# Informing agents amidst biased narratives\*

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#### **Abstract**

I study the strategic interaction between a benevolent sender (who provides data) and a biased narrator (who interprets data) who compete to persuade a boundedly rational receiver (who takes action). The receiver does not know the data-generating model. She chooses between models provided by the sender and the narrator using the maximum likelihood principle, selecting the one that best fits the data given her prior belief. The sender faces a trade-off between providing precise information and minimizing misinterpretation. Surprisingly, full disclosure can be suboptimal and even backfire. I identify a finite set of models that contain the optimal data-generating model, which maximizes the receiver's expected utility. The sender can guarantee non-negative value of information, preventing harm from misinterpretation. I apply this framework to information campaigns and employee feedback.

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### 1 Introduction

Benevolent experts guide decision-making by providing data and its interpretation. For instance, researchers supply data to assess the effectiveness of policies, and scientists present evidence of the health risks of smoking. Despite this, some people support flawed policies and deny these health effects. This often occurs because people misinterpret data under the influence of biased narratives. For instance, politicians twist data to back their policies, and cigarette companies downplay evidence against smoking. Thus, persuasion - shaping behavior through information - depends on both data provision and data interpretation. Ignoring the influence of biased narratives when providing data can unintentionally steer people toward poor decisions.<sup>1</sup>

I study the strategic interaction between a benevolent sender, who provides data on the state of the world, and a biased narrator, who interprets this data. Both compete to persuade a boundedly rational receiver who needs to take an action. The state and the receiver's action jointly determine the utility for all agents. The sender chooses a statistical model and generates data from it, à la Kamenica and Gentzkow (2011). The sender's choice is the true data-generating model. After observing the data and the sender's model, the narrator proposes his model (or interpretation) of how the data was generated. The receiver observes the data and both models but does not know which one is the true data-generating model. Different models can lead to varying and even conflicting interpretations of the same data. The receiver selects the model that maximizes the likelihood (or fit) of the data given her prior belief. Finally, she takes an action based on this selected model. The sender wants to maximize the receiver's expected utility, while the narrator maximizes his own. How should a benevolent sender provide data to a boundedly rational receiver when facing a biased narrator who could misinterpret it?

To illustrate the key findings of this paper, consider a simplified example, which I will return to throughout the paper. A voter must decide between voting for or against a strict immigration policy. The policy's effect is uncertain and complex. A researcher designs a statistical experiment and gathers data to guide the voter in making an informed decision. However, a politician always wants the voter to support the policy. He can influence the voter's choice by providing a competing interpretation of the data. Suppose that the researcher chooses a very informative experiment. If the data shows a high unemployment rate among immigrants, she recommends voting for the policy. In this case, the researcher and the politician agree, and the voter supports the policy. Conversely, if the data shows a low unemployment rate among immigrants, the researcher strongly advises against the policy. She asserts that immigrants have a positive impact on the economy. However, the politician interprets the same data in a conflicting way, arguing that immigrants are taking jobs from locals. The voter must decide between two interpretations, each advocating for opposite choices. If initially she does not strongly oppose the policy, she finds the researcher's recommendation unconvincing, making her more receptive to the politician. Therefore, the politician

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Baysan (2022) demonstrates that an information campaign intended to address executive power and censorship inadvertently led to voter polarization during a referendum in Turkey.

can persuade the voter to support the policy, regardless of whether the data supports or opposes it.

How should the researcher strategically design her experiment to minimize misinterpretation? Surprisingly, a partially informative experiment is optimal. Even though the researcher and the politician are perfectly aligned when the policy is effective, the experiment deliberately withholds full disclosure of this state. It occasionally yields low unemployment data when the policy is effective - akin to a Type I error.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, it consistently produces low unemployment data when the policy is ineffective. Under this experiment, when the voter sees low unemployment data, she trusts the researcher's finding more because this data is now more likely to be generated. As a result, the politician cannot sway her with any interpretation, and she votes against the policy on seeing low unemployment data.

In general, how should the sender choose her data-generating model? She should choose a model that balances providing precise data and minimizing misinterpretation. The value of any data-generating model can be decomposed into two components: data provision and data misinterpretation. Data provision represents the receiver's positive value, derived from acting on the more informative (true) posterior belief rather than the prior belief. In contrast, data misinterpretation represents the receiver's negative value from acting based on the selected model rather than the sender's model, the true data-generating model. Notably, through interpretations, the narrator can steer the receiver's belief in any direction, even those inconsistent with the sender's model.

The sender's goal is to provide data that leads the receiver to have precise beliefs and take informed actions. As the receiver selects the model based on the fit (or likelihood) of the data, the sender should also take into account the fit of her model. A sender's model that fits the data well reduces the narrator's ability to misinterpret. However, models that have a good fit have a limited ability to alter the receiver's beliefs. Thus, the sender faces a trade-off between how likely the data is under her model and its ability to alter the receiver's beliefs. Consequently, given any data, the induced action depends on both the fit and the posterior belief induced by the sender's model.

My main result (Theorem 1) identifies a finite set of models that contains the optimal data-generating model. A key element is the vector of actions induced by a model, with each action conditional on a data point. The result relies on two key observations: (i) the receiver's expected utility gain is linear with respect to models when the induced actions remain constant, and (ii) the set of models where the induced actions remain constant is given by a finite union of convex sets. Due to the linearity of the expected utility, I can restrict the search for the optimal model within each such set to its extreme points. These sets are determined using the preferences of both the narrator and receiver, along with the receiver's prior. The optimal model guarantees a non-negative value of information, ensuring that the receiver is at least as well off as she would be without any data. This technique is applicable across various contexts, including cases where the sender is not benevolent, the receiver correctly interprets data, and the set of allowed models is restricted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>For example, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention opted to only partially disclose data on vaccination effects to mitigate the risk of misinterpretation. See https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/20/health/covid-cdc-data.html.

In the absence of the narrator, the sender prefers to fully disclose the state. However, this is no longer true when the narrator is involved. In particular, providing no information is optimal when the preferences of the narrator and the receiver are perfectly misaligned (as in a zero-sum game). The narrator misinterprets any information that is provided, leading to suboptimal outcomes. Under what circumstances is full disclosure optimal? For binary states and a narrator whose utility only depends on the action, full disclosure is optimal if, given the state, the narrator induces an action that does not perform worse than the optimal action under the receiver's initial belief. This happens when the narrator does not use a conflicting model to interpret the data. Consequently, the receiver's belief in the true state is higher than her initial belief, even if it is not exact.

I apply this framework to two settings. First, in Section 3.4, I elaborate on the example of the researcher and the politician. I show that the full disclosure model can not only be suboptimal but even backfire: it can be worse than disclosing no information. Notably, a voter initially opposed to the policy can be persuaded to support the policy, irrespective of the data. The politician does this by offering two different models (or interpretations), each designed for specific data. Given supportive data, he proposes a model that aligns with the researcher's theory. Conversely, given opposing data, he proposes a model that raises doubts about the researcher's theory. The voter's prior determines which interpretation she perceives as more plausible. I use this example to illustrate why the researcher should provide data in a manner that aligns with the voter's prior. (i) If the voter initially strongly disapproves of the policy, the researcher should fully disclose the states. The politician cannot come up with any interpretation that convinces the voter to always support the policy. (ii) If the voter initially slightly opposes the policy, the researcher should choose a partially informative model. This model has the exact fit as the best model the politician can use to convince the voter to support the policy. Choosing a more informative model would lead to a lower fit on opposing data and allow the politician to misinterpret it. (iii) Finally, when the voter initially supports the policy, the politician can always persuade the voter to continue supporting it, regardless of which model the researcher chooses.

Second, in Section 4.2, I consider the example of a manager providing feedback to an employee about his ability. The interpretation is clear: positive feedback boosts his confidence in his ability, and negative feedback does the opposite. However, there is uncertainty about the precision of the feedback. The employee is an optimist who prefers to believe that he has good ability. The employee acts both as the narrator and the receiver. He interprets the feedback and forms a belief about his ability. I consider a dynamic setting of my framework and illustrate how even a tiny amount of uncertainty can lead to biased learning and polarization. Despite repeated feedback, the employee incorrectly concludes that his ability is good even when it is not. He distorts his own beliefs by perceiving positive feedback to be more informative than negative feedback (Eil and Rao, 2011). Next, I demonstrate how two employees, an optimist and a pessimist, who start with the same initial beliefs and receive identical feedback, can become polarized. Regardless of their actual ability, the optimist perceives he has good ability, while the pessimist thinks the opposite. I show that the optimal way to provide feedback to an optimist is to provide negative feedback more

frequently than positive feedback. This counters his asymmetric interpretation and ensures that he learns his actual ability.

Finally, I explore three extensions to my setting. First, I examine a natural setting where data has a straightforward interpretation, such as a bad grade resulting in lower confidence in one's ability. While the narrator cannot alter this direction of belief change, he can alter beliefs by varying the precision. This limits the narrator's persuasive powers, but as seen in the employee feedback application, this can lead to skewed perceptions and biased learning. Second, I consider the setting where the narrator can propose multiple models (or interpretations) before observing the data. This gives his models more credibility but also introduces additional constraints. His models compete not only with the sender's model but also among themselves. Surprisingly, the timing of interpretation (ex-ante versus ex-post) does not impact the narrator's persuasiveness. Third, I explore a scenario where the receiver treats the models of the sender and the narrator asymmetrically. If trust in the sender's model decreases, the narrator's ability to persuade increases. This can lead to unfavorable outcomes, even resulting in a negative value of information for all data-generating models. In such cases, the receiver would be better off if no data was provided.

#### Literature review

**Bayesian Persuasion:** My work contributes to the literature on Bayesian persuasion (or Information design). This literature examines how a sender can influence the behavior of a rational receiver by generating data. Crucially, I assume that the receiver is unaware of the data-generating model. She does not know how to interpret the data. When provided with multiple models (or interpretations), she chooses the one that best fits the data given her prior belief. This is in stark contrast to the seminal paper of Kamenica and Gentzkow (2011) and further generalizations such as Alonso and Câmara (2016), Renault, Solan, and Vieille (2017), and Ball and Espín-Sánchez (2021). An exception is de Clippel and Zhang (2022) which considers non-Bayesian receivers. Despite this, the sender's problem can still be addressed using the standard concavification technique.

My contribution lies in developing a technique to identify the optimal model for both non-Bayesian and Bayesian receivers within a general set of allowed models. In my setting, the receiver's action, in equilibrium, depends not only on the posterior belief but also on the likelihood of the sender's model. I define a preference over the space of models as the concavification technique (Aumann, Maschler, and Stearns, 1995; Kamenica and Gentzkow, 2011) cannot be applied. This technique can even be applied to settings outside my framework, where the sender is not benevolent and the receiver correctly interprets data. In a related paper, Ball and Espín-Sánchez (2021) also examine preferences over models due to a restricted set of allowed models. However, they analyze a stylized binary model with rational receivers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Even when applicable, finding the concave envelope of a function can be difficult (see Tardella, 2004; Lipnowski and Mathevet, 2017).

The closest paper is Ichihashi and Meng (2021), which assumes that the same agent both generates data and interprets it in a stylized binary setup. On the contrary, I consider two agents: one who generates data and the other who interprets it. My focus is on their strategic interaction, given their preference misalignment. Another related paper is Eliaz, Spiegler, and Thysen (2021), where the sender, apart from providing data, also strategically provides an accurate but coarse interpretation.

**Narratives:** My work contributes to the literature on narratives in economics. There has been growing interest in understanding the role of narratives in shaping behavior (Shiller, 2017). This literature examines how individuals use subjective models to interpret and make sense of data. My focus is on narratives modeled as Blackwell experiments (or likelihood functions) (Schwartzstein and Sunderam, 2021; Aina, 2021; Yang, 2023; Ispano et al., 2022; Izzo, Martin, and Callander, 2023).

Schwartzstein and Sunderam (2021) formalize that the receiver prefers models that best fit the data given her prior belief. Aina (2021) builds on this framework, analyzing a setting in which the persuader commits to a menu of models before the data is observed. Yang (2023) assumes that the receiver prefers decisive models, which induce low regret. The literature assumes that the data-generating model is fixed and exogenous. My contribution is to consider a strategic and endogenous data-generating model.

