

30 June-2 July 2025

# Alena Wabitsch

**University of Oxford** 

The Messenger Matters





# The Messenger Matters

Alena Wabitsch University of Oxford

Overview

#### **Motivation**

- Successful policy communication must reach and influence the public
- How can this be achieved?

Does it matter who communicates?



Context of central banks: Communication as a monetary policy tool

#### **This Paper**

#### How does the messenger impact central bank communication?

Empirical evidence using national heterogeneity in the Euro area:

- 1. Motivating evidence from Twitter
- 2. Causal evidence from inflation forecasting experiment

#### How should messengers be selected to optimally communicate to the public?

Optimal communication: disclosure and delegation

3. Generalized coordination model with strategic complementarity (on the social value of public information)

#### **Main Findings**

#### **Messenger effects:** (i) Information availability

- (ii) Information processing
- Individuals who match messenger's nationality (the ingroup)...  $\blacksquare$  ...are reached more:  $\sim$ 1/3 more likely
- ...use information more: inflation expectations use signal  $\sim$ 5pp more, halving gap to Bayesian
  - → Positive nationality-based ingroup effects make policy communication more effective

#### **Optimal communication** through diverse messengers?

- Mostly desirable Sometimes harmful
- → Strategic selection of messengers (delegation) is a powerful additional policy tool

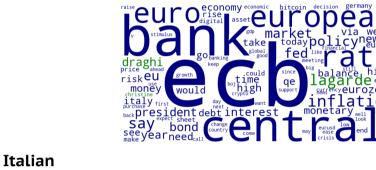
#### 1. Motivating Evidence

#### **Motivating Evidence**

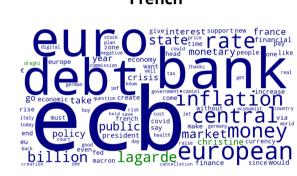
#### **New Dataset:**

- >8m tweets in 5 languages (DE, ES, FR, IT & EN)
- Language proxies nationality
- Contain "ECB", "European Central Bank" or translated equivalents
- 2016-2022: 3 years per president (Draghi and Lagarde), 48 press conferences
- Ingroup: Messenger and receiver match nationalities

Figure 1. Focus on Policymakers Varies by Tweet Language





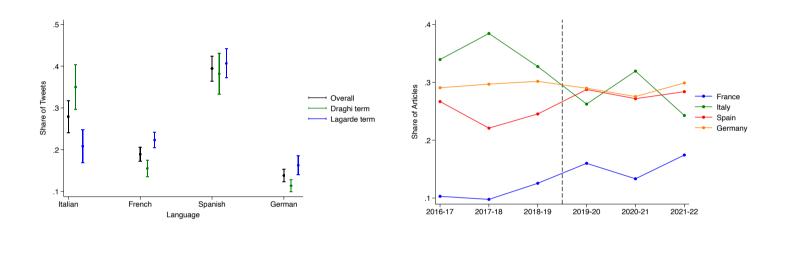


#### **Insights: 2 Dimensions of Messenger Effects**

1. Higher information availability for the ingroup 2. Stronger belief updating by the ingroup

#### 1. Information Availability

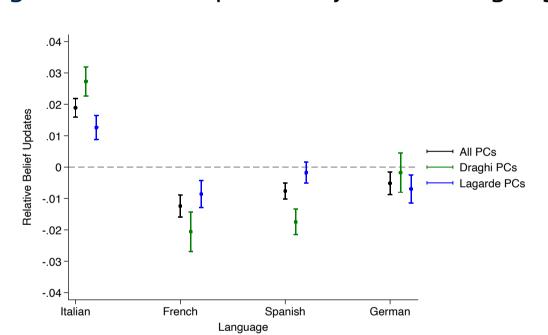
Figure 2. Share of Tweets and Newspaper Articles by Language



Information availability increases for the ingroup (by 10.5pp\*\*\* on Twitter and by 6.1pp\*\*\* for print media)

# 2. Information Processing: Belief Updates

- **Beliefs:** Measured as tweet sentiment  $\in (-1, 1)$ , dictionary-approach Relative belief updates:
- Between last tweet during quiet period...and first tweet after press conference (within 24 hours) Absolute change in sentiment (demeaned)
  - Figure 3. Belief Updates by Tweet Language



