

# PERSUASION WITH VERIFIABLE INFORMATION

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# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ persuasion games with verifiable information
  - ◇ privately informed sender
    - wants receivers to approve his proposal
    - sends verifiable messages to receivers
  - ◇ group of uninformed receivers, each choosing between
    - approving and rejecting proposal
- ▶ many applications
  - ◇ politician challenges status quo, convinces voters to elect him
  - ◇ firm convinces consumers to adopt its product
  - ◇ job market candidate convinces committee members to offer them a job

### ► **persuasion games with verifiable information**

- ◇ direct implementation: can restrict attention to direct equilibria
  - sender tells each receiver what to do
- ◇ ranking of equilibrium outcomes (ex-ante utility of sender):
  - worst: equivalent to full disclosure
  - best: commitment outcome (Kamenica and Gentzkow, 2011)

### ► **targeted advertising in elections**

- ◇ challenger has positive odds of winning elections that he certainly loses with public advertising
- ◇ more polarized electorate  $\Rightarrow$  higher odds of swinging elections

## ► communication:

- ◇ **Milgrom (1981)** and **Grossman (1981)**; Crawford and Sobel (1982); Spence (1973); Kamenica and Gentzkow (2011); Alonso and Câmara (2016); Lipnowski and Ravid (2020)

my contribution: sender reaches commitment outcome with verifiable information

## ► targeted advertising in elections:

- ◇ Prat and Strömberg (2013); DellaVigna and Gentzkow (2010); George and Waldfogel (2006); DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007); Enikolopov et al. (2011); Oberholzer-Gee and Waldfogel (2009)

my contribution: targeted advertising allows politicians to swing elections

## MODEL WITH ONE RECEIVER

## MODEL SETUP

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

### ► sender (he)

- ◇ privately observes state of the world  $\omega \in \Omega$ 
  - $\omega$  drawn from common prior  $p > 0$  over  $\Omega$
- ◇ gets 1 if receiver approves, 0 otherwise
  - state-independent preferences
- ◇ sends verifiable message  $m \in \mathbb{M}$  to receiver
  - message space  $\mathbb{M} := 2^{|\Omega|}$
  - $\omega \in m$  – no lies of commission

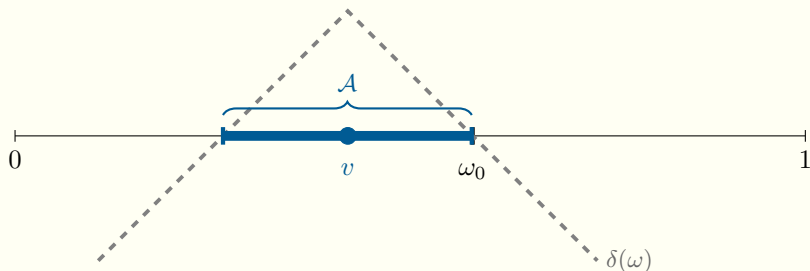
► **receiver (she)**

- ◇  $\delta(\omega)$  is her net payoff of approval
- ◇ she **approves** in state  $\omega$  if only if  $\delta(\omega) \geq 0$
- ◇ her approval set is

$$\mathcal{A} := \{\omega \in \Omega \mid \delta(\omega) \geq 0\}$$

## ILLUSTRATION WITH SPATIAL PREFERENCES

- **receiver** has ideal position  $v \in \Omega$ 
  - ◇ compares sender's position to status quo  $\omega_0 \in (0, 1)$
  - ◇ net payoff of approval  $\delta(\omega) = |v - \omega_0| - |v - \omega|$
  - ◇ approval set  $\mathcal{A} = \{\omega \in \Omega \text{ s.t. } \delta(\omega) \geq 0\}$





► (Perfect Bayesian) Equilibrium  $(\sigma, a, q)$

◇  $\sigma : \Omega \rightarrow \Delta(\mathbb{M})$  – messaging strategy of sender

- maximizes sender's utility  $\forall \omega \in \Omega$  subject to  $\omega \in m, \forall m \in \mathbb{M}$

◇  $a : \mathbb{M} \rightarrow \{0, 1\}$  – approval strategy of receiver

- set of approval beliefs

$$\mathcal{B} := \{q \in \Delta\Omega \mid \mathbb{E}_q[\delta(\omega)] \geq 0\}$$

- best response  $a(m) = \mathbb{1}(q(m) \in \mathcal{B}), \forall m \in \mathbb{M}$

◇  $q : \mathbb{M} \rightarrow \Delta\Omega$  – posterior belief of receiver

- Bayes-rational on equilibrium path
- $\text{supp } q(m) \subseteq m, \forall m \in \mathbb{M}$