There have been other approaches to formalize narratives such as directed acyclical graphs (DAGs) (Eliaz and Spiegler, 2020; Eliaz, Galperti, and Spiegler, 2022) and moral reasoning (Bénabou, Falk, and Tirole (2018)). Also, recent papers experimentally investigate the role of narratives in persuasion (Barron and Fries, 2023; Kendall and Charles, 2022). In particular, Barron and Fries (2023) provide evidence that individuals pick models with better fit.

**Biased updating:** My work also relates to the literature on biased updating (see Benjamin (2019) for a survey). The primary contribution is to understand how information affects the welfare of a receiver who uses biased updating. This framework allows explaining both prior-based and preference-biased updating. A crucial aspect is that the receiver can use different models to update her beliefs based on various data. This allows for reconciling behavioral biases inconsistent with updating using a single model.

Some papers analyze the receiver's welfare given a fixed data-generating model for biased updating under all decision problems. Braghieri (2023) provides a characterization for when the value of information is non-negative, while Frick, Iijima, and Ishii (2021) compare the welfare of the receiver for different biases. In contrast, I focus on finding the optimal data-generating model for a fixed decision problem.

Some papers in this literature investigate learning under model uncertainty. Chen (2022) assumes the receiver interprets data in a self-serving manner, while Fryer Jr, Harms, and Jackson

(2019) assume the receiver interprets data in a manner that aligns with her current beliefs. They can explain phenomena like self-serving bias, confirmation bias, and polarization. I focus on finding a data-generating model that leads to correct learning under biased updating.

## Structure of the paper

Section 2 introduces the setup. Section 3 provides the main result and applies it to the setting of information campaigns. Section 4 provides three extensions: models with clear interpretations, timing of interpretation, and asymmetric trust. It also includes an application on employee feedback. Finally, I conclude in Section 5. All proofs are in the Appendix.

## 2 Setup

Consider a game of incomplete information between three players: the sender (S, she), the narrator (N, he), and the receiver (R, she). The sender chooses a model to generate a signal  $s \in S$  about an unknown state of the world  $\omega \in \Omega$ . The narrator also chooses a model, but to interpret this signal. He posits his own model of how this signal was generated. Finally, the receiver takes an action  $a \in A$  based on this signal and the two models. I assume that the set of states  $\Omega$ , the set of actions A, and the set of signals S are finite, with  $|S| \ge |\Omega|$ . All players share a common prior belief over the states  $p \in \operatorname{int}(\Delta\Omega)$ . For each player  $i \in \{S, N, R\}$ , the utility function  $u_i(\omega, a)$  depends on the state of the world  $\omega \in \Omega$  and the receiver's action  $a \in A$ .

A **model**  $m: \Omega \to \Delta S$  is a stochastic map that specifies the probability  $m(s \mid \omega)$  of observing signal  $s \in S$  conditioned on state  $\omega \in \Omega$ . Given a signal s, a model m induces posterior belief  $q_s^m \in \Delta \Omega$ , which is derived using Bayes' rule. Let M denote the set of all models. Following Aina (2021), I define the **fit** of model m given signal s as the (ex-ante) likelihood:

$$\mathbb{P}_{m}(s) = \sum_{\omega \in \Omega} p(\omega) m(s \mid \omega). \tag{1}$$

$$q_s^m(\omega) = \frac{p(\omega)m(s \mid \omega)}{\sum_{\omega \in \Omega} p(\omega)m(s \mid \omega)}$$

whenever Bayes' rule is applicable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>A signal can be empirical data, evidence, or even a message.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$ int(S) denotes the interior of the set S, and  $\Delta S$  represents the set of all probability distributions over the set S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The common prior assumption is made for simplicity. The game can be generalized to heterogeneous priors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The term "model" is also referred to as Blackwell experiment, likelihood function, information structure, and information policy in the literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>The posterior belief  $q_s^m \in \Delta\Omega$  is given by:

Let  $\mathcal{F} \subseteq \mathcal{M}$  denote the set of feasible (or allowed) models, which is assumed to be closed and convex. Unless stated otherwise, every model is feasible ( $\mathcal{F} = \mathcal{M}$ ). The assumptions imply that the sender can fully disclose the state if she wants.

#### Timing of the game:

- 1. Sender chooses the signal-generating model  $I: \Omega \to \Delta S$ .
- 2. Nature draws the state  $\omega \sim p(\cdot)$  according to the prior belief and the signal  $s \sim I(\cdot \mid \omega)$  according to the sender's model. The signal s is publicly observed.
- 3. After observing the sender's model I and signal s, the narrator selects a model  $n_s : \Omega \to \Delta S$  to propose a competing interpretation of how the signal was generated.
- 4. Upon observing signal s, the receiver is presented with the sender's model I and the narrator's model  $n_s$ . She does not know the true signal-generating model and selects the model  $m_s \in \{I, n_s\}$ , which has the best fit given signal s:

$$m_{s} := \underset{m \in \{I, n_{s}\}}{\arg \max} \mathbb{P}_{m}(s). \tag{2}$$

5. The receiver forms her posterior belief using the selected model  $m_s$  and takes action

$$a_R^*(q_s^{m_s}) := \underset{a \in A}{\arg\max} \mathbb{E}_{q_s^{m_s}}[u_R(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a)]$$
(3)

where,  $a_R^*(q)$  denotes the receiver's optimal action given belief q. It maximizes the receiver's expected utility given her belief over the states. <sup>10</sup>

Given signal s, the objective (or true) posterior belief and fit are derived using the sender's model, since it is the signal-generating model. In contrast, the receiver's action  $a_R^*(q_s^{m_s})$  represents an equilibrium outcome. The receiver acts as if the signal is generated according to the selected model  $m_s$ , which is determined by the choices of both the sender and the narrator. The expected utility of each player i, where  $i \in \{S, N, R\}$ , is given by:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>When both models have the same fit, I assume that the receiver chooses the sender's model.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>In case of multiple optimal actions, I break the tie by choosing the action the narrator prefers. If there are multiple such actions, I choose an action arbitrarily.

$$\sum_{s\in\mathcal{S}} \mathbb{P}_I(s) \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_i(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_R^*(q_s^{m_s}))]. \tag{4}$$

I investigate the behavior of a biased narrator who chooses models (or interpretations) to maximize his expected utility. In contrast, the sender is benevolent ( $u_S = u_R$ ) and chooses the signal-generating model to maximize the receiver's expected utility.

**Discussion of Assumptions:** First, I focus on the receiver. Crucially, I assume that she does not know the signal-generating model. <sup>11</sup> However, once she chooses a model, she updates her belief in a rational manner using that model and the Bayes' rule. Following Schwartzstein and Sunderam (2021), the receiver selects the model via the maximum likelihood principle. This principle is a popular way to select between parameters in statistics and economics. <sup>12</sup> Given a set of models, the receiver selects the model which has the best fit (or likelihood) given the observed signal and her prior. Furthermore, Barron and Fries (2023) provides experimental evidence indicating that individuals prefer models with a better fit. This assumption is also in line with the interdisciplinary work on narratives and sense-making (Fisher, 1985; Weick, 1995; Chater and Loewenstein, 2016). The receiver may deem some models infeasible but she cannot come up with her own model. Her choice is confined to the exposed models. <sup>13</sup> Also, unlike the sender and the narrator, the receiver is non-strategic: she does not take into account their incentives, treating them as equally credible. In Section 4.4, I relax this condition and allow the receiver to trust the sender and the narrator asymmetrically.

Next, I assume the narrator cannot influence the signal itself or provide an additional signal. He can only provide an interpretation of the observed signal. <sup>14</sup> Also, he provides his model after the signal is observed, whereas the sender chooses his model before. I show, in Section 4.3, that the results do not depend on whether the narrator provides his interpretations before or after observing the signal. The only caveat is that, in the ex-ante timing, the narrator provides a menu of models instead of a single one.

Finally, I assume that the sender can only interpret using the signal-generating model. <sup>15</sup> I do not allow her to generate the signal using one model and to interpret the signal using a different

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Two other popular choices for dealing with model uncertainty are the fully Bayesian approach and the maxmin approach.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>For example, the principle is used to select the prior under ambiguity (Gilboa and Schmeidler, 1993). Levy and Razin (2021) use this principle to combine forecasts. Recently Frick, Iijima, and Ishii (2023) show that it is the most efficient updating rule in learning under ambiguity aversion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>This assumption is natural in many settings. Interpreting data may require expertise (finance, medicine) or leadership (politics, see: Bullock, 2011; Izzo, Martin, and Callander, 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>For instance, a stock analyst cannot change stock prices or create new price data - he can only interpret existing price trends to guide investors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>For instance, researchers have to preregister their experiment and cannot misinterpret how they collect data.

one. If she could, the receiver's expected utility would be (weakly) higher (Ichihashi and Meng, 2021). My goal is to assess and compare the influence of providing a signal and interpreting this signal to persuade a decision-maker.

#### **3** Main Results

In this section, I state my main results. The equilibrium of the sequential game is determined by backward induction. First, I characterize the extent of persuasion by the narrator. I illustrate it using a graphical illustration for the binary case. Next, I solve the sender's problem and find the optimal signal-generating model. I do this by defining a value function over the set of feasible models. Finally, I apply my results to the setting of information campaigns.

#### 3.1 Scope of persuasion by interpretations

In this subsection, I characterize the sets of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that can be induced by the narrator given a specific sender's model.

There are constraints on beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce. Given sender's model I and signal s, denote  $B_s^I$  and  $A_s^I$  as the sets of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce. When accounting for all signals, denote  $B^I = (B_s^I)_{s \in \mathbb{S}}$ , and  $A^I = (A_s^I)_{s \in \mathbb{S}}$  as the sets of feasible vectors of posterior beliefs and actions. The narrator's model is selected only if it has a better fit on the signal than the sender's model. The set of feasible posterior beliefs and actions depends only on the fit of the sender's model and the prior belief.

**Lemma 1.** Given the sender's model I and signal s, the sets of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce are:

$$B_s^I := \{ q \in (\Delta\Omega) : \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_I(s) \forall \omega \in \Omega \} \cup \{ q_s^I \}, \tag{5}$$

$$A_s^I := \{ a \in A : \exists q \in B_s^I \text{ such that } a = a_R^*(q) \}.$$
 (6)

The narrator can always induce the true belief consistent with the sender's model. For any other belief q, the key argument is that there exists a model with maximal fit, which is given by  $\left[\max_{\omega\in\Omega}\frac{q(\omega)}{p(\omega)}\right]^{-1}$ . The narrator cannot propose a model that induces belief q and that has a better fit than this. Thus, the narrator can induce a belief if and only if it's maximal fit surpasses that of the sender's model; otherwise, he cannot. The set of feasible beliefs is always convex. <sup>16</sup> An action is feasible if it corresponds to the receiver's optimal action under some feasible belief. Proposition

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{{}^{16}\text{The belief }q_s^I \text{ either lies in the interior or is an extreme point of the set } \{q \in (\Delta\Omega): \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_I(s) \forall \omega \in \Omega\}.$ 

1 of Schwartzstein and Sunderam (2021) can be applied to my setting to characterize the feasible posterior beliefs.

The sender's model acts as a constraint to the narrator's ability to persuade. The better the sender's model fits the signal, the less flexibility the narrator has in shifting beliefs. The narrator can only persuade the receiver to have beliefs not too far from her prior. Crucially, using interpretations, the narrator can manipulate the receiver's belief in any direction, even those that are inconsistent with the signal-generating model. By proposing distinct models for different signals, he can consistently shift beliefs in the same direction for those signals. This is impossible if the receiver uses a single model, even if it is incorrect, to interpret all signals.

#### 3.2 Binary Example: Graphical illustration

In this subsection, I graphically illustrate the narrator's extent of persuasion. I use the example of a researcher (sender), a politician (narrator), and a voter (receiver).

