, with a sizable portion ded-
				age could	icated to state and local governments. With the focus in
				possibly	Q1 likely to be on the virus, the size of the package could
				be"	possibly be \$2trn, and Democrats might expand it to in-
					clude significant spending for infrastructure, clean energy
					initiatives, etc. if the political climate is advantageous."
05.01.2021	Bloomberg	before	700	"we think"	"In the event of a Democratic sweep in Georgia, we think
					additional near-term pandemic relief and accompanying
					stimulus could stretch into the \$600 billion to \$800 bil-
					lion range."

Expected Stimulus Rep Win Before Elections • Return

Date	Bank	Number,	Expectation	Exact Phrasing
		\$(billion)	Phrase	
31.12.2020	Deutsche	0	"do not	"As such, unless the Senate switches to Democratic control on the results of the Georgia
	Bank		see"	election, we do not see much scope for further stimulus."
04.01.2021	Goldman	0	"we would	"If Senate Republicans hold one or both of these Georgia seats, this will leave them
	Sachs		not expect"	with a narrow majority and probably will not have substantially different implications
				for legislation than in the last Congress when they held 53 seats In that environ-
				ment, we would not expect much further fiscal stimulus. President Trump recently
				proposed \$2000/person stimulus payments, but these are unlikely to move forward
				under a Republican controlled Senate, we believe, as it would cost around \$450bn, Re-
				publican leaders and many Republican senators don't support it, and there is likely
				to be less momentum behind it once individuals start receiving the smaller payments
				that Congress recently passed."
05.01.2021	Moody's	0	"not pen-	"Our baseline forecast does not assume that Democrats will pick up both Georgia seats,
	Analytics		ciling"	which would be necessary for that party to retake the Senate from Republicans. As a
				result, Moody's Analytics is not penciling in a sixth piece of federal pandemic legis-
				lation following the \$900 billion economic relief package that was enacted over the
				holidays, nor do we expect President-elect Biden to get his tax and spending policy
				proposals from the campaign through Congress."

Probability of Dem Win Before Elections • Return



Date	Bank	Prob Democratic Gov-	Exact Phrasing
		ernment	
04.01.2021	Deutsche Bank	0.5	"The web now has sites suggesting odds are only 52% in favour of the Re-
			publicans maintaining control of the Senate - so a bit of a toss-up. Same
			story on the individual races with the Ossoff â Perdue now essentially 50/50
			while Warnock- Loeffler is 60/40 in the Democratic candidates favour. All
			this well within the poll margin of errors, to say the least."
05.01.2021	Barclays	0.5	"Polling in both Georgia Senate run-off elections is well within the margin
			of error, and we consider them both toss-ups."
05.01.2021	Goldman Sachs	0.5	"Polls show Democratic candidates with a very slim advantage and early
			voting appears to have moved slightly in the Democratic direction (vs early
			voting in November) race remains a toss-up with a slight Republican
			lean Prediction markets appear to take the same view and imply nearly
			even odds that Democrats win both seats"
05.01.2021	Moody's Analyt-	<0.5	"Our baseline forecast does not assume that Democrats will pick up both
	ics		Georgia seats, which would be necessary for that party to retake the Senate
			from Republicans."

Stimulus Composition • Return

Date	Bank	Initial	Transfers	Government Spending	Other Spending
		Number			
05.01.2021	Bloomberg	\$850bn	UI:	state and local fiscal aid:	
(before,			- \$250bn	- \$250bn	
case of			- 29.4%	- 29.4%	
Dem. win)					
			stimulus checks:	Total: \$250bn	
			- \$350bn	Total Share: 29.4%	
			- 41.2%		
			Total: \$600bn		
			Total Share: 70.6%		
06.01.2021	Goldman	\$750bn	UI:	state and local fiscal aid:	other:
(after)	Sachs		- \$150bn	- \$200bn	- \$100bn
			- 20%	- 26.7%	- 13.3%
			stimulus checks:	Total: \$200bn	Total: \$100bn
			- \$300bn	Total Share: 26.7%	Total Share: 13.3%
			- 40%		
			Total: \$450bn		
			Total Share: 60%		

