The Golden Constant

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rb and Harvey [2012, 2013] observed that a common argument made for investing in gold is that it is an inflation hedge, a golden *constant*.¹ The golden constant can be considered as a collection of statements that assert that (1) over a long period of time, the purchasing power of gold remains largely the same; (2) in the long run, inflation is a fundamental driver of the price of gold; (3) deviations in the nominal price of gold relative to its inflation-adjusted price will be corrected; and (4) in the long run, the real return from owning gold is zero. This view can be visually illustrated in least two ways. The first is to look at the historical relationship between the price of gold and a common measure of inflation. The second is to look at the movement over time in the real price of gold (i.e., the price of gold adjusted for inflation). Do these perspectives suggest a favorable or a problematic outlook for an investment in gold? This update suggests that the next 10 years could be challenging for gold.

Exhibit 1 illustrates the relation between the price of gold in U.S. dollars and the U.S. Consumer Price Index (CPI) since January 1975, when futures trading in gold commenced. Related to the idea that gold is an inflation hedge is the idea that the purchasing power of gold is constant, at least over a long period of time. The rust colored line in Exhibit 1 offers a way of thinking about what the golden constant value of gold might look like, if it exists. First, we calculate the average real price of gold (average of the nominal price divided by the CPI level). In our data, the average real price of gold is 3.46. The line in Exhibit 1 is simply the average real price multiplied by the current level, each month, of the CPI. For example, in June 2016, the CPI level is 239.9. Multiplying the average real price by the current CPI (3.49 × 239.9) delivers a price of approximately \$840. This represents what the nominal price of gold should be today—if we assume the real price of gold is constant.

Importantly, the price of gold has fluctuated substantially over time as well as relative to the golden constant value estimate. Because there is no generally agreed-upon definition of an inflation hedge, some might see in Exhibit 1 evidence that gold is a golden constant inflation hedge, at least in a longrun sense; others may look at the same data and suggest that perhaps an inflation hedge should track realized inflation more closely.

The golden constant is not a fact. It is instead one hypothesis about the value of an asset that embeds the idea that gold is an inflation hedge. It is possible to enthusiastically believe in other hypotheses, such as a golden version of market efficiency (in which the observable price of gold is an unbiased estimate of the otherwise unobservable value of gold), the idea that the price of

E X H I B I T **1** The Price of Gold, the Level of Inflation and a "Golden Constant Value" of Gold



Notes: The golden constant value of gold is derived by multiplying the value of the U.S. Consumer Price Index by the average real price of gold, which is the average of the nominal price of gold divided by the U.S. Consumer Price Index. Source: Bloomberg.

gold is ultimately driven by the actions of the Chinese government and Chinese consumers, or the idea that the price of gold is driven by the cost of production of gold mining companies. Of course, although there may be an efficient market explanation for gold, or the Chinese may be driving the price of gold, it is worth considering whether these possible drivers of the price of gold are consistent with the idea of gold being an inflation hedge.² Do Chinese purchases of gold proxy for what people in the United States, and everywhere else, really think inflation happens to be? Is the assertion that price equals value a step forward in hedging inflation? Does the cost of production of the average or marginal gold miner really capture the story of inflation? The golden constant hypothesis perspective suggests only that, if it is true, the price of gold (\$1,321 in June 2016) is much higher than its golden constant value (\$840). An obvious question to ask is, if the golden constant provides a guide to the value of gold, what typically happens when the price of gold is above or below its golden constant value? Following the path of the real price of gold may be helpful.

Exhibit 2 shows how the real price of gold has fluctuated since January 1975. As mentioned earlier, the ratio of the price of gold relative to the U.S. CPI has averaged about 3.46 over this time period.³ Of course, the value of this ratio might be different when using a different inflation index or resetting the base date of the U.S. CPI. The general idea of a golden constant only suggests that once an investor thoughtfully selects an inflation index, viewing inflation as a fundamental driver of the price of gold, there is no reason to expect that the real price of gold, relative to that index, will persistently trend up or down over a long period of time. Using the U.S. CPI⁴ as an arbitrary, although conventional, fundamental driver of the price of gold, the high real price of gold has been approximately 8.73, the low real price of gold has been approximately 1.47, and the current real price of gold is approximately 5.50.⁵

In the future, high and low real prices of gold may be more or less extreme than those in the past. The historical low real price of gold of 1.47 reflects its historical volatility, and it is a measure of how low the real price of gold actually sank in the past. It is not an indication that the real price of gold cannot fall to a lower level in the future. The high and low real prices of gold highlight that, even if there is on average a golden constant, the real price of gold has strayed far from this possible central tendency and is likely to do so again. It is also possible that the future will be unlike the past.

