

Delegation in Veto Bargaining

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Motivation

In many contexts

- **Proposer** needs approval for a project
 - e.g., from boss, other branch of gov't, majority of a committee
- Proposer is uncertain what **veto player** will accept

Significant literature emanating from Romer & Rosenthal 1978, 1979

This paper

- Establish that screening via a menu is valuable
 - positive, normative, and prescriptive interpretations
- **New rationale for discretion/flexibility**
- Conceptual and methodological connection to optimal delegation

Applications

- In U.S., prosecutor decides whether to include lesser charges
 - e.g., “Murder” or “Murder or Manslaughter”
 - Acquit is always an option
- Congress makes proposal to President
 - Bill can give much or little discretion of how to implement
 - President can always veto
- Salesperson (e.g., real estate agent) decides which products to show
 - Not buying is always an option
- Committee chooses pool of candidates to put forward
 - Leadership must select one, or none

Preview of Results

We study a one-dimensional model with single-peaked prefs

- Typically not optimal to offer a singleton
 - Menus can Pareto improve over singleton proposals
- But Veto player may get large information rents
 - Even her first best, despite limited bargaining power
- Identify conditions for optimal menu to be 'nice', e.g., interval
- Comp stats: e.g., more discretion when more (ex-ante) **misalignment** or Proposer more risk averse
 - Contrast with expertise-based delegation à la Holmstrom
- Methodology: allow for stochastic mechanisms, and invoke them to establish certain necessity

Related Literature

- Proposal power and agenda setting

Romer & Rosenthal, 1978, 1979; Matthews, 1989; Cameron & McCarty, 2004

- Optimal expertise-based delegation

Holmstrom, 1984; Melumad & Shibano, 1991; Alonso & Matouschek, 2008;
Amador & Bagwell, 2013; Kovac & Mylovanov, 2009

- Optimal delegation with outside options

Amador & Bagwell, 2019; Kolotilin & Zapechelnyuk, 2019, Zapechelnyuk 2019

Model

Model

- Proposer (P) and Veto player (V) determine action $a \in \mathbb{R}$
- P's utility $u(a)$ concave, maximized at $a = 1$
 - Twice continuously differentiable at all $a \neq 1$
 - Leading examples: $u(a) = -|1 - a|$ and $u(a) = -(1 - a)^2$
- V's utility $u_V(a, v) = -(v - a)^2$
 - Type v is **private info**
 - Distribution F with differentiable density f ; $f(v) > 0$ on $[0, 1]$
 - Leading examples: f log-concave
 - For many results, only ordinal prefs matter, so any symmetric loss function around v could be used

Timing

- ① P proposes a menu $A \subseteq \mathbb{R}$. A must be a closed set.
- ② V's learns type v and chooses $a \in A \cup \{0\}$. So 0 is the **status quo**.

Nb: equivalent to any (deterministic) direct mechanism. Accommodates various game forms/protocols. No transfers.

Benchmarks

Complete Information

- Suppose V 's ideal point v known to P (Romer & Rosenthal 1978)
- Then P could offer a single action
 - $v < 0 \implies$ offer 0
 - if $v \in [0, 1/2] \implies$ offer $2v$
 - if $v > 1/2 \implies$ offer 1
- Pareto efficiency, no vetos, P extracts all surplus

Incomplete Information, but Singleton Proposal

- Not optimal to offer 0
- Vetos will occur
- Pareto inefficiency
- Surplus is shared

Full Delegation,
No Compromise,
& Interval Delegation

Full Delegation

- P could offer **full delegation** menu $A = [0, 1]$
 - offering any $a \notin [0, 1]$ is dominated
 - although V may find some $a \notin [0, 1]$ preferable
- V then chooses ideal point if $v \in [0, 1]$; 0 if $v < 0$; and 1 if $v > 1$
- Pareto efficiency obtains, no vetos
- V gets his “first best” (almost), despite P having substantial bargaining power and commitment
 - first best for all $v \in [0, 1]$
 - support of v could be $[0, 1]$, then really first best

Full Delegation

$$\kappa := \inf_{a \in [0,1)} -u''(a) \geq 0.$$

Proposition

Full delegation is optimal if

$$\kappa F(v) - u'(v)f(v) \text{ is } \uparrow \text{ on } [0, 1].$$

Nb: \uparrow means non-decreasing

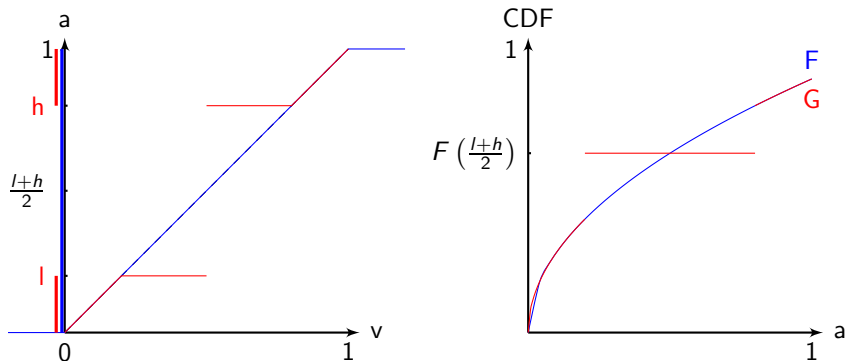
- Full delegation optimal if $f(v)$ does not \uparrow too fast

Corollary

Full delegation is optimal if $f(v)$ is \downarrow on $[0, 1]$.

