

# Influential Opinion Leaders

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We rely on expert advice in choices of:

- ▶ investments,
- ▶ technologies,
- ▶ political candidates.

Do experts influence mass opinions?

## **“Rational players cannot be fooled”:**

- ▶ Cheap talk,
- ▶ Signalling.

## **But there is evidence:**

- ▶ Page, et. al (1987); Beck et. al. (2002); Druckman, and Parkin (2008); and DellaVigna, and Kaplan (2007).

## **Rational players can be coordinated:**

- ▶ Corsetti et al. (2004), Ekmekci (2009).

## **Many experts:**

- ▶ How do they coordinate?

# Social Learning under Strategic Uncertainty

## **Global games:**

- ▶ Strategic uncertainty has large equilibrium consequences.
- ▶ Strategic uncertainty only in rare contingencies.
- ▶ But that set is pivotal.

## **Social learning in global games:**

- ▶ Voters interpret actions of experts.
- ▶ Voters neglect the contingencies with strategic uncertainty.
- ▶ When strategic uncertainty arises, the voters “get fooled”.

# Overview

## Setup:

- ▶ Many experts: endorse candidates.
- ▶ Voters:
  - ▶ observe endorsements,
  - ▶ elect a winner by majority rule.
- ▶ Coordination motive.

## Experts' strategic position is weak:

- ▶ No individual "market power".
- ▶ Heterogenous preferences.
- ▶ Distribution of biases is common knowledge.

Yet, manipulation arises.

# Intuition

## Typical State

- ▶ experts know the outcome
- ▶ no impact of biases

## Pivotal State

- ▶ uncertain election outcome
- ▶ impact of biases

- ▶ Bayesian updating: based on **typical** state.
- ▶ Equilibrium condition: based on **pivotal** state.

# Conformism

- ▶ Psychological motives, Callander (2007, 2008) based on Asch (1951).
- ▶ Strategic voting, Cox (1997), Myatt (2007).
- ▶ Desire for united party.

# Election Without Experts



model

# Voters

- ▶ Voters  $i \in [0, 1]$ .
- ▶  $a^i \in \{A, B\}$ .
- ▶ Majority rule;  $w \in \{A, B\}$  — the winner.
- ▶ Partisan voters,  $2/3$ .
- ▶ Swing voters,  $1/3$ :

$$u_v(a^i, w) = \mathbf{1}_{a^i=w}.$$

- ▶ (0 probability of being pivotal.)

# Uncertainty

- ▶ Uncertainty over distribution of partisans.
- ▶ State  $\theta$ :
  - ▶ if  $\theta < 0$  then  $A$  wins,
  - ▶ if  $\theta > 1$  then  $B$  wins,
  - ▶ if  $\theta \in (0, 1)$  then  
tie arises when share of swing votes for  $A$  equals  $\theta$ .
- ▶  $\theta \sim$  strength of candidate  $B$ .

# Information

- ▶ Common prior:  $\theta \sim U[\underline{\theta}, \bar{\theta}]$ .
- ▶ Voters' signals  $y^i = \theta + \epsilon^i$ .
- ▶ Strategy maps  $y^i$  to  $a^i$ .

analysis

## Pivotal Condition

Symmetric monotone Bayes Nash equilibrium:

- ▶ Outcome monotone in  $\theta$ .
- ▶  $\theta^*$  — pivotal state in which tie arises:

$$\begin{cases} w = A, & \text{if } \theta < \theta^*, \\ \text{tie}, & \text{if } \theta = \theta^*, \\ w = B, & \text{if } \theta > \theta^*. \end{cases}$$

- ▶ Pivotal condition:

$$\theta^* = \Pr(s(y^i) = A \mid \theta^*).$$

## Behavior in the Pivotal State

Beliefs  $\longrightarrow$  actions:

- ▶ Vote for the likely winner.

Distribution of beliefs:

- ▶  $\pi(y^i)$  — posterior that  $A$  wins.
- ▶  $\pi(y^i) | \theta^* \sim U[0, 1]$ .

Recall pivotal condition:

$$\theta^* = \Pr(\pi(y^i) > 1/2 | \theta^*) = 1/2.$$

# Result

## Summary

1. *Unique monotone BNE.*
2.  $\theta^* = \frac{1}{2}$ .