There are at least two ways to think about the current historically high real price of gold. One is that the real price of gold may mean revert toward the horizontal rust-colored line, the golden constant value for gold linked with the average real price of gold. It is also possible that "history is more or less bunk," as Henry Ford once put it, reflecting an idea that bold investors and innovators were never slaves to history.

E X H I B I T 2 The Real Price of Gold



Notes: The real price of gold is the nominal U.S. dollar price of an ounce of gold divided by the U.S. Consumer Price Index. The average price of gold is the equally weighted average of the real price of gold observations (monthly observations). Source: Bloomberg.

Mean reversion may be consistent with the idea of a long-run golden constant in which the real price of gold mean reverts to its average. In a very obvious way, however, Exhibit 2 also suggests that when the real price of gold falls, the golden constant level is not a floor-a protective line in the sand that the real price of gold will not cross. Because the future has not happened yet, it is not possible to forcefully opine that the real price of gold will not fall below its average level, the golden constant, in the future. Of course, it is worth considering how rewarding an investment in gold might be if the real price of gold falls to its previous low level, or lower. Focusing on the idea that inflation is the fundamental driver of the price of gold, somewhat similar in spirit to thinking about earnings or cash flow⁶ as the fundamental drivers of stocks, the real price of gold can be thought of as a valuation ratio. Historically, has there been any relationship between the real price of gold and subsequent gold real returns? Alternatively, does valuation matter?

Exhibit 3 depicts the historical relationship between the real price of gold and subsequent 10-year real gold returns. Historically, below average real gold prices have been followed by above average 10-year real gold returns, and above average real gold prices have been followed by below average 10-year real gold returns. Because the real price of gold is currently above its historical average, Exhibit 3 suggests that over the next 10 years real gold returns could be below average. Thinking of the real price of gold as a valuation metric, this may seem to suggest that valuation matters. Because the devil is in the details, it both does and does not matter. In a golden constant sense, valuation matters because deviations from a normal real price of gold are inconsistent with the concept that gold is an inflation hedge, the long-run real price of gold is constant over time, and the long-run real return of gold is zero. There are, of course, alternative views, such as the idea that the price of gold equals the value of gold or a belief that the Chinese control the gold market, in which the real price of gold has no obvious role.

One can view Exhibit 3 as a typical predictive chart that echoes the work of Campbell and Shiller [1998] and many others. The real price of gold in January 1975 is matched with the real gold return from January 1975 to January 1985; the real gold price from February 1975 is matched with the real gold return from February 1975 to February 1985; and so on. It may be common to look 10 years into the future in these illustrations; however, it is worth noting that it is easier to view the choice of a 10-year horizon as a convenient convention rather than a scientific revelation.⁷

Given the perspective of a golden constant, Exhibit 4 tries to answer the question: "How low might the price of gold go if the previous low real price of gold is revisited?" Given the value of the U.S. CPI for June 2015 and the previous low real price of gold, a possible low price for gold is about \$353 per ounce. This does not mean that the price of gold will immediately fall to \$353 per ounce; rather, it is a suggestion that because the real price of gold once fell to 1.47, it could fall to that level again, given the volatile history of real gold prices. A consideration of the opportunities and the pitfalls of an investment benefit from a consideration of probable and possible outcomes. If the question is "What is the likely price for gold given a belief in the golden constant?" then an answer is \$840 per ounce. If the question is "How low could the price of gold go given the history of real gold prices and a belief in the golden constant?"

E X H I B I T **3** Historical Relation between the Real Price of Gold and Subsequent Real Gold Returns



Notes: The expected price of gold is derived by multiplying the value of the U.S. Consumer Price Index by the average real price of gold, the average of the nominal price of gold divided by the U.S. Consumer Price Index. Starting with the real gold price for a specific date, the real gold return is the annualized geometric real gold return over the next 10 years (monthly observations).

Source: Bloomberg.

