Do Deficits Cause Inflation? A High Frequency Narrative Approach

NBER Impulse & Propagation Mechanisms

Jonathon Hazell (London School of Economics, CEPR) Stephan Hobler (London School of Economics) July 2025

Do Deficits Cause Inflation?

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

Empirical debate: some find deficits important for '20s inflation [e.g. Barro & Bianchi '23]

• Others-deficits not important [e.g. Bernanke & Blanchard '23]

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Single episodes influential for macro theories [e.g. Great Depression, 60s-80s Inflation, Post Pandemic]

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

- Narrative measure of shock: deficit news event [Friedman & Schwarz '67; Romer & Romer '89]
- 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



- 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 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} [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 measure of shock: deficit news from Georgia

High frequency response: inflation expectation from intraday swap prices

- Main identification strategy: single event study around election
- Advantage: excludes lower frequency omitted variables
- Result: expected price level increase of 0.38% over 2 years [persistent effect on inflation]
- Robustness: Capitol Hill Riots

Narrative measure of shock: deficit news from Georgia

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Narrative + high frequency: '21 deficits caused intermediate share of '21-'22 inflation ($\approx 30\%$)

• Assumes Δ inflation expectations/ Δ deficits $\approx \Delta \mathbb{E}$ [inflation]/ Δ deficits

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Narrative + high frequency: '21 deficits caused intermediate share of '21-'22 inflation ($\approx 30\%$)

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

Can standard models match inflation dynamics around runoff?

• Post-Pandemic inflation + '21 deficits = powerful test

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Simple Heterogeneous Agent New Keynesian (HANK) model

- Calibrate to pre 2020 data
- Reduced form deficit shock \rightarrow structural shocks to interest rates + spending + transfers
- From narrative + high frequency info

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Simple Heterogeneous Agent New Keynesian (HANK) model

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Bottom line: standard model matches size + dynamics of inflation response around runoff

• Loose monetary policy important

Data

Intraday risk neutral inflation expectations

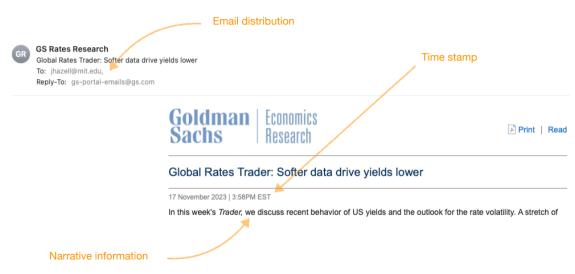
- 1, 2, 5 and 10 year inflation expectations from swaps (= contract on future inflation)
- Inflation risk premium is stable over this period [Cieslak & Pflueger '23, Cleveland Fed]

Intraday risk neutral inflation expectations

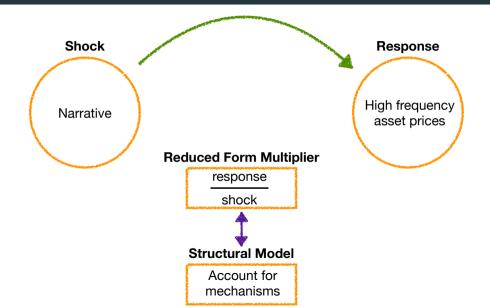
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New hand collected narrative data from investment banks

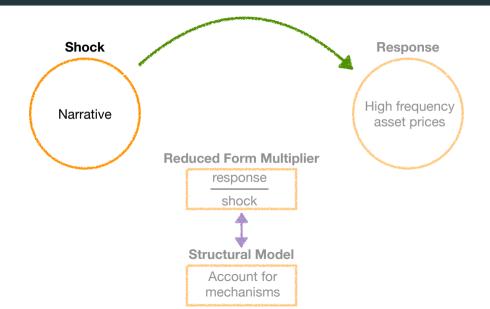
- Source: investment banks + similar, 20 sources [e.g. Goldman Sachs, Bloomberg, Moody's]
- Reports around events, distributed to market participants, time stamped, narrative detail
- $\rightarrow\,$ Proxy for markets' beliefs



High Frequency Narrative Approach



High Frequency Narrative Approach



Mar '20: CARES Act 2.2 trillion $\approx 10.3\%$ of GDP	Nov '20	Election
 Nov '20: Biden elected, Democrats with 48 Senate seats 2 Georgia Senate seats to be decided in Jan 5 		
	Jan 5 '21	- Georgia Runoff

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 Jan 7—both Democrats declared victors 		

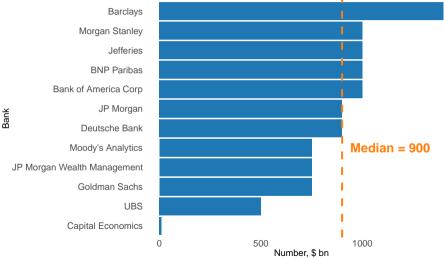
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 Democrat legislation: Mar '21: American Rescue Plan, \$1.8 trillion, ≈ 8.4% of GDP 	Aug '22	Inflation Reduction Act
 Aug '22: approx. deficit-neutral Inflation Reduction Act 		7 / 00

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: E[stimulus|Democrat win], P(Democrat win), E[stimulus|Divided govt.]

