

Inflation Expectations and Keeping Up With the Joneses

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This study examines how relative income factors and social comparisons affect Indian households' inflation expectations. The study uses a one-time primary survey conducted in Nahan, Himachal Pradesh, India, covering 200 households, followed by repeated crosssectional data from the Reserve Bank of India's Consumer Confidence Survey, covering 5000 households, for further generalization. The results suggest that households that are relatively worse off and find it difficult to maintain their relative position tend to report higher inflation expectations. Furthermore, a measure of households aspirations is constructed based on the reference group's consumption and income outlook, which the households attempt to match. The findings suggest that as reference group's consumption and income rise, households report higher inflation expectations. Moreover, when the households experience an increase in personal income, they are more likely to report higher inflation expectations with an increase in the reference group's consumption and income outlook. However, the relative factors do not impact their inflation expectations when they experience a decrease in personal income. The study thus contributes to a better understanding of the behavioral factors that influence inflation expectations, the heterogeneity in household responses, and the upward bias in inflation expectations among Indian households.

Keywords: Consumption Outlook, Income Outlook, Inflation, Inflation Expectations, Reference Group, Social Comparisons

JEL Code: E310, E710, D120

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1 Introduction

This paper examines the impact of households' relative position and social comparisons on their inflation expectations in the Indian context. The literature focuses on socio-demographic, macroeconomic, and other factors to explain the heterogeneity in responses and the deviation of inflation expectations from actual inflation (Coibion et al. (2018)). In addition to these factors, the focus here is on relative factors and social comparisons, which explains the heterogeneity in responses. A cross-sectional primary survey was conducted in Nahan, Himachal Pradesh between May 27, 2024, and June 14, 2024, asking individuals about their relative positions compared to their peers. The findings suggest that households that are relatively worse off than their peers tend to report higher inflation expectations. The evidence using data from the Consumer Confidence Survey (CCS), a bi-monthly survey conducted by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) covering 19 cities across India from March 2015 to November 2023, also suggests that when households are relatively worse-off, they have higher inflation expectations.

Over the years, the anchoring of inflation expectations has changed the inflation dynamics, resulting in a decrease in its persistence and responsiveness to shocks (Mishkin (2007)), with implications for the effectiveness of monetary policy (Bernanke (2007)). However, inflation expectations of households deviate from rational expectations, and this deviation is mainly attributed to personal shopping experiences (D'Acunto et al. (2021)), socio-demographic factors (Bruine de Bruin et al. (2010)), information rigidity, etc.¹ In order to use inflation expectations as a policy measure (Coibion et al. (2020)), it becomes important to understand the different factors that impact them. Figure 1 illustrates an upward bias in inflation expectations of the Indian households², which is not explained in the literature. While the role of socio-demographic and macro-economic factors has been explored (Goyal and Parab (2019); Ghosh et al. (2021)), the role of relative factors requires further exploration.

¹Household inflation expectations are influenced by price changes in their most frequently purchased commodities, particularly those with higher price changes, and are more influenced by upward price movements. However, these expectations do not take into account price reductions.

²We find that households' quantitative expectations (blue) as captured by IESH (Inflation Expectations Survey of the Households) follow a similar pattern to urban inflation measures captured by the Consumer Price Index for Urban Areas (CPI-U) (red), but with an upward bias. The index of inflation expectations based on the CCS (green) follows a similar pattern as well. IESH is a bi-monthly survey on inflation expectations conducted by the Reserve Bank of India to capture inflation expectations of the Indian Households.

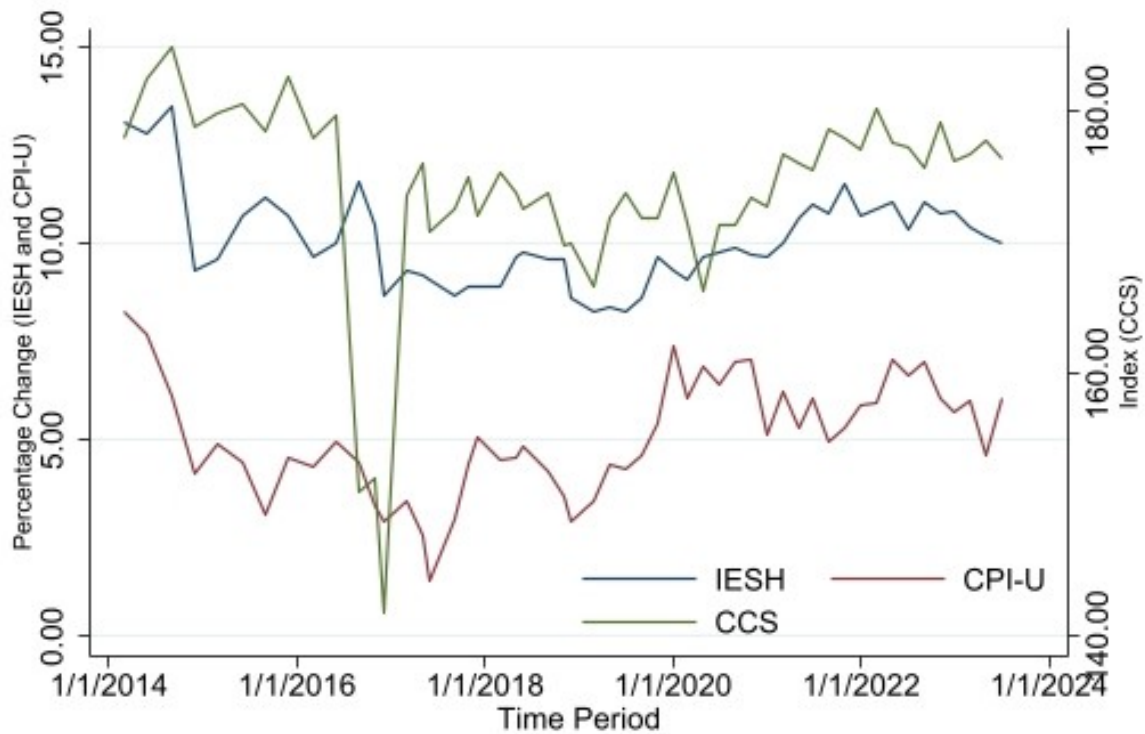


Figure 1: Upwards bias in Inflation Expectations

In addition to the factors discussed earlier, the studies have also looked at the impact of changes in the income of households (Tsiaplias (2021)), relative factors, and social comparisons (Armantier et al. (2022)). These studies indicate that households are more likely to report higher inflation expectations when personal income declines (Tsiaplias (2021)) and when they are worse-off compared to their peers in society (Armantier et al. (2022)). In an effort to maintain a relative position, households make consumption decisions based on what their peers are consuming (Luttmer (2005)). When households' incomes fall or they are worse off than their peers, it affects their ability to maintain the social position or standard that they have established for themselves. And there is a tendency to blame this on external factors such as rising prices, which raise inflation expectations (Armantier et al. (2022)).

This paper draws on existing research to highlight and understand the impact of relative factors, social comparisons, and aspirations on inflation expectations. First, it offers a developing-economy perspective (with a focus on India). Developing economies have different macroeconomic dynamics and higher output volatility (Aguiar and Gopinath (2007)), making it important to examine them. Furthermore, compared to developed economies, consumption in developing

economies is more volatile than output (Aguilar and Gopinath (2007)). Furthermore, inflation in India is more volatile than output and highly persistent (Ghate et al. (2013)). India's inflation expectations have an upward bias, higher disagreements, and are not rational (Das et al. (2019)). These factors call for a re-evaluation of factors impacting inflation expectations in an emerging economy like India.

Second, the study employs both quantitative and qualitative measures of social comparisons. It is important to consider quantitative measures because they indicate the degree of relative position. For example, suppose there are two households with comparable social positions, but one household may find it more difficult to maintain its social position than the other in the event of a negative shock. Such a household is slightly worse off than the other household. In the primary survey, households are asked to rate the difficulty they face in maintaining their relative position after a negative shock on a scale of 1 to 10. While Armantier et al. (2022) uses a quantitative approach, they use the compensation income approach³. The compensating income approach has limitations, including inflated valuations and lack of real-world economic decisions, which may lead to inaccurate measures (Diamond and Hausman (1994); Hausman (2012)). Bateman et al. (2002) suggests that ranking or ratings could provide better understanding of not just revealed preferences but are also more consistent with welfare approach of economics. Moreover, social comparison is not always in monetary terms and has other components, for which it may be difficult to arrive at monetary equivalents.