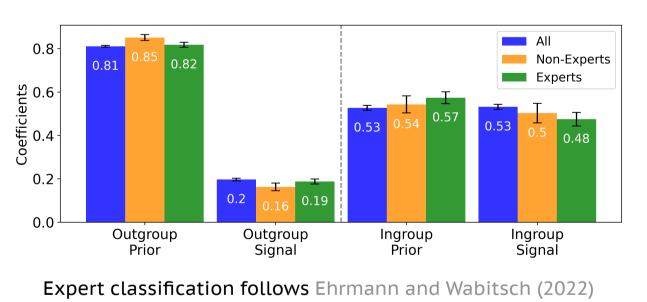
Information processing: Stronger belief updating by ingroup (0.014\*\*\*)

# **Updates to a Signal**

Novel information (surprise) from 48 press conferences OIS-2Y monetary surprise indicator from Euro Area Monetary Policy Event-Study Database (EA-MPD) by Altavilla et al. (2019)

> $Posterior_{i,t} = \beta_1 Prior_{i,t} + \beta_2 Prior_{i,t} * Ingroup_{i,t} + \beta_3 Ingroup_{i,t}$  $+ \beta_4 Signal_t + \beta_5 Signal_t * Ingroup_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t}$

Figure 4. Linear combination of coefficients with 95% CI



Ingroup updates beliefs closer to signals (across expertise)

**Inflation Forecasting Experiment** 

Step 3

3.1 Survey

At core: Is information used differently across messengers?

2.1 Messenger's

2.2 Posterior

6 forecasting tasks with different messenger treatments

Representative policymakers and institutions: trust and exposure

signal and optional

# Why Twitter

- Real-world evidence
- Reduced concerns about: Extrapolation, Hawthorne or experimenter demand effects
- Modern information supply High-frequency panel insights

Step 1

(within-subject)

Perceived messenger ability

1.1 Inflation

history

1.2 Prior

Survey:

Data:

2. Inflation Forecasting Experiment

Treatments: Signals from varying messengers

Step 2

Incentivized inflation forecasting tasks

# Limitations

- Specific policymakers Other co-occurring events
- and platform trends
- Crude beliefs

# Experiment

Addresses limitations

Step 4

4.1 Reveal

# 2. Inflation Forecasting Experiment (cont.)

#### **Experimental Design**

**Two key decisions** per inflation forecasting task:



Read more Read more

2. Attention to information

European Central Bank (ECB)

■ **Treatments:** Messengers of signals

Prior and Posterior (with precision):

1. Experts of in- and outgroup nationality 2. ECB Experts of in- and outgroup nationality 3. ECB and NCB (national central bank) experts 6 inflation scenarios

**Incentivized** to minimize forecast error

**Randomization:** Messenger-inflation match, messenger order

#### **Updating Inflation Expectations: Estimation**

#### Standard Bayesian belief updating:

- Prior about  $x \sim \mathcal{N}(A_i, \alpha_i^{-1})$ Signal  $B_i = x + e$ , where  $e \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \beta_i^{-1})$
- Posterior  $E_i[x|B_j] = \frac{\alpha_i A_i + \beta_j B_j}{\alpha_i + \beta_i}$

Following e.g., Benjamin (2019): If  $\gamma = \delta = 1$ : Bayesian Updating If  $\gamma > < 1$ : prior over-/under-use

If  $\delta > < 1$ : signal over-/under-use

Figure 5. Signal Use ( $\delta$ ) All treatments:  $\delta = 0.90$ 

#### **Findings**

#### Hypothesis 1: The Pure Causal Ingroup Effect

Signals of ingroup messengers are used more to update inflation expectations (0.052\*\*\*)

Messenger

**Expert from France** Expert from Italy

Individual-FE

Treatment Hypotheses

	3 4		Expert from Germany Expert from Spain			
				(1)	(2)	(3)
,	<i>J</i> =2	( B: )	Pure Ingroup Effect (H1):		0.047*** (0.017)	
•	$\left(\underbrace{\frac{\alpha_i}{\alpha_i + \beta_j} A_i}\right) + \sum_{j=1} \delta_j 7$	$ \int_{J} \underbrace{\left(\frac{\beta_{j}}{\alpha_{i} + \beta_{j}} B_{j}\right)} + \epsilon_{i} $	j R-squared N	0.960 795	0.986 795	0.994 795
V	weighted Prior	weighted Signal	Inflation Scenario Treatment Order		<b>√</b> ✓	<b>√</b> ✓