Consider two states:  $\Omega = \{G, B\}$ , where G and B are the states where the policy is good and bad, respectively. The researcher provides evidence  $S = \{g, b\}$ , where g indicates evidence that supports the policy, and b is evidence that opposes it. The voter chooses from  $A = \{a_-, a_+\}$ , where  $a_-$  is to vote against the policy and  $a_+$  is to vote for it. The utility function of the politician and the voter are given by the following matrix:

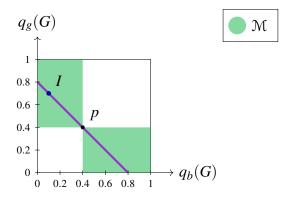
Actions
$$a_{-} \quad a_{+}$$

States
 $B \quad (0,1) \quad (1,2) \quad (0,1) \quad (1,0)$ 

**Table 1:** Matrix of utility functions for the politician and the voter, respectively.

The voter only votes for the policy if she believes it's likely to be good, that is,  $q(G) \ge \frac{1}{2}$ . Otherwise, she prefers to vote against. The politician, regardless of the state, always wants her to vote for the policy. The researcher and the politician influence the voter's choice of action. This action depends on her belief over the states. So, focusing on the vector of posteriors rather than the model that induces it provides useful insights.

First, I focus on the beliefs the researcher can induce in the absence of the politician's influence. Given the binary states, let the probability of state G identify the beliefs in the example. The graph's axes represent the posterior belief on state G given evidence b and g (see Fig. 1). Each point in this graph is a vector of posterior beliefs. I represent the vector of priors  $p = \mathbb{P}(G) = 0.4$  as the vector of posterior beliefs, where each posterior equals the prior (black point). A vector of posteriors  $(q_b(G), q_g(G))$  is *Bayes plausible* if and only if either: (i)  $q_b(G) \ge p(G) \ge q_g(G)$  or (ii)  $q_b(G) \le p(G) \le q_g(G)$ . This condition ensures that there is a model such that the expected posterior equals the prior. The set of all models M cover all the vectors of posterior beliefs that are Bayes plausible



**Figure 1:** The set of all Bayes-plausible vector of beliefs.

(green area). The researcher can induce any such vector of posteriors. This condition prevents the voter from updating beliefs in the same direction in response to both opposing and supportive evidence. In the binary case, generically, there is a one-to-one mapping between models and the Bayes plausible vector of beliefs. <sup>17</sup>

Suppose that the researcher chooses the model I (blue point): supportive evidence is likely generated under the good state, and vice versa for opposing evidence. Formally,  $I(g \mid G) = \frac{7}{8}$  and  $I(b \mid B) = \frac{3}{4}$ . Consider the purple line that passes through the model I (blue point) and the prior p (black point). All models on this line have the exact fit as model I on both evidences. The steeper this line, the better fit the model has on evidence b; conversely, the flatter this line, the better fit the model has on evidence g. The set of all models  $\mathfrak M$  can be divided into three subsets based on this line (see Fig. 2): (i) models that have the same fit on both evidences (purple line), (ii) models with a better fit on evidence g (red area).

Given researcher's model I, what can the politician do to persuade the voter? The politician chooses his model based on the observed evidence. Given evidence b, the politician can choose any model in the blue dotted area and the voter will select it over the researcher's model I. Given evidence b, the politician can induce any belief on the blue line on the x-axis, which is the projection of the blue dotted area. This also includes beliefs higher than the prior, contrary to the intention of the researcher's model. Conversely, given evidence g, the politician can choose any model in the red area and the voter will select it over the researcher's model I. Given evidence g, the politician can induce any belief on the red line on the y-axis, which is the projection of the red

$$\mathbb{P}_I(b)q_b^m(G) + (1 - \mathbb{P}_I(b))q_g^m(G) = p.$$

This condition represents the line passing through the points I and p in Fig. 2. The vector of priors beliefs always satisfies this condition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>The only exceptions are models that provide no information; they induce, for at least one signal, a posterior belief identical to the prior belief.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>For the binary case, any model m that induces the vector of beliefs  $(q_b^m(G), q_g^m(G)) \in \mathcal{M}$  has the same fit as model I given evidence b (and g) if it satisfies the following condition:

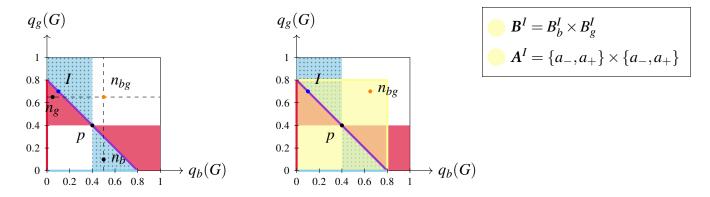


Figure 2: The posterior beliefs and actions that the politician can induce.

area. The set of beliefs satisfying equation (5) in Lemma 1 precisely corresponds to the blue and red lines for evidence b and g, respectively

From an ex-ante perspective, the politician can induce any vector of posterior beliefs within the yellow area, which is defined as the Cartesian product of the red and blue lines. This set depends only on the fit of the researcher's model. Since all models on the purple line have the same fit, they yield identical feasible vectors of posteriors within the yellow area. Crucially, the politician can also induce vectors of posterior beliefs that are not Bayes plausible, i.e. outside the green area in Fig. 1. Indeed, under model I, the politician can persuade the voter to take any action, regardless of the evidence provided. For example, by proposing models  $n_b$  and  $n_g$  given evidence b and g, he can induce the vector of beliefs  $n_{bg}$  (depicted as the orange point in Fig. 2). The voter becomes more convinced that the policy is good compared to her prior belief, regardless of whether the evidence is supportive or opposing, and she votes for the policy with certainty. In the next section, I demonstrate how the researcher should generate evidence to prevent misinterpretation by the politician.

## 3.3 Optimal signal-generating model

Now, I turn to the sender's problem. I identify a finite set of models that contain the optimal signal-generating model by defining a value function over the set of feasible models.

Let  $a^I = (a^I_s)_{s \in S} \in A^{|S|}$  denote the *vector of induced actions* when sender chooses the model I. If the sender chooses model I and signal s is generated, the narrator selects an action from the set of feasible actions  $A^I_s$  to maximize his expected utility. <sup>19</sup> I have

$$a_s^I := \underset{a \in A_s^I}{\arg \max} \, \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_N(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a)]. \tag{7}$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>If the narrator has multiple optimal actions, I break the tie by choosing the receiver's preferred action. As a result, the action  $a_s^I$  is unique.

The induced action  $a_s^I$  is the narrator's best response to the sender's model I and signal s. Define the **value function**  $V: \mathcal{F} \to \mathbb{R}$  over the set of feasible models as:

$$V(I) := \sum_{s \in \mathcal{S}} \mathbb{P}_I(s) \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_R(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_s^I)] - \mathbb{E}_p[u_R(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_R^*(p))]. \tag{8}$$

The value function is given by the receiver's expected utility gain given the sender's model I. It determines the sender's preference over the feasible models taking into account the narrator's ability to misinterpret and his preferences. The goal of the sender is to find the *optimal signal-generating model I*\* that maximizes the value function among the set of feasible models. The value of any model can be decomposed into two components: signal provision and signal misinterpretation.

$$V(I) = \sum_{s \in \mathbb{S}} \mathbb{P}_{I}(s) \Big( \underbrace{\mathbb{E}_{q_{s}^{I}}[u_{R}(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_{R}^{*}(q_{s}^{I}) - u_{R}(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_{R}^{*}(p))]}_{\text{signal provision } \geq 0} + \underbrace{\mathbb{E}_{q_{s}^{I}}[u_{R}(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_{s}^{I}) - u_{R}(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_{R}^{*}(q_{s}^{I}))]}_{\text{signal misinterpretation } \leq 0} \Big). \tag{9}$$

The signal provision component represents the receiver's value from using the true posterior belief over the prior belief. It is the focal point in the Bayesian persuasion literature and is always non-negative. The signal misinterpretation component reflects the receiver's value when she acts based on the chosen model rather than the sender's model. This value is always non-positive. It becomes strictly negative when the receiver deviates from the action recommended by the sender's model.

When choosing a model, the sender has to take into account the trade-off between providing precise signals and minimizing misinterpretation. To simplify the search for the optimal signal-generating model, I partition the set of all feasible models into a disjoint union of convex subsets. The vector of induced actions remains fixed within each such set. Let  $C_a \subseteq \mathcal{F}$  denote the set of sender's models where the vector of induced actions is  $a \in A^{|S|}$ :

$$C_{\mathbf{a}} := \{ I \in \mathcal{F} : \mathbf{a}^I = \mathbf{a} \}. \tag{10}$$

The collection  $\mathcal{C} = \{C_a\}_{a \in A^{|S|}}$ , over all vectors of actions, is a finite cover of the set of feasible models  $\mathcal{F}$ .

**Lemma 2.** The set  $C_a$  is a finite disjoint union of convex sets for any vector of actions  $\mathbf{a} \in A^{|\mathcal{S}|}$ .

This follows as any set  $C_a$  can be written as a finite disjoint union of the intersection of finitely many half spaces. Let  $\overline{C}$  and Ext(C) denote the closure and the set of extreme points for any

convex set C.<sup>20</sup> Due to the linearity of the value function when the vector of induced actions remains fixed, I can restrict the search of the optimal model within each set  $\overline{C}_a$  to its extreme points.<sup>21</sup> This technique simplifies the sender's optimization into a finite linear program.

**Theorem 1.** The optimal signal-generating model

$$I^* := \underset{I \in \mathcal{F}}{\arg\max} V(I) \tag{11}$$

corresponds to an extreme point of the set  $\overline{C}_a$  for some  $a \in A^{|S|}$ . Furthermore,  $Ext(\overline{C}_a)$  is finite for all  $a \in A^{|S|}$ .

By virtue of the theorem, one can pinpoint finite candidate models in the search for the optimal one. This vastly simplifies the sender's optimization problem because the space of all models is very large (see green area in Fig. 1 for the binary case). The set of candidate models is obtained by taking the union of the set of extreme points  $Ext(\overline{C}_a)$  over all possible vector of actions  $a \in A^{|S|}$ . Each set  $C_a$  is determined by the preferences of the narrator and the receiver, in addition to the receiver's prior. This technique for identifying the optimal signal generating model is applicable in various settings. For example, it can be used even when the sender is not benevolent, when there are restrictions on the set of allowed models, or when the receiver always correctly interprets the signal.

Consider any candidate model that does not fully disclose the states. This model either (i) results in a posterior belief where the narrator or the receiver is indifferent between multiple actions and/or (ii) matches the fit of another model, where the narrator can induce a different vector of actions. If such a candidate model is optimal, opting for a more informative model results in more misinterpretation. It changes the induced vector of actions, making it worse for the receiver. If not for this, the sender would want to give more information, and this model would not be the best choice.

A model that is always a candidate model is the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$ , defined for any  $s \in S$ . This model unambiguously sends the signal s, that is,  $I_{ND_s}(s \mid \omega) = 1$  for all  $\omega \in \Omega$ . When the preferences of the narrator and receiver are perfectly misaligned, akin to a zero-sum game, the no disclosure model is optimal. Furthermore, in this setting, any optimal model uniquely induces the receiver's optimal action under her prior.

**Proposition 1.** If  $u_N = -u_R$ , then for any  $s \in S$ , the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  is optimal. Additionally, any optimal model induces the unique action  $a_R^*(p)$ .

As the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  sends the signal s with probability 1, it has the maximal fit among all models for signal s. It results in the posterior being identical to the prior, that is,

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{^{20}}$ The set  $C_a$  can be an open set as I break the tie between models with equal fit in favor of the receiver.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Lipnowski and Mathevet (2017) use a similar property to identify candidate beliefs rather than candidate models.

 $q_s^{I_{ND_s}}=p$ . This model discloses no information, leading to no room for misinterpretation, that is,  $V(I_{ND_s})=0$ . This is optimal when the agents have perfectly misaligned preferences as the narrator misinterprets any information provided. Importantly, this model guarantees that the value of information under the optimal model is non-negative, that is,  $V(I^*) \geq 0$ .