Third, this study '*directly*' captures the impact of household aspirations and social comparisons on their inflation expectations by constructing a measure of household aspirations. This measure is based on the consumption and income outlook of a reference group, which the households attempt to match. While Tsiaplias (2021) looks at the impact of personal income changes, they do not take into account social comparisons and aspirations of the households. Armantier et al. (2022) finds that households that are relatively worse off tend to report higher inflation expectations and attribute it to social comparisons and their aspirations. How-

³If the household is relatively worse off, it asks each household how much income would be required to be at the same level as their peers, and if they are relatively better off, how much income can they give up to remain at the same level as their peers

ever, there are two reasons why a household may be socially worse off: first, personal income changes, and second, the household's aspirations are not met (regardless of personal income change). The qualitative measure of whether a household is better or worse off could be due to any of these factors, and it would be inappropriate to attribute being worse off solely to a failure to meet aspirations. In other words, whether households are better or worse off may not account for the social comparison dimension accurately. Each household strives to achieve a specific social status that reflects their aspirations. The reference group is made up of all the households that lived in the same city and had the same income level at the time the survey was conducted. If the reference group has a higher income or consumption outlook, it raises the consumption standard and aspirations that households strive to meet. Finally, the study also investigates heterogeneity in response to changes in households' aspirations based on their financial conditions.

The primary survey findings suggest that social comparisons, measured both qualitatively and quantitatively, influence household inflation expectations. The households that are relatively worse off compared to their peers tend to have higher inflation expectations. Moreover, the households that faced greater difficulty in maintaining their relative social position reported higher inflation expectations. The difficulty in maintaining the relative position is the quantitative measure of social comparisons used in the study, which households attribute to external factors such as price increases and higher inflation expectations (Armantier et al. (2022)). This is one of the first studies in the literature to use such a ranking-based quantitative measure of social comparison to examine its role in the formation of inflation expectations. Furthermore, the study employs CCS, a nationwide urban bi-monthly survey conducted by the RBI, to reach broader conclusions about the role of social comparisons and aspirations.

The CCS findings point to similar patterns across India, where households blame their inability to match their peers' consumption standards on external factors such as higher prices, resulting in higher inflation expectations. When, however, do aspirations influence households' expectations of inflation? According to the findings, when a household experiences a positive change in their own income, they are more likely to report higher expectations of inflation with

increasing income and consumption of their reference group. This is because their aspirations have become greater. However, when a household experiences a negative change in their own income, their inflation expectations are not affected by changes in the reference group's income and consumption patterns. A reference group for the household is created, consisting of peers whose consumption the household aims to match. Lewbel et al. (2022) suggests that an increase in consumption of the reference group leads to an increase in the perceived needs of households in the context of India, and they also try to increase their consumption. When the reference group's consumption level or income rises, so does the consumption standard that the household tries to match, leaving them relatively worse off if they fail to meet that standard. As a result, inflationary expectations increase.

Households do not always respond to changes in reference group consumption, and the response varies depending on personal income changes, explaining the heterogeneity in responses. Households that have experienced a positive change in income are more affected by their peers' consumption and income changes than households that have experienced a decrease in income. When households experience a decrease in income, they are unable to increase their consumption to match that of others. Instead, they prioritize maintaining their previous consumption standard. Even when macroeconomic expectations for economic performance, employment conditions, and other household factors are controlled for, the results remain consistent. In short, in our sample, when households income rises, so do their inflation expectations in order to keep up with the Joneses.

Section 2 discuss the literature, while the data and methodology is discussed in Section 3. The results and empirical findings are presented in Section 4 while Section 5 concludes the understanding of the study.

2 Literature Review

This section discusses the literature on inflation expectations. The first sub-section discusses the importance and effectiveness of inflation expectations. It also highlights that inflation ex-

expectations are not rational. The second sub-section discusses the factors that account for the heterogeneity in inflation expectations, which explains the deviation from rational expectations. The third sub-section discusses how household consumption decisions are influenced by the consumption of others and how they attempt to preserve their relative standing. And finally, the fourth sub-section assesses the additional role that social ties play in explaining how expectations are formed.

2.1 Nature and Use of Inflation Expectations

Over the years, the anchoring of inflation expectations has changed the inflation dynamics. Inflation has shown reduced persistence and reduced responsiveness to shocks (Mishkin (2007)) with increased anchoring (Mishkin (2007)). Thus, it is suggested that the anchoring of inflation expectations has implications for the effectiveness of monetary policy (Bernanke (2007)). Coibion et al. (2020) while evaluating the prospects of inflation expectations as a policy tool suggests that inflation expectations do not always respond to monetary policy communications. In order to use inflation expectations as a policy tool, it becomes important to understand the factors impacting inflation expectations. Weber et al. (2022) also argue that inflation expectations impacts the decisions of households and it is important to understand the factors which explain the heterogeneity in inflation expectations. Coibion et al. (2018) suggests that inflation expectations are not rational. The literature attributes this deviation to rational inattention, ineffective communication, etc. (Mankiw et al. (2003); Coibion et al. (2020)). In addition to these information frictions, the literature explores the impact of socio-demographic factors, personal preferences, consumption behavior, etc. on inflation expectations of households.

2.2 Heterogeneity in Inflation Expectations

Carroll (2003) builds a model to understand inflation expectations at a macroeconomic level and explains them using the expectations of professional forecasters, past inflation expectations, and the past inflation level in general. Mankiw et al. (2003) in their study attempt to better understand the factors that could be associated with disagreements in inflation expectations. They try to understand inflation expectations using actual inflation data and other macro-

economic factors like unemployment, interest rates, etc. The results suggest that forecast errors (difference between actual inflation and inflation expectations) can be predicted using these factors.

However, when evaluating the inflation expectations at the unit level (individual specific inflation expectations), Blanchflower and MacCoille (2009) for the UK, De Bruin et al. (2011) and Bruine de Bruin et al. (2010) for the US attempt to explain inflation expectations using different socio-economic factors like age, income level, place of residence, etc. and find that these factors have a significant impact on inflation expectations. In their study for the US, Das et al. (2020) also points out that people in the higher rungs of society are generally more optimistic about the future, but these differences seem to diminish during recessionary times. They find that people in lower income groups tend to have higher inflation expectations. The factors impacting inflation expectations could be broadly classified into two categories: slow-moving factors (age, education, etc.) and fast-moving factors (economic news, COVID shock, etc.).

In the Indian context, Das et al. (2019) suggests that inflation expectations are not rational and have an upward bias. Further, Goyal and Parab (2019) evaluates the role of socio-demographic factors and macro-economic expectations of individuals in the formation of inflation expectations. While Goyal and Parab (2021); Ghosh et al. (2021); Singh and Bandyopadhyay (2024) explores the role of factors like oil price shocks, inflation level in the economy, etc.

Cavallo et al. (2017) suggests that the heterogeneity in inflation expectations has to do with information frictions. Information friction is the delayed response of the individual to the information available and the inefficiencies in the pass-on of the information to the individual. The authors attribute these frictions to factors like rational inattention and cognitive limitations, where individuals give more importance to their personal experiences. Also, the consumption basket varies across individuals and thus, the inflation each individual experiences varies. With this difference in inflation experiences, inflation expectations also vary. D'Acunto et al. (2021)

suggest that the personal shopping experiences of individuals have a major impact on their inflation expectations. The results suggest that inflation expectations are impacted by not just the overall macroeconomic condition but also by the personal experiences of individuals, which act as price signals for expectations.

2.3 Social Comparisons and Consumption

Luttmer (2005) suggests that a fall in personal income or an increase in neighbours' income have the same (equivalent) negative impact on the consumption and welfare of the individuals (happiness). Thus suggesting that the utility function of an individual is not only a function of their absolute consumption but also their relative consumption.

Sun and Wang (2013) using a panel of households suggests that, after controlling for the absolute income of the households, with a fall in the relative income, the households increase their consumption in order to match a certain social standard. Individuals try to match the consumption standards of a reference group. It becomes important to correctly specify the reference group for consumption. This reference group could be classified based on either geographical proximity, the closest income group, or both, or other factors like age, education level etc.