## DIRECT IMPLEMENTATION

- ▶ in equilibrium, consider receiver's action in each state
  - ◊ let  $W \subseteq \Omega$  be set of approval states
- ▶ direct implementation of  $W$ :

state	sender's message	receiver's belief	receiver's action
$\omega \in W$	$W$	$p(\cdot \mid W)$	approve
$\omega \in \Omega \setminus W$	$\Omega \setminus W$	$p(\cdot \mid \Omega \setminus W)$	reject

where  $p(\omega \mid W) := \frac{p(\omega)}{\int_W p(\omega') d\omega'}$  is conditional prior probability

## TWO CONSTRAINTS

- receiver approves after message  $W$ :

$$p(\cdot \mid W) \in \mathcal{B} \quad (\text{obedience})$$

- sender has no incentive to deviate to full disclosure:

$$\mathcal{A} \subseteq W \quad (\text{IC})$$

**Theorem 1**

The following statements about set  $W \subseteq \Omega$  are equivalent:

- (1)  $W$  is an equilibrium set of approval states
- (2)  $W$  satisfies receiver's (obedience) and sender's (IC) constraints
- (3)  $W$  is a set of approval states in direct equilibrium

► *Intuition:*

- ◇  $(1) \Rightarrow (2)$ :  $W$  satisfies (IC); for (obedience), implement  $W$  directly
- ◇  $(2) \Rightarrow (3)$ : receiver skeptical off path
- ◇  $(3) \Rightarrow (1)$ : direct equilibrium is an equilibrium

- ▶ **Theorem 1** allows us to restrict attention to direct equilibria
  - ◇ described by set of approval states  $W$  satisfying (obedience) and (IC)
- ▶ rank equilibria by sender's ex-ante utility
  - ◇ same as his ex-ante odds of approval
  - ◇ equals  $P(W)$ , measure of set of approval states under prior distribution

## SENDER-WORST EQUILIBRIUM

- ▶ sender's odds of approval are minimized across all equilibria
  - ◇ smallest (in terms of ex-ante utility) set of approval states  $\underline{W}$
  - ◇  $\underline{W} = \mathcal{A}$ , sender's (IC) constraint binds
- ▶ receiver makes fully informed choice
- ▶ outcome-equivalent to full disclosure
  - ◇ (Grossman, 1981); (Milgrom, 1981); (Milgrom and Roberts, 1986); reviewed by (Milgrom, 2008)

## SENDER-PREFERRED EQUILIBRIUM

- ▶ sender's odds of approval are maximized across all equilibria
  - ◇ largest (in terms of ex-ante utility) set of approval states  $\overline{W}$
  - ◇ receiver's (obedience) constraint binds

### Theorem 2

Sender-preferred equilibrium outcome is a **commitment outcome**. Specifically,  $\overline{W}$  is characterized by a cutoff value  $c^* > 0$  such that

- ▶ sender's proposal is approved if  $\delta(\omega) \geq -c^*$  and rejected if  $\delta(\omega) < -c^*$
- ▶ when sender's proposal is approved, receiver's expected net payoff of approval is zero:  $\mathbb{E}_p[\delta(\omega) \mid \overline{W}] = 0$

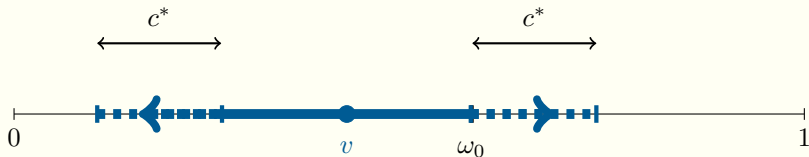
## ILLUSTRATION WITH SPATIAL PREFERENCES

► equilibrium range

◇ sender-worst equilibrium:  $\underline{W} = \mathcal{A}$

◇ sender-preferred equilibrium:

- maximize  $P(W)$  subject to receiver's (obedience) constraint
- $\overline{W}$  is characterized by  $c^* > 0$  that solves (obedience)





## MODEL WITH MANY RECEIVERS

## SETUP

$I := \{1, \dots, n\}$  – set of receivers

$p$  is common prior

► **sender:**

- ◇ has state-independent utility  $u_s : 2^I \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$
- ◇  $u_s$  weakly increases in every receiver's action

► **receiver  $i \in I$ :**

- ◇ observes private verifiable message  $m_i \in \mathbb{M}$  chosen by sender
- ◇ solves independent problem: approves if  $\omega \in \mathcal{A}_i$

**Theorem 3**

The following statements about the sender's ex-ante utility  $\bar{u}_s$  are equivalent:

- (1)  $\bar{u}_s$  is reached in equilibrium
- (2)  $\bar{u}_s$  is reached in a direct equilibrium
- (3)  $\bar{u}_s$  is given by

$$\bar{u}_s = \int_{\Omega} u_s(\{i \in I \mid \omega \in W_i\}) \cdot p(\omega) d\omega,$$

where for every receiver  $i \in I$ ,  $W_i \subseteq \Omega$  is her set of approval states, which satisfies

- ◇ receiver's (obedience) constraint  $p(\cdot \mid W_i) \in \mathcal{B}_i$
- ◇ sender's (IC) constraint  $\mathcal{A}_i \subseteq W_i$

Sender-worst equilibrium is outcome-equivalent to full disclosure.

### **Theorem 3**

Sender-preferred equilibrium outcome is a commitment outcome.

## TARGETED ADVERTISING IN ELECTIONS

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

CAN TARGETED ADVERTISING SWING ELECTIONS? → Yes

- ▶ approach: compare Targeted Advertising (**TA**) to Public Disclosure (**PD**)
  - ◇ **TA**: private messages (e.g. through Facebook)
    - application of the main model
  - ◇ **PD**: public message (e.g. debate, tweeting)
    - *common prior + common message  $\rightarrow$  common posterior*

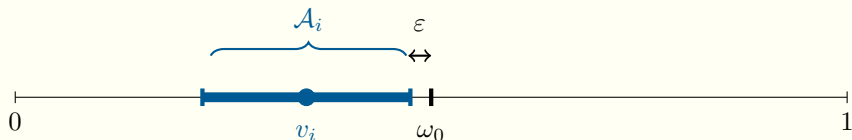
## APPLYING THE MODEL

- ▶  $\Omega$  is policy space, positions range from far-left (0) to far-right (1)
- ▶ this talk: uniform prior,  $p \sim U[0, 1]$
- ▶ **sender**: challenger
  - ◇ receives 1 if wins election, 0 otherwise
  - ◇ any social choice rule satisfying weak monotonicity (e.g. majority, unanimity)
- ▶ focus on sender-preferred equilibrium



► **receivers:** sincere voters with spatial preferences:

- ◇ approval set of voter  $i \in I$  is  $\mathcal{A}_i = \{\omega \in \Omega \text{ s.t. } |v_i - \omega| \leq |v_i - \omega_0| - \varepsilon\}$ 
  - policies that are closer to  $v_i$  than status quo by at least  $\varepsilon$
  - $\varepsilon \in \left(0, \frac{|v_i - \omega_0|}{2}\right)$ ,  $\forall i \in I$ , is status quo bias



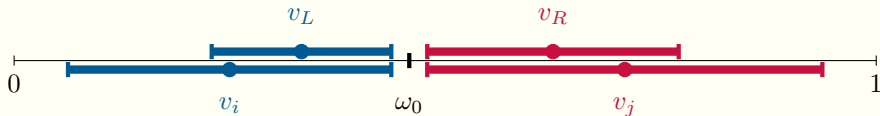
## REPRESENTATIVE VOTERS

►  $L = \arg \max_{i \in I, v_i < \omega_0} v_i$  is representative voter on the left

◊  $L$  is convinced  $\Rightarrow$  every left voter is convinced:  $\mathcal{A}_L \subseteq \mathcal{A}_i, \forall v_i < \omega_0$

►  $R = \arg \min_{j \in I, v_j > \omega_0} v_j$  is representative voter on the right

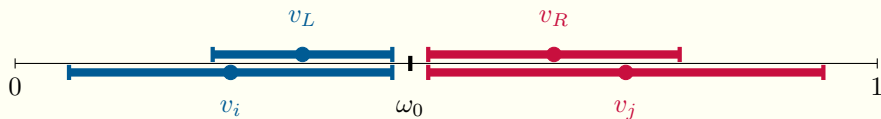
◊  $R$  is convinced  $\Rightarrow$  every right voter is convinced:  $\mathcal{A}_R \subseteq \mathcal{A}_j, \forall v_j > \omega_0$



## INCOMPATIBLE VOTERS

► representative voters  $L$  and  $R$  are incompatible

◇  $\mathcal{A}_L \cap \mathcal{A}_R = \emptyset$  and  $\mathcal{B}_L \cap \mathcal{B}_R = \emptyset$



- ▶ voters  $L$  and  $R$  *never* both vote for the challenger under common belief
- ▶ if voters  $L$  and  $R$  are jointly pivotal, challenger loses with probability 1