- So for a unimodal f , full delegation optimal when ex-ante disagreement is *large*: v 's mode ≤ 0
- Reverses logic of expertise-based delegation

Full Delegation: Intuition



- $F \geq_{SOSD} G$ if f is \downarrow ; hence Proposer prefers F to G
- If f is \uparrow on (l, h) , removing that interval increases expected action, but adds variance; desirable if f'/f large relative to $-u''/u'$
- With linear utility, $f \downarrow$ **necessary** for optimality of full delegation
- For any f , full delegation optimal if P is sufficiently risk averse

No Compromise

- The degenerate menu $\{0, 1\}$ is **no compromise**
 - can be viewed as a singleton proposal 1
- If u is differentiable at 1, then no compromise **not** optimal
 - because then $u'(1) = 0$
- If u is linear and $f \uparrow$, then no compromise **is** optimal
 - removing any interval $(a, b) \subseteq 1$ raises average action
- But these conditions much stronger than needed
 - e.g., with linear u , sufficient that $f(\frac{1}{2})$ is a *subgradient* of F at $\frac{1}{2}$

Interval Delegation

Interval delegation: $A = [c, 1] \cup \{0\}$ for $c \in [0, 1]$

- subsumes full delegation and no compromise
- Nb: $c > 0 \implies$ vetos and Pareto inefficiency

Interval delegation is simple: practically and analytically

Questions:

- Under what conditions is interval delegation optimal?
- What is the best interval?

Interval Delegation

$$u(a) = -(1 - \gamma)|1 - a| - \gamma(1 - a)^2 \text{ for some } \gamma \in [0, 1] \quad (\text{LQ})$$

Proposition

If f is log-concave and u satisfies (LQ), then interval delegation is optimal.

Comparative Statics

Let $C^* \subseteq [0, 1]$ be the set of optimal interval thresholds

multiple maximizers possible \because P's exp utility may not be quasiconcave

Proposition

- 1) Optimal singleton proposal $p^* \geq \sup C^*$, strictly when $\sup C^* < 1$.
- 2) If f str. \uparrow in LR on $[0, 1]$, then $C^* \uparrow$ in SSO.
- 3) If u becomes str. more risk averse on $[0, 1]$, then $C^* \downarrow$ in SSO.

Among interval menus:

- 1) Menus yield a Pareto improvement
- 2) \uparrow ex-ante alignment \downarrow discretion. Opposite to expert-based deleg
- 3) More risk-averse Proposer (à la Rothschild-Stiglitz) compromises more; eventually, full delegation

\implies prosecutor/salesperson should include “lower” options when jury/consumer more difficult to convince

Intervals are important. (2) and (3) proved using MCS with uncertainty.

Delegation vs Cheap Talk

■ Matthews (1989)

- Cheap talk by V before P makes a singleton offer
- Babbling equilibrium exists: $A = \{0, p^*\}$
- Under mild conditions, also size-two equilibria:
 - V makes a veto threat, against which P proposes $\hat{p} \in (0, p^*)$
 - or V doesn't, against which P proposes 1
- Informative eqm equivalent to $A = \{0, \hat{p}, 1\}$
- P prefers informative eqa to uninformative

■ How does P's lack of commitment affect her?

- P's welfare from $A = \{0, p, 1\} \downarrow$ in p at $p = \hat{p}$
- P would like to commit to lower proposal to reduce vetos
- But even optimal "singleton compromise" need not be global optimum; it is not, in particular, whenever (non-trivial) interval delegation is

Methodology

Formulating Proposer's Problem

Any A induces choice function $\alpha : \mathbb{R} \rightarrow A$. Wlog, consider $A \subseteq [0, 1]$.

Let $\mathcal{A} := \{\alpha : [0, 1] \rightarrow [0, 1] \text{ s.t. } \alpha(0) = 0 \text{ and } \alpha \text{ is } \uparrow\}$.

Optimization problem:

$$\max_{\alpha \in \mathcal{A}} \int u(\alpha(v)) dF(v) \quad (\text{D})$$

$$\text{s.t. } v\alpha(v) - (\alpha(v))^2/2 = \int_0^v \alpha(t) dt. \quad (\text{IC})$$

We tackle using inf-diml Lagrangian methods (cf. Amador & Bagwell 2013)

Stochastic Mechanisms

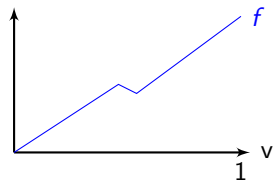
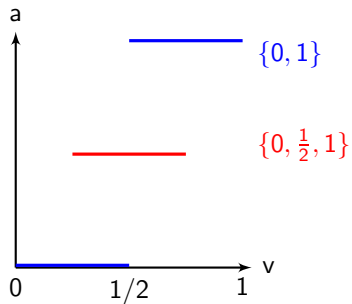
Wlog, stochastic allocations $\mathcal{L} := \{\text{CDFs supported in } [0, 1]\}$.