Lewbel et al. (2022), in the Indian context, finds that with an increase in consumption of the peers increases the perceived needs of the households. Thus, when the consumption of the peers increases, it creates pressure on the peers to increase their consumption to maintain their relative position in society. The reference group, in this case, is created using the households survey in the same geographical location and alternatively by considering similar characteristics like religion, caste etc.

2.4 Social Comparisons and Inflation Expectations

The studies above talk about how the consumption of the individuals increases with an increase in income and the consumption of the reference group. The other strand of literature

(Bailey et al. (2018); Schoenle et al. (2023) etc.) talks about whether these interactions with the reference groups also have an impact on the expectations of the households. Bailey et al. (2018) finds evidence that expectations and experiences of the peers impacts the house price expectations of the households. Schoenle et al. (2023) finds that social-connectedness between counties impacts their general inflation expectations.

In addition to these factors, the literature also focuses on the role of personal income change and behavioural factors in influencing inflation expectations. Tsiaplias (2021) finds that households in Australia that experience a fall in personal income report higher inflation expectations and those who experience a rise in income report lower inflation expectations.

Armantier et al. (2022) suggests that social comparisons also plays an important role in explaining the inflation expectations of the US households. Their findings suggest that households that are worse off compared to their peers, in terms of standard of living, report higher inflation expectations. Filippin and Nunziata (2019), using a panel of European countries, suggests that inflation expectations are also impacted by the level of inequality in the economy. If there is higher inequality, inflation expectations would be higher too. With higher inequality, the gap between the actual consumption level and desired consumption level (or standard of living) increases, and the households are unable to bridge the gap. This is attributed to behavioural factors, where households blame external factors for their inability to attain the desired consumption level and standard of living. We extend these studies to the Indian context by examining how relative factors and social comparisons affect households' expectations of inflation.

3 Data and Methodology

The study aims to understand how relative position factors impact household inflation expectations. For our study, we conduct a primary survey and then use the secondary data from the Consumer Confidence Survey (CCS) conducted by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) to draw broader conclusions.

The primary survey conducted is limited to a single town in Himachal Pradesh, India, and cannot be used to draw general conclusions about India. The primary survey was necessary as it allowed us to ask direct questions about the relative positions of the individuals. These questions are not included in the CCS. With the primary survey indicating that relative position influences inflation expectations, we use CCS to derive broader results for Indian households' inflation expectations.

3.1 The Primary Data

The primary survey was a cross-sectional survey conducted in the Nahan town of Himachal Pradesh between May 27, 2024, and June 14, 2024, covering 200 households. The survey was limited to urban areas in order to keep the sample similar to that of the CCS, which is conducted only in urban areas. The survey collects both qualitative and quantitative expectations of households for one year ahead. In addition, we ask households about their socio-demographic characteristics, income changes over the last year, their relative position in society, the difficulty they face in maintaining their current standard of living, etc. Appendix A.1 provides the questionnaire used to collect information from households during the primary survey.

The respondents are asked two questions about their one-year ahead inflation expectations: a qualitative question and a quantitative question. First, *"Over the next year, what do you think will happen to inflation?"* to which they can report it will increase, decrease, or remain the same. Second, *"What do you expect the inflation level to be in the coming year? Can you provide a number for the same?"* to which they responded with a point prediction. In addition, we ask them directly about their relative position in society, i.e. if they think they are better-off or worse-off compared to their peers. Furthermore, we ask them to rate the difficulty they would face maintaining the same relative position given the inflation level⁴ is at 10% or 15%. The households rate the difficulty on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 indicating no difficulty at all and 10 indicating extreme difficulty in maintaining the relative position. This provides a

⁴The Inflation Expectations Survey of Households (IESH) reports that the average one-year ahead inflation expectations of households was around 10% for the two survey rounds conducted in January and March 2024. So, we take 10% as one measure and take another measure of higher inflation, i.e. 15%.

quantitative measure of the difficulty faced by households in maintaining a comparable relative position in society. A household may have a comparable standard of living to their peers, but they may not be as prepared to deal with a price or negative income shock as their peers are. This makes such households more vulnerable and exposed, potentially affecting their ability to maintain a comparable standard of living, as well as their expectations and outlook. Table 1 summarises the composition of the households surveyed in the primary survey⁵.

3.2 The Consumer Confidence Survey (CCS)

The survey is conducted every two months across 19 different cities, with each round covering over 5000 individuals. The data is available from March 2015 to November 2023. All questions elicit qualitative rather than quantitative responses⁶. We pool all individual-level observations, and use an ordered logit model to understand how various factors impact inflation expectations of the individuals. Table 2 reports basic summary statistics for the CCS sample.

Here, the dependent variable is an ordinal variable, i.e. inflation expectations have lowered, remained the same, or increased. π_{it}^* is the latent variable which captures the inflation expectations of the individual i at time t . Moreover, individual responses (unobserved π_{it}^*) are modeled as a function of other variables.

$$\pi_{it}^* = X_k \beta + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

Here, X_k is a vector of individual-specific characteristics like age, income, occupation, etc. However, the observable variable here is π_{it}^e , which is the qualitative response of individuals that depends on the latent variable (π_{it}^*) and common thresholds (α_1 and α_2).

⁵The CCS survey (Table 2) had 52% male respondents, while the primary survey (Table 1) had around 56% male respondents. In the CCS sample, 18% of respondents only studied up to the primary level, compared to 14% in the primary survey. The CCS survey sample shows that approximately 79% of households expect inflation to rise. The primary survey sample shows that approximately 71% of households expect inflation to rise. This suggests that the composition of the survey is similar and comparable.

⁶Appendix A.2 discusses the survey in details

Table 1: Summary of the Data (Primary Survey)

| | Number of Observations | Percentage |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 113 | 56.5 |
| Female | 87 | 43.5 |
| Income Groups | | |
| Less than Rs. 3 Lakhs | 59 | 29.5 |
| Rs. 3 Lakhs - Rs. 6 Lakhs | 44 | 22 |
| Rs. 6 Lakhs - Rs. 9 Lakh | 25 | 12.5 |
| Rs. 9 Lakhs - Rs. 12 Lakh | 23 | 11.5 |
| Rs. 12 Lakhs - Rs. 15 Lakh | 11 | 5.5 |
| Above Rs. 15 Lakh | 38 | 19 |
| Education | | |
| Below Primary | 29 | 14.5 |
| Below Graduate | 69 | 34.5 |
| Graduate and above | 102 | 51 |
| Occupation | | |
| Daily Worker | 59 | 29.5 |
| Homemaker | 22 | 11 |
| Employed | 97 | 48.5 |
| Self Employed | 20 | 10 |
| Unemployed | 2 | 1 |
| Inflation Expectations | | |
| Lower | 12 | 6 |
| Same | 45 | 22.5 |
| Higher | 143 | 71.5 |
| Income Change | | |
| Lower | 11 | 5.5 |
| Same | 120 | 60 |
| Higher | 69 | 34.5 |
| Relative Position | | |
| Worse-Off | 56 | 28 |
| Same | 81 | 40.5 |
| Better-Off | 63 | 31.5 |
| | Mean | Std Dev |
| Age | 36.4 | 11.5 |
| Family Size | 4.9 | 1.8 |
| Inflation Expectations | 9.4 | 4.2 |
| Difficulty (High) | 6.7 | 1.9 |
| Difficulty (Low) | 5.6 | 1.9 |

Note:

Difficulty refers to difficulty faced by households in maintaining their relative position in case of a inflation shock.

