# ELECTION GAMES WITH VERIFIABLE INFORMATION

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#### INTRODUCTION

- ▶ election games with verifiable information
  - privately informed sender
    - wants his proposal approved by a collective vote
    - sends verifiable messages to receivers
  - group of uninformed receivers, each choosing between
    - · rejecting sender's proposal
    - · approving it
- wide variety of applications
  - politician challenges status quo, wants to get elected by voters
  - prosecutor convinces jury to convict defendant
  - CEO convinces board of directors to approve bonuses to executives
  - ♦ job market candidate convinces committee members to offer him a job

#### OUTLINE AND PREVIEW OF RESULTS

- election games with verifiable information
  - ♦ recommendation principle: can restrict attention to direct equilibria
    - sender recommends action
  - ranking of equilibrium outcomes (for sender / for receivers):
    - (worst / best): equivalent to full disclosure
    - (best / worst): equivalent to Bayesian Persuasion

#### APPLICATION

- ▶ targeted advertising in (a spatial model of) elections
  - targeting allows politician to swing elections that he would lose otherwise

#### MODEL SETUP

$$\Omega = [0, 1]^K - \underline{\text{state space}}$$

$$\mathbb{V} - \text{finite set of receivers}$$

## ▶ sender

- $\diamond$  privately observes state of the world  $\omega \in \Omega$ 
  - $\omega$  drawn from common prior p > 0 over  $\Omega$
- ♦ receives 1 if his proposal is approved, 0 otherwise (state-independent)
- $\diamond$  sends verifiable message  $m_v \in \mathbb{M}$  to each receiver  $v \in \mathbb{V}$ :
  - message space  $\mathbb{M} := 2^{|\Omega|}$
  - $\omega \in m_v$  no lies of commission

## MODEL SETUP: RECEIVERS

 $\text{consider receiver } v \in \mathbb{V}$   $\delta(v,\omega) \text{ is her } \underline{\text{net payoff of approval}}$ 

- ightharpoonup under complete information (receiver knows  $\omega$ )
  - $\diamond$  receiver v approves in state  $\omega$  only if  $\delta(v,\omega) \geq 0$
  - approval set

$$\mathcal{A}_v := \left\{ \omega \in \Omega \mid \delta(v, \omega) \ge 0 \right\}$$

- $\blacktriangleright$  under incomplete information (receiver has belief q about  $\omega$ )
  - $\diamond$  receiver v approves under belief q only if  $\mathbb{E}_q[\delta(v,\omega)] \geq 0$
  - set of approval beliefs

$$\mathcal{B}_{v} := \left\{ q \in \Delta\Omega \mid \mathbb{E}_{q} \left[ \delta(v, \omega) \right] \ge 0 \right\}$$

#### SOCIAL CHOICE FUNCTION

 $\triangleright$  outcome of election game is decided by social choice function  $f(\cdot)$ :



## satisfying unanimous agreement:

$$f(\varnothing) = 0$$
  $f(V) = 1$ 

- examples include
  - $\diamond$  dictatorship:  $f(V) = 1 \iff v^{dict} \in V$
  - $\diamond$  simple majority:  $f(V) = 1 \iff |V|/|V| > \frac{1}{2}$
  - $\diamond$  unanimity:  $f(V) = 1 \iff V = \mathbb{V}$

## **EQUILIBRIUM**

- ▶ Perfect Bayesian Equilibrium  $(\sigma, \alpha, q)$ 
  - $\diamond \ \sigma(\{m_v\} \mid \omega)$  prob. sender sends message collection  $\{m_v\}, \ \forall \omega \in \Omega$ 
    - maximizes chances of approval under  $f(\cdot)$  in every state  $\omega$
  - $\diamond \alpha := \{\alpha_v\}_{v \in \mathbb{V}}$  receivers' voting rules
    - approve  $(\alpha_v(m_v) = 1)$  if and only if  $q_v(\cdot \mid m_v) \in \mathcal{B}_v, \forall m_v \in \mathbb{M}$
  - $\diamond\ q := \{q_v\}_{v \in \mathbb{V}}$  receivers' posterior beliefs
    - $q_v(\cdot \mid m_v)$  Bayes-rational on equilibrium path



