

ROBERT J. SHILLER AT 80:

THE REBEL WHO CHALLENGED WALL STREET'S FAITH

Professor Robert J. Shiller is American economist who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics Sciences jointly with Eugene Fama and Lars Peter Hansen in 2013. When he published his groundbreaking 1981 paper asking whether stock prices move too much to be justified by dividends, he wasn't just questioning a theory—he was challenging the fundamental religion of modern finance. The Efficient Market Hypothesis had become gospel on Wall Street: markets are rational, investors are informed, prices reflect all available information. Shiller looked at the data and said, essentially, 'No, they don't.'

His methodology was elegant in its simplicity. If markets were truly efficient, stock prices should move in line with the present value of expected future dividends. But when Shiller traced U.S. stock market data back to 1871, he found something startling: prices gyrated wildly, far more than changes in dividends could possibly justify. The price-to-dividend ratio swung high and low in predictable patterns – rising when it was already low, falling when it was high. This wasn't the steady hand of rational calculation; it was something else entirely.

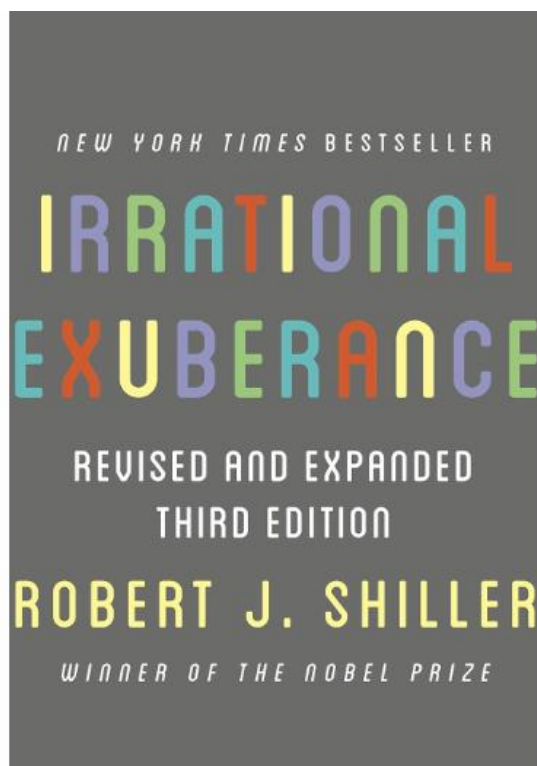
That 'something else' would define Shiller's career: the recognition that markets are driven not by cool-headed analysis but by human psychology – by fear, greed, impulse, and the contagious spread of stories. When the stock market crashed in October 1987, Shiller saw an opportunity. He surveyed investors and traders, asking them what had prompted their decisions to buy or sell. The responses confirmed his suspicions: people weren't reacting to fundamental economic data. They were reacting to panic, to rumours, to what their neighbours were doing.

This work helped birth the field of behavioural finance, which recognizes that investors are human beings, prone to cognitive biases, emotional reactions, and herd behaviour. Shiller's insights were revolutionary because they didn't just critique the Efficient Market Hypothesis – they offered a more

realistic alternative grounded in how people actually behave. His investor survey was so influential that it has been maintained and updated continuously since 1989, becoming a standard tool for understanding market sentiment.

From Housing Bubbles to Bitcoin: The Prophet of Boom and Bust

If Shiller's early work made him a respected academic, his prescient warnings about asset bubbles made him a public intellectual and something of a modern Cassandra. In the 1990s, while others celebrated the dot-com boom as a 'new economy', Shiller saw the telltale signs of irrational exuberance – a phrase he turned into the title of his prophetic 2000 book.



Irrational Exuberance warned that stock prices had become dangerously detached from underlying economic fundamentals. The book was published in March 2000, just as the tech bubble was reaching its peak. Within weeks, the NASDAQ began its long, painful descent. Shiller hadn't just predicted a correction; he had diagnosed the psychological mechanisms driving the bubble – the feedback loops of rising prices creating optimism, which attracted more buyers, which pushed prices higher still, until reality inevitably reasserted itself.