E[stimulus|Democrat win]



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- P(Democrat victory) ≈ 0.5 Table
- $\mathbb{E}[\text{stimulus}|\text{Republican victory}]$ is zero \bullet Table
- $\rightarrow~$ **\$450 billion** of fiscal news after Democrat victory, 2.1% of 2020Q4 annualized GDP

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Additional info:

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- 70% transfers [rebates + unemployment insurance], 30% spending [state + local aid] Table

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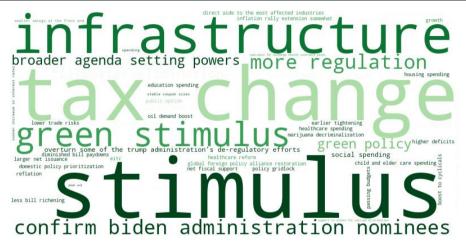
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Additional policy: delayed + tax financed infrastructure [quantitatively unimportant cf. Ramey '21]

Main Outcome of Democrat Victory is Stimulus

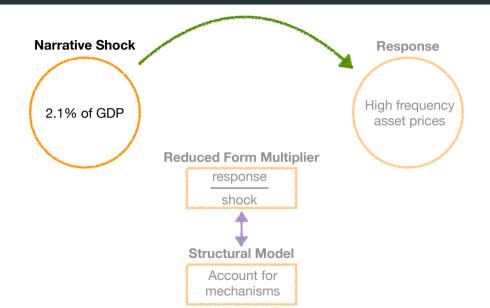
Main Outcome of Democrat Victory is Stimulus



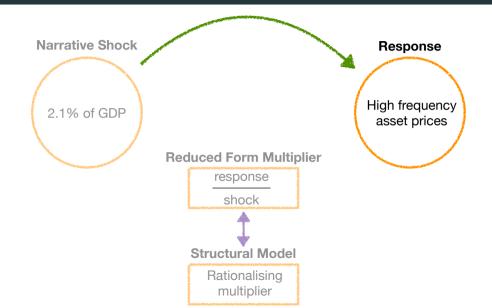
Darker = more likely, Larger = mentioned by more investment banks

ChatGPT + Human—read reports, summarize outcomes of Democrat victory ChatGPT Version

High Frequency Narrative Approach



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9/22

High Frequency Response of Inflation Forecasts

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 - Construct expectation using ARIMA estimated before T
- Identification assumption: distribution of ε_t did not change just before vs. just after T
 - $\rightarrow~$ No other "atypical" shocks just after Senate election
 - ... But typical shocks "allowed"

Key decision: event window should capture full effect but exclude confounding events

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Capturing full effect: window from beginning of January 5th to end of January 7th

- 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 🕩 Details
 - Start on morning of election to include "pre-announcement drift" Details

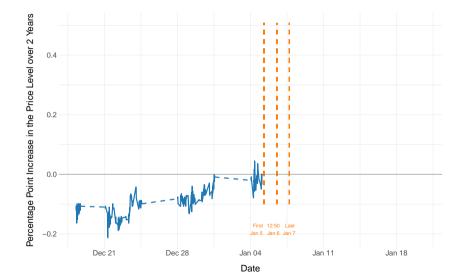
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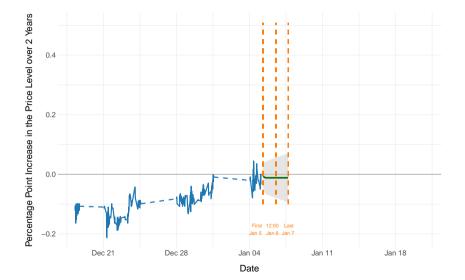
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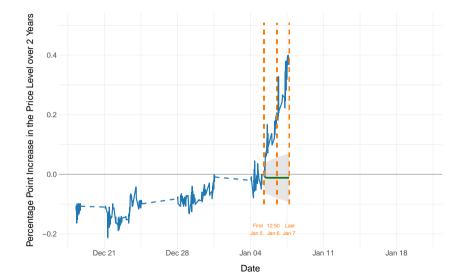
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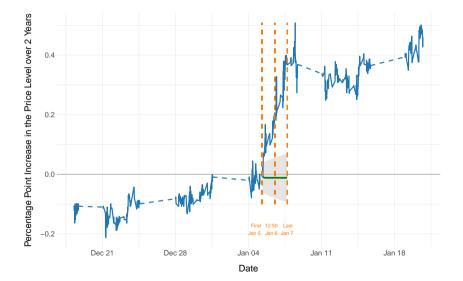
Potential confounding event: January 6th Capitol Hill Riots

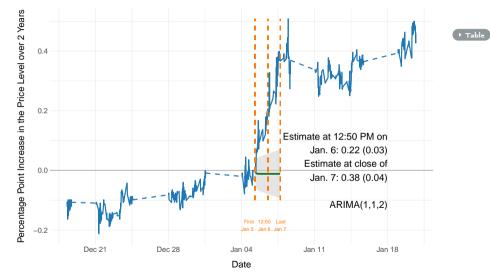
- Robustness: end event window at 2PM on January 6th + other robustness to come
- Bloomberg daily "round up": no other significant events Details