Stimulus Financing • Return

Date	Bank	Fiscal Package	Exact Phrasing	
30.12.2020	Financial Times	Deficit Financed	"The Treasury department plans to sharply shift its bond sales to-	
			wards debt maturing well into the future as the government seeks to	
			fund vast spending programmes."	
06.01.2021	DWS North	Deficit Financed	"More fiscal support will likely require huge Treasury issuance to	
	America		fund it, which is already pushing yields higher, and could increase	
			borrowing costs for companies."	
06.01.2021	Bloomberg	At least some	"While stimulus will be the primary focus, high-earners and corpo-	
		deficit financing	rations could be tasked with helping to pay for it tax hikes may be	
		implied	limited and possibly delayed until the economy is on stronger foot-	
			ing."	
06.01.2021	BNP Paribas	Deficit Financed	"In order to finance our increased 2021 fiscal deficit projection of	
			USD2.5trn+, we expect US Treasury issuance to remain at elevated	
			levels (averaging USD370bn/month) throughout 2021."	
08.01.2021	HSBC	Deficit Financed	"The benchmark 10-year Treasury yield has moved above 1.0 per cent	
			for the first time since March 2020. This has been driven by expecta-	
			tions that the Senate elections in Georgia will pave the way for even	
			greater fiscal stimulus, which will ultimately have to be financed by	
			more bond issuance."	

Infrastructure Discussion Before Elections

Date	Bank	Infrastructure	Exact Phrasing
		Number	
30.12.2020	Moody's Analytics	Rep. win:	"A divided government will prevent additional fiscal stimulus from being passed next
		sizeable infras-	year. However, there are reasonable odds that once the pandemic winds down, Biden
		tructure is pos-	will be able to get Congress to agree to a sizable infrastructure package, though likely
		sible once the	not in 2021."
		pandemic winds	
		down	
31.12.2020	Deutsche Bank	Dem win:	"However, if Democrats take both seats, another large fiscal stimulus package would be
		possible infras-	likely, possibly including some of the more structural priorities of the new Administra-
		tructure package	tion such as infrastructure."
04.01.2021	Goldman Sachs	Dem win:	"Infrastructure, for example, continues to be an area where some bipartisan support ap-
		meaningful infras-	pears possibleDemocratic control of the Senate would increase the odds of a meaning-
		tructure package;	ful infrastructure package becoming law, though this is more of an indirect effect as such
			legislation would still require bipartisan support to pass."
		Rep win:	
		some infrastruc-	
		ture package	
05.01.2021	Rabobank	Dem win:	"Biden's ambitious plans to boost the economy through expansive fiscal policy will
		more expansive	be shot down in the Senate if the Republicans keep a majority So we can forget
		fiscal policy;	about all those plans to spend on education, public R&D, green infrastructure, health
			care, unemployment benefits and social programs. The same is true for tax hikes for
		Rep win:	corporations and high income and high wealth individuals.
		0	If the Democrats win both run-off elections in Georgia this would open the door to
			a large fiscal stimulus package and more expansive fiscal policy in the coming years.
			Part of this will likely be financed by higher taxes somewhere down the road."

Infrastructure Number After Elections

Date	Bank	Infrastructure, \$(billion)	Туре	Exact Phrasing	
06.01.2021	Cornerstone Research	1000	infrastructure	"Infrastruct. Larger deal (\$1 trillion) via budget recon; surface infrastr + schools/housing"	
06.01.2021	BNP Paribas	600	infrastructure and industrial policy	"We also see a strengthened likelihood of a bipartisan passage of President- elect Biden's infrastructure and industrial policy plans (≈USD600bn) roughly evenly spread across 2021 and 2022."	
06.01.2021	Capital Eco- nomics	0	infrastructure	"Biden's major legislative priorities, including a large Green New Deal-style infrastructure package partly funded by higher taxes on high-income individuals and corporations are still unlikely to become a reality, so we are not minded to change our (above-consensus) forecasts for 2021 or 2022."	
07.01.2021	Deutsche Bank	1000	infrastructure	"While at this point the size and scope of these policies are highly uncertain, we have in mind an infrastructure package of about \$1tn and tax reform raising revenues of about half that much."	
10.01.2021	Moody's Analytics	1150	net fiscal sup- port	"We also expect an additional \$1.15 trillion in net fiscal support to be signed into law later this year with government spending and tax increases in the spirit of the "Build Back Better" policy agenda that Biden proposed during the campaign."	
11.01.2021	Saxo	3500	green infras- tructure	"With Harris to break the 50/50 potential Tie in the Senate, about \$7 trillion in Green Infrastructure that Biden and Harris campaigned on has risen several magnitudes in not just probability but scope We are not saying the full \$7 trillion will come into fruition, it could actually be more – but even if it's "only" \$3.5 trillion the ripples are huge."	