Source: Author's Estimation

Table 2: Summary of the Data (CCS)

| | Number of Observation | Percentage |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 1,50,694 | 52.34 |
| Female | 1,37,229 | 47.66 |
| Income Group (Annual Income) | | |
| Less than Rs. 1 lakh | 1,11,446 | 38.71 |
| Rs 1 Lakh - Rs 3 Lakh | 1,36,103 | 47.27 |
| Rs 3 Lakh - Rs 5 Lakh | 29,367 | 10.2 |
| More than Rs. 5 Lakh | 11,007 | 3.82 |
| Education | | |
| Below Primary | 51,853 | 18.01 |
| Below Graduate | 1,65,331 | 57.42 |
| Graduate and Above | 70,739 | 24.57 |
| Occupation | | |
| Daily Worker | 27,243 | 9.46 |
| Employed | 69,292 | 24.07 |
| Homemaker | 94,273 | 32.74 |
| Retired | 13,928 | 4.84 |
| Self Employed | 54,375 | 18.89 |
| Unemployed | 28,812 | 10.01 |
| Inflation Expectations | | |
| Lower | 12,374 | 5.53 |
| Same | 34,029 | 15.2 |
| Higher | 1,77,544 | 79.28 |
| Income Expectations | | |
| Lower | 28,736 | 9.98 |
| Same | 1,10,359 | 38.33 |
| Higher | 1,48,828 | 51.69 |
| Age Group | | |
| 22 Years to 29 Years | 61,869 | 21.49 |
| 30 Years to 39 Years | 80,619 | 28 |
| 40 Years to 59 Years | 97,237 | 33.77 |
| 60 years and above | 48,198 | 16.74 |

Source: Author's Estimation

$$\pi_{it}^e = \begin{cases} 0, & \text{if } \pi_{it}^* < \alpha_1 \\ 1, & \text{if } \alpha_1 \leq \pi_{it}^* < \alpha_2 \\ 2, & \text{if } \pi_{it}^* \geq \alpha_2 \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

Here, π_{it}^e takes the value of 0 if individuals report decreasing inflation expectations, 1 if they report unchanged inflation expectations, and 2 if they expect inflation to increase in the future. Each response has a probability attached to it. For example, the probability that an individual reports that inflation will rise over the next year is given by:

$$\Pr(\pi_{it}^e=2) = \Pr(\pi_{it}^* \geq \alpha_2) = F(X_k/\beta - \alpha_2) \quad (3)$$

We model the $F(\cdot)$ function with a logit model, which ensures that the probability value remains between 0 and 1, i.e. $F(-\infty)=0$ and $F(\infty)=1$. The parameters are estimated using the maximum likelihood method to determine the corresponding thresholds (α_1 and α_2).

Since the question records qualitative responses about inflation expectations, an important factor to check whether it actually captures the expectations of people. We construct a measure of inflation expectations for the aggregate data (as discussed in Appendix A.3). The trends and movement of the index closely tracks the movement of quantitative inflation expectations captured in the RBI's Inflation Expectations Survey of Households (IESH). It also is positively correlated with actual inflation (CPI-U). This is also highlighted in Figure 1. With an increase in inflation (CPI-U), the number of people reporting higher inflation increases, and so do the quantitative inflation expectations.

3.2.1 Construction of the Reference Group

As previously stated, household consumption decisions are influenced by those around them, and they are also motivated by specific aspirations and social standards. Brown et al. (2015) suggests two different measures to define the reference groups:

- *Geographical Location*: the average of all other individuals in that area is considered.

- *Personal Characteristics*: individuals in the entire sample who have similar characteristics in terms of age, education, and gender are considered.

Lewbel et al. (2022) investigates the impact of such a reference group on household consumption patterns in India, discovering that an additional rupee spent by peers increases perceived need while decreasing utility by the same amount as a quarter of a decrease in own income. The approach taken here is one of spatial classification, as well as the overlap of certain characteristics in the same geographical location, such as religion, caste, and so on.

Using a similar approach, this study uses the CCS data for construction of the reference group. The CCS is conducted across different cities in India. Within each city, households are divided into different income groups based on their income levels. The reference group of a household is all other households in the city who belong to the same income category. Furthermore, the primary survey responses indicate that households compare their standard of living to their neighbours, who are typically people of similar income, as well as their colleagues and other households of similar income level. In the primary survey, the peers or reference group are the household's neighbours and colleagues.

3.3 Empirical Approach

As discussed earlier, we will be using an ordered logit model. The dependent variable here is inflation expectations of the individuals over the next year. The objective is to understand how an individual's own income changes affect their inflation expectations. Furthermore, how does the reference group's income outlook impact her inflation expectations. In addition to these variables of interest (i.e., own income change and changes in the outlook of reference groups), we control for other socio-demographic factors such as age, education level, occupation, income level, etc. These are the factors used to explain the heterogeneity in inflation expectations among individuals.

$$\pi_{it}^* = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \Delta Y_{it}^e + \beta_2' * M_{it} + \beta_3' * X_{it} + \beta_4 * Ref_{it} + \beta_5 * (\Delta Y_{it}^e * Ref_{it}) + \theta_t + \epsilon_{it} \quad (4)$$

Here, Y_{it}^e represents an individual's own income expectations, while M_{it} is a vector containing information about an individual's expectations of macroeconomic conditions, such as economic condition and employment. Ref_{it} is an index of reference groups' income or consumption expectations, and X_{it} is the vector of socio-demographic controls, which include age, city, education level, income group, occupation of the individual, household size, and number of earning members. Also, θ_t is the time-fixed effect, which controls for variations in each round. This is the overall framework, and we use different specifications of Equation 4.

In Equation 4, an interaction term between own income change and reference group outlook is considered. The reference group outlook is a continuous variable, whereas own income change is a categorical variable (i.e., decrease in income, same level of income, or increase in income). Assume the equation with the interaction term is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \pi_{it}^* = & \beta_0 + \beta_1 * Ref_{it} + \beta_2 * Increase\ in\ Income_{it} + \beta_3 * Decrease\ in\ Income_{it} \\ & + \beta_4 * (Increase\ in\ Income_{it} * Ref_{it}) + \beta_5 * (Decrease\ in\ Income_{it} * Ref_{it}) + \epsilon_{it} \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

To determine the marginal effect of the reference group on inflation expectations of the household, we differentiate Equation 5 with Ref_{it} , which gives us:

$$\beta_1 + \beta_4 * Increase\ in\ Income_{it} + \beta_5 * Decrease\ in\ Income_{it} \quad (6)$$

So, in case of an increase in own income, the marginal effect of increase in reference group outlook is given by $\beta_1 + \beta_4$, while in case of a decrease in own income, the marginal effect of increase in reference group outlook is given by $\beta_1 + \beta_5$.

4 Empirical Results

The results section is divided in two subsections. The first sub-section discusses the findings from the primary survey, which show that households who are worse off than their peers and believe they will fare worse in the event of an inflationary shock tend to report higher inflation

expectations. The second subsection uses the CCS data, and the results suggest that with an increase in income and consumption in the reference group, households' inflation expectations also increase. The heterogeneity in response to changes in the reference group's income or consumption change is also explored, where households that have experienced a positive income change are more impacted by the relative measures.

4.1 The Findings from the Primary Survey

This sub-section discusses how households' inflation expectations vary in response to changes in personal incomes and living standards, as captured by qualitative and quantitative measures of relative position. First, it compares average inflation expectations across income changes and relative positions. Second, it uses ordinary least squares (OLS) regression and an ordered logit model to understand the impact of relative factors on inflation expectations while controlling for other socio-demographic factors like age, education, income etc.

Table 3 presents the average inflation expectations of households for an increase, decrease, or no change in income level and their self-reported relative position in society, i.e., better-off, worse-off, or the same as when compared to others. The rows present the different cases of an increase in household income, no change in income, and a decrease in income, respectively. And the columns specify households reporting as being better-off, the same, or worse-off in terms of standard of living when compared to their peers. The last column presents the inflation expectations for income changes experienced, and the last row presents the inflation expectations of households for different relative positions. The results suggest that households that experienced an increase in income report on average lower inflation expectations (8.25%) than households that do not experience any change in income (9.65%) and those who report a decrease in income (13.55%). These results are consistent with Tsiaplias (2021). Also, on average, households that are better-off compared to their peers have lower inflation expectations (7.25%) when compared to households that have a similar standard of living (8.9%) and households who are relatively worse off (12.48%) than their peers. These findings are in line with Armantier et al. (2022), where households that think that they are better-off compared to

Table 3: Average inflation expectations for income change and relative position

| Own Income Change | Relative Position | | | Total Population |
|-------------------|-------------------|------|-----------|------------------|
| | Better Off | Same | Worse-Off | |
| Increase | 7.23 | 8.28 | 13.33 | 8.25 |
| Same | 7.25 | 9.12 | 12.09 | 9.65 |
| Decrease | 8 | 18 | 13.67 | 13.55 |
| Total Population | 7.25 | 8.90 | 12.48 | 9.38 |

Source: Author's Estimation

others have on average lower inflation expectations, while households that think that they are worse-off tend to have higher inflation expectations.