The full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is always a candidate model. If there was no narrator, it would be the benevolent sender's optimal choice. The more information the receiver has, the better action she can take. As seen in the example before, this is no longer true in the presence of a biased narrator. However, is it ever optimal for the sender to fully disclose the states? If so, then when? A narrator has state-independent utility  $u_N(a)$  if his utility depends only on the receiver's action and not the state. For example, politicians want to get elected, investors want to sell high-fee products, lobbyists want favorable policies. As  $|\mathcal{S}| \geq |\Omega|$ , I can assume that the set of signals contains a copy of the set of states, that is,  $\Omega \subseteq \mathcal{S}$ . Formally, the model  $I_{FD}$  fully discloses (or reveals) the states, that is,  $I_{FD}(\omega \mid \omega) = 1$  for all  $\omega \in \Omega$ .

**Proposition 2.** For binary states and a narrator with state-independent utility, the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is optimal if  $u_R(\omega, a_\omega^{I_{FD}}) \ge u_R(\omega, a_R^*(p))$  for all  $\omega \in \Omega$ .

The proposition states that full disclosure is optimal if the narrator either cannot or does not want to induce an action worse than the optimal action at the prior belief. The narrator does not use a conflicting model to interpret any signal. This ensures that the receiver's posterior on the disclosed state is higher than the prior. However, the subsequent corollary demonstrates that when the narrator has state-independent utility, the full disclosure model cannot be universally optimal for all prior beliefs. For the next result, to avoid generic situations, I assume that there are at least two actions, which are uniquely optimal for the receiver under some beliefs and that the narrator is not indifferent between them.

**Corollary 2.** Given any narrator with state-independent utility, there exists a prior belief  $p \in int(\Delta\Omega)$  such that the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is not optimal.

To see why, suppose that the receiver has a prior belief, where the narrator's most preferred action is not optimal but it is very close to being optimal. If the sender fully discloses the state, the narrator can induce his most preferred action, with probability 1, due to its proximity to the prior belief. However, since this action is not the receiver's optimal choice given her prior belief, it is better for the sender to provide no information.

## 3.4 Application: Information campaigns

Experts use information campaigns to influence health behavior, policy attitudes, and voter turnout (Haaland, Roth, and Wohlfart, 2023). However, there are cases where a campaign not only fails

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>This is an often studied case in the literature, see Lipnowski and Ravid (2020).

to provide information but may also increase misperceptions.<sup>23</sup> In particular, I demonstrate that information can backfire; specifically, the receiver might shift her belief in the opposite direction to that intended. The *backfire effect* has been observed empirically in information campaigns (Nyhan and Reifler, 2010; Hart and Nisbet, 2012; Baekgaard et al., 2019; Baysan, 2022). In particular, Baekgaard et al. (2019) provide experimental evidence that (i) the farther the prior belief is from the target belief, the greater the chance of misinterpretation and that (ii) more information can paradoxically lead to a higher chance of misinterpretation.

For the example of the researcher and the politician, I characterize the optimal signal-generating model. First, the set of all models can be partitioned based on the vector of induced actions (Fig. 3). Using Theorem 1, I limit my search to the finite set of extreme points for each set  $C_a$  (black nodes). My focus is exclusively on the models in the top-left quadrant, as the models in the bottom-right quadrant are obtained simply by swapping the labels g and b. In total, there are only six candidate models, including the full disclosure and no disclosure models.

In the absence of a politician, the researcher would choose the full disclosure model, namely  $I_{FD}(g \mid G) = I_{FD}(b \mid B) = 1$ . However, when evidence can be misinterpreted, it is suboptimal to fully disclose. Given opposing evidence b, the politician can choose the model  $n_b$  (blue point) where  $n_b(b \mid G) = 1$  and  $n_b(b \mid B) = \frac{2}{3}$ . This model has better fit than the full disclosure model for opposing evidence:  $\mathbb{P}_{I_{FD}}(b) = \frac{3}{5} < \frac{4}{5} = \mathbb{P}_{n_b}(b)$ . This can also be seen graphically as the purple line passing through the points  $n_b$  and p is steeper than the dashed line passing through the points  $I_{FD}$  and p. Given evidence b, the politician is able to persuade the voter to support the policy, as the model  $n_b$  induces a posterior belief equal to 0.5. In fact, the full disclosure model performs worse than the no disclosure model. Initially, the voter prefers to vote against the policy. However, under the full disclosure model, the politician can convince her to vote for the policy with certainty. Therefore, it is better for the researcher to provide no information.

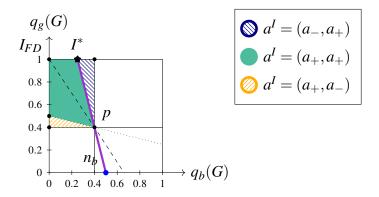


Figure 3: Partition of the set of models based on the vector of induced actions.

I have shown that fully disclosing the states is not optimal. How should the researcher provide evidence? The researcher chooses a partially informative model that better fits the opposing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>It is important to distinguish between misinformation (false information) and misperceptions (false beliefs). My focus is on the cases where correct information can lead to false beliefs due to misinterpretation.

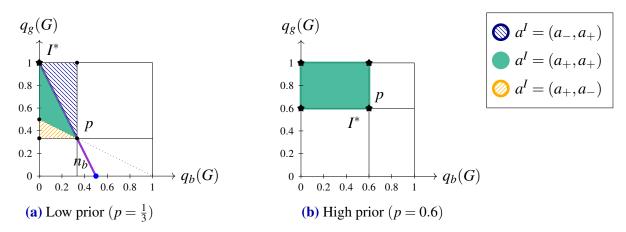
evidence. The (unique) optimal signal-generating model  $I^*$  (black star) is given by:

$$I^*(b \mid B) = 1,$$
  $I^*(b \mid G) = \frac{1}{2},$   $I^*(g \mid B) = 0,$   $I^*(g \mid G) = \frac{1}{2}.$ 

The model  $n_b$  has the maximal fit among all models that induce belief  $q_b(G) = 0.5$ . The fit of the optimal model  $I^*$  and the model  $n_b$  exactly match:  $\mathbb{P}_{n_b}(b) = \frac{4}{5} = \mathbb{P}_{I^*}(b)$ . This can also be inferred graphically, as both models lie on the purple line passing through the prior belief. The politician cannot propose a model with better fit and that persuades the voter to support the policy. Surprisingly, even though the politician and the researcher are perfectly aligned when the policy is good, the optimal signal-generating model does not disclose state G. Instead, it pools state G with state G where their preferences are misaligned, to make the opposing evidence more plausible. This pooling is to prevent the voter from misinterpreting the opposing evidence.

The optimal model  $I^*$  is unique. If the researcher chose a more informative model (represented by the line segment joining  $I^*$  and  $I_{FD}$ ), the politician can misinterpret the opposing evidence. On the other hand, if she chose a less informative model, at worst, it lowers the likelihood of correctly matching the state and the action.

The prior belief of the voter plays an important role in determining the partition and optimal model (see Fig. 4). The optimal model is of three types based on the prior : (a) full disclosure for low prior, (b) partially informative for mid prior, and (c) no disclosure for high prior.



**Figure 4:** The partition and the optimal model for different prior beliefs.

For low prior,  $(p \le \frac{1}{3})$ , the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is optimal. Given opposing evidence b, any model of the politician that better fits the evidence cannot convince her to vote for the policy. The threshold  $p = \frac{1}{3}$  is precisely the prior for which the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  lies on the line passing through the prior p and the model  $n_b$  (purple line in Fig. 4a).

For a high prior  $(p \ge 0.5)$ , any signal-generating model including the no disclosure model is

optimal. Given evidence  $e \in \{g,b\}$ , the politician can always choose the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_e}$  that sends evidence e with probability 1. This model has the maximal fit on evidence e among all models, and it keeps the voter's posterior fixed at the prior. Essentially, the politician can always confirm the voter's prior belief. As  $p \ge 0.5$ , the voter's optimal action under the prior is to vote for the policy. Thus, the politician can always persuade the voter to support the policy, irrespective of the researcher's model (Fig. 4b).

## 4 Extensions

In this section, I introduce three extensions to the base model: a restricted set of feasible models, ex-ante interpretation and asymmetric trust. I also provide an application on employee feedback.

#### 4.1 Models with clear interpretation

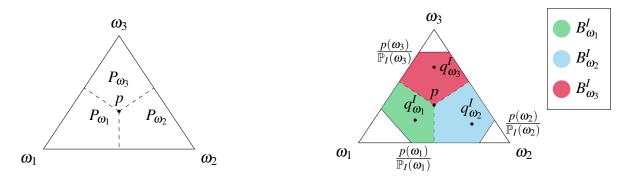
In this extension, I explore a scenario where signals have a clear interpretation. For example, a bad grade can only make the agent think that their ability is worse, not better. I assume that the set of signals is a copy of the set of states  $\mathcal{S} = \Omega$ , where each signal  $\omega$  is likely generated under the state  $\omega$ , meaning that  $I(\omega \mid \omega) \geq I(\omega \mid \widetilde{\omega})$  for all states  $\widetilde{\omega} \neq \omega$ . This restricts the set of feasible models and prevents the narrator from proposing conflicting models that move the receiver's belief in a direction opposite to what was intended. The set of models with a clear interpretation  $\mathcal{M}_C \subset \mathcal{M}$  is given by:

$$\mathcal{M}_C := \{ I : \Omega \to \Delta \mathcal{S} : I(\boldsymbol{\omega} \mid \boldsymbol{\omega}) \ge I(\boldsymbol{\omega} \mid \tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}}) \forall \tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}} \ne \boldsymbol{\omega} \}$$

This imposes a constraint on the set of receiver's belief that can be induced. The space of beliefs can be partitioned into a collection of convex subsets  $\{P_{\omega}\}_{{\omega}\in\Omega}$  (see Fig. 5) such that given signal  ${\omega}$ , the posterior belief must belong to the convex set  $P_{\omega}$ .

$$P_{\omega} := \{ q \in \Delta\Omega : \frac{q(\omega)}{p(\omega)} \ge \frac{q(\tilde{\omega})}{p(\tilde{\omega})} \quad \text{ for all } \tilde{\omega} \in \Omega \}.$$
 (12)

The signals have a clear interpretation. On seeing the signal  $\omega$ , the change in the likelihood of the state  $\omega$  is greater than any other state  $\tilde{\omega} \neq \omega$ . Ichihashi and Meng (2021) also impose this restriction on the set of feasible models. The set of feasible beliefs and actions depends solely on the prior belief and the fit of the sender's model.



**Figure 5:** (a) The partition of the belief space and (b) the set of feasible posterior beliefs given sender's model *I*.

**Proposition 3.** If  $\mathcal{F} = \mathcal{M}_C$ , the sets of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce given sender's model  $I \in \mathcal{M}_C$  and the signal  $\omega$  are given by

$$B_{\omega}^{I} := \{ q \in P_{\omega} : \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_{I}(\omega) \} \cup \{ q_{\omega}^{I} \}, \tag{13}$$

$$A^{I}_{\omega} := \{ a \in A : \exists q \in B^{I}_{\omega} \text{ such that } a = a^{*}_{R}(q) \}.$$
 (14)

The narrator can alter the signal's precision but not the direction of interpretation. He can induce beliefs up to a certain precision (see Fig. 5). This ensures that the posterior has a higher probability on the true state than the prior. The key distinction from Lemma 1 is that the condition in equation (13) applies exclusively to the most likely state  $\omega$ , rather than to all states. One can still use Theorem 1 to find the optimal signal-generating model. The only caveat is that the set  $C_a$  will differ, depending on the set of feasible models. Nonetheless, the fundamental property of convexity remains applicable, as the set of feasible models is a closed and convex set. This permits the partitioning of the set of feasible models into finite convex sets and allows for a search within these candidate models to determine the optimal one.

In the example of the researcher and the politician, if the players are constrained to models with clear interpretation, the full disclosure model would be optimal for all priors. Although one might expect that in the context of clear interpretations, the narrator's role would be insignificant, it can still lead to adverse consequences. I illustrate this in the subsequent application.