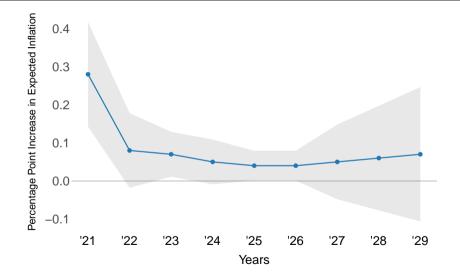




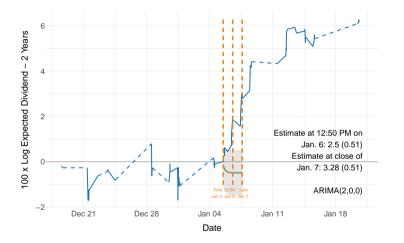


NB: effect of election on inflation relative to counterfactual of no news

Dynamics: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Inflation Expectations



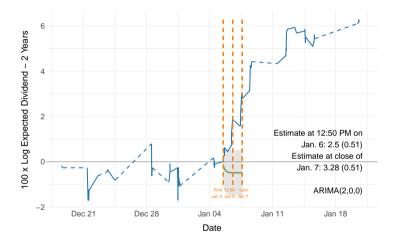
Dividend Futures + Investment Banks: Positive Growth ("Demand Shock")



2 year nominal dividend future \approx forecast of 2 year nominal dividends \bigcirc Details

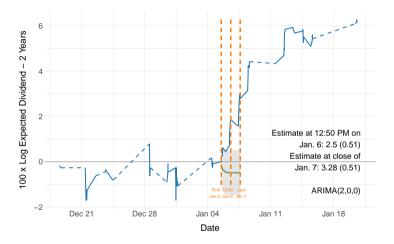
► Additional Results

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



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



2 year nominal dividend future \approx forecast of 2 year nominal dividends \checkmark Details \checkmark Additional Results \rightarrow Increase in '22 real GDP of $\approx 1.9\%$ [Gormsen & Koijen '20] After runoff: median investment bank raises '22 output forecast by 1.8%

- 1. Similar results excluding January 6th riots
- 2. Inflation forecast remains high after Riots disperse
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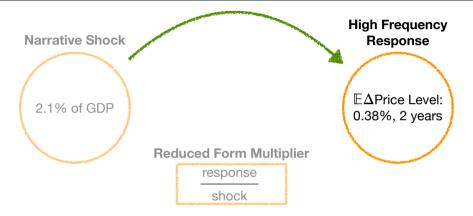
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- 4. Narrative evidence from news: Capitol Hill Riots not important for asset prices Octails
- 5. Credit default swaps did not respond Details

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

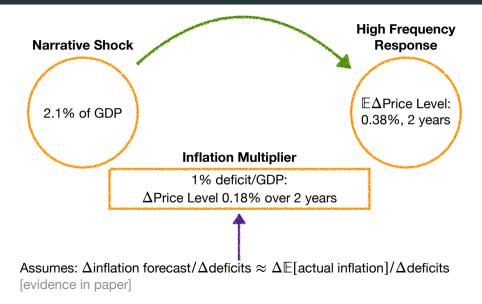
2. In paper:

- Daily regression specification using beliefs about Democrat victory from betting markets
- Quantitatively similar estimates

High Frequency Narrative Approach



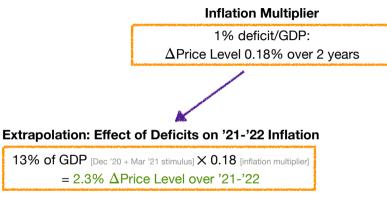
Narrative + High Frequency: Effect of '21 Deficits on Inflation

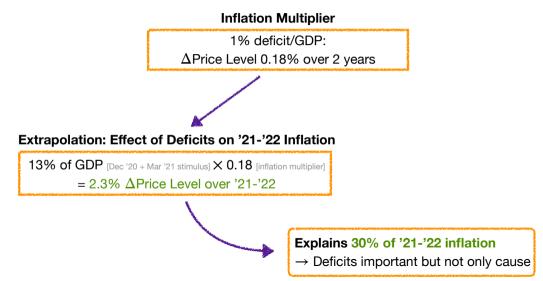


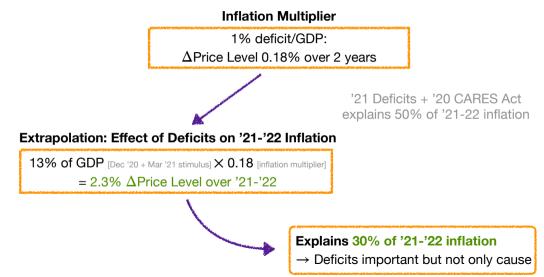
Inflation Multiplier

1% deficit/GDP:

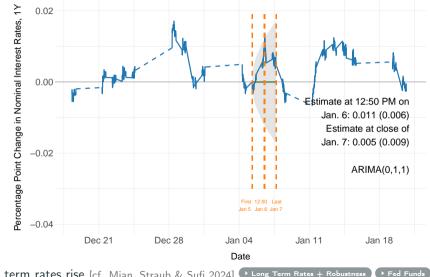
 Δ Price Level 0.18% over 2 years







Loose Monetary Policy Important: Short Term Rates Unchanged



But long term rates rise [cf. Mian, Straub & Sufi 2024]

Can Standard Models Match Inflation Dynamics Around Runoff?

