Central Bank Communication by ??? The Economics of Public Policy Leaks

Michael Ehrmann¹ Phillipp Gnan² Kilian Rieder³

¹European Central Bank* & CEPR

²Vienna University of Economics and Business

³Oesterreichische Nationalbank (Eurosystem)* & CEPR

EEA 2023

30 August 2023

*This presentation does not necessarily reflect the views of the ECB, the OeNB, or the Eurosystem.

Public policy leaks: what they are and why we should care

Definition of public policy (PP) leaks:

Disclosures of confidential information transmitted by <u>institutional insiders</u> to the <u>media</u> with an expectation of anonymity

PP leaks occur frequently:

- Institutions around the world "leak like sieves" (Grønbach Jensen, 1998; Pozen, 2013; Rottman, 2019)
- "Routine method of communication about government" (House Committee on the Judiciary, 1982)

PP leaks can have large impacts:

- Leaks reveal misconduct (Kielbowicz, 2006; Kwoka, 2015; Spaniel and Poznansky, 2018)
- Leaks harm credibility and reputation of institutions (Oei and Ring, 2018; Assenmacher et al., 2021)
- Leaks lock in decision-makers (Fehrler and Hahn, 2022; Vissing-Jorgensen, 2019)

Many questions about PP leaks remain unanswered

"Our comprehension of leaking has not kept pace with our fascination." (Pozen, 2013)

- 1. How do leaks affect public views?
- 2. Do leaks impact policy effectiveness?
- 3. Can official communication mitigate the impact of leaks?
- 4. Are leaks accidents, "plants" or placed by individuals with their own agenda?
- \rightarrow Theoretical ambiguity: anonymity of information could cut both ways
- \rightarrow Empirical challenge: lack of fast-moving outcome variables

Central banks are promising cases to study PP leaks

Key advantages:

- 1. News about monetary policy instantaneously move financial markets
- 2. Monetary policy decisions have well-defined scope and recurrent nature
- 3. Decision-making by committee prevalent in many public institutions

Anonymous information flows in monetary policy:

• Finer (2018); Vissing-Jorgensen (2019); Cieslak et al. (2019); Morse and Vissing-Jorgensen (2020)

This paper: first systematic leak database (focus on Eurosystem)

- European Central Bank (ECB) plus national central banks of euro area
- ECB Governing Council (6 Executive Board members + 20 national Governors)
- Meetings every 6 weeks to decide on monetary policy

How Eurosystem leaks look like: a recent example

Reported by **Bloomberg** – 2023/01/17 16:00:26 (excerpt)

ECB Starts to Ponder Slower Hikes After Half Point in February

European Central Bank policymakers are starting to consider a slower pace of interest-rate hikes than President Christine Lagarde indicated in December, according to officials with knowledge of their discussions.

While the 50 basis-point step in February she signaled remains likely, the prospect of a smaller 25-point increase at the following meeting in March is gaining support, the officials said, asking not to be identified because talks on the matter are confidential.

How Eurosystem leaks look like: breaking news headlines

Reported by **Reuters** – 2019/04/16 11:13:28

SEVERAL ECB POLICYMAKERS DOUBT PROJECTIONS FOR GROWTH REBOUND IN H2, SOME EVEN QUESTION ACCURACY OF FORECASTING MODELS: SOURCES

Reported by Market News International – 2011/03/01 17:40:00

ALERT: SOURCES: ECB TO RATCHET UP INFLATION WARNINGS THIS THURSDAY

A novel database of 368 Eurosystem leaks (2002–2021)

- Keyword filtering + manual classification: Reuters, Bloomberg and MNI archives
- Focus on policy-relevant leaks: interest rates, UMP, growth, inflation and FX
- Minute-level time stamp for each leak



Leaks shape public expectations

- Outcome: $|\Delta|$ in risk-free interest rates (OIS 1M to 10Y)
- Event study windows: -5 min to +30 min around minute-level time stamp



Leaks are not informative about post-meeting rate levels

$$\delta_i = \alpha + \beta D_i^{QP} + \epsilon_i \tag{1}$$

where δ_i is $|OIS_{post_leak,i} - OIS_{post_meeting,i}| - |OIS_{pre_leak,i} - OIS_{post_meeting,i}|$

Dependent Variables:	3M	6M	1Y	2Y	5Y	10Y
Intercept α (average δ_i)	-0.0187	0.0018	0.0722	-0.1235	-0.1271	-0.0522
	(0.0549)	(0.0560)	(0.0786)	(0.0980)	(0.0945)	(0.0959)
QP control	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	251	276	288	291	162	165
Adjusted R ²	-0.00400	-0.00340	-0.00298	0.00365	-0.00112	-0.00140