## 4.2 Application: Employee Feedback

I consider an application where a manager provides feedback to her optimistic employee. The employee wants to believe that his ability is good. He interprets the direction of feedback correctly but not the precision. The focus will be on whether the employee learns his true ability. First, I show that even a tiny amount of uncertainty in precision can lead to biased learning. Furthermore,

I show that two employees, an optimist and a pessimist, who start with the same initial beliefs and observe the same (infinite) sequence of feedback can be polarized.<sup>24</sup> Finally, I show that giving bad feedback more frequently than good can ensure that the optimistic employee always learns his true ability.

Consider the states  $\Omega = \{G, B\}$ , where G and B refer to the state when the employee's ability is good and bad, respectively. The manager provides feedback about the ability using signals  $S = \{g, b\}$ , where g refers to good news and b refers to bad news. The signals have a clear interpretation: good news is more likely generated when his ability is good, and vice versa. Suppose that the manager provides feedback according to model I (black point in Fig. 6a):

$$I(g \mid G) = I(b \mid B) = \kappa \tag{15}$$

where,  $\kappa > 0.5$  is the precision of the news. She symmetrically provides good and bad news.

The employee correctly interprets the direction of the news, but he is uncertain about the precision. The set of feasible models  $\mathcal{F} = \mathcal{M}_{\varepsilon} \subset \mathcal{M}_{C}$  have precision in the range of  $[\kappa - \varepsilon, \kappa + \varepsilon]$  (green area in Fig. 6a):

$$\mathcal{M}_{\varepsilon} := \{ m : \Omega \to \Delta \mathcal{S} : m(g \mid G) \in [\kappa - \varepsilon, \kappa + \varepsilon], m(b \mid B) \in [\kappa - \varepsilon, \kappa + \varepsilon] \}. \tag{16}$$

where,  $\kappa - \varepsilon \ge 0.5$  and  $\kappa + \varepsilon \le 1$ .

The level of uncertainty is given by  $\varepsilon$ . The lower the value  $\varepsilon$ , the more certain the employee is about the precision of the news.

The employee is an **optimist** (**O**) who overestimates the likelihood of experiencing positive outcomes and underestimates the likelihood of experiencing negative events (Hey, 1984). Most people tend to be optimistic (Sharot, 2011).

Directed (or motivated) reasoning posits that people interpret news (often unconsciously) in the direction they find attractive. But even an optimist cannot interpret the news in any direction he wants. He faces a trade-off between accuracy and directional motives. In my setting, the accuracy goal corresponds to the model fit: how well the news fits the model. The employee can adopt a biased interpretation only if it has a better fit than the manager's model.

The employee here acts as both the narrator and the receiver. I consider a dual-self framework, where the unconscious mind (directional motives) is the narrator and the conscious mind (accuracy motives) is the receiver.<sup>25</sup> The narrator wants to interpret the news in the direction of his biased

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>There's a growing theoretical literature that offers explanations, both Bayesian and non-Bayesian, on why and when polarization occurs. (Benoit and Dubra, 2016; Dixit and Weibull, 2007; Baliga, Hanany, and Klibanoff, 2013; Acemoglu, Chernozhukov, and Yildiz, 2016; Fryer Jr, Harms, and Jackson, 2019; Chen, 2022).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Formally, one can assume the narrator (unconscious mind) has a belief based utility which is an increasing function

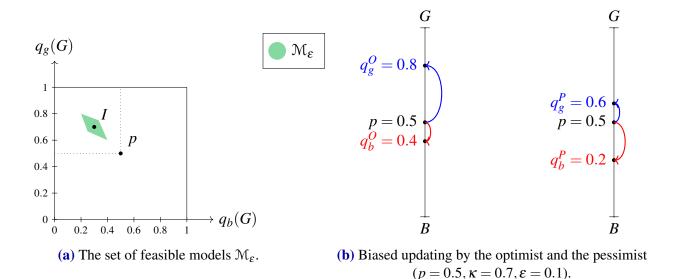


Figure 6: Employee Feedback: Optimist (O) and Pessimist (P)

state G.

On receiving good news, the employee interprets using the model  $n_g$ :

$$n_{\varrho}(g \mid G) = \kappa + \varepsilon$$
  $n_{\varrho}(b \mid B) = \kappa + \varepsilon.$  (17)

This model has a (weakly) better fit than the manager's model for good news:  $\mathbb{P}_{n_g}(g) \ge \mathbb{P}_I(g)$ . The employee interprets the news to be very informative and overreacts to it (see Fig. 6b).

On receiving the bad news, the employee interprets using the model  $n_b$ :

$$n_b(g \mid G) = \kappa - \varepsilon$$
  $n_b(b \mid B) = \kappa - \varepsilon.$  (18)

The model has a (weakly) better fit than the manager's model for bad news:  $\mathbb{P}_{n_b}(b) \geq \mathbb{P}_I(b)$ . The employee interprets the news to not be very informative and underreacts to it (see Fig. 6b).

Thus, the employee reacts asymmetrically to good and bad news (Eil and Rao, 2011; Möbius et al., 2022). The model provides a possible explanation for the *good news-bad news effect*, where the employee does not stray away from Bayesian updating, but instead uses different models to interpret different news.

What happens when the employee receives repeated feedback? Does he learn his true ability? I assume that in each round, he interprets each piece of news individually rather than considering

in his belief q(G).

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$ A slight perturbation of  $n_g$  ensures a strictly better fit than I.

the entire sequence. The past news sequence only influences his prior belief for that specific round. If the amount of uncertainty  $\varepsilon$  is sufficiently large, the optimistic employee learns his biased state G, almost surely.

**Lemma 3.** For any prior belief  $p \in (0,1)$ , the optimist (asymptotically) learns the biased state G almost surely if

$$\left[\frac{\kappa - \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa + \varepsilon}\right]^{\kappa} < \left[\frac{\kappa + \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa - \varepsilon}\right]^{(1 - \kappa)}.$$
(19)

This condition holds for example, when  $\kappa = 0.7$  and  $\varepsilon = 0.1$ . Thus, even if the employee's ability is bad, despite repeated feedback, he ends up confident that his ability is good. Camerer and Lovallo (1999) shows that misinterpretation can lead to overconfidence when starting new businesses, often resulting in failure. Weeks et al. (1998) show that due to optimism bias, patients choose wrong treatments despite an accurate prognosis. Massey, Simmons, and Armor (2011) show that people exhibit optimism bias and misinterpret accurate signals despite repeated feedback.

Next, I consider two employees, an optimist (O) and a pessimist (P). Contrary to an optimist, a pessimist underestimates the likelihood of an favorable outcome and overestimates the likelihood of unfavorable outcomes (Hey, 1984).<sup>27</sup> One can also imagine two news outlets that twist the same news story to support their preferred political position. I show that the two employees despite having the same prior and observing the same (infinite) sequence of news can be polarized. In the long run, both employees become confident in their biased states and disagree with each other.

On receiving good news, the optimist interprets the signal to be very informative and overreacts to it, while the pessimist interprets it to be very uninformative and underreacts to it. And vice versa when receiving bad news (see Fig. 6b).

When presented with a balanced set of good news and bad news, the employees' beliefs are polarized, that is,  $q_{gb}^O(G)>p>q_{gb}^P(G)$  where  $q_{gb}^O$  and  $q_{gb}^P$  refer to posterior belief of the optimist and pessimist after observing g and b, respectively. 28 The employees shift their beliefs in opposite directions after observing the same balanced set of good and bad news (Taber and Lodge, 2006; Bolsen, Druckman, and Cook, 2014). In the long run, under sufficient uncertainty, each employee always learns his biased state.

**Corollary 3.** For any common prior belief  $p \in (0,1)$ , an optimist and pessimist learn their biased state G and B respectively almost surely if equation (19) holds.

Given that an employee distorts the news, how should a manager provide feedback to her optimistic (or pessimistic) employee? The manager should also provide news in an asymmetrical

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{^{27}\text{Strunk}}$ , Lopez, and DeRubeis (2006) show that individuals suffering from depression tend to exhibit pessimism bias.  $^{28}\text{The order of news does not affect the posterior belief: } q_{gb}^i = q_{bg}^i \text{ for } i = O, P.$ 

manner to counter the asymmetric interpretation. This ensures that the employee's belief is close to being accurate.

**Proposition 4.** For any prior belief  $p \in (0,1)$ , the optimist (asymptotically) learns the correct state almost surely under the optimal model  $I^* \in \mathcal{M}_{\varepsilon}$ , where the model  $I^*$  is given by:

$$I^*(g \mid G) = \kappa - \varepsilon \qquad \qquad I^*(b \mid B) = \kappa + \varepsilon. \tag{20}$$

The optimal model  $I^*$  provides good and bad news in an asymmetric way to counter the asymmetric interpretation of signals. When providing feedback to an optimistic employee, the manager should provide bad news more often than good news.<sup>29</sup> The optimal way to provide feedback depends on the direction of bias the employee exhibits and the degree of uncertainty. This has implications on how to provide feedback or design test results. For example, medical tests can vary in their ability to rule in or rule out disease, and human resource departments can tailor their feedback style accordingly.

### 4.3 Ex-ante interpretation of signals

In this extension, I consider a setting where the narrator provides his models ex-ante, before the signal has been observed, instead of ex-post, after the signal has been observed. He still chooses his models after observing the sender's choice. Schwartzstein and Sunderam (2021) focuses on ex-post interpretation, while Aina (2021) analyzes ex-ante interpretation. The narrator can provide multiple models instead of a single one in this setting. Communicating models before observing the signal enhances credibility. However, providing a menu of models imposes additional constraints for the narrator, as each model not only competes with the sender's model but also with the other models in the menu. Surprisingly, the narrator can attain the same vector of posterior beliefs and actions with ex-ante or ex-post provision of models. Thus, the results do not depend on whether the narrator communicates the models before or after the signals have been observed.

Let the menu of models the narrator provides be denoted by  $\mathcal{N} = \bigcup_{s \in \mathcal{S}} n_s$ . The narrator does not need to provide more than  $|\mathcal{S}|$  models. This is because the receiver selects one model for each signal. Consequently, the narrator tailors model  $n_s$  to correspond precisely with signal s.

Upon observing signal s and the narrator's menu of models  $\mathbb{N}$  and the sender's model I, the receiver selects the model  $m_s$  that has the best fit given signal s:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Similarly, when providing feedback to a pessimist employee, a manager should provide good news more often than bad news.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>The models, which can be conflicting, need not be provided by the same agent but by a collusion of agents to maintain credibility. For example, different members of a political party or different news shows on the same network (Bursztyn et al., 2020)

$$m_s := \underset{m \in \mathcal{N} \cup \{I\}}{\arg \max} \sum_{\omega \in \Omega} p(\omega) m(s \mid \omega). \tag{21}$$

Surprisingly, the timing of model communication, whether ex-ante or ex-post, does not impact the narrator's ability to influence beliefs and actions.

**Lemma 4** (ex-ante interpretation ). Given the sender's model I and signal s, the set of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce are:

$$B_s^I := \{ q \in (\Delta\Omega) : \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_I(s) \quad \forall \omega \in \Omega \} \cup \{ q_s^I \}, \tag{22}$$

$$A_s^I := \{ a \in A : \exists q \in B_s^I \text{ such that } a = a_R^*(q) \}.$$
 (23)

Each model  $n_s$  is specifically tailored for signal s resulting in the desired posterior belief. Also, each model  $n_s$  has a worse fit on signal  $t \neq s$  than model  $n_t$ . In fact, the narrator can use the model with maximal fit for belief  $q_s$ , like in Lemma 1, but needs to adjust the fit of signals  $t \neq s$ . This adjustment guarantees that each model has the best fit for its specific signal. Theorem 2 of Aina (2021) can be applied to my setting to characterize the set of feasible posterior beliefs.

## **4.4** Asymmetric Trust

In this extension, I consider a setting where the receiver evaluates the models of the sender and narrator asymmetrically. This can happen due to differences in trust or credibility. For example, in the case of the researcher and the politician, a voter who trusts the researcher's expertise might need stronger evidence to accept the politician's model, while a skeptic may require less evidence.