Even if a household has a similar standard of living as their peers, they may struggle to maintain the same relative position during a negative shock. The current relative position (i.e., being better-off or worse-off) does not capture the difficulty faced in maintaining the same relative standard of living. In contrast to Armantier et al. (2022), who uses compensating income approach to understand the extent of being better-off or worse-off, respondents of the primary survey were asked to rate the level of difficulty they face in maintaining their relative position in society. According to Bateman et al. (2002), ratings, unlike compensating income, do not inflate valuations and offer a better understanding of comparisons. So, on a scale of 1 to 10, households rate the difficulty of maintaining their relative position in comparison to their peers. Households that struggle to maintain their relative position or believe they will be worse off than their peers in the event of an inflationary shock are more vulnerable and may be classified as relatively worse-off.

Figure 2 depicts households' inflation expectations (y-axis) and difficulties in maintaining their relative position in society (x-axis). The red line depicts a linear estimate of inflation expectations as a function of the difficulty of maintaining the relative position. The upward sloping curve suggests that as the difficulty of maintaining one's relative social position increases, so do inflation expectations.

Table 4 examines how households' inflation expectations are affected by their relative position, while controlling for other socio-demographic factors such as age, education, and so

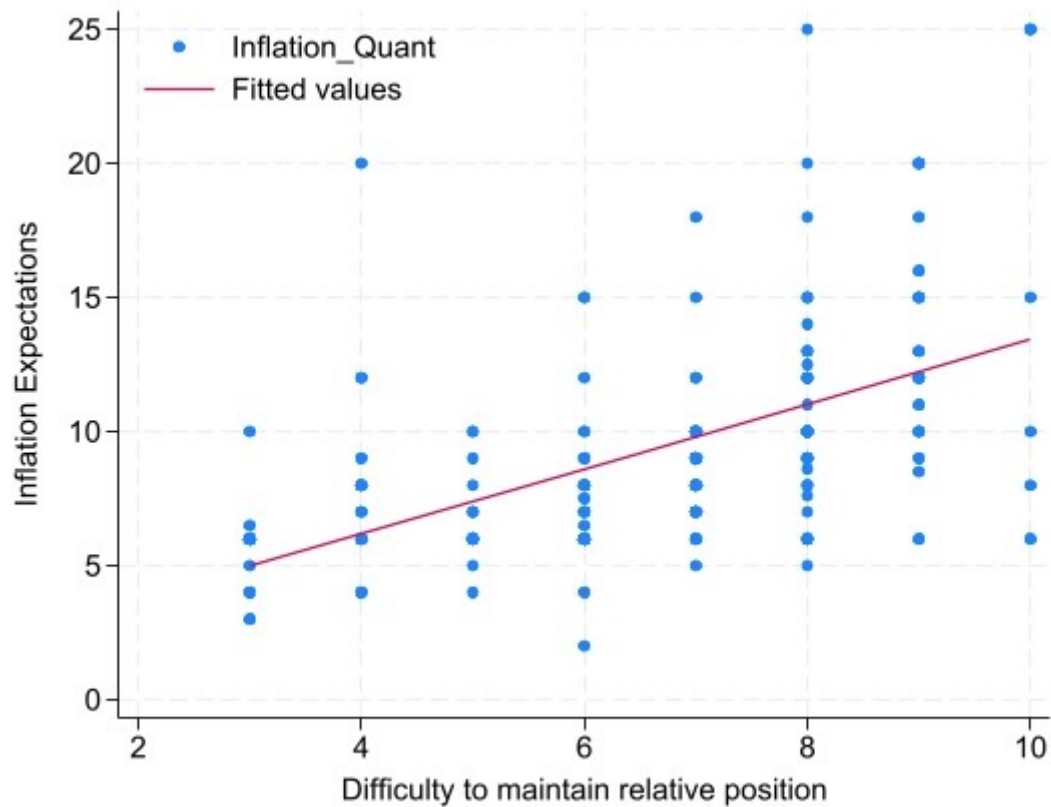


Figure 2: Impact of Relative Position on Inflation Expectations

on. Columns 1–3 show the results of OLS regression using quantitative inflation expectations, while columns 4–6 show the results of the ordered logit model using qualitative inflation expectations. Columns 1 and 3 only use a quantitative measure of relative position or standard of living, that is, the difficulty households face in maintaining their relative position on a scale of 1 to 10. Columns 2 and 5 only use qualitative classifications of relative position, such as better or worse off. Column 3 and Column 6 use both qualitative and quantitative measures of the relative position of the household. The findings suggest that households whose relative position is not good tend to report higher inflation expectations.

The OLS estimation results (Table 4 Column 1) show that for every one unit increase in difficulty faced by households to maintain their relative position, their inflation expectations increase by 1.16%. When we control for changes in personal income and relative social standing as reported by households, the results are qualitatively similar. In this case (Table 4 Column 3), households’ inflation expectations increase by 0.97% with each unit increase in difficulty level.

Table 4: Findings from Primary Survey

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | OLS | | | Ordered Logit | |
| Relative Position (Quantitative) | 1.158*** (0.169) | | 0.972*** (0.19) | 1.05*** (0.161) | | 0.909*** (0.171) |
| Decrease in Own income | | | 1.434 (1.205) | | | 0.279 (1.455) |
| Increase in Own income | | | 0.171 (0.60) | | | -0.572 (0.46) |
| Relative Position Worse Off | | -1.389*** (0.60) | -0.156 (0.687) | | -1.688*** (0.445) | -0.824*** (0.52) |
| Relative Position Better Off | | 3.068*** (0.757) | 1.895*** (0.757) | | 1.611*** (0.601) | 0.564*** (0.678) |
| Constant | -0.623 (2.069) | 7.04*** (1.698) | -0.531 (2.165) | | | |
| Socio Demographic | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| N | 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 | 200 |
| Adj. R Squared | 0.324 | 0.254 | 0.343 | | | |
| F Statistic | 6.972*** | 4.989*** | 6.203*** | | | |
| Pseudo R squared | | | | 0.261 | 0.151 | 0.283 |
| Chi Square | | | | 77.6*** | 44.85*** | 84.11*** |

Note:

Standard errors are reported in the parentheses.

* (p<0.10), ** (p<0.05), *** (p<0.01)

Socio-Demographic Controls: Age, Education, Income, Occupation, Family Size, Earning Members and Gender

The F-Stat and Chi-Square Statistics reject the Null-hypothesis that at least one of the variables is significantly different from zero at the 1% level of significance.

The adjusted R square provides a measure of goodness of fit for the linear regression, while the (McFadden) Pseudo R-Square which provides a measure of goodness of fit as apposed to a null model (i.e. a model with only an intercept term.)

Source: Authors Estimation

In Table 4, Column 2, we find that individuals who are worse off than their peers have 3.07% higher inflation expectations, while households who are better off have 1.39% lower inflation expectations on average. The adjusted R-squared value of 0.34 (Table 4 Column 3) suggests that 34% of the variation in inflation expectations of the households is explained by the above specified model.

The results from the ordered logit model are qualitatively similar. According to the results (Table 4 Column 6), households with higher difficulty levels are more than twice as likely to report higher levels of inflation. We find that household inflation expectations are significantly influenced by social comparison and relative position, even after controlling for individual own income changes.

Overall, the findings indicate that social comparisons have a significant impact on households' inflation expectations. Given that the results are based on a single town in Himachal Pradesh, the CCS is used to understand the impact of social factors on the inflation expectations of households.

4.2 The Findings from the Consumer Confidence Survey (CCS)

This sub-section employs the CCS to generalize the impact of factors like relative position on inflation expectations in India. Because the CCS does not directly ask about households' relative positions, an artificial measure is created. A household's reference group is made up of households whose standard of living they want to match. Therefore, a household's reference group is made up of all households in the same city and income group at a given time. Since the CCS only reports a qualitative measure, a quantitative⁷ measure for the reference groups outlook is arrived at as discussed in Appendix A.3. This provides a measure of both personal income changes and changes in income or consumption for the reference group. If more households in the reference group have a positive outlook on income or consumption, the household's relative position will fall. When more households experience an increase in income

⁷The index value of the reference group's consumption and income outlook ranges from 0 to 200. Here, 0 indicates that all members of the reference group have a negative outlook, 100 indicates a neutral outlook, and 200 indicates a positive outlook.

or consumption, it raises the previous standard of living, which has a negative impact on their relative position. As a result, they must adjust to new and higher social standards, which exacerbates their relative situation. This section examines the effect of reference groups' income and consumption outlooks on household inflation expectations. The reference group outlook is comparable to a household's inability (difficulty) to maintain its relative position, as discussed in the previous sub-section.