## ONE RECEIVER: DIRECT IMPLEMENTATION

# ▶ direct implementation with

- $\diamond$  set of winning states  $\mathcal{W} \subseteq \Omega$
- $\diamond$  set of losing states  $\mathcal{L} = \Omega \setminus \mathcal{W}$

state	sender's message	receiver's belief	receiver's vote
$\omega \in \mathcal{W}$	$\mathcal{W}$	$p(\cdot \mid \mathcal{W})$	approve
$\omega \in \mathcal{L}$	$\mathcal{L}$	$p(\cdot \mid \mathcal{L})$	reject

where  $p(\omega \mid W) := \frac{p(\omega)}{\int\limits_{W}^{D} p(\omega')d\omega'}$ ,  $\forall W \subseteq \Omega$  is conditional probability

## ONE RECEIVER: RECOMMENDATION PRINCIPLE

## direct equilibrium:

- ▶ sender recommends action
  - $\diamond$  (approval): winning message  $\mathcal{W}$  in winning states  $\omega \in \mathcal{W}$
  - $\diamond$  (rejection): losing message  $\mathcal{L}$  in losing states  $\omega \in \mathcal{L}$
- receiver obediently follows recommendation

# Theorem: Recommendation Principle

- ▶ direct implementation with set of winning states  $W \subseteq \Omega$  constitutes <u>direct</u> equilibrium if and only if
  - $\diamond A \subseteq \mathcal{W}$ , and
  - $\diamond$  (obedience) constraint holds:  $p(\cdot \mid \mathcal{W}) \in \mathcal{B}$
- every equilibrium is outcome-equivalent to *some* direct equilibrium

## ONE RECEIVER: FULL EQUILIBRIUM SET

- ▶ recommendation principle allows to restrict attention to direct equilibria
  - $\diamond$  characterized by set of winning states  $\mathcal{W} \supset \mathcal{A}$  satisfying (obedience)
- ▶ rank equilibria by sender's ex-ante utility
  - same as his ex-ante odds of approval
  - $\diamond$  equals P(W)

where 
$$P(W) := \int\limits_{W} p(\omega) d\omega$$
,  $\forall W \subseteq \Omega$  is prior measure

## ONE RECEIVER: SENDER-WORST EQUILIBRIUM

▶ sender's odds of approval are lowest across all equilibria

$$\diamond \mathcal{W} = \mathcal{A}$$

- ▶ receiver makes fully informed choice
- ▶ outcome-equivalent to full disclosure
  - (Grossman, 1981), (Milgrom, 1981), (Milgrom and Roberts, 1986), reviewed by (Milgrom, 2008)

## ONE RECEIVER: SENDER-PREFERRED EQUILIBRIUM

▶ maximize sender's odds of approval across all equilibria

$$\max_{\mathcal{W}} P(\mathcal{W}) \ \text{ subject to } \ p(\cdot \mid \mathcal{W}) \in \mathcal{B}$$

- $\diamond$  largest (in terms of ex-ante utility) set of winning states  $\mathcal{W}^*$
- $\diamond$  (obedience) binds:  $\mathbb{E}_{p(\cdot \mid \mathcal{W}^*)}[\delta(v,\omega)] = 0$ 
  - receiver is indifferent when she approves

## Theorem

Solutions to problems of

- ▶ finding sender-preferred equilibrium in verifiable information game
- $\blacktriangleright$  solving sender's problem in bayesian-persuasion (BP) game

are equivalent

## VERIFIABLE INFORMATION VS. BAYESIAN PERSUASION

- ▶ verifiable information (this paper):
  - sender learns  $\omega \to {\rm sender}$  chooses message  $\to~{\rm receiver}$  observes message
- ▶ Bayesian Persuasion (Kamenica and Gentzkow, 2011):

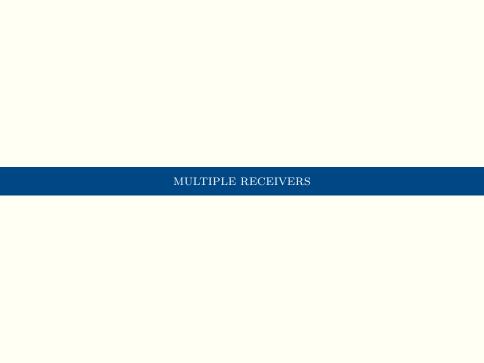
sender chooses and commits to experiment 
$$\{\pi(\cdot \mid \omega)\}_{\omega \in \Omega}$$
 over  $S$ 

 $\rightarrow \omega$  is realized

 $\rightarrow$  receiver observes signal  $\pi(\cdot \mid \omega)$  and realization  $s \in S$ 

same outcome  $\Longrightarrow$ 

SENDER DOES NOT BENEFIT FROM HAVING EX-ANTE COMMITMENT POWER!