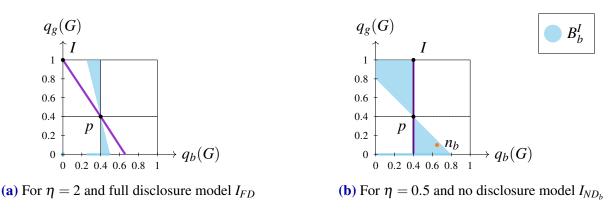
I define the **trust coefficient**, denoted as  $\eta \in [0, \infty)$ , as the ratio representing the level of trust between the sender and the narrator. When the likelihood ratio comparing the narrator's model to the sender's model surpasses the trust coefficient  $\eta$ , the narrator's model is selected:

$$\frac{\mathbb{P}_n(s)}{\mathbb{P}_I(s)} \ge \eta. \tag{24}$$

The higher the value of  $\eta$ , the more likely the signal has to be under the narrator's model to be selected. When  $\eta$  equals zero, the receiver always acts according to the narrator's model. While when  $\eta$  approaches infinity, she acts rationally and always selects the sender's model. Let's analyze the effect of  $\eta$  on the example of the researcher and the politician.

If  $\eta > 1$ , then the voter trusts the researcher more than the politician. She only chooses the

politician's model when it significantly better explains the signal than the researcher's model. Specifically, when  $\eta = 2$ , the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is optimal (see Fig. 7a). On seeing opposing evidence, the politician's influence to convince the voter is diminished. He cannot convince her to vote for the policy. The blue line on the x-axis represents the set of feasible beliefs he can induce given opposing evidence. In this case, the set of beliefs that the narrator can induce is not a convex set.



**Figure 7:** The set of feasible beliefs that the narrator can induce for prior belief p = 0.4.

If  $\eta < 1$ , then the voter trusts the researcher less than the politician. She chooses the politician's model, even if it has a lower likelihood to generate the signal than the researcher's model. Suppose  $\eta = 0.5$  and the researcher chooses the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_b}$  that presents opposing evidence with certainty. This model has the maximal fit among all models. However, the politician can convince the voter to support the policy using the model  $n_b$  (orange point in Fig. 7b). The blue line on the x-axis represents the set of feasible beliefs that he can induce given opposing evidence. In this scenario, unlike the baseline setting, the value of information for any model can be strictly negative. The voter would be better off without any evidence.

Given the sender model I and  $\eta$ , let  $B_s^I(\eta)$  and  $A_s^I(\eta)$  denote the set of feasible posterior beliefs and actions conditional on signal s and trust coefficient  $\eta$ .

**Proposition 5.** If 
$$\eta_1 > \eta_2$$
, then  $B_s^I(\eta_1) \subseteq B_s^I(\eta_2)$  and  $A_s^I(\eta_1) \subseteq A_s^I(\eta_2)$  for all  $s \in S$  and  $I \in F$ .

The proposition states that the narrator has a higher ability to persuade when the parameter  $\eta$  is lower. The higher the trust the receiver places on the narrator, the greater the persuasive ability he has. Two receivers with the same prior belief but different trust coefficients can interpret the same signal using different models.

### 5 Conclusion

This paper analyzes the competing role of data provision and data interpretation in persuading an agent. If the agent does not know how data is generated, she can be persuaded to adopt biased

interpretations over the correct one. In particular, full disclosure can backfire and lead to outcomes that are worse than providing no information. Hence, it is imperative to consider the narratives an agent might be exposed to when providing information. A novel technique is developed to find the optimal data-generating model. This model balances between providing precise data and minimizing misinterpretation. The optimal approach is to provide data in a manner that aligns with the agent's initial beliefs, effectively mitigating the risk of misinterpretation. This approach ensures that the agent always, on average, derives positive value from the data.

From a theoretical standpoint, this paper presents a novel method to find the optimal datagenerating model to persuade both Bayesian and non-Bayesian agents, even in situations where the set of allowed models is restricted. The findings hold relevance in crafting information campaigns that influence public welfare, encompassing health, policy, and voting decisions, while also facilitating tailored feedback for agents who process information in a biased manner.

In terms of future research directions, there are several avenues to explore. One direction could involve examining competition between agents who can both provide and interpret information. Another interesting area to investigate is the impact of persuasion on a population of agents with heterogeneous prior beliefs. Additionally, alternative model selection rules, such as a convex combination of proposed models, could be considered, with coefficients reflecting the fitness ratio among the models.

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## A Appendix: Proofs

**Lemma 1.** Given the sender's model I and signal s, the sets of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce are:

$$B_s^I := \{ q \in (\Delta\Omega) : \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_I(s) \forall \omega \in \Omega \} \cup \{ q_s^I \}, \tag{5}$$

$$A_s^I := \{ a \in A : \exists q \in B_s^I \text{ such that } a = a_R^*(q) \}.$$
 (6)

*Proof.* First, assume  $q \in B^I_s$ . I construct a model for the narrator n that results in posterior belief q and has a better fit than the sender's model I under signal s, that is,  $q^n_s = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_n(s) > \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ . The model n only sends two signals s and t with positive probability, where  $t \neq s$ . An equivalent way of writing the condition in equation (5) is that  $[\max_{\tilde{\omega} \in \Omega} \frac{q(\tilde{\omega})}{p(\tilde{\omega})}]^{-1} > \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ . Let  $\lambda = [\max_{\tilde{\omega} \in \Omega} \frac{q(\tilde{\omega})}{p(\tilde{\omega})}]^{-1}$  and the model n be given by:

$$n(s \mid \omega) = \frac{\lambda q(\omega)}{p(\omega)}, \qquad n(t \mid \omega) = 1 - \frac{\lambda q(\omega)}{p(\omega)}. \tag{25}$$

First, as  $\lambda \leq \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)}$  for all  $\omega \in \Omega$ , I have  $n(s \mid \omega) \leq 1$ . Next, I show that the model n induces posterior belief q under the signal s.

$$\mathbb{P}_n(s) = \sum_{\omega \in \Omega} \lambda q(\omega) = \lambda, \qquad q_s^n(\omega) = \frac{p(\omega)n(s \mid \omega)}{\mathbb{P}_n(s)} = q(\omega). \tag{26}$$

By assumption, from equation (5), I have  $\lambda > \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ , so the receiver chooses model n over I under signal s. Thus, the narrator can induce posterior belief q under the signal s.

I prove the converse by contradiction. Let q be a feasible posterior belief conditional on the signal s that does not satisfy equation (5). So, for some  $\omega^* \in \Omega$ , I have

$$\frac{p(\boldsymbol{\omega}^*)}{q(\boldsymbol{\omega}^*)} \le \mathbb{P}_I(s). \tag{27}$$

As q is feasible, there exists a model n such that  $q_s^n = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_n(s) > \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ .

$$\mathbb{P}_{I}(s) < \mathbb{P}_{n}(s) = \frac{n(s \mid \boldsymbol{\omega})p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{q(\boldsymbol{\omega})} \quad \forall \boldsymbol{\omega} \in \Omega.$$
 (28)

But from equation (27), I have

$$\frac{p(\boldsymbol{\omega}^*)}{q(\boldsymbol{\omega}^*)} < \frac{n(s \mid \boldsymbol{\omega})p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{q(\boldsymbol{\omega})} \quad \forall \boldsymbol{\omega} \in \Omega.$$
 (29)

But this implies  $n(s \mid \omega^*) > 1$ , which is a contradiction.

The condition for feasible actions in equation (6) follows directly from the condition on the feasible posterior beliefs. The narrator can induce an action if he can induce a posterior belief under which the action is optimal for the receiver.

**Lemma 2.** The set  $C_a$  is a finite disjoint union of convex sets for any vector of actions  $\mathbf{a} \in A^{|\mathcal{S}|}$ .

*Proof.* Fix a vector of subsets of actions  $\mathbf{R} = (R_s)_{s \in \mathbb{S}} \in \mathcal{P}(A)^{|\mathbb{S}|}$ . Let  $C_{\mathbf{a},\mathbf{R}}$  denote the subset of models where the vector of induced and feasible actions are given by  $\mathbf{a}$  and  $\mathbf{R}$ , respectively.

$$C_{a,R} = \{ I \in \mathcal{F} : a_s^I = a_s, A_s^I = R_s \forall s \in \mathcal{S} \} \subset C_a.$$

$$(30)$$

First, I show that the set  $C_{a,R}$  is a convex set for any pair (a,R). Assume  $C_{a,R}$  is non-empty. Let  $I_1$  and  $I_2$  belong to  $C_{a,R}$ . Let  $I_{\alpha} = \alpha I_1 + (1-\alpha)I_2$  denote the convex combination of the models  $I_1$  and  $I_2$ , where  $\alpha \in (0,1)$ .  $I_1$  show that  $I_{\alpha} \in C_{a,R}$  for all  $\alpha \in (0,1)$ . First notice, that the fit of the model  $I_{\alpha}$  lies in between the model  $I_1$  and  $I_2$ .

$$\mathbb{P}_{I_{\alpha}}(s) = \alpha \mathbb{P}_{I_1}(s) + (1 - \alpha) \mathbb{P}_{I_2}(s) \quad \forall s \in \mathcal{S}. \tag{31}$$

To see that  $C_{a,R}$  is convex, let  $a \in R_s$ , I show  $a \in A_s^{I_\alpha}$ . From Eq. (27), I know there exist q such that  $a_R^*(q) = a$  and such that

$$\left[\max_{\boldsymbol{\omega}\in\Omega}\frac{q(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}\right]^{-1} > \mathbb{P}_{I_i}(s) \text{ for } i = 1, 2,$$
(32)

$$\Rightarrow \left[\max_{\boldsymbol{\omega}\in\Omega}\frac{q(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}\right]^{-1} > \max_{i=1,2}\mathbb{P}_{I_{i}}(s) > \mathbb{P}_{I_{\alpha}}(s). \tag{33}$$

Thus, this implies  $a \in A_s^{I_\alpha}$ . Now, I show it is also optimal for the narrator to induce the action a when the sender's model is  $I_\alpha$  and the signal is s, that is,  $a \in a^{I_\alpha}$ . Recall as  $I_1$  and  $I_2$  belong to  $C_{a,R}$ , the vector of induced actions is given by a. Thus, I have

$$a_s \in \underset{a \in R_s}{\operatorname{arg\,max}} \mathbb{E}_{q_s^{I_i}}[u_N(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a)] \text{ for } i = 1, 2.$$
 (34)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Here  $\mathcal{P}(A)$  refers to the power set of the set A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Formally,  $I_{\alpha}(s \mid \omega) = \alpha I_1(s \mid \omega) + (1 - \alpha)I_2(s \mid \omega)$  for all  $\omega \in \Omega$  and  $s \in S$ .

However, since  $I_{\alpha}$  is a convex combination of  $I_1$  and  $I_2$ , this implies  $q_s^{I_{\alpha}} \in (q_s^{I_1}, q_s^{I_2})$ . Thus, this implies  $a_s \in a_s^{I_{\alpha}}$  for all  $s \in S$ . So, I have shown that the set  $C_{a,R}$  is convex.

To complete the proof, take the union of all vector of subsets of actions where the induced vector of action is a.

$$C_{a} = \bigcup_{\mathbf{R} \in \mathcal{P}(A)^{|\mathcal{S}|}} C_{a,\mathbf{R}}$$

As the power set of the set A is finite, this a union over finitely many subsets. Thus, I have shown that the set  $C_a$  is a disjoint finite union of convex sets.

**Theorem 1.** The optimal signal-generating model

$$I^* := \underset{I \in \mathcal{T}}{\arg\max} V(I) \tag{11}$$

corresponds to an extreme point of the set  $\overline{C}_a$  for some  $a \in A^{|S|}$ . Furthermore,  $Ext(\overline{C}_a)$  is finite for all  $a \in A^{|S|}$ .