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Post-Pandemic inflation + '21 deficits = powerful test of standard model

 $\rightarrow\,$ Confront model with inflation dynamics around runoff

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Simple + standard Heterogeneous Agent New Keynesian (HANK) model:

- New Keynesian Phillips Curve
- Fraction μ of hand to mouth households
- Fraction $1-\mu$ of overlapping generation households with mortality risk [Blanchard '85]
- \rightarrow Departure from Ricardian equivalence + approximates HANK [one asset HANK in paper]

Post-Pandemic inflation + '21 deficits = powerful test of standard model

 $\rightarrow\,$ Confront model with inflation dynamics around runoff

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In model: evaluate inflation response after "deficit shock" from runoff

• In paper: similar exercise for Fiscal Theory of the Price Level model

A Simple Heterogeneous Agent Model

Environment:

- Fraction μ hand to mouth: consume after tax income $C_{H,t} = W_t N_{H,t} T_{H,t}$
- Fraction $1-\mu$ of OLG households with survival probability ϕ

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

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

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]

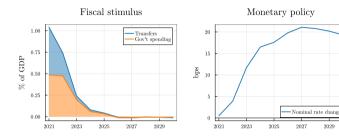
Main exercise: evaluating inflation response implied by model to "deficit bundle" from Georgia

Measuring policy variables $\{i_t, T_t, T_t^H, G_t\}_{t=0}^{\infty}$ around Georgia runoff

- Deficit size + composition (i.e. G vs. T) from narrative reports
- Timing of spending from realized American Rescue Plan
- Debt repayment from long term interest rates + Congressional Budget Office debt forecast
- Nominal interest rate response around runoff

Assume economy in steady state after 10 years

Model Quantitatively Matches Size + Persistence of Inflation Response

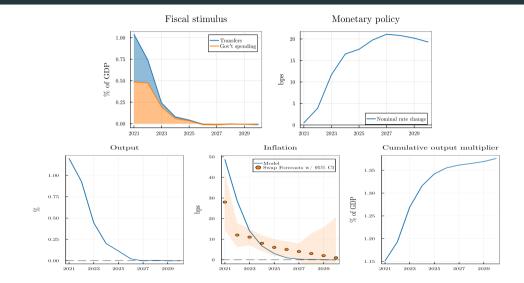


Shock to transfers + spending around runoff

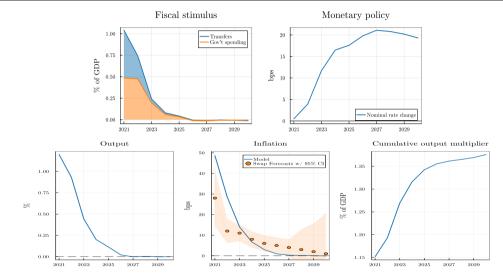
Response of interest rates around runoff \rightarrow Endogenous monetary response to fiscal

2029

Model Quantitatively Matches Size + Persistence of Inflation Response



Model Quantitatively Matches Size + Persistence of Inflation Response



In paper: key mechanism for inflation response is loose monetary policy

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:

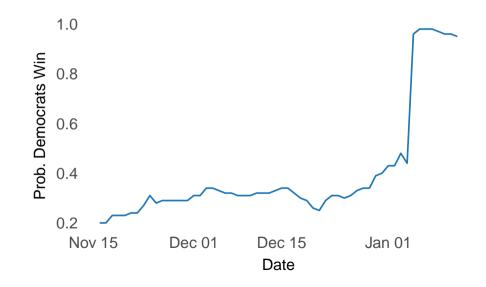
- Dec '20 + Mar '21 stimulus explains intermediate share of '21-'22 inflation
- $\rightarrow\,$ Deficits important for inflation but not only cause

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

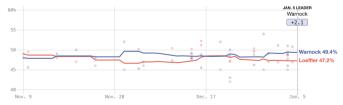
Georgia's regular Senate election

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

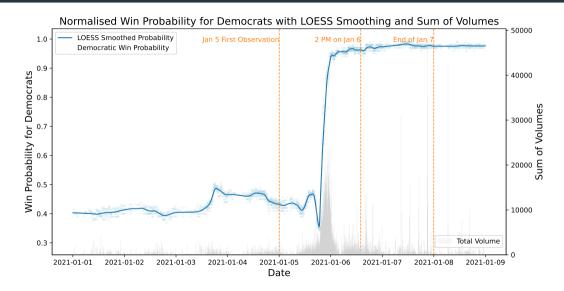


Georgia's special Senate election

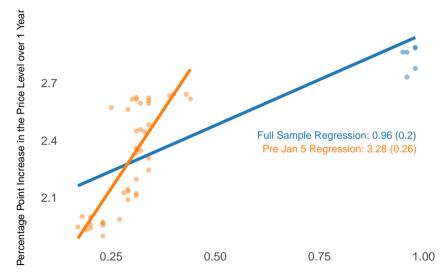
Republican Sen. Kelly Loeffler faces Democrat Raphael Warnock in a special election. Loeffler was appointed to fill former Sen. Johnny Isakson's seat after he resigned.