*Clustered (policy meeting) standard-errors in parentheses Significance codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

Attributable events are informative about post-meeting rate levels

$$\delta_i = \alpha + \beta D_i^{QP} + \epsilon_i \tag{2}$$

where δ_i is $|OIS_{post_attributable,i} - OIS_{post_meeting,i}| - |OIS_{pre_attributable,i} - OIS_{post_meeting,i}|$

Dependent Variables:	3M	6M	1Y	2Y	5Y	10Y
Intercept α (average δ_i)	- 0.0389 ***	- 0.0442 ***	- <mark>0.0544</mark> ***	- <mark>0.0362</mark> **	0.0172	- 0.0087
	(0.0098)	(0.0104)	(0.0150)	(0.0167)	(0.0229)	(0.0262)
QP control	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,404	4,930	5,145	5,187	2,061	2,099
Adjusted R ²	0.00036	-0.00019	-0.00011	-0.00011	0.00014	0.00020

Clustered (policy meeting) standard-errors in parentheses Significance codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

Contrary to attributable events, leaks weaken policy announcements

Reported by Reuters - 2021/07/22 17:38:10 (excerpt)

Lagarde won over most dissenters but two held out in ECB guidance debate

A significant group of European Central Bank policymakers objected to the new interest rate guidance it gave on Thursday but most were won over and only two – the German and Belgian central bank chiefs – held out, four sources told Reuters.

Market moves form before press release to end of day



Official communication can mitigate the impact of leaks (I)

Effect of more intense attributable communication in run-up to leaks:

$$|\Delta y_i| = \beta \lambda_i + \tau_i^{year} + \tau_i^{month} + \tau_i^{weekday} + \tau_i^{hour} + \epsilon_i$$
(3)

where $|\Delta y_i|$ is high-frequency market impact of leak and

 λ_i measures intensity of attributable communication in 36 hours before leak \bullet Details on λ_i

Dependent Variables:	$ \Delta 1M $	$ \Delta 3M $	$ \Delta 6M $	$ \Delta 1 Y $	$ \Delta 2 Y $	$ \Delta 5 Y $	$ \Delta 10 Y $
Attributable comm. intensity	- 0.0138	- 0.1078 **	- 0.1263 **	- 0.1172 *	- 0.1450 ***	- <mark>0.2735</mark> *	- 0.1783
	(0.0265)	(0.0472)	(0.0495)	(0.0669)	(0.0501)	(0.1518)	(0.1956)
Year, Month, Weekday and Hour FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	112	134	146	152	154	96	96
R ²	0.56972	0.39502	0.43674	0.47803	0.53373	0.54129	0.39639

Official communication can mitigate the impact of leaks (II)

Impact of leaks neg. correlated with impact of Executive Board statements in 36 hours after leak:

$$\Delta y_i^{attr} = \alpha + \beta \Delta y_i^{leak} + \gamma D_i^{Pres/ExB} + \delta \Delta y_i^{leak} \times D_i^{Pres/ExB} + \epsilon_i$$
(4)

Dependent Variables:	$ \Delta 1 M $	$ \Delta 3M $	$ \Delta 6M $	$ \Delta 1 Y $	$ \Delta 2 Y $	$ \Delta 5Y $	$ \Delta 10 Y $
Market reaction to leak	0.1137	0.1818	0.1487	0.0393	0.0340	-0.0146	0.0311
	(0.1108)	(0.1176)	(0.0960)	(0.0554)	(0.0639)	(0.0921)	(0.1098)
Market reaction to leak \times Pres/ExB	- <mark>0.1312</mark>	- 0.0458	- <mark>0.2592</mark> *	- <mark>0.2102</mark> **	- <mark>0.2332</mark> **	- <mark>0.2054</mark> *	- 0.1798
	(0.1535)	(0.2135)	(0.1313)	(0.0912)	(0.0934)	(0.1095)	(0.1613)
Constant and Pres/ExB dummy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	134	165	212	227	233	125	126
Adjusted R ²	0.01495	0.02944	0.02019	0.01408	0.02011	0.04182	0.02638

Clustered (leak) standard-errors in parentheses; significance codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

\rightarrow suggests many Eurosystem leaks unlikely to be "plants"

Many Eurosystems leaks are unlikely to be accidents





Number of leaks before/per meeting can be "predicted":

Positive, statistically significant correlation with:

- \rightarrow release of macro projections
- \rightarrow proxies for disagreement
- \rightarrow probability of policy change