EXHIBIT 4 The Price of Gold and Average, High and Low "Golden Constant" Values



Notes: The expected price of gold is derived by multiplying the value of the U.S. Consumer Price Index by the average real price of gold, the average of the nominal price of gold divided by the U.S. Consumer Price Index. The high and low observations use the historically observed high and low real prices of gold. Monthly observations through June 2016.

Source: Bloomberg.

then an answer is approximately \$353 per ounce. Alternatively, the history-is-bunk view may be invoked and the possibility ignored, or declared impossible, that the real price of gold could fall to a low real price level. In a golden constant context, \$353 per ounce is the downside risk to the price of gold given the existence of a golden constant framework, a prior low real price of gold, and the current level of the U.S. CPI.

If, in a golden constant sense, a fair value of gold is currently \$840 per ounce and a possible low value of gold is currently \$353 per ounce, how does that translate into expected nominal and real return? Resorting to the convention of peering 10 years into the future, Exhibit 5 provides a framework. Look at the case in which inflation is expected to be 2% per year for the next 10 years (this assumption can be compared with the 10-year Treasury break-even rate). The golden constant value of gold would increase from \$840 per ounce to \$1,024 per ounce, and the overshoot price would rise from \$350 per ounce to \$430 per ounce. If, over a 10-year investment horizon, the price of gold fell from \$1,321 per ounce to \$1,024 per ounce, it would experience a nominal return of -2.5%per year and a real return of -4.4% per year. If the price of gold fell from \$1,321 per ounce to a 10-year-hence overshoot level, the nominal and real returns would be -10.6% per year and -12.4% per year, respectively.

Exhibit 5 also shows what 10-year nominal and real returns might look like if inflation for the next 10 years were 0% per year or 1% per year. Not surprisingly, if the level of inflation differs from one scenario to another, then nominal returns differ from one scenario to another by the difference in inflation rates. What may be a bit more interesting is that real returns do not seem to vary across inflation scenarios. Regardless of the future inflation rate, the real rate of return is -4.4% per year if gold declines to its golden constant fair value over 10 years. Regardless of the future inflation rate, the real rate of return is -12.4% per year if gold declines to its overshoot level over 10 years. The observation that the level of inflation does not affect the real rate of return is similar to the observation made by Erb and Harvey [2013] that from 1980 to 2000 the real return of gold was the same in Brazil and the United States even though inflation rates were quite different in the two countries.

Suppose an investor views gold as a possible inflation hedge and is able to perfectly forecast inflation over the next 10 years. In a historical U.S. context, how valuable might this skill have been in forecasting future 10-year nominal gold returns? Exhibit 6 provides some perspective.

Exhibit 6 shows rolling 10-year total returns for the nominal price of gold, the real price of gold, and the rate of inflation. The rate of inflation has declined over time, but there does not seem to be much linkage between the 10-year rate of inflation and either the nominal or real return of gold. Exhibit 6 highlights that, even if inflation is a long-term fundamental driver of the fair value of gold, it is important to identify those circumstances under which clairvoyant forecasts of future inflation will be helpful.

Exhibit 7 presents another way of thinking about the value of perfect forecasts of inflation and the realized nominal returns from gold. The γ -axis of Exhibit 7 shows the rolling 10-year nominal returns for gold, and the x-axis plots the rolling 10-year returns for both inflation and the real rate of return of gold. The message

E X H I B I T 5 "Golden Constant" Real Returns

	Current Gold Price	Current Golden Constant Level	Forecasted 10 Year Inflation Rate	Year 10 Golden Constant Level	Geometric Nominal Forecasted Annualized Return	Geometric Real Forecasted Annualized Return
Average	\$1,321	\$840	0%	\$840	-4.4%	-4.4%
"Overshoot"	\$1,321	\$353	0%	\$353	-12.4%	-12.4%
Average	\$1,321	\$840	1%	\$927	-3.5%	-4.4%
"Overshoot"	\$1,321	\$353	1%	\$390	-11.5%	-12.4%
Average	\$1,321	\$840	2%	\$1,024	-2.5%	-4.4%
"Overshoot"	\$1,321	\$353	2%	\$430	-10.6%	-12.4%

Note: In the "Overshoot" scenario, the price of gold reverts to its lowest real price observed since 1975.