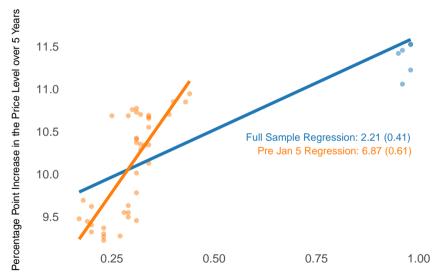
High Frequency Betting Data • Return



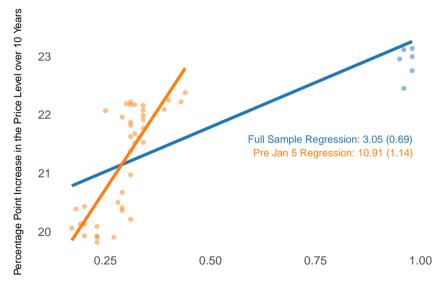
Swaps IV - 1 Year

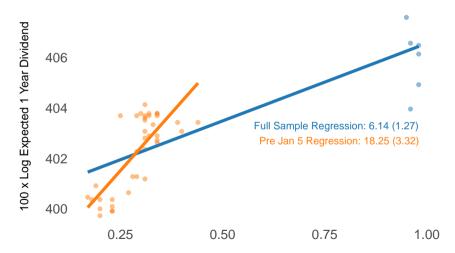


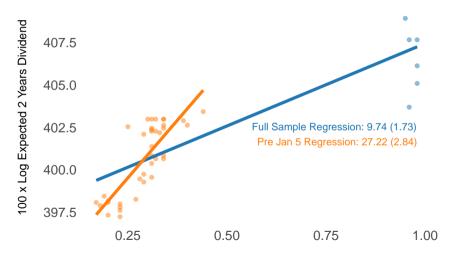
Swaps IV - 5 Years



Swaps IV - 10 Years

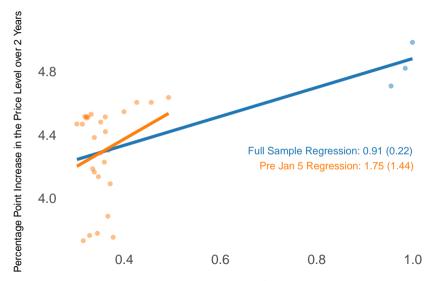






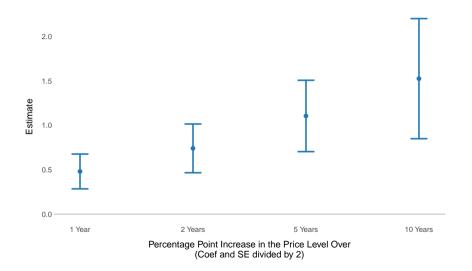
Prob. Democrats Win Senate

Betfair Regular IV - 2 Years



Prob. Democrats Win Senate BetFair

Coefplot IV Full Model Swaps

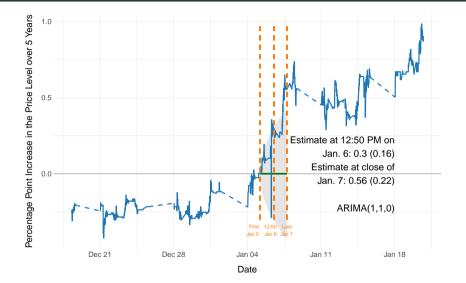


Swaps Single Event Study - 1 year

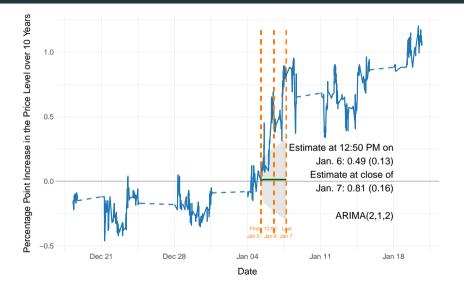


Date

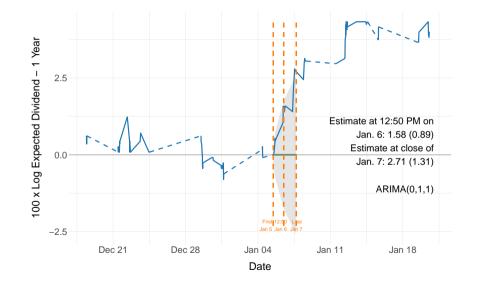
Swaps Single Event Study - 5 Years

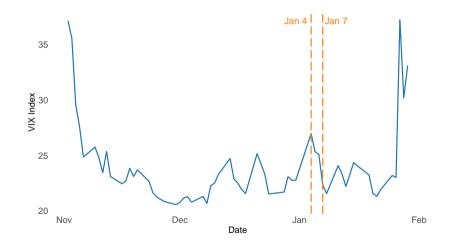


Swaps Single Event Study - 10 Years

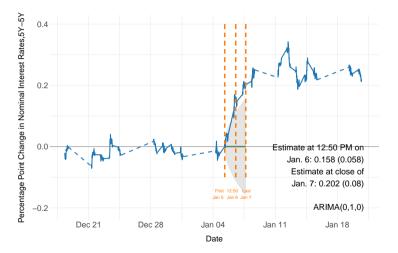


Dividends Single Event Study - 1 Year • Return

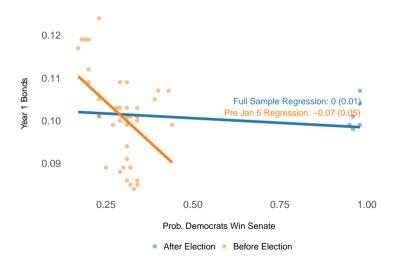




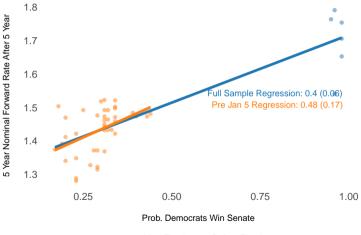
Long Term Interest Rates Event Study • Return



Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Short Term Rates

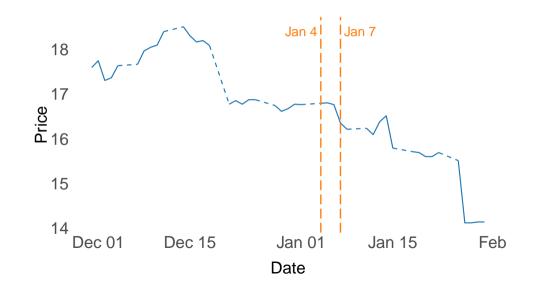


Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Long Term Rates



After Election • Before Election

Credit Default Swaps • Return



Surprise Index Hourly **Return**

Figures/Main Figures Bigger Fonts/Surprise_Hourly.pdf

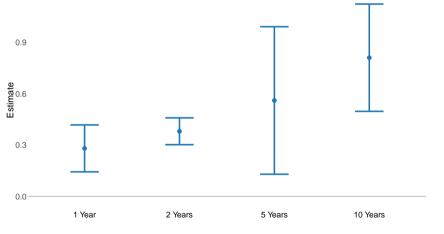
Event Study: Percentage point increase in the price level from inflation swaps

▶ Return

		Panel A: Percentage point increase over 1 year					
	Jan 7, non Stationary	Jan 6, non Stationary	Difference	Jan 7, Stationary	Drop missing		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		
Jump in Expectations	0.28 (0.07)			0.28 (0.03)	0.28 (0.12)		
Observations	231	231 231		232	231		
	Panel	B: Percentage point incre	ease over 2 y	ear			
Jump in Expectations	$0.38 \\ (0.05)$	$0.18 \\ (0.04)$	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.37 \\ (0.04) \end{array} $	$0.45 \\ (0.05)$	$0.38 \\ (0.09)$		
Observations	659	659	659	660	659		

Panel C: Percentage point increase over 5 year						