# **Hypothesis 2: Institutional Context**

The ingroup effect diminishes yet persists within institutional context: Signals of ingroup messengers within ECB context are used more (0.028\*)

Treatment	Hypotheses	Messenger
5	H2, H3	Expert from France representing <b>ECB</b>
6	H2, H3	Expert from Italy representing <b>ECB</b>
7	H2, H3	Expert from Germany representing ECB
8	H2, H3	Expert from Spain representing ECB

# Hypothesis 3: Homophily or Heterophobia?

Homophily drives ingroup effects within the ECB context

Potential causes of ingroup effect:

(i) Homophily: liking for sameness (ii) Heterophobia: dislike for difference

Comparing signal use between:

(i) Ingroup and neutral ECB expert  $(0.035^{**}) \rightarrow Homophily$ 

(ii) Outgroup and neutral ECB expert (0.013)  $\rightarrow$  Not heterophobia

# **Hypothesis 4: Varying Institutions**

We can change (perceived) nationality by varying institutions: Signals from national institutions are used more **(0.034**\*\*)

Treatment	Hypotheses	Messenger
9	H3, H4	Expert representing ECB
10	H4	Expert representing <b>NCB</b>
10	,	

# The Mechanism

# **Perceived Quality:**

- $\sim$ 80% of causal ingroup effect explained by perceived quality (i.e., perceived messenger ability)
- Remaining effect of (0.010\*\*)
- Similar reduction of effects for other hypotheses

# **Trust:**

- Fully explains the positive NCB effect
- Explains more than half of homophily effect, but some relative over-use remains (**0.021**\*\*\*)

# **Information Reach & Attention**

Ingroup policymakers **reach** audiences better:

How well are you informed about the institutions or policymakers listed below?'

#### **ECB Board Member NCB Governor** Fabio Panetta Ignazio Visco Luis de Guindos Pablo Hernández de Cos

**27.1%** more likely to **know** representative ingroup policymakers

#### 28.6% more likely to follow news What causes attention?

- Attention to information is unaffected by the messenger
- Attention is endogenous to the inflationary environment

# Figure 6. Revealed Buttons (with 95%-CI)

Ingroup policymakers improve reach through information availability, not attention

# 3. Modeling Optimal Communication

### **Modeling Optimal Communication**

- Social welfare evaluation of public information (Morris and Shin, 2002) Optimal transparency debate: public communication as a double-edged sword
- What is optimal communication policy considering messenger effects?

#### A Generalized Coordination Model on the Social Value of Public Information ('Beauty Contest')

#### **Environment:**

• Agents  $i \in [0,1]$  choose action  $a_i \in \mathbb{R}$  to maximize  $u_i \in \mathbb{R}$ Care about aligning actions with unknown  $x \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, \tau_x^{-1})$  and coordinating with

 $u_i = -(1-r)(a_i-x)^2 - r(a_i-\bar{a})^2$ 

- Share  $\alpha$  of ingroup agents and  $(1 \alpha)$  outgroup agents Social Welfare:  $W(a,x) = \frac{1}{1-r} \int_0^1 u_i(a,x) \, di = -\int_0^1 (a_i-x)^2 \, di$
- **Information Structure:** Private signals:  $y_i = x + \epsilon_{y,i}$ ,  $\epsilon_{y,i} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, \tau_y^{-1})$

#### Public signal: $Y = X + \epsilon_Y = X + \epsilon_Z + \epsilon_V$ , $\epsilon_Z \sim \mathcal{N}(\mathbf{0}, \tau_Z^{-1})$ , $\epsilon_V \sim \mathcal{N}(\mathbf{0}, \tau_V^{-1})$