Let $\mathcal{S} := \{\sigma : [0, 1] \rightarrow \mathcal{L} \text{ s.t. } \alpha(0) = \delta_0 \text{ and } \mathbb{E}[\sigma(v)] \text{ is } \uparrow\}$.

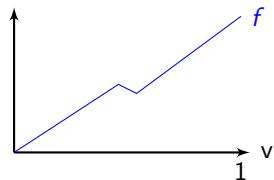
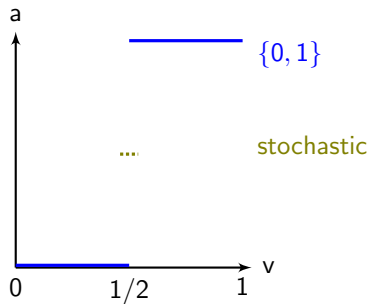
$$\max_{\sigma \in \mathcal{S}} \int \mathbb{E}_{\sigma(v)}[u(a)] dF(v) \quad (\text{S})$$

$$\text{s.t. } \mathbb{E}_{\sigma(v)}[va - a^2/2] = \int_0^v \mathbb{E}[\sigma(t)] dt. \quad (\text{IC-S})$$

Stochastic mechanisms can be optimal



Stochastic mechanisms can be optimal



Relaxing the Proposer's Problem

Recall deterministic mechanisms problem:

$$\max_{\alpha \in \mathcal{A}} \mathbb{E}[u(\alpha(v))] \quad (D)$$

$$\text{s.t. } v\alpha(v) - \frac{\alpha(v)^2}{2} = \int_0^v \alpha(t) dt. \quad (IC)$$

Relaxed Problem

Let $\kappa := \inf_{a \in [0,1]} -u''(a) \geq 0$ and define relaxed problem

$$\max_{\alpha \in \mathcal{A}} \mathbb{E} \left[u(\alpha(v)) - \kappa \left[v\alpha(v) - \frac{\alpha(v)^2}{2} - \int_0^v \alpha(t) dt \right] \right] \quad (R)$$

$$\text{s.t. } v\alpha(v) - \frac{\alpha(v)^2}{2} \geq \int_0^v \alpha(t) dt.$$

- Deterministic mechs with modified objective and weakened IC. If IC holds at solution, then clearly also solves (D).

Stochastic Mechanisms

Proposition

If $\alpha^* \in \mathcal{A}$ solves problem (R) and is incentive compatible, then α^* also solves problem (S).

Under our sufficient conditions, our solutions to (D) also solve (R) and hence are optimal even among stochastic mechs.

Proof idea.

Suppose not and let σ achieve strictly higher value in (S).

Define $\alpha(v) := \mathbb{E}[\sigma(v)]$.

α is feasible for (R) \because V risk averse and **relaxed IC**,
and achieves str. higher value than α^* in (R) \because P risk averse. □

Necessary Conditions

$$u(a) = -(1 - \gamma)|1 - a| - \gamma(1 - a)^2 \text{ for some } \gamma \in [0, 1] \quad (\text{LQ})$$

Lemma

Assume (LQ) A deterministic mech that solves problem (S) also solves problem (R).

It is thus enough to show necessity in problem (R), which has a concave objective and a convex feasible set.

Proposition

Assume (LQ). Our sufficient conditions are necessary for the given menu to be optimal among stochastic mechanisms.

Additional results

- Other kinds of optimal deleg sets (e.g., singleton compromise)
- Could allow for interdependent prefs: $u(a, v)$
 - Holmstrom-like delegation model with outside option
cf. Kolotilin & Zapechelnyuk, 2019

Conclusion

Recap

Studied role for screening/delegation in veto bargaining

- New rationale for delegation and discretion
 - Here: uncertainty about what is acceptable to Veto player
 - Contrast with agent has expertise
- Non-singleton menu typically optimal
- Veto player can obtain large info rents (“full delegation”), even though Proposer has substantial bargaining and commitment power
- Sufficient and necessary conditions for ‘nice’ delegation sets
- Among interval menus, discretion ↓ when ex-ante more aligned
 - Highlights different economics from expertise-based delegation

Ongoing and Future Research

- Endogenous default action (chosen by V ex ante)

cf. Coate & Milton, 2019

- Multiple proposers and competition
- No/limited commitment
 - If full delegation optimal with commitment, it survives
 - Coasian dynamics suggest that even if it is not, it will emerge
 - We conjecture non-Coasian result is possible