Jump in Expectations	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.58 \\ (0.22) \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.29 \\ (0.16) \end{array} $	0.58 (0.08)	0.76 (0.08)	0.58 (0.23)	
Observations	1048	1048	1048	1049	1048	
	Panel I	D: Percentage point in	crease over 10 ye	ır		
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



Percentage Point Increase in the Price Level

Regression: Causal Effect of Democrat Victory on Swaps

	Panel A: Pe	ercentage point	increase in the price les	vel over 1 year
	Full Sample	Before Jan 5	Outliers Dropped	Diff
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Democrats Win Probability	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.87 \\ (0.09) \end{array} $	3.42 (0.40)	$0.95 \\ (0.14)$	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.08 \\ (0.04) \end{array} $
Observations	40	35	35	38
	Panel B: Pe	rcentage point i	ncrease in the price let	el over 2 year
Democrats Win Probability	1.39	5.40	1.50	0.23
	(0.14)	(0.59)	(0.22)	(0.07)
Observations	41	36	36	40

	Panel C: Pe	rcentage point in	crease in the price	level over 5 years
Democrats Win Probability	2.12 (0.22)	8.24 (0.91)	2.33 (0.33)	$0.33 \\ (0.10)$
Observations	41	36	36	40
	Panel D: Per	ccentage point in	crease in the price	level over 10 years
Democrats Win Probability	Panel D: Per 2.84	ccentage point ine 12.30	crease in the price 3.16	level over 10 years 0.64
Democrats Win Probability		0 1	*	0

		i unei A. i ercentuge point increase over i geur					
	Jan 7, non Stationary (1)	Jan 6, non Stationary (2)	Difference (3)	Jan 7, Stationary (4)	Drop missing (5)		
Jump in Interest Rate	$0.005 \\ (0.009)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.014 \\ (0.006) \end{array}$	0.0047 (0.0051)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.005 \\ (0.005) \end{array}$	0.005 (0.015)		
Observations	570	570	570	571	570		
	Panel	B: Percentage point incr	rease over 5 y	ears, after 5 years			
Jump in Interest Rate	$0.202 \\ (0.08)$	$0.161 \\ (0.059)$	0.2024 (0.0213)	$0.202 \\ (0.025)$	$0.202 \\ (0.106)$		
Observations	570	570	570	571	570		