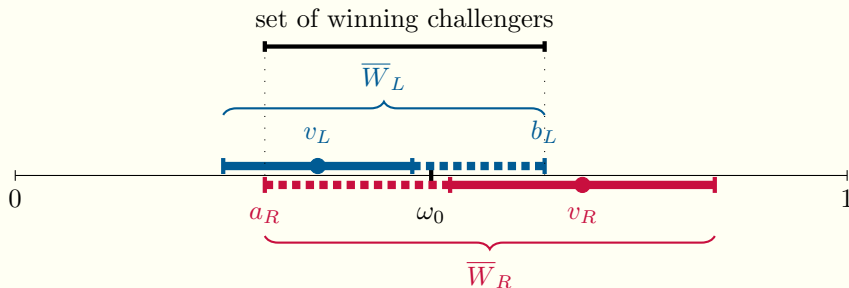
**Definition**

Election with representative voters  $L$  and  $R$  is unwinnable for the challenger under common belief, if for all  $T \subseteq I$ ,  $u_s(T) = 1$  if and only if  $\{L, R\} \in T$

## Theorem: Targeting in Unwinnable Elections

In the sender-preferred equilibrium of unwinnable election with representative voters  $L$  and  $R$ ,

- ▶ set of winning policies is  $[a_R, b_L]$  with  $a_R < \omega_0 < b_L$
- ▶ challenger's odds of winning are  $b_L - a_R > 0$



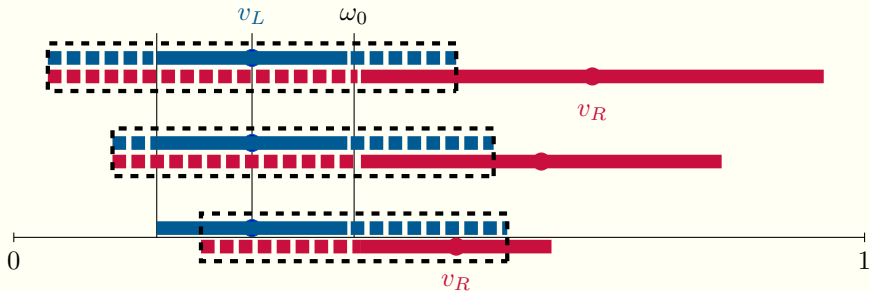
- ▶ when  $v_R \uparrow$  ( $v_L \downarrow$ ), voter  $R$  ( $L$ ) becomes more persuadable
- ▶ when  $v_R \uparrow$  or  $v_L \downarrow$ , electorate becomes more polarized

## Theorem: Comparative Statics

In the sender-preferred equilibrium of an unwinnable election with representative voters  $L$  and  $R$ ,

- ▶ as  $v_R \uparrow$  and/or  $v_L \downarrow$ , challenger's odds of winning  $b_L - a_R$  increase
- ▶ suppose  $|v_L - \omega_0| = |v_R - \omega_0|$ 
  - ◊ as  $v_R \uparrow$ , set of winning policies shifts to the left, i.e.  $a_R \downarrow$  and  $b_L \uparrow$

# COMPARATIVE STATICS



## CONCLUSION

### ► I solve persuasion games with **verifiable information**

- ◇ direct implementation:  $W$  is an equilibrium set of approval states  $\iff$ 
  - $W$  satisfies receiver's (obedience) and sender's (IC) constraints
- ◇ set of equilibrium outcomes (ranked by ex-ante utility of sender):

worst: full disclosure  $\rightarrow$  best: commitment outcome

### ► targeted advertising swings elections:

- ◇ challenger says different things to incompatible voters  $L$  and  $R$ 
  - $L$ : left + some right policies, left on average
  - $R$ : right + some left policies, right on average
  - challenger wins if his policy is not too far from status quo
- ◇  $L$  and  $R$  are more polarized  $\implies$  challenger wins with TA more often



**Thank You!**

# COMMITMENT PROTOCOL

## ► Commitment Protocol $(\sigma, a, q)$

◇  $\sigma : \Omega \rightarrow \Delta(\mathbb{M})$  – messaging strategy of sender

maximizes sender's utility  $\forall \omega \in \Omega$  subject to  $\omega \in m, \forall m \in \mathbb{M}$

◇  $a : \mathbb{M} \rightarrow \{0, 1\}$  – approval strategy of receiver

- best response  $a(m) = \mathbb{1}(q(m) \in \mathcal{B}), \forall m \in \mathbb{M}$

◇  $q : \mathbb{M} \rightarrow \Delta\Omega$  – posterior belief of receiver

- Bayes-rational on equilibrium path

$\text{supp } q(m) \subseteq m, \forall m \in \mathbb{M}$

[go back](#)