*Proof.* Recall that the set  $C_{a,R}$  denotes the subset of models where the vector of induced and feasible actions are given by a and R respectively.

$$C_{\boldsymbol{a},\boldsymbol{R}} := \{ I \in \mathcal{F} : a_s^I = a_s, A_s^I = R_s \forall s \in \mathcal{S} \} \subseteq C_{\boldsymbol{a}}. \tag{35}$$

First, I find the optimal policy within each set  $\overline{C}_{a,R}$  for a given  $a \in A^{|S|}$  and  $R \in \mathcal{P}(A)^{|S|}$ . Note that the value function is linear within each such set, as it given by the receiver's expected utility given the vector of induced actions. As the vector induced actions remains the same, it is linear, or in general, convex. By the Bauer maximum principle (Ok, 2007, p. 658), the optimal model can be found at some extreme point of the closed convex set  $\overline{C}_{a,R}$ .

Similarly, as the set  $C_a$  is given by a finite disjoint union of convex sets, I can restrict the search for each a to the extreme points of all possible convex sets  $\overline{C}_{a,R}$ .

$$Ext(\overline{C}_a) = \{ I \in \overline{C}_a : I \in Ext(\overline{C}_{a,R}) \text{ whenever } I \in \overline{C}_{a,R} \},$$
(36)

$$= \bigcup_{\mathbf{R}\in\mathcal{P}(A)^{|\mathcal{S}|}} Ext(\overline{C}_{a,\mathbf{R}}). \tag{37}$$

To find the overall optimal model, one needs to take the union over all possible induced vectors of actions. All that is left to show is that the set of such extreme points is finite. To do so, I show that any set  $\overline{C}_{a,R}$  is the intersection of the finite collection of closed half spaces and thus must have finite extreme points.

$$\overline{C}_{a,R} := \bigcap_{s \in \mathcal{S}} \bigcap_{b \in R_s} \{ I \in \mathcal{F} : \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_N(\boldsymbol{\omega}, a_s)] \ge \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_N(\boldsymbol{\omega}, b)] \}.$$
(38)

The set of signals and the sets of feasible vectors of actions are finite. Therefore, each set  $\overline{C}_a$  has finitely many extreme points.

**Proposition 1.** If  $u_N = -u_R$ , then for any  $s \in S$ , the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  is optimal. Additionally, any optimal model induces the unique action  $a_R^*(p)$ .

*Proof.* I show that both agents can guarantee the utility (or outcome) corresponding to the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  for some  $s \in S$ .

First, I show the sender can secure non-negative value of information by using the model  $I_{ND_s}$ , that is,  $V(I_{ND_s}) = 0 \quad \forall s \in S$ . The no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  has the maximal fit among the set of all models for the signal s. This signal is observed with certainty and the narrator cannot come up with any interpretation with a better fit.

On the other hand, assume a model I is optimal which leads to a different outcome than the no disclosure model. This implies that  $V(I) \ge 0$ . So, there exists some signal (which is observed with positive probability) under which the action a is induced which does strictly better than  $a_R^*(p)$ , that is  $\mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_R(\omega, a_s^I)] > \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_R(\omega, a_R^*(p))]$ .

However as the narrator's utility is perfectly misaligned with the receiver's, this implies the narrator's expected utility is negative, that is,  $\mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_N(\omega,a_s^I)] < \mathbb{E}_{q_s^I}[u_N(\omega,a_R^*(p))]$ . But, the narrator can choose the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  on observing signal s. This model is chosen over the sender's model I (as it is not no disclosure) and is a profitable deviation for the narrator. This again results in the induced action  $a_R^*(p)$ . So, this outcome cannot be the equilibrium.

Thus, I have shown that the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_s}$  is optimal when the preferences of the narrator and the receiver are perfectly misaligned. Also, the induced outcome is unique under any optimal model.

**Proposition 2.** For binary states and a narrator with state-independent utility, the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is optimal if  $u_R(\omega, a_\omega^{I_{FD}}) \ge u_R(\omega, a_R^*(p))$  for all  $\omega \in \Omega$ .

*Proof.* From assumption, the full disclosure model leads to an expected utility higher than that of providing no information. Therefore, the optimal signal-generating model  $I^*$  is at least partially informative.

Assume  $I^*$  is not full disclosure and let  $\Omega \subseteq S$ . From Lemma 2, the optimal model can be found at an extreme point of the set  $C_a$ . For binary states and state-independent preferences of the narrator, this implies that atleast one state will be fully disclosed, i.e.,  $q_{\omega}^{I^*} = \delta_{\omega}$  for some  $\omega \in \Omega = \{\omega_0, \omega_1\}$ . Without loss of generality, assume that this state is  $\omega_0$ .

As  $I^*$  is obtained by pooling  $\omega_0$  and  $\omega_1$  from  $I_{FD}$ , I have  $\mathbb{P}_{I^*}(\omega_0) \leq \mathbb{P}_{I_{FD}}(\omega_0)$ . However, the narrator can still include any belief  $q \in [\delta_{\omega_0}, p]$ . This is because the narrator can choose any convex combination of the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  and the no disclosure model  $I_{ND_{\omega_0}}$  which sends signal  $\omega_0$  with probability 1. This combination has a better fit than  $I^*$  under  $\omega_0$  and induces the belief that lies in between  $\delta_{\omega_0}$  and p. So, I have  $u_R(\omega_0, a_{\omega_0}^{I^*}) \leq u_R(\omega_0, a_{\omega_0}^{I_{FD}})$ . The action for signal  $\omega_0$  under the model  $I^*$  performs at worst no better than the full disclosure model.

Now, for  $I^*$  to be optimal we need that  $u_R(\omega_1, a_{\omega_1}^{I^*}) \ge u_R(\omega_1, a_R^*(p))$ . If this does not hold then full disclosure model would be a profitable deviation. So, the chosen action is optimal at a belief

 $q_1^*$  closer to the state  $\omega_1$  than p. As  $\mathbb{P}_{I^*}(\omega_1) \geq \mathbb{P}_{I_{FD}}(\omega_1)$ , I have  $A_{\omega_1}^{I^*} \subseteq A_{\omega_1}^{I_{FD}}$ . So, if  $a_{\omega_1}^{I_{FD}} \in A_{\omega_1}^{I^*}$ , then the narrator would choose it. This means that  $a_{\omega_1}^{I_{FD}} \notin A_{\omega_1}^{I^*}$ . But this implies the action  $a_{\omega_1}^{I^{FD}}$  is closer to the state  $\omega_1$  than the action  $a_{\omega_1}^{I^*}$ . But then the sender can deviate profitably by providing more information and induce action  $a_{\omega_1}^{I_{FD}}$ . This deviation results in the exactly the same action as the full disclosure model.

However this model can be written as a convex combination of the full disclosure and no disclosure model. But from the assumption the induced actions perform better than the optimal action at the prior. And as the value function is linear when the induced actions remain the same, this implies the sender prefers the full disclosure model. Thus, I have shown that any model  $I^*$  that does not fully disclose must be suboptimal.

**Corollary 2.** Given any narrator with state-independent utility, there exists a prior belief  $p \in int(\Delta\Omega)$  such that the full disclosure model  $I_{FD}$  is not optimal.

*Proof.* Assume the narrator's most preferred action among the set of actions that are optimal for the receiver at some belief is  $\overline{a}$ . From assumption, this action is not optimal for all beliefs. Let  $\overline{p}$  be the (interior) belief, such that  $\overline{a} \in a_R^*(\overline{p})$  and  $\overline{a} \notin a_R^*(\overline{p} + \varepsilon)$  for any  $\varepsilon > 0$ .

I will derive conditions for  $\varepsilon$  such that the full disclosure model is not optimal for the prior belief  $\overline{p} + \varepsilon$ . From Lemma 1, I can verify that the narrator can induce his preferred action  $\overline{a}$  with probability 1 if

$$\frac{1-\overline{p}}{1-\overline{p}-\varepsilon} > \overline{p} \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{\overline{p}}{\overline{p}+\varepsilon} > 1-\overline{p}.$$
 (39)

Both the conditions is satisfied if  $\varepsilon < \frac{\overline{p}^2}{1-\overline{p}}$ . Thus, the narrator is able to induce the action  $\overline{a}$  with probability 1. But recall this is not the receiver's optimal action given her prior as  $\overline{a} \notin a_R^*(\overline{p} + \varepsilon)$ . So, providing no information such that the receiver's belief stays fixed at  $\overline{p} + \varepsilon$  is a profitable deviation. Thus,  $I_{FD}$  is not an optimal model.

**Proposition 3.** If  $\mathcal{F} = \mathcal{M}_C$ , the sets of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce given sender's model  $I \in \mathcal{M}_C$  and the signal  $\omega$  are given by

$$B_{\omega}^{I} := \{ q \in P_{\omega} : \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_{I}(\omega) \} \cup \{ q_{\omega}^{I} \}, \tag{13}$$

$$A_{\omega}^{I} := \{ a \in A : \exists q \in B_{\omega}^{I} \text{ such that } a = a_{R}^{*}(q) \}.$$
 (14)

*Proof.* Assume  $q \in B^I_{\omega}$ . I construct a model for the narrator  $n \in \mathcal{M}_C$  that results in posterior beliefs q and has a better fit than model I under signal  $\omega$ , that is,  $q^n_{\omega} = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_n(\omega) > \mathbb{P}_I(\omega)$ . The model n only sends two signals  $\omega$  and  $\neg \omega$  with positive probability, where  $\neg \omega \neq \omega$ .

$$n(\boldsymbol{\omega} \mid \tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}}) = \frac{q(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}})p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{p(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}})q(\boldsymbol{\omega})} \qquad n(\neg \boldsymbol{\omega} \mid \tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}}) = 1 - \frac{q(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}})p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{p(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}})q(\boldsymbol{\omega})} \text{ for all } \tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}} \in \Omega.$$
 (40)

First, note that have as  $q \in P_{\omega}$ , I have  $\frac{q(\tilde{\omega})}{p(\tilde{\omega})} \leq \frac{q(\omega)}{p(\omega)}$  for all  $\tilde{\omega} \in \Omega$ . So, this implies  $n(\omega \mid \tilde{\omega}) \leq 1$  for all  $\tilde{\omega}$ . The model n induces posterior belief q under signal  $\omega$ .

$$\mathbb{P}_n(\boldsymbol{\omega}) = \frac{p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{q(\boldsymbol{\omega})} \qquad q_{\boldsymbol{\omega}}^n(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}}) = \frac{p(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}})n(\boldsymbol{\omega} \mid \tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}})}{\mathbb{P}_n(\boldsymbol{\omega})} = q(\tilde{\boldsymbol{\omega}}). \tag{41}$$

From assumption, I have  $\mathbb{P}_n(\omega) > \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ , so the receiver chooses model n over I under signal  $\omega$ . Thus, the narrator can induce posterior belief q under the signal  $\omega$ .

For the converse, I prove this by contradiction. (a) Suppose q is feasible but  $q \notin P_{\omega}$ . So, there exists a model  $n \in \mathcal{M}_C$  such that  $q_{\omega}^n = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_n(\omega) > \mathbb{P}_I(\omega)$ . But this implies that

$$\frac{\frac{q(\omega)}{q(\tilde{\omega})}}{\frac{p(\omega)}{p(\tilde{\omega})}} = \frac{n(\omega \mid \omega)}{n(\omega \mid \tilde{\omega})},\tag{42}$$

$$\Rightarrow 1 > \frac{n(\omega \mid \omega)}{n(\omega \mid \tilde{\omega})} \text{ for some } \tilde{\omega} \in \Omega.$$
 (43)

But this is a contradiction as from assumption the model  $n \in \mathcal{M}_C$ . So, the signal  $\omega$  has to be most likely be generated in the state  $\omega$ .

(b) Suppose q is feasible but  $q(\omega) > \frac{p(\omega)}{\mathbb{P}_I(\omega)}$ . As q is feasible, there exists a model n such that  $q_{\omega}^n = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_n(\omega) > \mathbb{P}_I(\omega)$ .

$$\mathbb{P}_{I}(\boldsymbol{\omega}) < \mathbb{P}_{n}(\boldsymbol{\omega}) = \frac{n(\boldsymbol{\omega} \mid \boldsymbol{\omega})p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{q(\boldsymbol{\omega})}.$$
(44)

But by assumption, I have

$$\frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} < \frac{n(\omega \mid \omega)p(\omega)}{q(\omega)}.$$
(45)

But this implies  $n(\omega \mid \omega) > 1$ , which is a contradiction.