Table 5: Findings from the CCS

| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Reference Group: Consumption Outlook | | | Reference Group: Income Outlook | | |
| Panel A | | | | | | |
| Reference Group | 0.006*** (0.000) | 0.006*** (0.000) | 0.004*** (0.001) | 0.001** (0.001) | 0.003*** (0.001) | 0.001 (0.001) |
| Panel B | | | | | | |
| Decrease in Own Income | | 0.105*** (0.020) | 0.617*** (0.194) | | 0.108*** (0.020) | 0.312* (0.170) |
| Increase in Own Income | | 0.067*** (0.012) | -0.504*** (0.115) | | 0.063*** (0.012) | -0.744*** (0.107) |
| Panel C | | | | | | |
| Decrease in Own Income * Reference Group | | | -0.003*** (0.001) | | | -0.002 (0.001) |
| Increase in Own Income * Reference Group | | | 0.003*** (0.001) | | | 0.006*** (0.001) |
| Panel D | | | | | | |
| Negative Economic Outlook | | 0.246*** (0.017) | 0.244*** (0.017) | | 0.249*** (0.017) | 0.247*** (0.017) |
| Positive Economic Outlook | | 0.012 (0.015) | 0.010 (0.015) | | 0.012 (0.015) | 0.010 (0.015) |
| Negative Employment Outlook | | 0.384*** (0.017) | 0.383*** (0.017) | | 0.387*** (0.017) | 0.385*** (0.017) |
| Positive Employment Outlook | | -0.030** (0.015) | -0.031** (0.015) | | -0.030** (0.015) | -0.031** (0.015) |
| N | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 |
| Chi-Square | 11681.59 | 13800.04 | 13845.44 | 11511.48 | 13664.30 | 13739.11 |
| Pseudo R-Squared | 0.041 | 0.049 | 0.049 | 0.041 | 0.048 | 0.049 |

Note:

Standard errors are reported in the parentheses.

* (p<0.10), ** (p<0.05), *** (p<0.01)

Socio-Demographic Controls: Age, Education, Income, Occupation, Family Size, Earning Members and Gender

The Chi-Square Statistics reject the Null-hypothesis that at least one of the variables is significantly different from zero at the 1% level of significance.

The McFadden pseudo-R-Square provides a measure of goodness of fit as apposed to a null model (i.e. a model with only an intercept term.)

Source: Authors Estimation

Table 5 discusses the impact of reference groups' outlook on household inflation expectations while controlling for other factors such as own income change, macro-economic expectations,

age, education, etc. Overall, the findings suggest that a household is more likely to report higher inflation expectations if more people in their reference group have a positive outlook on income and consumption. This can be used to draw a parallel with Armantier et al. (2022), who suggests that households who believe they are worse-off than their peers have higher inflation expectations. Even after adjusting for changes in personal income, the results remain consistent. Thus, when more people in the reference group perform better, the household is more likely to report higher inflation expectations. Moreover, the results suggest that there is some variation in how households with varying income changes (increase or decrease) react to changes in the reference group outlook measure, i.e., the relative factors.

According to Table 5, if 1% more households in the reference group report a net positive consumption outlook (see Column 1 in Panel A), the household is 0.6% more likely to report higher inflation expectations. And if 1% more households in the reference group report a net positive income outlook (see Column 4 in Panel A), the household is 0.1% more likely to report higher inflation expectations. While the qualitative impact of income and consumption outlooks is comparable and similar across different models, the magnitude of consumption outlook is greater. When more households have a positive consumption outlook, overall consumption will rise. As a result, the household must increase their consumption in order to maintain their current relative position, as the reference group's consumption level rises. Households perceive their inability to increase consumption due to budget constraints as higher inflation in the economy. Thus, even if a household has a positive income outlook, they may suffer if the reference group's income and consumption rise faster than theirs.

The relationship between changes in personal income and households' inflation expectations is illustrated in Panel B of Table 5 (Columns 2 and 5). Households with a decrease in income are 11% more likely to report higher inflation expectations, while households with a positive change in income are 6% more likely. The results suggest that in both cases, households are likely to report higher inflation expectations, which helps in understanding the upward bias of India households as shown in Figure 1.

In Table 5 (Panel C), Columns 3 and 6 include interaction terms between the household's own income change and the outlook of the reference group. This helps in understanding how the impact of reference groups and relative factors varies with own income changes of the households. The broad understanding from the exercise is that households with a positive change in their own income are more impacted by the relative position and outlook of the reference groups.

If the household experience a positive (negative) change in income, then for 1% increase in net positive responses of the reference groups consumption outlook (Table 5 Column 3) the households are 0.7% (0.1%) more likely to report higher inflation expectations⁸. This suggests that households experiencing a positive income change are more impacted by relative factors as compared to other households. Similarly, when the income outlook of the reference group (Table 5 Column 6) is considered, it suggests that for a 1% increase in the net positive income outlook of the reference group, households who experienced an increase in income are 0.7% more likely to report higher inflation expectations, while it has no significant impact on households that experience a negative change in their own income.

Moreover, Table 5 reports the impact of households' macroeconomic expectations on their inflation expectations, in addition to changes in own income and the reference group's outlook. Households with a negative future economic outlook (negative employment outlook) have 27% (46%) higher inflation expectations than those with a neutral future outlook. Households with a positive employment outlook are 3% less likely to expect higher inflation than those with a neutral outlook. Inflation expectations are not significantly different between households with a positive and neutral future economic outlook. These findings are consistent with the behavioral observation that households that are pessimistic about future outcomes expect higher inflation. Asymmetry is also observed in this case, as households that are pessimistic about the future

⁸Equations 5 and 6 show that the impact of the reference group varies depending on the increase or decrease in own income. The impact of an increase in own income is given by $\beta_1 + \beta_4$, i.e. $0.004 + 0.003 = 0.007$, which suggests that households with a positive income change are 0.7% more likely to report higher inflation expectations when there is a 1% net positive increase in the reference group's outlook. In the case of a decrease in own income, the marginal effect is given by $\beta_1 + \beta_5$, i.e. $0.004 - 0.003 = 0.001$, implying that the marginal effect is only 0.1%. In the absence of income change, the marginal effect is only $\beta_1 = 0.004$, indicating a 0.04% higher likelihood.