Panel A. Percentage point increase over 1 year

	Panel A: 2021 dividends					
	Jan 7, non Stationary	Jan 7, 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	$3.32 \\ (0.51)$	$ \begin{array}{c} 1.23 \\ (0.51) \end{array} $	2.88 (0.52)	$3.32 \\ (0.51)$	3.49 (0.51)	
Observations	76	76	75	76	76	

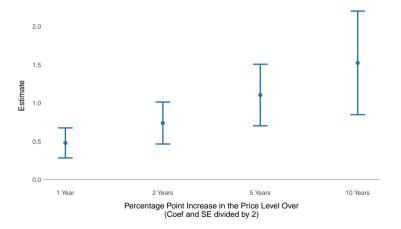
Overall Outcome: Increase in 100*Log(Expected S&P 500 dividends)

IV Controls • Return

Controls	1 Year	2 Years	5 Years	10 Years
1. No Control	3.93 (0.70)	5.78 (1.17)	$ \begin{array}{c} 10.31 \\ (1.81) \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{c} 16.41 \\ (3.12) \end{array} $
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

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)	$9.96 \\ (1.7)$	
Observations	29	30	30	30
7. COVID Effect	$3.96 \\ (0.74)$	5.76 (1.22)	$10.39 \\ (1.97)$	$ \begin{array}{r} 16.5 \\ (3.45) \end{array} $
Observations	29	30	30	30

Regression: Causal Effect of Georgia Shock on Inflation Expectations



	Overall Out	come: Increase in the re-	al dividends			
	Panel A: 1-year real dividends					
	Jan 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	

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 \$1trn, spli		"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 Management	750	"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 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."

Date	Bank	Number, \$(billion)	Expectation Phrase	Exact Phrasing
31.12.2020	Deutsche Bank	0	"do not see"	"As such, unless the Senate switches to Democratic control on the results of the Georgia election, we do not see much scope for further stimulus ."
04.01.2021	Goldman Sachs	0	"we would not expect"	"If Senate Republicans hold one or both of these Georgia seats, this will leave them 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 Analytics	0	"not pen- ciling"	"Our baseline forecast does not assume that Democrats will pick up both Georgia seats, 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."

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."

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%		
			TTIE / 0		
			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%		
			- 40 /0		
			Total: \$450bn		
			Total Share: 60%		

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: sizeable infras- tructure is pos- sible once the pandemic winds down	"A divided government will prevent additional fiscal stimulus from being passed next year. However, there are reasonable odds that once the pandemic winds down , Biden will be able to get Congress to agree to a sizable infrastructure package, though likely not in 2021. "
31.12.2020	Deutsche Bank	Dem win: possible infras- tructure package	"However, if Democrats take both seats, another large fiscal stimulus package would be likely, possibly including some of the more structural priorities of the new Administra- tion such as infrastructure."
04.01.2021	Goldman Sachs	Dem win: meaningful infras- tructure package;	"Infrastructure, for example, continues to be an area where some bipartisan support ap- pears possibleDemocratic control of the Senate would increase the odds of a meaning- 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: more expansive fiscal policy; Rep win: 0	"Biden's ambitious plans to boost the economy through expansive fiscal policy will be shot down in the Senate if the Republicans keep a majority So we can forget 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 corporations and high income and high wealth individuals. 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 indi- viduals 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 uncer- tain, 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 Ana- lytics	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 sev- eral 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	21 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
		- \$400011
		Social Security Tax and Payroll Tax:
		- no change
		Deductions and restorations:
		- increase to 0.28
		- \$225bn - itemized deductions

Date	Bank	Outcome	Probability	Exact Phrasing
06.01.2021	Barclays	ys aggressive progressive unlikely We believe the probability of an âaggressive progressive policy a		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 \$1.4tm. Should the vaccine rollout proceed in line with our expectations, additional fiscal sup- port 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 \$800 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 \$3000 ht hat 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.

Date	Source of Probabil-	Probability of Demo- cratic Majority	Exact Phrasing
06.11.2020	ity 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. Al-
			though many votes remain to be counted, the likelihood of a divided govern-
			ment outcome is high."
04.12.2020	Prediction	0.2	"On November 3 (or shortly thereafter), we thought that we would have all the
	Markets		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	0.35	"Regardless, the main focus of muni investors going into 2021 will be on the
	Markets		Georgia Senate elections, with a possibility of a large stimulus bill, with a siz-
			able 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 er-
			ror, and we consider them both toss-ups. '

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.	V
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.	V
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 at- tempting to alter the timing and dosage of Covid-19 vaccines: Don't mess with our guide- lines. 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.	V
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.	