Estimation results: drivers of leaks

Estimation results: leaks and policy changes

Summary

New insights:

- 1. PP leaks are powerful tools to shape public views
- 2. Suggestive evidence that PP leaks can be counteracted by official communication
- 3. Many Eurosystem leaks likely are neither accidents nor plants

Relevant for:

- Policy makers
- Literature on ad-hoc policy communication & on decision-making by committee
- High-frequency identification of monetary policy shocks

Many topics for future research:

• e.g. potential longer-term implications for the reputation of institutions

Appendix

How we filter news archives for Eurosystem leaks •Back

Filtering basics:

- Keyword driven filtering tailored to specifics of each news source:
 - $\rightarrow \text{ English language}$
 - \rightarrow Combination of topic tags (e.g. "ECB", "Eurosystem")
 - \rightarrow Headline or body contains keywords (e.g. "anonymous", "confidential")
 - \rightarrow Exclusion restrictions (e.g. no daily news digests)

Manual processing:

- Outcome of the filtering process: list of "candidate" leaks with exact time stamp
- Manual processing of "candidates": elimination of duplicates, identification of actual leaks + simultaneous classification into five relevant topics
- Leaks on local economic conditions and without monetary policy stance implication excluded

Distribution of leaks by topic •Back





Normalized leak counts Back



Market reactions to leaks exceed those for placebo events • Back

$$|\Delta y_i| = \alpha + \beta D_i^{Leak} + \epsilon_i \tag{5}$$

where
$$\Delta y_i = \text{med}\left(\{y_{t+k}\}_{k=30+1}^{30+10}\right) - \text{med}\left(\{y_{t-k}\}_{k=5+1}^{5+10}\right)$$

Dependent Variables:	$ \Delta 1M $	$ \Delta 3M $	$ \Delta 6M $	$ \Delta 1 Y $	$ \Delta 2 Y $	$ \Delta 5 Y $	$ \Delta 10 Y $
Intercept (Placebo)	0.2273***	0.2432***	0.2417***	0.3126***	0.4260***	0.4208***	0.5450***
	(0.0080)	(0.0056)	(0.0051)	(0.0060)	(0.0080)	(0.0077)	(0.0083)
Leak	0.1457 ***	0.1457 ***	0.1877 ***	0.2939***	0.3614***	0.2384***	<mark>0.2234</mark> ***
	(0.0443)	(0.0352)	(0.0372)	(0.0519)	(0.0633)	(0.0557)	(0.0558)
Observations	5,212	5,255	5,279	5,289	5,292	5,166	5,166
Adjusted R ²	0.00237	0.00576	0.01180	0.02066	0.01818	0.00568	0.00420

Market reactions to leaks across topics • Back

Dependent Variables:	$ \Delta 1 M $	Δ3M	Δ6M	Δ1Y	Δ2Y	$ \Delta 5Y $	Δ10Y	ASTOXX
Intercept (Placebo)	0.2293***	0.2448***	0.2439***	0.3165***	0.4306***	0.4216***	0.5458***	19.49***
	(0.0080)	(0.0056)	(0.0052)	(0.0060)	(0.0080)	(0.0076)	(0.0083)	(0.3318)
Rates	0.1955***	0.2917***	0.3250***	0.5428***	0.5937***	0.2146*	0.1261	3.989
	(0.0754)	(0.0632)	(0.0699)	(0.0973)	(0.1086)	(0.1178)	(0.0970)	(2.715)
UMP	0 0005	-0 0556	-0 0104	-0 0755	-0 1049	0 2010***	0 2256***	7 005***
0	(0.0510)	(0.0401)	(0.0437)	(0.0588)	(0.0754)	(0.0680)	(0.0735)	(2.394)
	0.0050	0.0067	0.0004	0.0014	0.0704	0.1700*	0 1005*	2.000*
Growth, inflation, FX	(0.0052)	-0.0267 (0.0664)	-0.0624 (0.0600)	-0.0814 (0.0788)	(0.0724)	-0.1708** (0.0943)	-0.1925* (0.1026)	-3.992* (2.406)
	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,
Observations	5,212	5,255	5,279	5,289	5,292	5,166	5,166	5,290
Adjusted R ²	0.00177	0.01054	0.01663	0.03304	0.02625	0.00612	0.00451	0.00315

Market reactions to leaks exceed those for attributable statements • Back

$$|\Delta y_{i}| = \beta D_{i}^{Attributable} + \tau_{i}^{year} + \tau_{i}^{month} + \tau_{i}^{weekday} + \tau_{i}^{hour} + \epsilon_{i}$$
(6)
where $\Delta y_{i} = \text{med}\left(\{y_{t+k}\}_{k=30+1}^{30+10}\right) - \text{med}\left(\{y_{t-k}\}\}_{k=5+1}^{5+10}\right)$