Infrastructure Financing

Date	Bank	Infrastructure	Exact Phrasing	
06.01.2021	Morgan Stanley	Partially by taxes	"US public policy strategist Michael Zezas sees a lighter touch	
			on taxes, used as a partial offset to infrastructure and/or healthcare	
			spending initiatives later in 2021."	
06.01.2021	Capital Eco-	Partly funded	"But Biden's major legislative priorities, including a large Green	
	nomics	by higher taxes	New Deal-style infrastructure package partly funded by higher taxes	
		on high-income	on high-income individuals and corporations are still unlikely to	
		individuals and	become a reality, so we are not minded to change our (above-	
		corporations	consensus) forecasts for 2021 or 2022."	
		(but unlikely)		
07.01.2021	Deutsche Bank	Half by tax	"While at this point the size and scope of these policies are highly	
			uncertain, we have in mind an infrastructure package of about \$1tn	
			and tax reform raising revenues of about half that much."	
08.01.2021	UBS	Partially fi-	"Our Dem sweep scenario also assumed that there would be a multi-	
		nanced by taxes	year fiscal package that included infrastructure spending along with	
			other measures. We had penciled in an annual flow rate of about	
			\$275bn, but not starting until the second half of 2021. In addition,	
			we had assumed that there would be a set of tax increases, including	
			higher business taxes, that would be used to partially pay for the extra	
			spending."	
10.01.2021	Moody's Analyt-	Financed by	"We also expect an additional \$1.15 trillion in net fiscal support to	
	ics	taxes	be signed into law later this year with government spending and tax	
			increases in the spirit of the "Build Back Better" policy agenda that	
			Biden proposed during the campaign."	

Types of Tax Change for Infrastructure Financing

Date	Bank	Taxes
10.01.2021	Moody's Analytics	Capital gains taxes:
		- Increase to 0.28
11.01.2021	Goldman Sachs	Personal tax:
		- no net increase in personal taxes
		- increase in marginal rate on top earners: 0.396
		Capital gains taxes: - increase to 0.28 - \$160bn
		Corporate tax: - increase to 0.25 - \$400bn
		Social Security Tax and Payroll Tax: - no change
		Deductions and restorations: - increase to 0.28
		- \$225bn - itemized deductions

Barclays Policy Outcomes

Date	Bank	Outcome	Probability	Exact Phrasing
06.01.2021	Barclays	aggressive progressive	unlikely	We believe the probability of an âaggressive progressive policy agenda' is
		policy agenda		unlikely even if the Democrats win both seats in Georgia [w]e generally
				agree with Maneesh that near-term corporate tax hikes are unlikely given
				policy priorities during the pandemic.
06.01.2021	Barclays	stimulus	likely	the outcome of the two Georgia elections, which are likely to give control
				of Congress to Democrats, will raise expectations for further COVID-related
				fiscal support and, potentially, spending on infrastructure
06.01.2021	Barclays	infrastructure	moderately	the outcome of the two Georgia elections, which are likely to give control
			likely	of Congress to Democrats, will raise expectations for further COVID-related
				fiscal support and, potentially, spending on infrastructure
07.01.2021	Barclays	lower trade risks	likely	With a Democratic Congress, we expect the Biden administration likely will
				pursue additional stimulus, revert to a more active regulatory agenda, and
				lower trade risks.
07.01.2021	Barclays	tax change	moderately	While infrastructure remains a distinct possibility, we assign a lower proba-
			unlikely	bility to significant tax changes or a public option.
07.01.2021	Barclays	public option	moderately	While infrastructure remains a distinct possibility, we assign a lower proba-
			unlikely	bility to significant tax changes or a public option.
08.01.2021	Barclays	confirm Biden adminis-	likely	With full control of Congress, we expect Democrats are more likely to con-
		tration nominees		firm all of the Biden administration's nominees
08.01.2021	Barclays	broader agenda setting	likely	With full control of Congress, we expect Democrats are more likely to con-
		powers		firm all of the Biden administration's nominees, control the Congressional
				policy agenda with the power to call hearings