**Central bank:** Disclosure Policy: Central bank controls precision of public signal  $\tau_Y$  via  $\tau_V$ 

**Delegation Policy:** Choose messenger(s) to set ingroup-outgroup share  $\alpha$ Timeline:

#### 1. Decision on delegation and public information disclosure 2. Agents receive signals and choose their actions to maximize expected utility

- Agent Types  $h \in \{g, o\}$ : • Ingroup (g):
  - Match messenger characteristics ( $\theta_i = \theta_m$ )
  - Receive all public signals Y Form beliefs like Bayesians
  - **Outgroup** (*o*):

where  $q = 1 - r + r(1 - \alpha)(1 - A)$ 

- Do not match messenger characteristics ( $\theta_i \neq \theta_m$ ) • Receive Y if  $|Y| \geq d_o$ , where  $d_o \sim \mathcal{N}_+(0,1)$ • Fraction of informed outgroup agents:  $A = 2\Phi(|Y|) - 1$ .
- Form beliefs with Resonance Weight (Malmendier and Veldkamp, 2022):  $\rho_{im} = (2 - 2\Phi(\chi||\theta_i - \theta_m||))$

# All agents know A but are unaware of belief updating biases

**Actions in the Unique Linear Equilibrium** 

 $a_{io}(y_i) = y_i$ Uninformed Outgroup Ingroup Informed Outgroup

# **Optimal Communication Policy**

PROPOSITION. Increasing the precision of the public signal ( $\tau_Y$ ) improves welfare only if the public signal is sufficiently precise relative to private signals and if the coordination motive r is not too high.

# Figure 7. Disclosure's Effect on Social Welfare

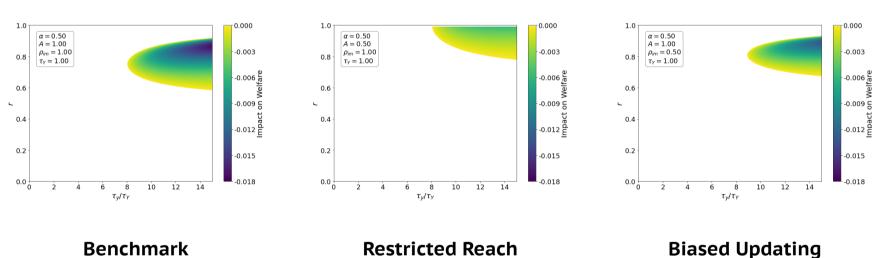


Figure 8. Social Welfare Contours: Disclosure and/or Delegation?

Outgroup agents mitigate welfare losses from disclosure

Low Coordination (r = 0.10)High Coordination (r = 0.90)

A = 0.5,  $\rho_{im} = 0.95$ ,  $\tau_{v} = 1.0$ , r = 0.9

• Social welfare can benefit from strategic delegation (setting  $\alpha$ )

delegation as alternative to limiting disclosure

Choosing to delegate depends on coordination r: **Low** r: Maximizing  $\alpha$  ( $\alpha^* = 1$ ) is optimal (and so is full disclosure) ■ **High** r: Reducing  $\alpha$  can prevent over-reliance on noisy public signals  $\rightarrow$  strategic

other institutions

Strategic selection of messengers (delegation) is a

powerful additional policy tool

■ Two concrete examples of **delegation**: other board members or

0.00 0.25 0.50 0.75 1.00 1.25 1.50 1.75 2.00

A = 0.5,  $\rho_{im} = 0.95$ ,  $\tau_{v} = 1.0$ , r = 0.1

# Conclusion

# The Messenger Matters

- When characteristics of the messenger(s) align with those of receivers, central bank communication is more effective
- Two dimensions: reach and influence Delegation of communication can be a powerful
- policy tool Policy communication with the public beyond
- central bank context: fiscal, climate, health, education, etc.

# Disclosures

Ethics approval reference: ECONCIA21-22-24. AEA RCT Registry ID: AEARCTR-0010727.

Funded by: The Austrian Economic Association (NOeG) 2022 Dissertation Fellowship, St Catherine's College (Oxford), the Department of Economics (Oxford).

alena.wabitsch@economics.ox.ac.uk

https://www.alenawabitsch.eu/

400 participants via Prolific, collected in fall of 2023 Participant nationality (+ residence): DE, ES, FR, IT