Parameter	Description	Value	Target
μ	Share of hand-to-mouth	0.275	1 & 2 year intertemporal MPC
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_y$	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

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

- Identification assumption: θ_t^n unaffected by deficit shock
 - θ_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 \text{GDP}_t = b\Delta \log \text{dividend}_t
```

• *b* = 0.76 [Gormsen & Koijen '20]

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: $\beta = 0.6 (0.3)$

- $\rightarrow\,$ Expectations under-react to shocks
- Caveat: only 4 years of data

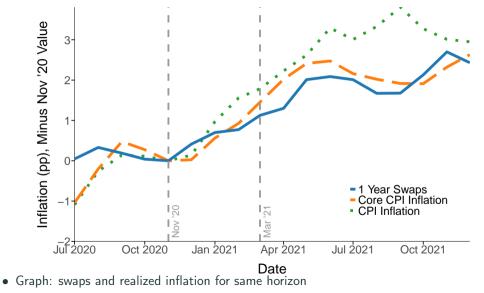
In Coibion-Gorodnichenko framework w/ noisy information:

$$rac{d\mathbb{E}[\text{actual inflation}]}{d\text{deficit shock}} = 1.6 imes rac{d[\text{inflation forecast}]}{d\text{deficit shock}}$$

 \rightarrow Response of expectations is lower bound for response of actual inflation

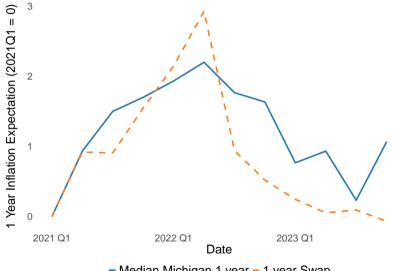
	CPI Inflation	CPI Core Inflation	Δ CPI Inflation	Δ CPI Core Inflation
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Year 1 Swaps	1.237	1.034		
	(0.524)	(0.284)		
Δ Year 1 Swaps			1.168	0.828
			(0.547)	(0.334)
Observations	51	51	39	39
R ²	0.426	0.653	0.336	0.521

Swaps Predict Inflation Changes Around '21 Deficits



• Swang predict actual inflation changes well around '21 deficits

1 Year Quarterly Inflation Expectation Return



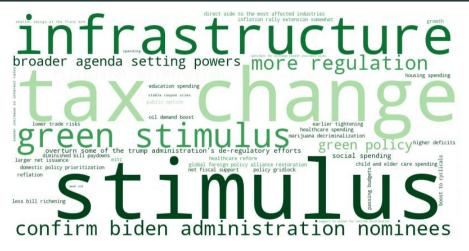
- Median Michigan 1 year - 1 year Swap

Narrative: Capitol Hill Riots and asset prices Preturn

Emily McCormick • Reporter Updated January 7, 2021 • 10 min read		Bloomberg «LiveTV Markels v Economics industries Tech Pattics Businesseret Options More v	
U.S. stocks gained Thursday as traders shook off Wednesday's unrest in Washington and looked ahead to the policy implications of the incoming presidential administration and Congress. Optimism over more stimulus under a unified			 U.S. stock futures have climbed, despite chaos in U.S. Capitol Low rates, stimulus and vaccines buoy markets, Nguyen says
Democratic government stoked a risk-on mood.			Opinion US economy
E COM BUSINESS, Mervants there declarations visions			Why investors shrugged off the
			Capitol riots
Here's why Wall Street mo in Washington	ostly ignored the	e chaos	A Democratic sweep and hopes for fiscal stimulus drove the market instead
W Annellen Tappe and David Goldman, CNN Business O 2 minute read - Published 6:46 PM EST, Wed January 6, 2021			RANA FORCOHAR + Add to myFT
Forbes	-	Forbes	MOREVATER >
Not Even A Riot At The Capitol Can Keep Stocks Down As Dow, S&P 500 And NASDAQ Hit Record Highs—Again	As Trump Supporters Storm Capitol, Dow Rallies 400 Points To Close At All-Time High Jonithas Forders former that		Wall Street's reaction to Washington mayhem? All-time highs
			HONEY WATCH annual 2001 A 2001 KENT Hangdada f X
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"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

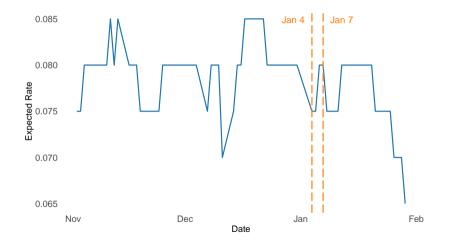
Main Outcome of Democrat Victory is Stimulus



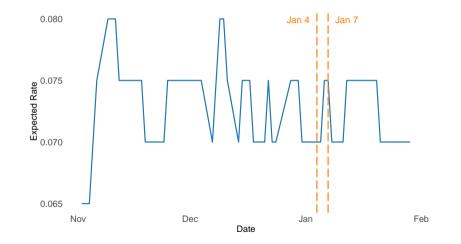
Darker = more likely, Larger = mentioned by more investment banks

Human—read reports and summarize main outcomes of Democrat victory OPT Version

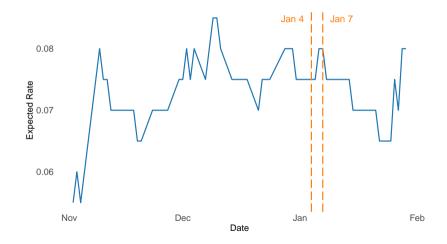
Federal Funds Futures: 3-month forward Return



Federal Funds Futures: 6-month forward Return



Federal Funds Futures: 9-month forward Return



Federal Funds Futures: 12-month forward Return