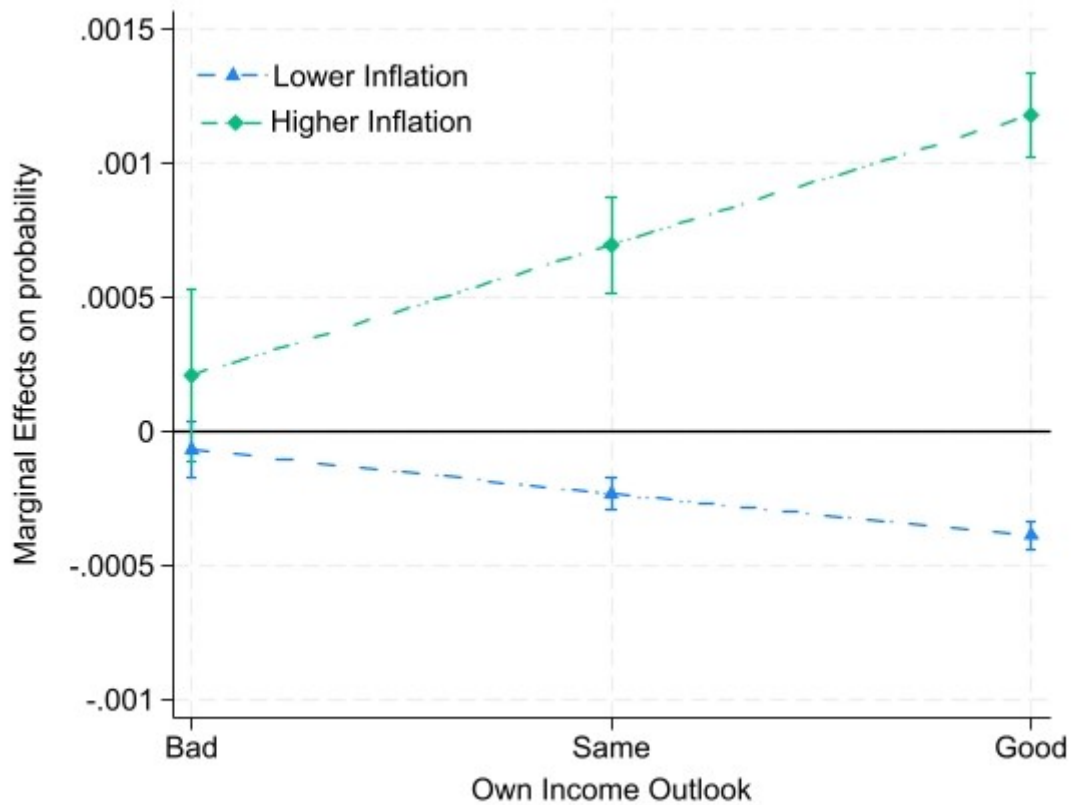


Figure 3: Marginal Impact of Reference Group Consumption Outlook on Inflation Expectations
 economic outlook have higher inflation expectations, whereas households with an optimistic outlook do not necessarily have lower inflation expectations.

Figure 3 plots the marginal effect of the reference group's consumption outlook on household inflation expectations for different cases of changes in their own income following Equations 5 and 6. If the marker and confidence interval are above the zero line, it indicates a significantly positive marginal effect; if they are below the zero line, it indicates a significantly negative marginal effect. If the confidence interval contains the zero line, it indicates that there is no significant impact. The green (blue) marker is the marginal effect of an increase in the reference group's consumption outlook on households reporting higher (lower) inflation.

When a household's income rises (good on the x-axis), they are more likely to report higher inflation (green marker) and less likely to report lower inflation (blue marker). With an increase in the reference group's outlook, if household income remains unchanged (same on the x-axis),

they are more likely to report higher inflation (green marker) and less likely to report lower inflation (blue marker). It also suggests that the marginal effect of reference group outlook is greater for households that experienced an increase in income as compared to those whose income remained the same. In households that experienced a negative change in their own income (bad on x-axis), the reference group outlook has no significant effect on whether they report higher or lower inflation expectations.

Therefore, household inflation expectations are driven by aspirations, and the reference group's consumption and income changes, only when they maintain their own income level or experience an increase in their own income.

4.3 Robustness Checks

This section discusses the robustness of the results found using the CCS data. The findings are consistent with other measures of inflation expectations, such as inflation perceptions, price outlook, etc. Furthermore, the results are consistent with both the current outlook (i.e. changes in income, consumption, etc. over the past year) and the future outlook (i.e. changes in income consumption, etc. over the next year). The reference group is constructed using a different approach, in which households with similar characteristics from the previous time period are considered rather than the current time period.

4.3.1 Different Measures of Inflation Expectations

Table 6 discusses the impact of reference group outlook and own income changes on alternate measures of inflation expectations. While the earlier discussion used the one year ahead inflation expectations of households, this section considers three alternative proxies of inflation expectations. First, it uses inflation perceptions, i.e. how has inflation changed over the past year (see Table 6 Columns 1 and 2). Second, it uses the price outlook, i.e. how prices will change over the next year (see Table 6 Columns 3 and 4) and finally, it uses current price perceptions (see Table 6 Columns 5 and 6). It is found that these measures, inflation perceptions and price outlook, are highly correlated with inflation expectations, and households with higher inflation perceptions tend to have higher inflation expectations.

The findings are consistent with the earlier findings that households report higher inflation expectations when the reference group's outlook is more positive. Furthermore, the findings indicate that an increase in reference group outlook not only raises households inflation expectations, but also influences how they perceive current inflation and price changes. If 1% more people have a net positive income outlook in the reference group, then the household is 0.3% more likely to report higher perceived inflation (see Table 6 Column 1). The magnitude of the impact increases when, instead of the income outlook of the reference group, the consumption outlook of the reference group is considered. For every 1% increase in net positive response in consumption outlook in the reference group, the household is 0.8% more likely to report higher perceived inflation (see Table 6 Column 2).

Table 6: Alternate Measure of Inflation Expectations

| | Inflation Perception | | Price Outlook | | Price Perception | |
|--|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| Reference Group (Income Outlook) | 0.003*** (0.001) | | 0.005*** (0.000) | | 0.003*** (0.001) | |
| Reference Group (Consumption Outlook) | | 0.008*** (0.000) | | 0.018*** (0.000) | | 0.025*** (0.000) |
| N | 252514 | 252514 | 287922 | 287922 | 287922 | 287922 |
| Chi Square | 13376.77 | 13636.86 | 6938.07 | 10108.37 | 16017.19 | 20160.58 |
| Pseudo R squared | 0.047 | 0.048 | 0.018 | 0.026 | 0.063 | 0.079 |

Note:

Standard errors are reported in the parentheses.

* (p<0.10), ** (p<0.05), *** (p<0.01)

Socio-Demographic Controls: Age, Education, Income, Occupation, Family Size, Earning Members and Gender. It also controls for macroeconomic expectations of the households.

Source: Authors Estimation

4.3.2 Different measures of Reference Groups

Table 7 shows how different measures of reference group income and consumption affect inflation expectations. The different columns present the different models, where the explanatory variable (variable of interest) changes. The dependent variable, namely inflation expectations, remain the same across all different models. Table 5 shows how the reference group's income and consumption outlook, a measure of household aspirations, affects inflation expectations.

In this section, an alternate measure of reference group outlook is considered.

In Table 7, in addition to the reference group's future outlook, the current perception of the reference group about their income change (Table 7 Column 1) and consumption outlook (Table 7 Column 2) is considered. The results are qualitatively the same, i.e., when the reference group has a more positive outlook or perception of income or consumption, it increases households' aspirations, and thus they are more likely to report higher inflation.

Table 7: Different Measures of Reference Groups Outlook (Aspirations)

| | Current Perception | | | | Future Outlook | |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | Income (1) | Consumption (2) | Consumption Essential (3) | Consumption Non-Essential (4) | Consumption Essential (5) | Consumption Non-Essential (6) |
| Inflation Expectations | 0.003*** (0.001) | 0.005*** (0.000) | 0.005*** (0.000) | 0.002*** (0.000) | 0.005*** (0.001) | 0.003*** (0.000) |
| N | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 |
| Chi Square | 12440.77 | 12546.53 | 13711.74 | 13654.22 | 13702.74 | 13750.42 |
| Pseudo R squared | 0.044 | 0.044 | 0.049 | 0.048 | 0.049 | 0.049 |

Note:

Standard errors are reported in the parentheses.

* (p<0.10), ** (p<0.05), *** (p<0.01)

Socio-Demographic Controls: Age, Education, Income, Occupation, Family Size, Earning Members and Gender. It also controls for macroeconomic expectations of the households.

Source: Authors Estimation

In addition, Table 7 (Column 3–4) considers the disaggregation of consumption as essential and non-essential consumption. The results are qualitatively the same, i.e., when the reference group has a more positive outlook towards essential (see Table 7 Column 5) and non-essential consumption (see Table 7 Column 6), households are more likely to have higher inflation expectations. When the reference group's consumption (as measured by the consumption outlook) rises, so do the household's aspirations or consumption standards. If they are unable to reach the desired level, they blame external factors such as rising inflation. Thus, households have significantly higher inflation expectations. Note that the increase in the outlook of essential goods consumption of the reference group (Table 7 Columns 3 and 5) has a greater impact than non-essential (Table 7 Columns 4 and 6). This is consistent with Lewbel et al. (2022), which

suggests that an increase in essential consumption by peers leads to higher perceived household needs.

4.3.3 Changing the Reference Group

In this section, the reference group of the household consists of households that live in the same city and belong to the same income group but were surveyed in the previous round of the survey. While discussing the main results (Table 5), the reference group consisted of households who live in the same city and belong to the same income group, and the households were surveyed at the same time. The households can observe the consumption and income changes of the reference group better with a lag.