**Lemma 3.** For any prior belief  $p \in (0,1)$ , the optimist (asymptotically) learns the biased state G almost surely if

$$\left[\frac{\kappa - \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa + \varepsilon}\right]^{\kappa} < \left[\frac{\kappa + \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa - \varepsilon}\right]^{(1 - \kappa)}.$$
(19)

*Proof.* I show that even when the state is B, the optimistic employee's belief converges to the (incorrect) state G almost surely.

In any round  $n \in \mathbb{N}$ , the news  $s_n$  is generated according to the model  $I(\cdot \mid B)$ , where  $I(g \mid G) = I(b \mid B) = \kappa$ . This implies that in the long run, he observes bad news b in  $\kappa$  fraction of the rounds and good news g in  $(1 - \kappa)$  fraction of the rounds. Let  $s^n = (s_1, ...s_n)$  denote the sequence of news observed in the first n rounds. Formally, I want to show

$$\lim_{n \to \infty} q_{s^n}^O = \delta_G \quad \mathbb{P}_{I(\cdot|B)} - a.s. \tag{46}$$

where,  $q_{s^n}^O$  is the posterior belief of the optimistic employee given the sequence of news  $s^n$ 

First, I show a useful property that the order of sequence of news does not impact the posterior belief. Consider the sequence of news g, b and b, g respectively. I have

$$q_{g,b}^{O} = \frac{p(\boldsymbol{\omega})n_{g}(g \mid \boldsymbol{\omega})n_{b}(b \mid \boldsymbol{\omega})}{\mathbb{P}_{n_{g}}(g) \cdot \mathbb{P}_{n_{b}}(b)},$$
(47)

$$= \frac{\mathbb{P}_{n_b}(\boldsymbol{\omega} \mid b) n_g(g \mid \boldsymbol{\omega})}{\mathbb{P}_{n_g}(g)} = q_{b,g}^O$$
(48)

The key aspect is that, irrespective of the order, the receiver uses fixed models  $n_g$  and  $n_b$  to process good and bad news, respectively. Thus, one can choose any sequence of order as long as the proportion of good and bad news remains the same.

Assume the employee observes n signals, of which  $\kappa n$  are bad news and  $(1 - \kappa)n$  good news, where  $\kappa n$  and  $(1 - \kappa)n$  are natural numbers. If his posterior belief on state G after observing the n sequence of news is greater than the prior belief, then in the long run his beliefs will converge to good state  $\delta_G$ . Assume that the employee first observes the  $\kappa n$  sequence of bad news and then the  $(1 - \kappa)n$  sequence of good news.

Let  $x = \frac{1-q}{q}$  denote the likelihood ratio of the belief after observing the  $\kappa n$  sequence of bad news. I derive the condition that after observing  $(1 - \kappa)n$  sequence of good news, his posterior belief is higher than the prior belief p.

$$\frac{(\kappa + \varepsilon)^{(1-\kappa)n}}{(\kappa + \varepsilon)^{(1-\kappa)n} + x(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)^{(1-\kappa)n}} > p,$$
$$\left(\frac{k + \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa - \varepsilon}\right)^{(1-\kappa)n} \cdot \left(\frac{1 - p}{p}\right) > x.$$

Now, in place of x, I substitute the likelihood ratio that I get after observing the  $\kappa n$  sequence

of bad news, so I have

$$x = \left(\frac{1-p}{p}\right) \cdot \left(\frac{\kappa - \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa + \varepsilon}\right)^{\kappa n}.$$

Thus, I have the following condition:

$$\left(\frac{\kappa-\varepsilon}{1-\kappa+\varepsilon}\right)^{\kappa} < \left(\frac{k+\varepsilon}{1-\kappa-\varepsilon}\right)^{(1-\kappa)}.$$

**Proposition 4.** For any prior belief  $p \in (0,1)$ , the optimist (asymptotically) learns the correct state almost surely under the optimal model  $I^* \in \mathcal{M}_{\varepsilon}$ , where the model  $I^*$  is given by:

$$I^*(g \mid G) = \kappa - \varepsilon \qquad \qquad I^*(b \mid B) = \kappa + \varepsilon. \tag{20}$$

*Proof.* The difficult part of the proof is to show that when the state is B, the optimistic employee's belief converges to the correct state B almost surely.

In any round  $n \in \mathbb{N}$ , the news  $s_n$  is generated according to the model  $I^*(\cdot \mid B)$ . This implies that in the long run, he observes bad news b in the  $\kappa + \varepsilon$  fraction of the rounds and good news g in  $(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)$  fraction of the rounds. Let  $s^n = (s_1, ...s_n)$  denote the sequence of news observed in the first n rounds. Formally, I want to show

$$\lim_{n \to \infty} q_{s^n}^O = \delta_B \quad \mathbb{P}_{I^*(\cdot|B)} - a.s. \tag{49}$$

where,  $q_{s^n}^O$  is the posterior belief of the optimist given the sequence of news  $s^n$ 

Observing bad news b, the employee updateshis beliefs using the true signal-generating model  $I^*$ . This follows, as no model  $n \in \mathcal{M}_{\varepsilon}$  has a better fit than  $I^*$  on bad news b. While observing good news g, the employee interprets using the model  $n_g$  which has precision  $\kappa + \varepsilon$ .

Assume that the employee observes n signals, of which  $(\kappa + \varepsilon)n$  signals are bad and  $(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)n$  signals are bad. If his posterior belief on state G after observing the n sequence of news is greater than the prior, then in the long run his beliefs will converge to good state  $\delta_G$ . Assume that the employee first observes the  $(\kappa + \varepsilon)n$  sequence of bad news and then the  $(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)n$  sequence of good news.

Let  $x = \frac{1-q}{q}$  denote the likelihood ratio of the belief after observing the  $(\kappa + \varepsilon)n$  sequence of bad news. I derive the condition that after observing  $(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)n$  sequence of good news, his posterior belief is higher than the prior belief p.

$$\frac{(\kappa + \varepsilon)^{(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)n}}{(\kappa + \varepsilon)^{(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)n} + x(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)^{(1 - \kappa - \varepsilon)n}} > p,$$
$$\left(\frac{\kappa + \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa - \varepsilon}\right)^{(1 - \kappa)n} \cdot \left(\frac{1 - p}{p}\right) > x.$$

Now, in place of x, I substitute the likelihood ratio that I get after observing the  $(\kappa + \varepsilon)n$  sequence of bad news, so I have

$$x = \left(\frac{1-p}{p}\right) \cdot \left(\frac{\kappa + \varepsilon}{1 - \kappa - \varepsilon}\right)^{(\kappa + \varepsilon)n}.$$

However, this happens when the following condition holds:

$$\left(\frac{\kappa+\epsilon}{1-\kappa-\epsilon}\right)^{(\kappa+\epsilon)}<\left(\frac{\kappa+\epsilon}{1-\kappa-\epsilon}\right)^{(1-\kappa-\epsilon)}.$$

But this inequality does not hold for any values of  $\kappa$  and  $\varepsilon$ . This ensures that the employee learns the correct state almost surely. Thus, to counter the asymmetric reaction by the receiver, the sender sends bad news with a higher frequency compared to bad news.

**Lemma 4** (ex-ante interpretation). Given the sender's model I and signal s, the set of feasible posterior beliefs and actions that the narrator can induce are:

 $B_s^I := \{ q \in (\Delta\Omega) : \frac{p(\omega)}{q(\omega)} > \mathbb{P}_I(s) \quad \forall \omega \in \Omega \} \cup \{ q_s^I \}, \tag{22}$ 

$$A_s^I := \{ a \in A : \exists q \in B_s^I \text{ such that } a = a_R^*(q) \}.$$
 (23)

*Proof.* First, assume  $q = (q_s)_{s \in \mathbb{S}} \in B^I$ . I construct a menu of models  $\mathbb{N} = \bigcup_{s \in \mathbb{S}} n_s$  for the narrator such that given the signal s, the model  $n_s$  results in the posterior belief  $q_s$  and it has a better fit than other models i.e.,  $q_s^{n_s} = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_{n_s}(s) > \mathbb{P}_m(s)$  for  $m \in \{I\} \bigcup_{t \neq s} \{n_t\}$ . Let  $\lambda_s = \left[\max_{\omega \in \Omega} \frac{q_s(\omega)}{p(\omega)}\right]^{-1}$ .

$$n_s(s \mid \boldsymbol{\omega}) = \frac{\lambda_s q_s(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}, \qquad n_s(t \mid \boldsymbol{\omega}) = \left(\frac{\lambda_t}{\sum_{r \neq s} \lambda_r}\right) \left(1 - \frac{\lambda_s q_s(\boldsymbol{\omega})}{p(\boldsymbol{\omega})}\right) \text{ for all } t \neq s.$$
 (50)

If the receiver uses model  $n_s$  on observing signal s, the posterior belief equals  $q_s$ . From assumption, model  $n_s$  has a better fit than sender's model I.

$$\mathbb{P}_{n_s}(s) = \sum_{\omega \in \Omega} p(\omega) \lambda_s q_s(\omega) = \lambda_s, \qquad q_s^{n_s}(\omega) = \frac{p(\omega) n_s(s \mid \omega)}{\mathbb{P}_{n_s}(s)} = q_s(\omega).$$
 (51)

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Now, I show that it also has a better fit than other models of the narrator in the menu. For any other model  $n_t$ , I have

$$\mathbb{P}_{n_t}(s) = \sum_{\omega} p(\omega) \left(\frac{\lambda_s}{\sum_{r \neq t} \lambda_r}\right) \left(1 - \frac{\lambda_t q_t(\omega)}{p(\omega)}\right),\tag{52}$$

$$= \lambda_s \left( \frac{1 - \lambda_t}{\sum_{r \neq t} \lambda_r} \right). \tag{53}$$

However, I have

$$\frac{1 - \lambda_t}{\sum_{r \neq t} \lambda_r} \le \frac{1 - \mathbb{P}_I(t)}{\sum_{r \neq t} \mathbb{P}_I(r)} = 1. \tag{54}$$

This implies that

$$\mathbb{P}_{n_t}(s) = \lambda_s \left(\frac{1 - \lambda_t}{\sum_{r \neq t} \lambda_r}\right) \le \lambda_s = \mathbb{P}_{n_s}(s). \tag{55}$$

So, given signal s, the model  $n_s$  has a better fit than the model  $n_t$ .

Now, I prove the converse. Assume  $q \notin B^I$ . Assume the inequality is not satisfied for signal s. It follows, from Lemma 1, that the narrator cannot come up with a model  $n_s$  that induces belief  $q_s$  and has a fit greater than  $\left[\max_{\omega \in \Omega} \frac{q_s(\omega)}{p(\omega)}\right]^{-1}$ . But from assumption, I have

$$\mathbb{P}_{I}(s) \ge \left[\max_{\omega \in \Omega} \frac{q_{s}(\omega)}{p(\omega)}\right]^{-1}.$$
 (56)

Thus, the narrator cannot come up with a model  $n_s$  such that  $q_s^{n_s} = q_s$  and has better fit than the sender's model I.

**Proposition 5.** If  $\eta_1 > \eta_2$ , then  $B_s^I(\eta_1) \subseteq B_s^I(\eta_2)$  and  $A_s^I(\eta_1) \subseteq A_s^I(\eta_2)$  for all  $s \in S$  and  $I \in \mathcal{F}$ .

*Proof.* Assume  $\eta_1 > \eta_2$  and  $q \in B_s^I(\eta_1)$ . I will show that  $q \in B_s^I(\eta_2)$ . As  $q \in B_s^I(\eta_1)$ ,  $\exists n$  such that  $q_s^n = q$  and  $\mathbb{P}_n(s) \ge \eta_1 \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ .

As  $\eta_1 > \eta_2$ , this implies that  $\mathbb{P}_n(s) \geq \eta_2 \mathbb{P}_I(s)$ . The narrator can use the same model n to induce belief q. Thus,  $q \in B_s^I(\eta_2)$ . This also implies that if any action a belongs to the set  $A_s^I(\eta_1)$  then it also belongs to the set  $A_s^I(\eta_2)$ .