Dependent Variables:	$ \Delta 1M $	$ \Delta 3M $	$ \Delta 6M $	$ \Delta 1 Y $	$ \Delta 2 Y $	$ \Delta 5 Y $	$ \Delta 10 Y $
Attributable	- 0.1181 ***	- 0.1111 ****	- 0.1353 ***	- <mark>0.2122</mark> ***	- 0.2508 ***	- 0.1940 ***	- 0.1925 ***
	(0.0423)	(0.0345)	(0.0354)	(0.0483)	(0.0602)	(0.0516)	(0.0554)
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Weekday FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hour of day FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations R^2	3,724	4,695	5,228	5,442	5,487	2,253	2,273
	0.14421	0.08734	0.12404	0.15660	0.18143	0.16972	0.13694

How we sample placebo events **Back**

Rationale:

 Placebo events needed to compare impact of monetary policy leaks to "usual" market movements

Specifics (steps 1–4 are repeated 5,000 times):

- 1. Use "yyyy-mm" empirical distribution from all actual leaks to draw a candidate placebo "yyyy-mm" combination
- 2. Randomly draw a calendar day ("dd") and append it to the "yyyy-mm" combination to obtain a date of format "yyyy-mm-dd"
- 3. Extract "hh:mm" component of all actual leaks, keep only those in European trading hours, draw a "hh:mm" combination and append it to the previously drawn date
- 4. Compute "market impact" of placebo event using high-frequency OIS data (window defined as for leaks)

How we collect data on attributable statements • Back

Filtering basics:

- Database: Reuters News Archive
- Keyword driven pre-filtering to obtain near universe of reports on "fresh" public statements by all ECB Governing Council members (2002–2021):
 - $\rightarrow \text{English language}$
 - \rightarrow Breaking news headlines with Council members' name
 - \rightarrow Exclusion restrictions (e.g. exclude Council members outside term of office)

Manual processing and machine learning techniques:

- Pre-filtering yields 56,000 "candidate" statements with exact time stamp
- Draw random sample of 20% and manually classify statements into topics (discard false positives)
- Train Support Vector Machine with hand-classified data and predict classification (monetary policy-relevant or not) for remaining 80% of our data

Post-meeting leaks and policy transmission to longer maturities **Pack**

$$\Delta y_t = \alpha + \beta e_t^{MP} + \gamma D_t^{leak} + \delta \left(e_t^{MP} \times D_t^{leak} \right) + \epsilon_t \tag{7}$$

where
$$\Delta y_t = (\textit{OIS}_{end_of_trading_day,i} - \textit{OIS}_{pre_press_release,i})$$

Dependent Variables:	Δ 2Y until day end	Δ 5Y until day end	Δ 10Y until day end
Intercept	-0.0035	-0.4618*	-0.4311
	(0.1638)	(0.2406)	(0.3274)
Δ 2Y decision	1.124***	1.104***	0.7703***
	(0.0431)	(0.1005)	(0.1102)
Post-meeting leak	-0.2584	0.3250	0.7316
	(0.2135)	(0.2572)	(0.4918)
Δ 2Y decision \times Post-meeting leak	- 0.1487 ***	- <mark>0.3032</mark> ***	- <mark>0.3515</mark> ***
	(0.0442)	(0.1007)	(0.1146)
Post-meeting attributable	0.0852	-0.1744	0.0542
	(0.3290)	(0.3912)	(0.6080)
Δ 2Y decision \times Post-meeting attributable	0.1701 **	<mark>0.2808**</mark>	<mark>0.4493</mark> **
	(0.0686)	(0.1302)	(0.1824)
Observations	213	95	98
Adjusted R ²	0.87874	0.80927	0.53859



- Δhr_{ij} : distance in hours between every leak *i* and every attributable statement *j*
- Consider all J_i attributable statements from 36 hours to 0.5 hours before leak i
- λ_i measures the intensity of attributable communication before every leak:

$$\lambda_i = \sum_{j=1}^{J_i} \frac{1}{\Delta h r_{ij}} \tag{8}$$

• λ_i increases if i) more attributable statements are issued or ii) attributable statements occur closer to leak