Conditional Forecast Real GDP

Source	Date	Real GDP Increase	Real GDP Phrasing
Barclays	14.01.2021	2.3% increase after 2 years	"With Democratic control of Congress, we expect another virus- related relief package of about \$1.4trn. Should the vaccine rollout proceed in line with our expectations, additional fiscal support could lead to a positive output gap later this year, though rising participation should help limit inflationary pressures[w]e now expect Q4/Q4 real GDP growth of 7.0% in 2021 (up 3.2pp) and 1.5% in 2022 (down 0.9pp). On a calendar-year basis, these revisions boost real GDP growth to 6.3% y/y in 2021 and 3.9% y/y in 2022."
Bloomberg	06.01.2021	2.3% increase after 2 years	"In the event of a Democratic sweep in Georgia, we think additional near-term pandemic relief and accompanying stimulus could stretch into the \$600 billion to \$600 billion range. The high end could be sufficient to lift growth by roughly 1.7 percentage points in 2021, to 5.2% year-over-year, with a faster pace continuing into 2022 (above 3%), compared to our current baseline of 2.4%."
BNP Paribas	06.01.2021	1.4% increase over 2 years	"Both Democratic candidates are projected to win their Georgia run-off races[w]e revise our annual average 2021 and 2022 GDP forecasts up by 0.5pp and 0.9pp, respectively, with growth expected to register 4.2% and 4.1%."
Deutsche Bank	07.01.2021	2% increase over 2 years	"The first priority of the Biden administration and Democratic Congress is likely to be another tranche of Covid-related fiscal support. In the first quarter, we anticipate passage of a bill of approximately \$900bn that is built around further stimulus checks, funds for state and local governments, and enhancements to unemployment benefits, among other provisions. In response, we have lifted our growth forecast for 2021 by about 2 percentage points to 6.3% (Q4/Q4) and reduced our year-end forecast for the unemployment rate to 4.3% from 5% previously.

Changing of Probability of Dem Senate Majority (Barclays) PRETURN



Date	Source of Probabil- ity	Probability of Demo- cratic Majority	Exact Phrasing
06.11.2020	Barclays	< 0.5	"With a split Congress highly likely, prospects for another large fiscal package seem remote, putting pressure on the Fed to boost monetary policy support. Although many votes remain to be counted, the likelihood of a divided government outcome is high."
04.12.2020	Prediction Markets	0.2	"On November 3 (or shortly thereafter), we thought that we would have all the answers, but with the Senate's fate still in limbo, the muni market faces a lot of uncertainty. Prediction markets assign a nearly 80% probability of Republicans winning at least one of the Georgia Senate seats in the January run-off."
11.12.2020	Barclays	unlikely (< 0.5)	"Looking ahead, as discussed in our 2021 municipal outlook, although it appears somewhat unlikely, if Democrats win both Senate seats in Georgia, Treasuries and tax-exempt yields might sell off sooner and to a larger degree."
18.12.2020	Prediction Markets	0.35	"Regardless, the main focus of muni investors going into 2021 will be on the Georgia Senate elections, with a possibility of a large stimulus bill, with a sizable portion dedicated to municipalities, implemented if Democrats win both races (although prediction markets assign less than a 35% probability to this outcome)."
05.01.2021	Barclays	0.5	"Polling in both Georgia Senate run-off elections is well within the margin of error, and ${\bf we}$ consider them both toss-ups. '

Bloomberg Daily Round-Ups • Return

Date	News	Summary	US
5th Jan	European stocks fluctuated with U.S. equity futures as traders weighed con- cerns about the impact of rising coro- navirus cases and braced for key U.S. runoff elections.	European stocks fluctuated with U.S. equity futures as traders weighed concerns about the impact of rising coronavirus cases and braced for key U.S. runoff elections. Energy firms and retailers led the Stoxx 600 Index as the U.K. went back into lockdown in an attempt to prevent hospitals being overwhelmed.	√
5th Jan	The New York Stock Exchange said it will no longer delist China's three biggest state-owned telecommunica- tions companies	The New York Stock Exchange said it will no longer delist China's three biggest state- owned telecommunications companies, backtracking on a plan that had threatened to escalate tensions between the world's largest economies. NYSE's U-turn came with scant explanation just four days after the exchange said it would remove the shares to comply with a U.S. executive order barring investments in businesses owned or controlled by the Chinese military.	✓
5th Jan	The U.S. Food and Drug Adminis- tration delivered a clear rebuke to health officials: [D]on't mess with our guidelines.	The U.S. Food and Drug Administration delivered a clear rebuke to health officials attempting to alter the timing and dosage of Covid-19 vaccines: Don't mess with our guidelines. The agency, in a statement late yesterday, urged that vaccines be given according to how the FDA has authorized them after a key U.S. official proposed cutting dosage levels for Moderna Inc.'s shot as a way to immunize more people.	√
5th Jan	Qatar's ruler landed in Saudi Arabia today	Qatar's ruler landed in Saudi Arabia today to a warm embrace from host Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, hours after their nations re-established travel ties and eased a regional dispute. Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani is attending the Gulf Cooperation Council summit for the first time since a 2017 row that cut trade, travel, and diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E., Bahrain, and Egypt. Saudi Arabia reopened its air, land, and sea borders with Qatar on Monday, a leap toward easing the crisis that had complicated U.S. efforts to isolate Iran amid heightened tensions.	