E X H I B I T **6** Rolling 10-Year Gold Returns, Real Gold Returns and Inflation







in Exhibit 7 is simple. Exactly knowing the inflation rate over the next 10 years has been of little help in forecasting the future nominal return on gold. On the other hand, being able to know the future real return on gold delivers a highly accurate forecast of the nominal return on gold. This insight should also be evident from Exhibit 6. Historically, inflation in the United States measured over 10-year periods has very low volatility. In contrast, the price of gold has large volatility. As a result, being able to forecast inflation does not really help in forecasting the volatile nominal price of gold.

Importantly, even though there is little relation between the nominal price of gold and inflation when measured over 10-year periods, the evidence given by Erb and Harvey [2012] suggests that gold holds its value over the very long run. They presented historical evidence that the wage of a Roman centurion (in gold) was approximately the same as a U.S. Army captain's pay. They also detailed that the price of bread (in gold) thousands of years ago is about the same as we would pay today at an upscale bakery. Thus, although gold might protect against inflation in the very long run, 10 years is not the long run. In the shorter run, gold is a volatile investment that is capable of and likely to overshoot or undershoot any notion of fair value.

CONCLUSION

A golden constant framework suggests that \$840 per ounce is a possible estimate of gold's fair value and that the price of gold could fall as low as \$353 per ounce. Thought of in terms of possible real returns over the next 10 years, an expected real return for gold is about -4.4% per year using this notion of fair value, and, in the case of an overshoot scenario, the real return of gold could be about -12.4% per year.

Depending on one's beliefs, the golden constant framework may or may not be a useful way to think about the fair and possible values of the price of gold. The golden constant framework suggests that inflation is a fundamental driver of the price of gold in the longer term. It is common for stock and bond investors to point out that stocks and bonds have cash flows that drive their fundamental values. Many fixed-rate bonds have fixed cash flows and fixed maturities. Stocks have unknown expected cash flows and no specified maturity. Gold has neither fixed nor expected cash flows, and it does not have a maturity. As a result, it is much more difficult to define gold's fundamental value. Given the challenge of specifying a pricing model, it is not surprising that gold exhibits substantial price volatility even measured over longer-term horizons.

ENDNOTES

¹The golden constant is also discussed by Erb and Harvey [2012] and Jastram [1978].

²Another way of thinking about this is that it is, to some degree, possible to point to some measure of inflation, but it is probably hard to point to some measure of market efficiency or of Chinese gold activity. Alternatively, because these arguments are so hard to define, they also are hard to disprove.

³The long-run future real price of gold, measured in this way, may stay the same or change. If the average real price of gold rises over time, then it does more than provide an inflation hedge; it is an asset that generates the return of inflation and an additional premium. If the average price of gold falls over time, then it may not live up to investor expectations of what an inflation hedge should be because it would provide the return of inflation minus some penalty. Only if the real price of gold stays the same over a long period of time is it possible to consider gold an inflation hedge without a very lengthy list of qualifications about what one expects from an inflation hedge. In "The Golden Dilemma," Erb and Harvey [2012] examine the golden constant from 1792.

⁴Erb and Harvey [2013] looked beyond a U.S.-centric view (gold priced in U.S. dollars and real gold prices calculated

using the U.S. CPI) and explored the fluctuations of the real price of gold from the perspective of 22 other countries. The perspective gleaned from these other countries did not, however, alter the real gold price analysis message. At least two explanations for this finding are possible. Unlike stocks or bonds, which to some degree differ from one country to another, gold is gold everywhere. Its price is the same everywhere (after adjusting for exchange rates). If the price of gold were not the same everywhere, it would offer an attractive arbitrage opportunity from buying gold inexpensively in one country and selling it for a lot more in another country. This idea that the nominal price of gold is the same everywhere, even though countries differ in the ways that they honestly or dishonestly calculate inflation.

⁵Current price of gold/Current CPI = \$1,321/239.927 ~ 5.504.

⁶If inflation is the fundamental driver of gold, inflation may not be more difficult to forecast than earnings or cash flows for stocks.

⁷It is possible to compare the real price of gold with real gold returns over the next day, week, month, year, or any time period. It is common to believe that if valuation plays some role in subsequent returns, its impact will probably be more significant at a longer horizon (e.g., 10 years) than at a short horizon (e.g., one day). For example, Campbell and Shiller [1998] examined the relationship between a measure of stock market valuation and subsequent real stock market returns. A challenge with long-run return predictability studies is that if a researcher has, say, a desire to find evidence of a useful value metric, it may not be surprising to see the researcher provide supporting evidence that is more apparent than real.

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