## MULTIPLE RECEIVERS

- $\blacktriangleright$  direct implementation: collection of convincing messages  $\{W_v\}$  such that
  - $\diamond$  message  $\mathcal{W}_v$  is recommendation to approve (sent to receiver v)
- ▶ recommendation principle:  $\{W_v\}$  constitutes <u>direct equilibrium</u> if and only if for every receiver
  - $\diamond \mathcal{A}_v \subseteq \mathcal{W}_v$
  - $\diamond$  (obedience) constraint holds:  $p(\cdot \mid \mathcal{W}_v) \in \mathcal{B}_v$

every equilibrium is outcome-equivalent to some direct equilibrium

- ▶ ranking of equilibrium outcomes (for sender / for receivers):
  - ♦ (worst / best): equivalent to full disclosure
  - ♦ (best / worst): equivalent to Bayesian Persuasion



#### MOTIVATION

- ► Targeted Advertising was an important part of winning campaigns in recent U.S. Presidential Elections:
  - ♦ 2016 Trump: used voter data from Cambridge Analytica
  - ♦ 2008, 2012 Obama: the first social media campaign
  - ♦ 2000, 2004 Bush: targeting voters by mail

can targeted advertising swing elections?  $\rightarrow$  Yes

## PUBLIC DISCLOSURE VS. TARGETED ADVERTISING

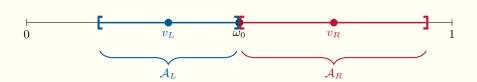
- ▶ assume spatial model (Downs, 1957):
  - $\diamond$  policy space  $\Omega = [0, 1]$
  - $\diamond \omega^0 \in (0,1)$  is status quo policy (fixed)
  - $\diamond \ \mathbb{V} \subset \Omega, \ v \in \mathbb{V}$  is voter's ideal policy
    - approval set becomes  $A_v = \{ \omega \in \Omega \text{ s.t. } |v \omega| \le |v \omega^0| \}$
- ▶ compare Public Disclosure (**PD**) to Targeted Advertising (**TA**)
  - ♦ **PD**: public message (e.g. debate, tweeting)
    - $common\ prior\ +\ common\ message\ o\ common\ posterior$
  - ♦ **TA**: private messages (e.g. through Facebook)

#### PUBLIC DISCLOSURE

▶ observation #1: some voters are incompatible

if 
$$v_L < \omega_0 < v_R$$
, then  $\mathcal{A}_L \cap \mathcal{A}_R = \emptyset$  and  $\mathcal{B}_L \cap \mathcal{B}_R = \emptyset$ 

- ▶ observation #2: some elections are unwinnable
  - ♦ if incompatible voters are pivotal then sender loses almost surely
  - $\diamond$  example:  $\mathbb{V} = \{v_L, v_R\}$ , unanimity rule



#### TARGETED ADVERTISING

▶ observation #3: every unwinnable election has two incompatible voters  $v_L < \omega^0$  (left pivot) and  $\omega^0 < v_R$  (right pivot), convincing whom is sufficient to win under any  $f(\cdot)$ 

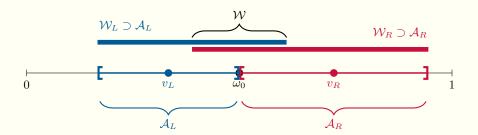
# Theorem: Targeting in Unwinnable Elections

In sender-preferred equilibrium of unwinnable election with left pivot  $v_L < \omega^0$  and right pivot  $\omega^0 < v_R$ 

▶ set of winning states is [a, b] with  $a < \omega^0 < b$ 

## TARGETED ADVERTISING: ILLUSTRATION

- $ightharpoonup \mathbb{V} = \{v_L, v_R\}$ , unanimity rule
  - $\diamond$  must convince  $v_L$  and  $v_R$  who are incompatible  $\Longrightarrow$  unwinnable under PD



## CONCLUSION

- ▶ equilibrium outcome set of election games with verifiable information
  - sender-worst: full disclosure / full unraveling
  - sender-preferred: Bayesian Persuasion
    - sender does not benefit from ex-ante commitment
    - need not assume commitment, may assumer verifiable messaging
- ▶ application: targeted advertising in (a spatial model of) elections
  - ♦ targeting allows politician to swing elections that he would lose otherwise
    - only if his policy is sufficiently close to the status quo
  - policy implications: targeting leads to outcomes different from complete information