Table 8: Alternate Construction of Reference Group

| | Reference Group Outlook | | Reference Group Perception | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) |
| Reference Group (Income) | 0.003*** (0.001) | | 0.003*** (0.000) | |
| Reference Group (Consumption) | | 0.005*** (0.000) | | 0.004*** (0.000) |
| Decrease in Own Income | 0.193*** (0.020) | 0.192*** (0.020) | 0.192*** (0.020) | 0.191*** (0.020) |
| Increase in Own Income | 0.007 (0.012) | 0.010 (0.012) | 0.011 (0.012) | 0.014 (0.012) |
| N | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 | 223946 |
| Chi Square | 12433.29 | 12554.57 | 12440.18 | 12524.81 |
| Pseudo R squared | 0.044 | 0.044 | 0.044 | 0.044 |

Note:

Standard errors are reported in the parentheses.

* (p<0.10), ** (p<0.05), *** (p<0.01)

Socio-Demographic Controls: Age, Education, Income, Occupation, Family Size, Earning Members and Gender

It also controls for macroeconomic expectations of the households.

Source: Authors Estimation

Table 8 shows how changes in reference group income (Columns 1 and 3) and consumption (Columns 2 and 4) affect household inflation expectations. Here, the reference group is made up of households surveyed in the previous round. With a 1% net positive response in income outlook of the reference group (Table 8 Column 1), the household is 0.3% more likely to report

higher inflation expectations. Similarly, if the reference group has a 1% net positive outlook towards consumption, the household is 0.5% more likely to have higher inflation expectations. The results are qualitatively the same when income (Table 8 Column 3) and consumption (Table 8 Column 4) perceptions of the reference group are considered rather than their future outlook.

5 Conclusion

Globally, central banks are focusing on anchoring inflation expectations and promoting it as a stabilization policy. Thus, it becomes important to understand the different factors which impact inflation expectations. The findings of the study suggests that personal macroeconomic expectations, personal income changes, and consumption and income outlook of others impact the inflation expectations of households. The study's major findings are summarized below: First, social-comparison has a role to play, as households that are worse-off tend to report higher inflation expectations. Second, households that experience a fall in personal income tend to report higher inflation expectations. Third, households that experience an increase in personal income are more affected by changes in their reference group's income. Fourth, macroeconomic expectations have an asymmetric impact; negative expectations about the general economic condition and employment scenario lead to households reporting higher inflation expectations, whereas a positive outlook does not always imply reporting lower inflation expectations.

These findings contribute to understanding the upward bias in inflation expectations in India, as when personal income falls, households are more likely to have higher inflation expectations. However, even when households' incomes rise, if their reference group's consumption rises, so does their desired consumption level in order to keep up with the Joneses. If households are not able to fulfil their aspirations of higher consumption, they attribute this inability to higher prices.

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A Appendix

A.1 Primary Survey: Questionnaire

There are two blocks in our questionnaire. The first block covers information on socio-demographic factors, while the second block covers information that the survey aims to collect, i.e., inflation expectations and relative position.

The data collection process will be confidential, the anonymity of the respondents will be maintained, and the data will be used for academic purposes only. The identity of the respondents and their workplace can not be linked back in any way. households

Block 1: Socio-Demographic Details

1. S.No.
2. City
3. Gender:
 - (a) Male
 - (b) Female
4. Age of the respondent:
5. Education of the Respondent:
 - (a) Up to Primary
 - (b) Below Graduate
 - (c) Graduate and Above
6. Number of Family Members:
7. Number of Earning Members:

8. Occupation of Respondent:

- (a) Employed/Regular wages
- (b) Daily Worker
- (c) Homemaker
- (d) Self-Employed/Business
- (e) Others: (Specify)

9. Total Family/Household (all members included) Earnings (Upper limit included):

- (a) Upto Rs 3 Lakh
- (b) Rs. 3 Lakh - Rs 6 Lakh
- (c) Rs 6 lakh to Rs 9 Lakh
- (d) Rs 9 Lakh to Rs 12 Lakh
- (e) Rs 12 Lakh to Rs 15 Lakh
- (f) Above Rs 15 Lakh

Block 2: Survey Questions

1. Over the next year, what do you think will happen to inflation?

- (a) Will Decrease
- (b) Will remain the same
- (c) Will Increase
- (d) Don't know

2. What do you expect the inflation level to be in the coming year? Can you provide a number for the same? (Say, over the past year, if the inflation level was at 6%, what do you think will be the inflation level at the end of 1 year.)

3. What has happened to your household income as compared to last year around the same time?
 - (a) Decreased
 - (b) Remained the same
 - (c) Increased

4. How do you rate your household as compared to your peers in terms of consumption level and standard of living?
 - (a) Better Off
 - (b) Same
 - (c) Worse Off

5. If the inflation level increases to 10%, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is easy and 10 is difficult, how much difficulty will you face in maintaining the same standard of living compared to your peers?

6. If the inflation level increases to 15%, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is easy and 10 is difficult, how much difficulty will you face in maintaining the same standard of living compared to your peers?

7. How would you tackle the increased cost of living?
 - (a) Use my saving
 - (b) Borrowing
 - (c) Other measures

8. Who do you think of when we ask about your peers?
 - (a) Neighbours
 - (b) Relatives
 - (c) Friends

(d) People in same income group

(e) Colleagues

(f) Others (Specify):

A.2 Details about the Questionnaire

The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has conducted the Consumer Confidence Survey (CCS) bi-monthly since March 2015; previously, it was conducted quarterly from March 2012 to December 2014. The survey includes 19 Indian cities: Ahmedabad, Bengaluru, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Chandigarh, Chennai, Delhi, Guwahati, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Jammu, Kolkata, Lucknow, Mumbai, Nagpur, Patna, Raipur, Ranchi, and Thiruvananthapuram. It surveys approximately 5000 respondents each round, providing information on socio-demographic factors such as age, income level, gender, education level, occupation (job), household size, and number of earning members.

The survey asks respondents about their inflation expectations one year ahead, as well as their perceptions for the previous year. These questions range from the personal level, such as changes in income or consumption decisions, to macroeconomic conditions such as the overall economic situation, employment, inflation, and prices. Responses are recorded qualitatively rather than quantitatively. For example, when asked about inflation expectations, people can say they will decrease, stay the same, or increase. It does not provide a number indicating an individual's inflation expectation, such as 6% or 7%.

For the respondents' income level, the questions until 2019 asked about monthly income, whereas the questions after 2019 asked about annual income. We grouped them into equivalent groups. For example, households earning up to Rs.10,000 per month can earn up to Rs. 1,50,000 per year.

A.3 Quantifying the Qualitative Responses of the Reference Group

The RBI using the CCS release the Consumer Confidence Index about the current situation and the future outlook of people about the economic condition of the country. They use the qualitative responses to quantify and construct an index. We follow the RBI approach (Reserve Bank of India (2024)).

Consider a question about the state of the economy, to which an individual's response can be improved, remained the same, or worsened. We calculate the percentage of people who respond that the economic condition has improved (say, P_1) and the percentage of people who respond that it has worsened (say, P_2). The following step is to calculate the net positive response, which is the difference between the percentage of people who believe the economic situation has improved and the percentage of people who believe it has worsened ($X_1 = P_1 - P_2$). The economic condition index for any given time period is $100 + X_1$.

If the index value exceeds 100, it indicates that more people have a positive outlook than those who have a negative outlook. And if it is less than 100, it indicates that more people have a negative outlook than a positive outlook. The index takes a value of 100 when the number of people having positive and negative outlook are the same, i.e. it acts like the baseline scenario that the economic condition would remain the same. This gives us both direction and magnitude of positive and negative sentiments in the economy. The index ranges from 0 to 200, where 0 means everybody has a negative outlook, and 200 means everybody has a positive outlook.

In our case, instead of aggregating the index values at an aggregate level of each sample, we consider smaller subsets of the Reference Group. So, at a point in time while calculating the index value of an individual i 's reference group outlook towards income or consumption, we take all the individuals in the reference group and calculate the value of the index as specified above. If it is greater than 100, it indicates that the Reference group has a positive outlook, while a value less than 100 indicates that the Reference group has a negative outlook.