# Election With Experts

model

# Experts

- ▶ Experts  $j \in [0, 1]$ .
- ▶  $a^j \in \{A, B\}$ .
- ▶  $1/3$ , partisans supporting  $A$ .
- ▶  $1/3$ , partisans supporting  $B$ .
- ▶  $1/3$ , swing experts:

$$u_e(a^j, w) = b^j \mathbf{1}_{a^j=A} + \mathbf{1}_{a^j=w},$$

$$-1 < b^j < 1.$$

- ▶ Distribution of biases known.

# Information

## Experts' signals:

- ▶  $x^j = \theta + \sigma \xi^j$ ,
- ▶ Support:  $\xi^j \in [-1/2, 1/2]$ .

## Social Learning:

- ▶ Each voter  $i$  privately observes a random sample of  $n$  endorsements.
- ▶  $\lambda^i \in \{0, \dots, n\}$  — # of endorsements for  $A$  in  $i$ 's sample.
- ▶ Unobserved preferences.

## Strategy of

- ▶ expert maps  $x^j$  to  $a^j$ ,
- ▶ voter maps  $(y^i, \lambda^i)$  to  $a^i$ .

analysis

# Pivotal Condition

- ▶ Monotone Weak Perfect Bayesian equilibrium.
- ▶ Pivotal Condition:

$$\theta^* = \Pr (s(y^i, \lambda^i) = A \mid \theta^* ) .$$

## **We need to understand:**

- ▶ experts' behavior,
- ▶ voters' interpretation of experts' behavior,
- ▶ voters' behavior.

# Experts' Behavior

$e(\theta, \theta^*)$  — fraction of experts endorsing  $A$ .

**Depends on:**

- ▶ realized state  $\theta$ ,
- ▶ pivotal state  $\theta^*$ ,
- ▶ bias and error distribution.

**Simple cases:**

$$e(\theta, \theta^*) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{3}, & \text{for } \theta > \theta^* + \sigma; \\ \frac{2}{3}, & \text{for } \theta < \theta^* - \sigma; \\ \frac{1}{2} + \frac{\bar{b}}{6}, & \text{for } \theta = \theta^*. \end{cases}$$

# Voters

## bayesian updating

- ▶ As  $\sigma \rightarrow 0$  voters assign vanishing probability to atypical  $\theta$ .
- ▶  $p_v(y, \lambda)$  — voter's posterior that  $A$  wins.
  - ▶ monotone in  $\lambda$ ,
  - ▶ independent of the distribution of biases.



# Voters

behavior in the pivotal state

**Distribution of signals at  $\theta^*$ :**

- ▶  $\lambda|\theta^* \sim B\left(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{\bar{b}}{6}, n\right)$ .

**Updating rule:**

- ▶ Does not correct for the bias.

**Optimal behavior:**

- ▶ Vote for the more likely winner.

**Recall pivotal condition:**

$$\theta^* = \Pr(s(y^i, \lambda^i) = A \mid \theta^*).$$

# Results

## Summary

1. *Unique monotone weak perfect equilibrium.*
2. *Characterization of  $\theta^{**} = \lim_{\sigma \rightarrow 0} \theta^*(\sigma)$ .*
3.  *$\theta^{**}$  increases with average bias  $\bar{b}$ .*
- 4.

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \theta^{**}(n) = \begin{cases} 1, & \text{if } \bar{b} > 0, \\ 0, & \text{if } \bar{b} < 0. \end{cases}$$

# Noise Independence

## **Consequences:**

- ▶ Providing additional information to voters does not help.
- ▶ Experts' influence can be large.

# Summary

# “Rational players cannot be fooled”...

## Weak interpretation:

- ▶ Rational social learning:

$$I_e | I_v.$$

Truism.

## Strong interpretation:

- ▶ Correct beliefs in every state:

$$(I_e | I_v) = (I_e | I_v, \theta).$$

Incorrect.

# In Our Model

## Voters get fooled at the pivotal state:

- ▶ Gap between  $I_e|I_v$  and  $I_e|(I_v, \theta^*)$ .
- ▶ Monotone in experts' biases.
- ▶  $\Rightarrow$  Equilibrium is monotone in experts' biases.
- ▶ Voters get fooled on a small set of  $\theta$ .
- ▶ But equilibrium consequences are large.