Calibration • Return

Parameter	Description	Value	Target
μ	Share of hand-to-mouth	0.275	1 % 2 year interternment MDC
ϕ	OLG survival rate	0.68	1 & 2 year intertemporal MPC
σ	Intertemporal elasticity of substitution	1	Standard
φ	Frisch elasticity	1	Standard
β	Discount factor	0.99	Standard
Nominal rigidities			
κ	NKPC slope	0.055	Hazell et al. (2022)
Steady State Fiscal			
B_{ss}/Y_{ss}	Steady state Debt-to-GDP	0.8	Standard
$ au_{\scriptscriptstyle V}$	Marginal tax rate	0.27	Provided by CBO (2019)
G_{ss}/Y_{ss}	Gov't spending-to-GDP	0.2	Standard
Fiscal Rule			
$ au_B$	Response of surpluses to debt	0.189	Persistence of debt, CBO (2021)
Н	Period where debt repayment starts	3	Provided by CBO (2021)
\bar{B}/Y_{ss}	Steady state Debt-to-GDP after shocks	80.6%	9 year ahead 1 year interest rate

Preannouncement Drift Preturn

Start on election morning, January 6th, to include preannouncement drift

Reasons:

- Democrats' best poll released after close of markets on January 5th
 - Betting markets move towards Democrats during election day
 - Markets also moved towards Democrats during election day
- Pre-announcement drift larger in tenors where "smart money" is active
 - Consistent with informed speculation in advance of election outcome
 - Hedge funds disproportionately operate in shorter tenors (Bahaj et al 2023)
 - Preannouncement drift only visible in these tenors
 - Hedge funds buy exit polls around high stakes political events (e.g. Brexit)

Dividend Futures (1/2)

Nominal *n* year ahead dividend growth from dividend futures:

• The *n* year dividend future is

$$F_t^n = \frac{E_t D_{t+n}}{1 + \theta_t^n}$$

 $E_t D_{t+n}$ is expected dividend, θ_t^n is n year dividend risk premium

- ullet Identification assumption: $heta_t^n$ unaffected by deficit shock
 - $heta_t^n$ varies little at short horizons [Gormsen et al '21]
- \rightarrow Then $\Delta \log F_t^n$ is *n* period dividend growth

Real n year ahead GDP growth:

- Adjust for inflation using swaps
- Convert dividend growth to GDP growth using

$$\Delta \log \mathsf{GDP}_t = b\Delta \log \mathsf{dividend}_t$$

• *b* = 0.76 [Gormsen & Koijen '20]

Dividend Futures (2/2) • Return

Sources of bias?

- Market likely expected higher dividend taxes
- $\rightarrow\,$ Suggests real GDP growth even higher than baseline

Liquidity: >>25 transactions per day during event window

Restricting to 2019-2023: $\beta = 0.6 \, (0.3)$

- → Expectations under-react to shocks
 - Caveat: only 4 years of data

In Coibion-Gorodnichenko framework w/ noisy information:

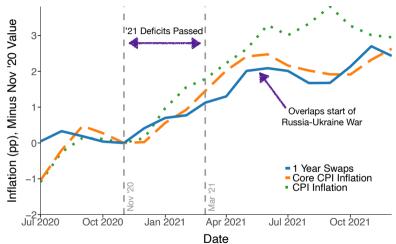
$$\frac{d\mathbb{E}\left[\text{actual inflation}\right]}{d\text{deficit shock}} = 1.6 \times \frac{d\left[\text{inflation forecast}\right]}{d\text{deficit shock}}$$

ightarrow Response of expectations is lower bound for response of actual inflation



	CPI Inflation	CPI Core Inflation	Δ CPI Inflation	Δ CPI Core Inflation
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Year 1 Swaps	1.237	1.034		
	(0.524)	(0.284)		
Δ Year 1 Swaps			1.168	0.828
			(0.547)	(0.334)
Observations	51	51	39	39
R^2	0.426	0.653	0.336	0.521

Swaps Predict Inflation Changes Around '21 Deficits



- Graph: swaps and realized inflation for same horizon
- Swaps predict actual inflation changes well around '21 deficits
- Later: predictive power deteriorates due to energy + food shocks [Russia-Ukraine War]

1 Year Quarterly Inflation Expectation • Return