Drivers of Eurosystem leaks (Poisson regression) • Back

Dependent Variables:	Leak	count	Leak count (no dissent	
IT-DE 10Y spread	0.4673** (0.1257)	0.4438** (0.1182)		
Inflation IQR	-0.0676 (0.2333)	-0.0718 (0.2239)		
Count of attributable	0.0208*** (0.0038)	0.0206*** (0.0037)		
Dissent			0.6340*** (0.1284)	0.5958** (0.1326)
Macroeconomic projections		0.4446** (0.1085)		0.2943 (0.1225)
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations Pseudo R ²	213 0.15434	213 0.16191	171 0.14779	171 0.15095

Average marginal effects displayed; significance codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1 Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors for coefficients in parentheses

Leaks correlate with monetary policy changes (logistic regression) • Back

Dependent Variable:	Policy change (yes/no)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)			
Pre-meeting leaks count	<mark>0.0596</mark> ** (0.1395)	<mark>0.0486</mark> ** (0.1402)	<mark>0.0408</mark> * (0.1425)			
Macroeconomic projections		0.2274*** (0.3806)	0.2391*** (0.4023)			
Pre-meeting attributable count			0.0035 (0.0148)			
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes			
Observations Pseudo R ² BIC	201 0.13107 319.00	201 0.18544 310.98	201 0.19707 313.44			

Average marginal effects displayed

Significance codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors (for coefficients) in parentheses

References

- Assenmacher, K., G. Glöckler, S. Holton, P. Trautmann, S. M. Demosthenes Ioannou, K. Bakk-Simon, S. Bergbauer, M. Catenaro, E. Charalampakis, M. Ehrmann, G. Ferrero, D. Georgarakos, P. Gertler, A. Giovannini, R. Grandia, N. Hernborg, N. Herrala, D. Kedan, G. Kenny, T. Linzert, M. Manrique, R. Mestre, E. Mönch, S. Nardelli, N. Nomm, L. Pavlova, G. Schultefrankenfeld, M. Silgoner, I. Skotida, B. Winkler, M. T. Bitterlich, E. Argiri, C. Alonso, J. Byron, F. Arigoni, M. Deroose, M. Gardt, K. Istrefi, O. Goldfayn-Frank, J. Hellström, P. Huertgen, K. Kalnberzina, G. Kocharkov, V. Márquez, C. Ruhe, M. Šanta, R. Reedik, K. Rieder, G. Sciot, A. Stylianou, and E. Taylor (2021). Clear, consistent and engaging: ECB monetary policy communication in a changing world. *ECB Occasional Paper 2021*(274), 1–91.
- Cieslak, A., A. Morse, and A. Vissing-Jorgensen (2019). Stock returns over the FOMC cycle. Journal of Finance 74(5), 2201-2248.

Fehrler, S. and V. Hahn (2022). Committee decision-making under the threat of leaks. Journal of Politics 2022(forthcoming), 1-36.

- Finer, D. A. (2018). What insights do taxi rides offer into Federal Reserve leakage? George J. Stigler Center for the Study of the Economy & the State Working Paper 18, 1–62.
- Grønbach Jensen, C. (1998). The Scandinavian tradition of open government and the European Union: Problems of compatibility? Journal of European Public Policy 5(1), 185–1999.
- House Committee on the Judiciary (1982). Report of the interdepartmental group on unauthorized disclosures of classified information. Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Hearings on "Presidential directive on the use of polygraphs and prepublication review" (April 21, 28 1983 and February 7, 1984), 166–180.
- Kielbowicz, R. B. (2006). The role of news leaks in governance and the law of journalists' confidentiality, 1795–2005. San Diego Law Review 43(3), 425–494.
- Kwoka, M. B. (2015). Leaking and legitimacy. U.C. Davis Law Review 48, 1389-1456.
- Morse, A. and A. Vissing-Jorgensen (2020). Information transmission from the Federal Reserve to the stock market: Evidence from governors' calendars. UC Berkeley Haas School of Business 2020(Unpublished manuscript), 1–25.
- Oei, S.-Y. and D. Ring (2018). Leak-driven law. U.C.L.A. Law Review 532, 536-618.
- Pozen, D. E. (2013). The leaky Leviathan: Why government condemns and condones unlawful disclosures of information. Harvard Law Review 127(2), 512–635.
- Rottman, G. (2019). A typology of federal news media leak cases. Tulane Law Review 93(5), 1147-1198.
- Spaniel, W. and M. Poznansky (2018). Credible commitment in covert affairs. American Journal of Political Science 62, 668-681.
- Vissing-Jorgensen, A. (2019). Central banking with many voices: The communications arms race. Conference Proceedings, 23rd Annual Conference of the Central Bank of Chile 2019, 1–44.