But Shiller's most consequential warning came from his collaboration with economist Karl Case on housing prices. Together, they created the Case-Shiller Index, which tracked home prices across major U.S. metropolitan areas with unprecedented rigor. What started as an academic project became the industry standard for measuring housing market trends. Through this work, Shiller observed the housing bubble inflating in real-time during the mid-2000s.

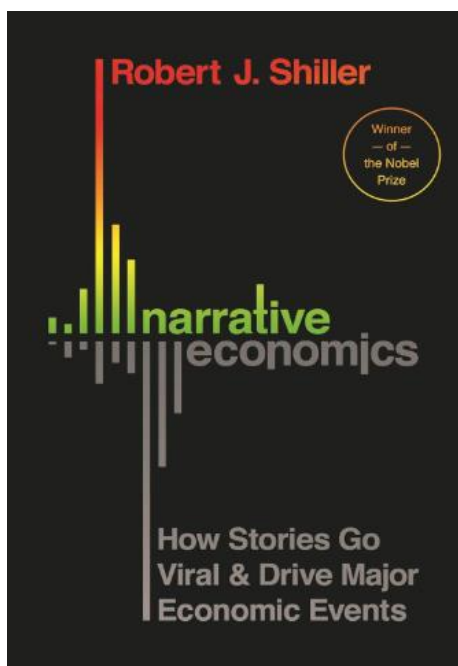
While most economists, politicians, and Wall Street analysts insisted that housing prices would continue rising or at worst level off, Shiller issued increasingly urgent warnings. He pointed to historical patterns, to the divergence between home prices and rental values, to the dangerous

proliferation of subprime mortgages. When the housing market finally collapsed in 2007–2008, triggering the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression, Shiller’s warnings were vindicated – though at enormous cost to millions of homeowners and the global economy.

His track record of identifying bubbles continued. In 2017, he called Bitcoin ‘the biggest financial bubble’ at that time, comparing cryptocurrencies to historical speculative manias. While Bitcoin’s price has continued to fluctuate wildly, Shiller’s fundamental point remains: assets whose value depends primarily on the belief that someone else will pay more for them tomorrow are inherently unstable.

Narrative Economics and the Stories That Shape Our World

Shiller’s most recent major contribution extends his insights about psychology and markets into an ambitious new framework: narrative economics. His 2019 book *Narrative Economics: How Stories Go Viral and Drive Major Economic Events* argues that economic events cannot be fully understood through traditional models of supply, demand, and rational actors. Instead, we must understand the stories – the narratives – that spread through populations and shape economic behaviour.



This isn’t just about market psychology; it’s about how ideas go viral and alter the course of history. Shiller applies epidemiological models to economic narratives, examining how certain stories spread like contagions, mutate over time, and eventually fade – only sometimes to recur decades later. The narrative of ‘buying on margin’ in the 1920s, the ‘new economy’ story of the 1990s, the ‘housing prices always go up’ mythology of the 2000s – these weren’t just background noise to economic events. They were, Shiller argues, central drivers of those events.

The book examines diverse narratives: panic about automation and job loss (recurring since the Luddites), confidence about stock market returns, fears about immigration, beliefs about the morality of debt. Shiller shows how these narratives rise and fall in measurable patterns, influencing everything from consumer spending to business investment to policy decisions. By understanding which

narratives are currently spreading and how virulent they are, we might better anticipate economic shifts.

This work represents Shiller's mature synthesis: combining rigorous data analysis with humanistic understanding of storytelling, psychology, and culture. It's characteristic of his career-long insistence that economics must grapple with the full complexity of human behaviour, not retreat into mathematical models that assume away the messy reality of how people actually think and act.

Shiller's legacy at 80 is that of a scholar who was right when the consensus was wrong, who had the courage to challenge orthodoxy with evidence, and who never stopped asking the most fundamental question: not how should rational agents behave in theory, but how do real humans actually behave in practice? His work has made markets more transparent, investors more cautious, and economics more realistic. In recognizing that we are not the calculating machines of economic theory but storytelling, emotional, social creatures, Shiller has given us a more truthful – and more useful – understanding of the economic world we've created.

Prof. Dr habil. Antanas BURACĀS

Member of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences