

# Choosing Choices: Agenda Selection with Uncertain Issues\*

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## Abstract

This paper studies *selection rules* *i.e.* the procedures committees use to choose whether to place an issue on their agenda. The main ingredient of the model is that committee members are uncertain about their final preferences at the *selection stage*: they only know the probability that they will eventually prefer the proposal to the status quo at the *decision stage*. This probability is private information. We find that a more stringent selection rule makes the voters more conservative. Hence individual behavior reinforces the effect of the rule instead of balancing it. For a voter, conditional on being pivotal, the probability that the proposal is adopted depends on which option she eventually favors. The probability that the proposal is adopted if she eventually prefers the proposal increases at a higher rate with the selection rule than if she eventually prefers the status quo. In order to compensate for that, the voters become more selective. The decision rule has the opposite effect. We describe optimal rules when there is a fixed cost of organizing the final election.

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*JEL classification:* D72, D83.

## 1 Introduction

Before they can be decided according to a majority rule, cases brought to the Supreme Court of the United States need to be approved for selection by at least four of the nine justices. This Rule of Four, which is rather a custom than a constitutional requirement, was used as a defense by the justices when in the mid-1930s the Court came under fire from the president and the Congress. It was accused, among other charges, of “using its discretionary jurisdiction to duck important cases,”<sup>1</sup> to which the justices responded that they use a submajority rule precisely

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\*Preliminary and incomplete. Comments are welcome.

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<sup>1</sup>81 Cong. Rec. 2809-2812 (1939).

because they prefer “to be at fault in taking jurisdiction rather than to be at fault in rejecting it.”<sup>2</sup> The argument of the justices seems obvious at first, it is easier to gather four votes than five. Yet it is not so clear once we take strategic behavior into account: wouldn’t the justices offset the effects of the selection rule by adjusting their individual behavior? We show that it is not the case by presenting a model in which rational individual behavior strengthens the effects of the selection rule: voters become more conservative as the rule becomes more stringent.

Selection rules are not limited to the Supreme Court<sup>3</sup>. For instance, any member of the French Assemblée Nationale can place a proposal in the agenda of the parliament as long as the proposed law doesn’t increase expenditure for the government. In the United States Congress, bills must be approved by vote in a specialized standing committee before they can be brought to the floor. The agenda of the European Union’s main decision-making body, the Council of the European Union, is prepared by the Committee of Permanent Representatives. Citizens’ initiatives, which allow a group of citizens to obtain the organization of a referendum by way of petitions, are another form of selection rules. They play an important role in some jurisdictions. For example, the gathering of a sufficient number of signatures led to the 2003 California recall election and ultimately to the recall of Governor Gray Davis. In November 2009, a citizens’ initiative led to a ban on the construction of minarets in Switzerland creating a controversy across Europe which led some commentators to question this procedure<sup>4</sup>. A general concern about citizens’ initiatives is that they tend to bring too many issues to the agenda. Our study suggests that outcomes may be particularly sensitive to the selection rule that is chosen because of the positive feedback between the direct effect of a change in the rule and the indirect effect on behavior. Finally, recruiting committees also use selection rules.

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<sup>2</sup>Hearings on S. 2176 before the Senate Judiciary Committee, 74th Cong. 1st sess., 9-10 (1935) (statement of Justice Van Devanter). We found a discussion of these events and the citations in [Epstein and Knight \(1998\)](#) p.86 who refer to a memorandum titled “The Rule of Four” that justice Marshall circulated to conference Sept. 21, 1983. For a detailed account of the selection procedure at the Supreme Court, see [Perry \(1994\)](#).

<sup>3</sup>State Supreme Courts also use selection rules. In California, for example, the justices use a supermajority rule of four out of seven justices.

<sup>4</sup>A European Citizens’ Initiative is about to come into effect as decided in the Lisbon treaty, but with limited scope as it would only allow a group of citizens to place an issue on the agenda of the European commission. In France, a mixed initiative system between citizens and member of parliaments has been adopted in July 2008.

Our model allows us to analyze and compare these rules. To our knowledge, it is the first formal analysis of selection rules in a rational voting framework. Our two working assumptions are (i) that voters are uncertain about their preferences at the selection stage: they only know the probability that they will eventually prefer the proposal to the status quo; and (ii) that this probability is private information. The second assumption is a standard private preferences assumption. At least two arguments support the assumption that voters are uncertain about their final preferences. First, voters are likely to have less information about the issue at the selection stage than at the decision stage. Once an issue is selected, hearings of experts and stakeholders may be organized, public attention and the media may help produce and aggregate information about the issue itself and the preferences of the people which may affect those of their representatives. Second, the process leading to the final proposal is often complex and tends to generate uncertainty at the outset about the nature of the final proposal. In parliaments, when a bill is introduced to the floor, it usually goes through long series of amendments that often modify the text of the proposal substantially and unpredictably. Similarly, at the Supreme Court, there is uncertainty about which of the justices will be assigned to write the opinion and about which exact policy relevant points will be raised. Whereas the literature on agenda setting has generally focused on the process leading from the initial proposal to its final version, we are more interested in how initial proposals (issues) are selected and placed on the agenda in the first place. Our approach is to black-box this transformation process and merely assume that it creates uncertainty about what will be voted on in the final stage.

We also assume that voters believe the preference parameter (the probability that they prefer the proposal) of other voters to be drawn independently from an identical distribution. It is arguably more natural to assume private information in a framework with heterogeneous preferences like ours than in the homogeneous preferences framework of the literature on pivotal voting where individuals have private information about a common event. Indeed, while deliberation can be expected to make all the information public in the case of homogeneous preferences, there is no particular reason to assume that it would do so in general in the case

of heterogeneous preferences<sup>5</sup>.

The basic model is a two-round voting procedure. In the first round, the *selection stage*, committee members vote to select an issue. In the second round, the *decision stage*, they decide whether to adopt a proposal or maintain the status quo. Even though voters' preferences are private, one's expected utility at the selection stage depends indirectly on the preferences, hence on the private information, of other voters since they determine the probability that the proposal will pass the final round if it is selected. Therefore, the selection stage aggregates strategically relevant information about the probabilities of different outcomes. Rational voters condition their decision on the event that their vote is pivotal. The exact information conveyed by the pivotal event, however, depends on the selection rule. When a rule requires a higher tally of votes to select an issue, the event that a single vote is pivotal conveys the information that more voters are likely to favor the proposal at the decision stage. Therefore, conditional on being pivotal at the selection stage, a voter who votes to select an issue faces a higher chance that the status quo will be reversed when the selection rule is more stringent. When selecting an issue, however, a voter also keeps the option to vote against change in the second round so this increased probability is not sufficient to explain her behavior. Rather, the voter compares the probability that the proposal passes when she eventually prefers it to when she doesn't. It is the ratio between these two probabilities that determines her strategy. We show that the probability that the proposal passes given that the voter does not support it increases at a higher rate with the selection rule than does the same probability given that the voter supports the proposal. In order to compensate for that, voters become individually more conservative when the rule itself is more conservative<sup>6</sup>. Remarkably, this result is completely independent of the particular distribution of preferences. Our formal analysis requires the committee to be large for the result to hold. However, we also conducted numerical calculations of equilibria for different type distributions and committee sizes without ever invalidating the result.

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<sup>5</sup>For an analysis of deliberation that supports this claim see [Austen-Smith and Feddersen \(2006\)](#).

<sup>6</sup>This account leaves some details aside. Indeed the equilibria that we consider (symmetric) are not unique in general and, in standard practice, the exact comparative statics result is that both the minimum and the maximum equilibrium thresholds move as explained with the selection rule.

We extend our analysis to selection in subcommittees as in the United States Congress. Using [Dekel and Piccione \(2000\)](#), we also show that the analysis applies to sequential selection procedures such as petitions for citizens' initiatives.

Finally, while these results uncover an interesting general feature of selection rules, they have nothing to say about why these rules should be used, why they exist or which rules are optimal. In order to address these more normative questions, we assume the existence of a fixed cost to organize the second stage election and derive the efficient rules.

**Related Literature.** The seminal literature on voting under asymmetric information<sup>7</sup> ([Austen-Smith and Banks, 1996](#); [Feddersen and Pesendorfer, 1996, 1997, 1998](#); [Myerson, 1998](#)) focused on the jury model in which agents have common preferences (with possibly heterogeneous intensities) conditional on an unknown state of the world, and private information about this state of the world. An important insight of this literature is that a strategic voter should reason as if her vote were pivotal since it is the only event in which her vote has any effect on the collective decision. Under any voting rule, the pivotal event conveys some information about the votes of others, and therefore about their private information and what it means about the state of the world. In our model, each voter's payoff is independent from the information of others. Because of the two-round procedure, however, a voter who is uncertain about her final preferences cares about the preferences of others as they carry information about the chances of the proposal in the final round. To model voters' uncertainty about their own preferences, we draw on the setup of [Barbera and Jackson \(2004\)](#) to which we add asymmetric information.

Several authors have built on the pivotal voting literature to model multiple-round elections. [Piketty \(2000\)](#) analyses a model of two-round elections and common value with asymmetric information, in which the winning policy in the first round of voting faces a new proposal in the second round. Then voters use the first round to communicate their information about the state of the world to other voters. [Razin \(2003\)](#) extends the idea of voting as signaling to a model of elections with only one round but where the information communicated during the

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<sup>7</sup>More recent contributions include [Duggan and Martinelli \(2001\)](#), [Laslier and Weibull \(2009\)](#), and [Li, Rosen and Suen \(2001\)](#). ? estimate a related model on Supreme Court data.

elections affects future outcomes. [Iaryczower \(2008\)](#) considers signaling in a bicameral system. [Shotts \(2006\)](#) and [Meirowitz and Shotts \(2008\)](#) study models of repeated elections with possibly private values and the same signaling motive. By contrast, the signaling channel is completely absent from our two-round model. [Hummel \(2009\)](#) considers a model of repeated elections with three candidates in which, as in our model, the outcome of earlier rounds is informative about the distribution from which the preferences of other voters are drawn. In his model, however, voters learn their own preferences at the outset.

There is also a rich literature on sequential voting in committees. In these models the individual members of a committee vote sequentially and can observe prior voting history. This literature ([Battaglini, 2005](#); [Battaglini, Morton and Palfrey, 2007](#); [Callander, 2007](#); [Ali and Kartik, 2010](#); [Hummel, 2010](#)) tries to find a way around an equivalence result of [Dekel and Piccione \(2000\)](#) according to which any equilibrium in weakly undominated strategies of a simultaneous election remains an equilibrium of any sequential election process in which voters observe prior history. We use their result to extend our model to sequential selection procedures.

Our work is also connected to the literature on agenda setting, foremost because the selection stage of our model is a process of endogenous agenda selection, but also because of the use of sequential elections in this literature. The topic has been treated from the point of view of legislative bargaining ([Banks and Duggan, 1998, 2000, 2001](#); [Baron and Ferejohn, 1989](#); [Diermeier and Merlo, 2000](#); [Merlo and Wilson, 1995](#)), and by the literature on sequential agenda ([Austen-Smith, 1987](#); [Banks, 1985](#); [Banks and Gasmi, 1987](#); [Bernheim, Rangel and Rayo, 2006](#); [Dutta, Jackson and Le Breton, 2004](#); [Ferejohn, Fiorina and McKelvey, 1987](#); [Romer and Rosenthal, 1978](#); [Shepsle and Weingast, 1984](#)). While this literature aims at modeling the whole process of amendments and modifications of a proposal, we only model the initial decision of placing an issue on the agenda, and account for the process between the selection and the decision stage with the assumption that it generates uncertainty at the outset about the final proposal.

On the technical side, we make an intensive use of large deviation techniques ([Dembo and](#)

Zeitouni, 1998; Hollander, 2000) and saddlepoint approximations (Jensen, 1995) to analyze the asymptotic behavior of the tail probabilities that characterize our equilibrium. The use of saddlepoint approximations is, to our knowledge, new to the literature in economic theory. They are a natural tool for the study of some large elections and could probably be used more widely.

## 2 The Model

**Voters, Preferences and Information.**  $N = \{1, \dots, n\}$  is a committee of  $n \geq 2$  voters. If an issue is selected, the voters face a pair of alternatives: the *status quo* and the *proposal*. Information about the proposal is incomplete at the outset, so that a voter  $i$  only knows her probability  $p_i \in [0, 1]$  to be in favor of the proposal. These probabilities are drawn independently across voters from a distribution with density function  $f$  on  $[0, 1]$ , and cumulative density function  $F$ .  $f$  is assumed to have full support and no atoms, except possibly at the extremities of the support. While the distribution is common knowledge, the realizations are private information. Let  $\tilde{p} \equiv \int_0^1 z dF(z)$  denote the mean of this distribution.

Since there are two alternatives, we need only keep track of the difference in payoffs between them. It is therefore without loss of generality that we normalize the payoff from the status quo to 0. The payoff of voter  $i$  from the proposal is drawn conditionally on her opinion: if the proposal is adopted, a voter who supports it gets  $u_i^+ > 0$ , and a voter in favor of the default policy gets  $-u_i^- < 0$ . We assume that these random variables have homogeneous expected values across voters<sup>8</sup> that we denote by  $u^+$  and  $u^-$ . At the selection stage of the two-round voting procedure described below, agents only know the probability that they prefer the proposal to the default. When an issue is selected and becomes part of the agenda, more information becomes available to the voters enabling them to form an opinion about the proposal and learn the intensity of their preferences  $u_i$ .

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<sup>8</sup>In fact, we only need the ratio of these expected values to be invariant across voters.

**Voting Procedure.** The voting procedure has two stages, the *selection stage* and the *decision stage*. At the selection stage, an issue is placed on the agenda if at least  $\lceil Vn \rceil$  committee members select it, where the fraction  $V \in [0, 1]$  is the *selection rule*. If the issue is not selected, the default policy is maintained. If it is selected, the agents vote again to decide whether to adopt the proposal. The proposal is adopted if more than  $\lceil vn \rceil$  committee members vote in favor, where the fraction  $v \in [0, 1]$  is the *decision rule*. We let  $n_V = \lceil Vn \rceil$  denote the tally of votes necessary to select an issue, and  $n_V^c = n - n_V$  its complement. Similarly, let  $n_v = \lceil vn \rceil$  and  $n_v^c = n - n_v$ . Finally we will also use the fractions  $V_n = n_V/n$  and  $v_n = n_v/n$ .

**Equilibrium Definition.** A selection strategy of voter  $i$  is a function  $\sigma_i : [0, 1] \rightarrow \{0, 1\}$  mapping a probability type  $p_i$  to a ballot, where 1 means that  $i$  votes in favor of selecting the proposal. For notational simplicity, we do not consider mixing behavior. This is without loss of generality since we show below that all the best responses feature essentially pure strategies. In the second stage, the voting strategy of the voter may be conditioned on all or any subset of the information that may be available to her at this stage: whether she supports the proposal, the intensity of her preferences, her and other players' voting strategy in the first round. We consider sequential equilibria of this game in weakly undominated strategies. This is a standard way to avoid equilibria in which voters vote for their least preferred policy in binary elections in which no information is aggregated such as our second-round election, and it also rules out equilibria in which all agents vote for or against selection irrespective of their private information.

### 3 Equilibrium Analysis

**Decision Stage.** Since we ruled out weakly dominated strategies, no matter what observations a player is allowed to make between rounds, she votes for her preferred policy at the decision stage. Therefore we can take this sincere voting behavior as given and proceed to analyze the first-stage game.

**Non Strategic Behaviors.** There are two possible types of non strategic behaviors at the



selection stage that can be used as a benchmark. A *naive* voter would just vote for the alternative if its expected payoff  $p_i u^+ - (1 - p_i)u^-$  is greater than 0. A more sophisticated behavior would be to weigh the payoff of the alternative conditionally on eventually liking it or not by the expected probability that the alternative eventually passes in each of these cases. We call such voters *sophisticated*. Let  $S$  be a binomial random variable with parameters  $\tilde{p}$ , and  $n - 1$ .  $\tilde{p}$  is the probability with which a random voter is expected to eventually favor the alternative in the absence of additional information, and  $S$  is the random variable a sophisticated voter would use at the selection stage to estimate the tally of votes in favor of the alternative at the decision stage in addition to her own.

**Proposition 1** (Naive and Sophisticated Voting). *Naive voters use a threshold strategy with the selection threshold  $t_{naive} = \frac{u^-}{u^- + u^+}$  which is independent of the voting rule. A sophisticated voter uses a threshold strategy with the threshold*

$$t_{soph} = \left( 1 + \frac{u^+ \Pr(S \geq n_v - 1)}{u^- \Pr(S \geq n_v)} \right)^{-1},$$

which depends on the decision rule, but is independent of the selection rule.

**Strategic Behavior.** Given a profile  $p = (p_1, \dots, p_n)$ , a voter  $i$  knowing the full profile would expect the following utility if the issue were to be selected in the first stage<sup>9</sup>

$$U_i = p_i u^+ \sum_{\substack{C \subseteq N_i \\ \#C \geq n_v - 1}} \prod_{j \in C} p_j \prod_{l \in N_i \setminus C} (1 - p_l) - (1 - p_i) u^- \sum_{\substack{C \subseteq N_i \\ \#C \geq n_v}} \prod_{j \in C} p_j \prod_{l \in N_i \setminus C} (1 - p_l), \quad (1)$$

where  $N_i = N \setminus \{i\}$  is the set of all voters except  $i$ . Indeed, with probability  $p_i$ ,  $i$  will vote for the proposal in the second stage, winning if a coalition  $C$  of at least  $n_v - 1$  other players (sincerely) vote likewise, which yields an expected payoff of  $u^+$ . With probability  $1 - p_i$ , she will not support the proposal, and incur the expected loss  $u^-$  if a coalition of at least  $n_v$  other

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<sup>9</sup>Note that this function does not satisfy the information smallness assumption of Gerardi and Yariv (2007), hence allowing for deliberation does not necessarily make different selection rules equivalent as to the sets of sequential equilibria in weakly undominated strategies that they generate.

voters concur against the status quo. If the issue is not selected, the status quo prevails and the expected utility of a voter is 0. We can write  $U_i = U(p_i, p_{-i})$ , where  $U$  is linear and strictly increasing in a voter's own type  $p_i$ .

Even though the values of the policies for the voters are private and independent as well as their informational types, the two-round process links a voter's value of selecting an issue to the types of other voters so that the first round has the analytical features of a common value election. In particular, the first round of this procedure can aggregate some information. This information is not about the quality of the proposal or the status quo, or any other factor that affects the values of the voters for these outcomes. It is about the number of voters likely to vote for the proposal at the decision stage.

When making her first stage voting decision, the voter only knows her own probability  $p_i$  of favoring the final proposal, and must therefore compute the expected value of (1). If she is rational, she conditions her computation on the event  $\mathcal{E}_i \equiv \left\{ \sum_{j \in N_i} \sigma_j(p_j) = n_V - 1 \right\}$  that her vote is pivotal, and compares it to the null payoff that she obtains if the issue is not selected. Because the expression in (1) is strictly increasing in  $p_i$ , voters use threshold strategies<sup>10</sup> characterized by a threshold  $t_i \in [0, 1]$  such that  $\sigma_i(p_i) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } p_i > t_i \\ 0 & \text{if } p_i < t_i \end{cases}$ .

The next result characterizes the symmetric equilibrium threshold. Define  $\bar{p}(t) \equiv \frac{\int_t^1 z dF(z)}{1-F(t)}$  and  $\underline{p}(t) \equiv \frac{\int_0^t z dF(z)}{F(t)}$  as the expectation of  $p$  conditional on lying above (respectively, below) a threshold  $t$ . These functions are strictly increasing and continuously differentiable on  $[0, 1]$ . Let  $\bar{X}(t)$  be a generic Bernoulli random variable that takes the value 1 with probability  $\bar{p}(t)$ . We denote by  $\bar{X}_1, \bar{X}_2, \dots, \bar{X}_k$  an i.i.d. sample of size  $k$  of this random variable. Similarly,  $\underline{X}(t)$  is a generic Bernoulli random variable with parameter  $\underline{p}(t)$ .

Suppose other voters use a threshold  $t$ . Conditional on her vote being pivotal, a voter knows that exactly  $n_V - 1$  of the other  $n - 1$  voters have a probability to prefer the proposal above

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<sup>10</sup>Other strategies are dominated. The prescription of the strategy when  $p_i = t_i$ , which is an event of measure 0, is essentially irrelevant for the analysis.

$t$ . Therefore she estimates that the tally of votes that will be ultimately cast in favor of the proposal if the issue is selected is given by the random variable

$$S_n(t) = \bar{X}_1(t) + \cdots + \bar{X}_{n_v-1}(t) + \underline{X}_1(t) + \cdots + \underline{X}_{n_v^c}(t).$$

Hence the expected utility of a voter of type  $p$  conditional on being pivotal is given by

$$p \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1) u^+ - (1 - p) \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v) u^-.$$

The best response of this player to a threshold  $t \in (0, 1)$  is to use the threshold

$$\beta_n(t) = \left( 1 + \frac{u^+ \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)}{u^- \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v)} \right)^{-1} \in [0, 1).$$

When  $t \in \{0, 1\}$ , the probability that the voter is pivotal is in general 0, and therefore any strategy is a best response. But the function  $\beta_n(\cdot)$  is always defined (or can be prolonged by continuity) in 0 and 1. We will think of this as selecting a particular best-response. Symmetric equilibria are characterized by the fixed points of the function  $\beta_n$  on  $[0, 1]$ . There can be no fixed point in 1 because  $\beta_n(\cdot)$  is bounded away from 1. If there is a fixed point in 0 we will disregard it as long as there is another equilibrium. But if it is the only fixed point, our interpretation will be that the best-response dynamics leads to the selection of this equilibrium where everybody votes to select the issue. This convention avoids unnecessary discussions in the rest of the paper. It does not affect the interpretation of our results, and we are generally interested in situations with other fixed points than 0.

**Proposition 2** (Equilibrium Characterization). *In any equilibrium of the game, players use threshold selection strategies such that  $t_i < t_{naive}$ . In particular, equilibrium strategies are essentially pure strategies<sup>11</sup>. There exists a symmetric equilibrium of this game, and these equilibria are characterized by the fixed points of  $\beta_n$ .*

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<sup>11</sup>That is, voters may be mixing at the threshold but nowhere else.

*Proof.* See [Appendix A](#). □

Hence strategic voters are less conservative than naive voters and select issues even when their expected payoff from the proposal is lower than that from the status quo.

The properties of these equilibria are tied to the ratio

$$R_n(t) \equiv \frac{\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)}{\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v)},$$

which measures the contribution of a voter to the probability that the proposal prevails in the second round, conditional on her being pivotal in the first round. In the proof of [Proposition 2](#) we derive a closed form expression of  $R_n$  which allows us to study the model numerically for any particular type distribution  $F$ . Unfortunately, this expression is intractable for the derivation of theoretical properties that apply to general type distributions. This problem can be solved by taking  $n$  to the limit. Large deviation and saddlepoint approximation techniques from statistics<sup>12</sup> provide us with analytical tools to study the limit of  $R_n$ .

## 4 Alternative Rules

**Sequential Procedures.** Real world selection procedures often do not have the structure of our basic simultaneous game. For example, in the case of petitions, the process of gathering signatures is usually sequential. [Dekel and Piccione \(2000\)](#) showed that in symmetric binary elections, the informative symmetric equilibria of the simultaneous voting game are also sequential equilibria of any sequential voting structure in a certain class. The selection stage of our game is a symmetric binary election that falls in the scope of applications of the first theorem<sup>13</sup> of [Dekel and Piccione \(2000\)](#). Therefore our equilibrium analysis of the simultaneous selection

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<sup>12</sup>See [Hollander \(2000\)](#) for a general treatment of large deviations, or [Dembo and Zeitouni \(1998\)](#) for a more advanced treatment; for saddlepoint approximation techniques, see [Jensen \(1995\)](#).

<sup>13</sup>That is up to the following detail: for notational convenience, [Dekel and Piccione \(2000\)](#) show their result for a finite type space whereas our type space is the unit interval. The extension of their proof to this case is immediate however.

game applies to any sequential selection procedure in this class, which consists of all the games with  $T < \infty$  periods such that each voter is called to vote in some period, and voting may be simultaneous in some periods. The calling order is known to the voters. A voter's strategy is then a function  $s_i(p_i, h)$  of her private signal and the history of play at the time she is called to vote. Then the first theorem of [Dekel and Piccione \(2000\)](#) implies the following result.

**Proposition 3** (Sequential Selection Procedures). *Pick any sequential selection game  $G$  in the class described above. The following two statements are equivalent:*

(i) *The strategy  $\sigma(p) = \mathbb{1}_{p>t^*}$  defines a symmetric equilibrium of the simultaneous selection game.*

(ii) *The irresponsive strategy  $s(p, h) = \mathbb{1}_{p>t^*}$  defines a symmetric sequential equilibrium of  $G$ .*

The intuition is that when symmetric voters use a voting strategy that is independent of history, the event that their vote is pivotal is identical in the simultaneous game and in any of the sequential games.

**Subcommittees.** In some committees such as the United States Congress, issues are selected within a subgroup of the voters. To describe this procedure we let  $S \in [0, 1]$  denote the size of the subcommittee, with  $V \leq S$ .  $n_S \equiv \lceil nS \rceil$  is the number of voters in the subcommittee, and  $n_S^c \equiv n - n_S$ . Making the same assumptions about preferences and information, and considering the voting decision of a member of the selecting committee, it is clear that, conditional on being pivotal, and provided other players are using a threshold  $t$ , the random variable that describes the belief of a player about the tally of votes that will finally be cast in favor of the proposal is

$$\tilde{S}_n(t) = \bar{X}_1(t) + \cdots + \bar{X}_{n_V-1}(t) + \underline{X}_1(t) + \cdots + \underline{X}_{n_S-n_V}(t) + \tilde{X}_1 + \cdots + \tilde{X}_{n_S^c},$$

where  $\tilde{X}$  is a generic Bernoulli random variable that takes the value 1 with probability  $\tilde{p}$ ,

We can write the best response function of a voter to all other players playing with a common threshold  $t$ .

$$\tilde{\beta}_n(t) = \left( 1 + \frac{u^+ \Pr(\tilde{S}_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)}{u^- \Pr(\tilde{S}_n(t) \geq n_v)} \right)^{-1}.$$

The following result is the analog of [Proposition 2](#).

**Proposition 4** (Equilibrium Characterization with a Subcommittee). *In any equilibrium of the game with a subcommittee, players use threshold selection strategies such that  $t_i < t_{naive}$ . In particular, equilibrium strategies are essentially pure strategies. There exists a symmetric equilibrium of this game in which all players use the same threshold. The symmetric equilibria of the game are characterized by the fixed points of  $\tilde{\beta}_n$ .*

## 5 Asymptotic Analysis

As already noted, the best response function  $\beta_n(t)$  depends on the ratio  $R_n(t) = \frac{\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)}{\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v)}$  and in order to study the asymptotic equilibria of the selection game, it is necessary to understand the asymptotic behavior of this ratio. The law of large numbers implies that both probabilities converge to either 1 or 0. More specifically, letting  $m(t) \equiv \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} m_n(t) = V\bar{p}(t) + (1 - V)\underline{p}(t)$ , where  $m_n(t) \equiv \frac{1}{n} E S_n(t) = \frac{n_v - 1}{n} \bar{p}(t) + \frac{n_v}{n} \underline{p}(t)$ , both probabilities converge to 0 if the asymptotic mean of the sequence is less than the second round rule,  $m(t) < v$ , and to 1 if  $m(t) \geq v$ . Indeed, as the population becomes large, the fraction of the voters who, when conditioning on the pivotal event, eventually support the proposal converges to  $m(t)$ , and the proposal is rejected if this fraction is below  $v$ . Since  $m(t)$  is strictly increasing in  $t$ , there is a unique, if any,  $\tilde{t}$  such that  $m(t) < v$  for every  $t < \tilde{t}$ , and  $m(t) > v$  for every  $t > \tilde{t}$ .

When both probabilities converge to 1, the ratio also converges to 1. When they converge to 0, however, we need to know the speed of convergence of the two probabilities. We can apply Gärtner-Ellis theorem (see for example [Hollander, 2000](#)) to show that both probabilities are in the order of  $e^{-Kn}$  for some constant  $K$  (see [Lemma 2](#)). This is not sufficient to conclude and characterizing the limit requires more work.

This section is technical and a reader who is not interested in this aspect may just read the

first subsection to understand our notations and jump to [Proposition 5](#) for the expression of the asymptotic best-response function, and then to the remainder of the paper.

## 5.1 Notations and Preliminary Results

In order to state these results, we introduce some notations and well known results in statistics (see [Jensen, 1995](#)). For the random variable  $S_n \in \mathbb{R}$  defined on the probability space  $(\Omega, \mathcal{A}, P)$ , and a scalar  $\theta$ , the *Laplace transform*  $\varphi_n(\theta)$  of  $S_n$  is defined by

$$\varphi_n(\theta) \equiv E e^{\theta S_n} = (\bar{p}e^\theta + 1 - \bar{p})^{n_V - 1} (\underline{p}e^\theta + 1 - \underline{p})^{n_V^c},$$

and its *cumulant transform*  $K_n(\theta)$  by

$$K_n(\theta) \equiv \log \varphi_n(\theta) = (n_V - 1) \log (\bar{p}e^\theta + 1 - \bar{p}) + n_V^c \log (\underline{p}e^\theta + 1 - \underline{p}).$$

The two transforms are defined on  $\mathbb{R}$ , they are  $\mathcal{C}^\infty$ , and  $K_n(\cdot)$  is strictly convex.

The *exponential family* generated by  $S_n$  and the original probability measure  $P$  consists of the tilted probability measures  $P_\theta$  given by

$$\frac{dP_\theta}{dP}(\omega) = \varphi_n(\theta)^{-1} e^{\theta S_n(\omega)}. \quad (2)$$

With  $\mu_n(\theta) \equiv E_\theta S_n$  and  $\sigma_n(\theta) \equiv \sqrt{\text{Var}_\theta S_n}$  respectively denoting the mean and standard deviation under  $P_\theta$ , we have the formulas

$$\mu_n(\theta) = K'_n(\theta), \quad \text{and} \quad \sigma_n(\theta) = \sqrt{K''_n(\theta)}.$$

The log likelihood function for estimating  $\theta$  in the family  $\{P_\theta : \theta \in \mathbb{R}\}$  is  $\theta x - K_n(\theta)$ , so that the maximum likelihood estimator of  $\theta$  solves the equation  $E_\theta S_n = K'_n(\theta) = x$ .

Let  $\theta_n$  be the unique solution of the equation  $K'_n(\theta) = n_v$ , and  $\theta'_n$  the unique solution of

the equation  $K'_n(\theta) = n_v - 1$ . In both cases,  $e^\theta$  is the unique positive root of a second degree polynomial, and it is easy to see that  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \theta_n = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \theta'_n = \hat{\theta}$ , where  $\hat{\theta}$  is defined as the solution of

$$\kappa'(\theta) = \frac{V\bar{p}e^\theta}{\bar{p}e^\theta + 1 - \bar{p}} + \frac{(1-V)\underline{p}e^\theta}{\underline{p}e^\theta + 1 - \underline{p}} = v, \quad (3)$$

with

$$\kappa(\theta) \equiv \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{K_n(\theta)}{n} = V \log(\bar{p}e^\theta + 1 - \bar{p}) + (1-V) \log(\underline{p}e^\theta + 1 - \underline{p}).$$

$\hat{\theta}$  can be written in closed form by solving for the only positive root of (3) in  $e^{\hat{\theta}}$ . We write  $e^{\hat{\theta}} = \Psi(V, 1-V, v)$  where  $\Psi(\alpha, \beta, \gamma)$  is defined as the unique positive root<sup>14</sup> of the second degree equation

$$\alpha \frac{\bar{p}X}{\bar{p}X + 1 - \bar{p}} + \beta \frac{\underline{p}X}{\underline{p}X + 1 - \underline{p}} = \gamma, \quad (4)$$

with  $\alpha, \beta, \gamma \in (0, 1)$ .

The second degree equations solved by  $e^{\theta_n}$  and  $e^{\theta'_n}$  are

$$(V_n - 1/n) \frac{\bar{p}X}{\bar{p}X + 1 - \bar{p}} + (1 - V_n) \frac{\underline{p}X}{\underline{p}X + 1 - \underline{p}} = v_n, \quad (5)$$

and

$$(V_n - 1/n) \frac{\bar{p}X}{\bar{p}X + 1 - \bar{p}} + (1 - V_n) \frac{\underline{p}X}{\underline{p}X + 1 - \underline{p}} = v_n - 1/n \quad (6)$$

respectively. Therefore,  $e^{\theta_n} = \Psi(V_n - 1/n, 1 - V_n, v_n)$  and  $e^{\theta'_n} = \Psi(V_n - 1/n, 1 - V_n, v_n - 1/n)$ . With this, we can prove the following lemma which will prove useful in the analysis since we will show that the limit of the ratio  $R_n$  is a function of  $\hat{\theta}$ .

**Lemma 1.** *The functions  $\theta_n(t)$ ,  $\theta'_n(t)$  and  $\hat{\theta}(t)$  are all continuous and strictly decreasing in  $t$ .  $\theta_n(t)$  and  $\theta'_n(t)$  converge uniformly to  $\hat{\theta}(t)$  in  $\mathcal{O}(1/n)$  on any compact  $\mathcal{K} \subseteq (0, 1)$ . Furthermore  $\hat{\theta}$  is strictly decreasing in  $V$  and strictly increasing in  $v$ . Finally, if  $V > v$ , the uniform convergence result holds on any compact  $\mathcal{K} \subset [0, 1)$ .*

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<sup>14</sup>This root exists as long as  $\alpha + \beta > \gamma$  which will always be true for the cases we are interested in, at least for  $n$  sufficiently high.



*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#) □

## 5.2 Asymptotic Equilibria

We start with standard large deviation results about the tail probabilities of interest. The first parts of points (i) and (ii) in the following lemma are implied by the law of large numbers, the second parts are consequences of the large deviation principle, and in particular of Gärtner-Ellis Theorem.

**Lemma 2.**

(i) For every  $t < \tilde{t}$ , and  $\alpha_n \in \{n_v - 1, n_v\}$

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \Pr(S_n(t) \geq \alpha_n) = 0.$$

Furthermore

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \log \Pr(S_n(t) \geq \alpha_n) = -\left(v\hat{\theta}(t) - \kappa(\hat{\theta}(t))\right) < 0. \quad (7)$$

(ii) For every  $t \geq \tilde{t}$ , and  $\alpha_n \in \{n_v - 1, n_v\}$ ,

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \Pr(S_n(t) \geq \alpha_n) = 1.$$

Furthermore, for every  $t > \tilde{t}$ ,

$$\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{n} \log (1 - \Pr(S_n(t) \geq \alpha_n)) = -\left(v|\hat{\theta}(t)| - \kappa(|\hat{\theta}(t)|)\right) < 0 \quad (8)$$

*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#) □

The lemma implies that the ratio  $R_n$  converges to 1 when  $t \geq \tilde{t}$ . The two probabilities of interest converge to 0 at the same speed in the other case. Although this does not allow

us to make any conclusion at this stage, it shows that the probabilities on which the voters' equilibrium calculations are based converge exponentially fast to 0 or 1.

We start by providing new expressions for the tail probabilities of the form  $\Pr(S_n \geq \alpha_n)$  where  $\alpha_n$  is a sequence of integers, keeping in mind that we will be interested in  $\alpha_n = n_v$  and  $\alpha_n = n_v - 1$ . To obtain these expressions, we use the *exponentially tilted* measures  $P_\theta$ . The following results are adapted from [Jensen \(1995, Section 1.4\)](#).

**Lemma 3.** *For any  $\alpha_n \in \mathbb{Z}$ , and any  $\theta > 0$  we have*

$$\Pr(S_n \geq \alpha_n) = \frac{\varphi_n(\theta)e^{-\theta\alpha_n}}{\sigma_n(\theta)(1 - e^{-\theta})} \sum_{z \geq \alpha_n, z \in \mathbb{Z}} (1 - e^{-\theta})\sigma_n(\theta)e^{-\theta(z - \alpha_n)} P_\theta(S_n = z). \quad (9)$$

*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#). □

We can express the sum in (9) as an inversion integral over the appropriate characteristic function. In order to do that, we need the following inversion formula that can be found in [Jensen \(1995, theorem 1.2.4\)](#), or in [Feller \(1971, Section XV.3\)](#) for a proof.

**Lemma 4** (Inversion Formula). *Let  $X$  be a lattice distribution concentrated on  $\mathbb{Z}$  with maximal step 1. Let*

$$\gamma(s) \equiv E e^{isX} = \sum_{x \in \mathbb{Z}} e^{isx} P(X = x),$$

*be the characteristic function of  $X$ . For any  $x \in \mathbb{Z}$  we have the inversion formula*

$$P(X = x) = (2\pi)^{-1} \int_{-\pi}^{\pi} e^{-isx} \gamma(s) ds. \quad (10)$$

With this, we can prove the following result.

**Lemma 5.** *The sum in (9) can be written as*

$$(2\pi)^{-1} \int_{I_n(\theta)} \varphi_\theta \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta)} \right) J \left( \theta, \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta)} \right) \frac{e^{is(\mu_n(\theta) - \alpha_n)/\sigma_n(\theta)}}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta\sigma_n(\theta)}} ds \quad (11)$$

where

$$J(\theta, z) \equiv \frac{1 + iz/\theta}{1 + \frac{e^{-\theta}}{1-e^{-\theta}}(1 - e^{-iz})},$$

$$\varphi_\theta(z) \equiv \frac{\varphi_n(\theta + iz)}{\varphi_n(\theta)} e^{-iz\mu_n(\theta)},$$

and  $I_n(\theta) \equiv [-\pi\sigma_n(\theta), \pi\sigma_n(\theta)]$ .

*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#). □

Now using (9) and (11) evaluated at  $\theta = \theta'_n$  to express  $\Pr(S_n \geq n_v - 1)$ , and at  $\theta = \theta_n$  to express  $\Pr(S_n \geq n_v)$  we obtain the following expression for  $R_n$  on  $[0, \tilde{t}]$

$$R_n = \frac{\frac{\varphi_n(\theta'_n)e^{-(n_v-1)\theta'_n}}{\sigma_n(\theta'_n)(1-e^{-\theta'_n})}}{\frac{\varphi_n(\theta_n)e^{-n_v\theta_n}}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)(1-e^{-\theta_n})}} \times \frac{\int_{I_n(\theta'_n)} \varphi_{\theta'_n}\left(\frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta'_n)}\right) J\left(\theta'_n, \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta'_n)}\right) \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta'_n\sigma_n(\theta'_n)}} ds}{\int_{I_n(\theta_n)} \varphi_{\theta_n}\left(\frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)}\right) J\left(\theta_n, \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)}\right) \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n\sigma_n(\theta_n)}} ds}, \quad (12)$$

where we used the identities  $\mu_n(\theta_n) = n_v$  and  $\mu_n(\theta'_n) = n_v - 1$  to simplify under the integral. Since  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$  both converge to  $\hat{\theta}$ , it is possible to show that the first fraction converges to  $e^{\hat{\theta}}$ . This is the easier part of the proof, although we need to show that  $\theta_n - \theta'_n$  goes to 0 faster than  $1/n$ . The technical part of the proof is to show that the second fraction converges to 1. In order to do that, we need to approximate the integrals as  $n$  goes to infinity. Consider the integral at the denominator for example. We can approximate  $\varphi_{\theta_n}(s/\sigma_n(\theta_n))$ , which is the characteristic function of the normalized random variable  $(S_n - n_v)/\sigma_n(\theta_n)$  under the exponentially tilted probability  $P_{\theta_n}$ , by  $e^{-s^2/2}$  which is the characteristic function of a standard normal distribution. This is the usual intuition of central limit theorems which say that the distribution of a standardized random variable is asymptotically normal. The term  $J(\theta_n, s/\sigma_n(\theta_n))$  can be approximated by 1, and we are left with the approximation

$$e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n\sigma_n(\theta_n)}}$$

under the integral sign. Finally, since  $\sigma_n(\theta_n) \rightarrow \infty$  as  $n \rightarrow \infty$ , we are left with the integral

$$B_0(\lambda) = \int_{-\infty}^{+\infty} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\lambda}} ds,$$

where  $\lambda = \theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)$ .  $B_0(\lambda)$  is a well studied function that is known to converge to  $(2\pi)^{1/2}$  as  $\lambda \rightarrow \infty$  (see [Jensen, 1995](#), section 2.1). Doing the same calculation for the integral at the numerator gives the result<sup>15</sup>.

The proof follows the big lines of [Jensen \(1995\)](#) with the additional difficulty that we need to show that the convergence is uniform in  $t$ . In fact, we adapt the proof of [Jensen \(1995\)](#) to show the convergence below  $\tilde{t}$ , we use G artner-Ellis theorem above  $\tilde{t}$ , and we build a separate argument to understand asymptotic behavior in the neighborhood of  $\tilde{t}$ .

**Proposition 5** (Convergence of the Best-Responses). *The best-response functions  $\beta_n$  converge pointwise to*

$$\beta(t) \equiv \left( 1 + \frac{u^+}{u^-} \rho(t) \right)^{-1},$$

where

$$\rho(t) \equiv \begin{cases} e^{\hat{\theta}(t)} & \text{if } t < \tilde{t} \\ 1 & \text{if } t \geq \tilde{t} \end{cases}$$

*The convergence is uniform on any compact  $\mathcal{K} \subset (0, 1]$ , and if  $V > v$ , it is uniform on  $[0, 1]$ . Furthermore, the function  $\beta(t)$  is continuous on  $[0, 1]$  and strictly increasing in  $t$  on  $[0, \tilde{t}]$ . It is decreasing in  $v$  and increasing in  $V$ . Finally, if  $V' > V$ , then for every  $t \in (0, \tilde{t}(V, v))$ ,  $\beta(t; V', v) > \beta(t; V, v)$ .*

*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#) □

The fact that  $\beta(\cdot)$  is strictly increasing in  $t$  can be interpreted as a form of strategic complementarities between voters: when all other players increase their common threshold, a voter best responds by increasing her threshold as well. The uniform convergence is needed to ensure

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<sup>15</sup>This is an oversimplified account, but it has the merit of outlining the main steps of the proof.

that the fixed points of  $\beta(\cdot)$  are the limits of the fixed points of  $\beta_n(\cdot)$ . The set of asymptotic equilibria is the set of fixed points of  $\beta(\cdot)$ . Let  $T^* = \{t \in [0, 1] : \beta(t) = t\}$  be this set. The continuity of  $\beta_n(\cdot)$  and  $\beta(\cdot)$  implies that  $T_n^*$  and  $T^*$  are closed sets. Since they are also bounded, we can define the distance to these sets,  $d(t, A) \equiv \sup_{t' \in A} |t - t'|$  for any compact set  $A$ .

**Proposition 6.**

(i)  $0 \in T^* \Leftrightarrow V \leq v$ .

(ii) If  $t_\infty$  is the limit point of a sequence  $\{t_n\}$  such that  $t_n \in T_n^*$ , then  $t_\infty \in T^*$ .

(iii) For every  $\delta > 0$ , there exists some  $N$  such that for every  $n > N$ ,  $t_n \in T_n^*$  implies that  $d(t_n, T^*) < \delta$ .

(iv) If  $t^* \in T^*$  is such that  $\beta(t)$  crosses the 45°-line at  $t^*$ , then there exists  $\{t_n\}$  such that  $t_n \in T_n^*$  and  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} t_n = t^*$ .

*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#) □

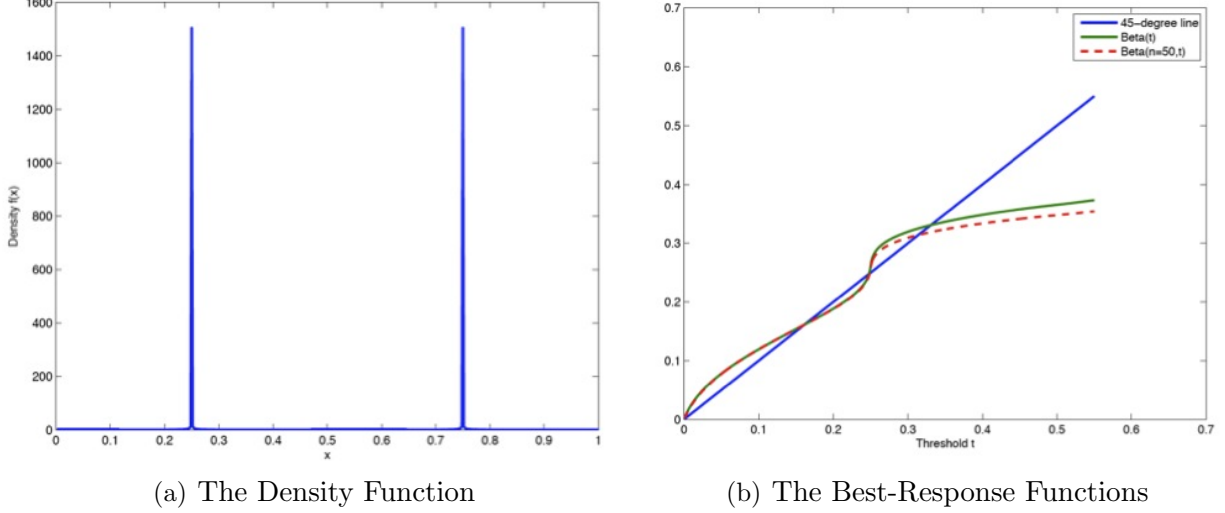
### 5.3 Uniqueness

Equilibria are not unique in general. It can be shown that the uniform distribution  $f(t) = 1$  has at most one equilibrium that is not 0. The next example shows that there can be multiple non null equilibria as well.

*Example 1 (Multiple Equilibria).* Consider the distribution of preferences  $f$  defined by

$$f(x) = \begin{cases} \gamma(1/4 - x + 10^{-5})^{-\frac{10}{11}} & \text{if } 0 \leq x \leq 0.25 \\ \gamma(-1/4 + x + 10^{-5})^{-\frac{10}{11}} & \text{if } 0.25 < x \leq 0.5 \\ \gamma(3/4 - x + 10^{-5})^{-\frac{10}{11}} & \text{if } 0.5 < x \leq 0.75 \\ \gamma(x - 3/4 + 10^{-5})^{-\frac{10}{11}} & \text{if } 0.75 < x \leq 1 \end{cases} \quad (13)$$

Figure 1: An Example with Multiple Equilibria



where  $\gamma$  is chosen to make the surface under  $f(\cdot)$  equal to 1. In Figure 1, we represented the corresponding asymptotic best-response functions for  $V = 0.6$ , and  $v = 0.65$  showing the multiplicity of equilibria. Note that there are multiple stable equilibria as well.

## 5.4 Effects of the Rules

The simple form of the asymptotic best-response function enables us to study the effects of the voting rules. In order to do that, we use the following partial order on subsets of  $\overline{\mathbb{R}}$ : for every  $S, T \subset \overline{\mathbb{R}}$ ,  $S < T$  if and only if  $\inf S \leq \inf T$  and  $\sup S \leq \sup T$ , with at least one of the inequalities holding strictly. The following proposition is a corollary of Proposition 5 which says how the best-response function varies with the rules. We look at the set of equilibria as the image of a function  $T^* : [0, 1]^2 \rightarrow 2^{[0,1]}$  from the set of voting rules to the subsets of  $[0, 1]$ .

**Proposition 7** (Effects of the Rules).  *$T^*(v, V)$  is increasing in  $V$  and decreasing in  $v$ . That is the extremal equilibrium thresholds are increasing with the selection rule and decreasing with the decision rule. Furthermore, if for  $V \neq V'$ ,  $\sup T^*(v, V) = \sup T^*(v, V')$  then they are both greater than  $\tilde{t}$  and equal to  $t_{naive}$ . The same is true if for  $v \neq v'$ ,  $\sup T^*(v, V) = \sup T^*(v', V)$ .*

*Proof.* Given the sense of variation of  $\beta$  with respect to  $v$  and  $V$ , the results follow from Milgrom

and Roberts (1994, Corollary 1). □

Hence equilibrium selection thresholds increase with the selection rule and decrease with the decision rule. The latter result is not very surprising: the harder it is for the proposal to pass the second round, the more willing voters are to bring the issue to the ballot. The first statement may seem more surprising: the more difficult the institution makes it for an issue to be selected, the more selective the voters. In other words, they fail to offset the effect of the selection rule, and accentuate it instead. Suppose for example that the voters always play according to the maximal stable equilibrium threshold (this is the threshold they would converge to if they used a collective learning procedure initialized at the naive threshold). Then the fraction of votes cast in favor of selection<sup>16</sup> decreases as the tally of votes needed to select the issue increases. Note that conditional on being pivotal, selecting an issue when the selection rule is more stringent means that the proposal is more likely to pass. But because a voter keeps the option of voting against the proposal when she selects an issue, the driving force is more subtle. What matters to a voter is the difference in the probability that the proposal eventually passes, conditionally on being pivotal at the selection stage, whether she eventually supports it or not. A more stringent selection rule, makes it relatively more likely that the issue passes when the voter eventually doesn't support it compared to when she does. In order to compensate for that, the voter becomes more selective.

With Proposition 6, we can extend the comparative statics to large but finite committees.

**Proposition 8.** *For every  $V, V', v, v'$  with  $v \leq v'$  and  $V \leq V'$ , there exists  $N$  such that for  $n \geq N$  we have*

$$\sup T^*(V, v) > \sup T^*(V', v) \Rightarrow \sup T_n^*(V, v) > \sup T_n^*(V', v),$$

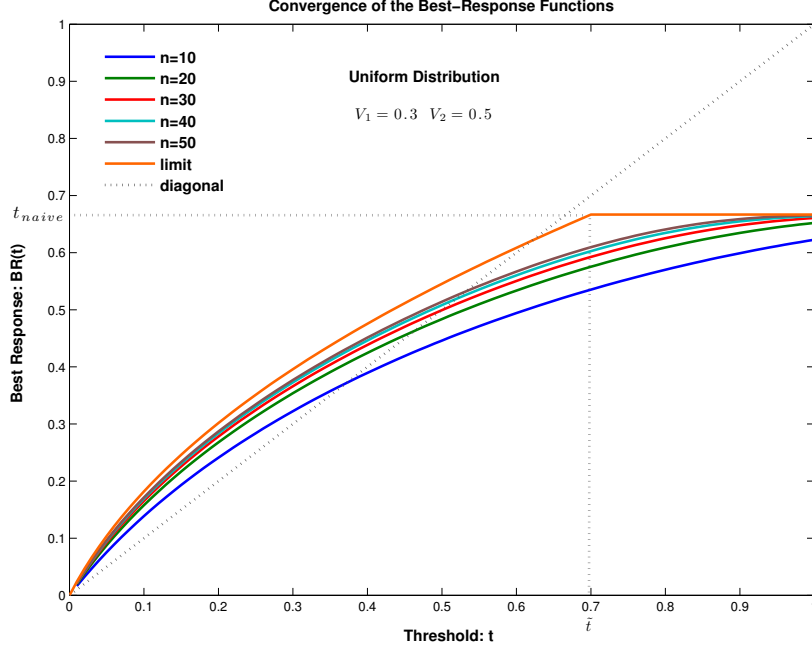
and

$$\sup T^*(V, v) > \sup T^*(V, v') \Rightarrow \sup T_n^*(V, v) > \sup T_n^*(V, v'),$$

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<sup>16</sup>This fraction is  $1 - F(t^*)$  with a large population.

Figure 2:



*Proof.* See [Appendix B](#) □

A similar argument can be made about the lowest fixed points. When the highest fixed points are equal, they are equal to  $t_{naive}$  and then for almost every  $V < V'$ ,  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \sup T_n^*(V, v) = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} \sup T_n^*(V', v) = t_{naive}$ .

*Example 2* (Comparative Statics with the Uniform Distribution). With the closed form expressions of the best-response function for finite committees obtained in the proof of [Proposition 2](#), we can study the equilibria of the finite game for particular distributions. In this section, we illustrate our results for the uniform distribution on  $[0, 1]$ . [Figure 2](#) shows the convergence of the best-response functions; [Figure 3](#) illustrates the comparative statics on the selection rule in the limit; [Figure 4](#) shows the same comparative statics for  $n = 9$ ; finally, [Figure 5](#) shows how the selection threshold and the selection probability vary with the selection rule for  $n = 9$ .

Our comparative statics result is only proved to hold for large committees, but numerical analyses suggest that it may hold irrespective of the size of the committee. [Figure 4](#) illustrates this for the uniform distribution, but we have also run numerical analyses for many distributions



Figure 3:

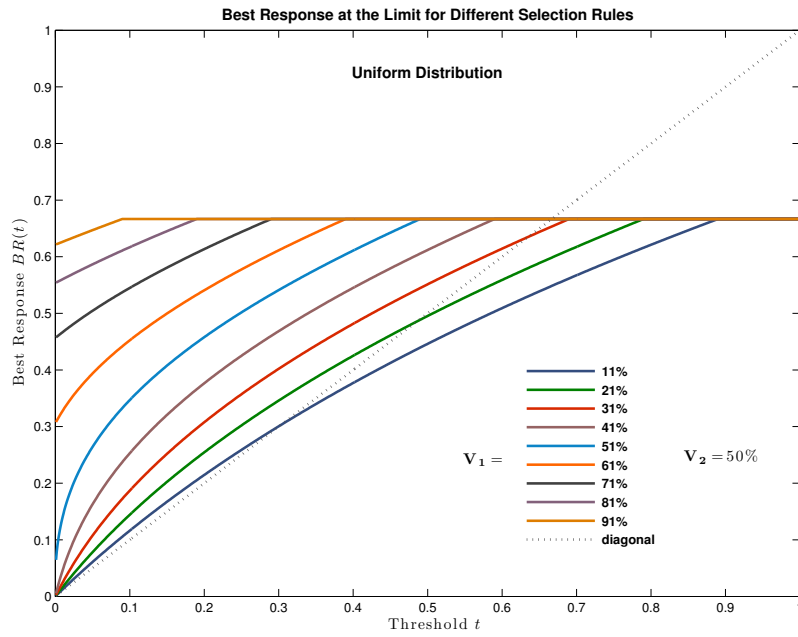


Figure 4:

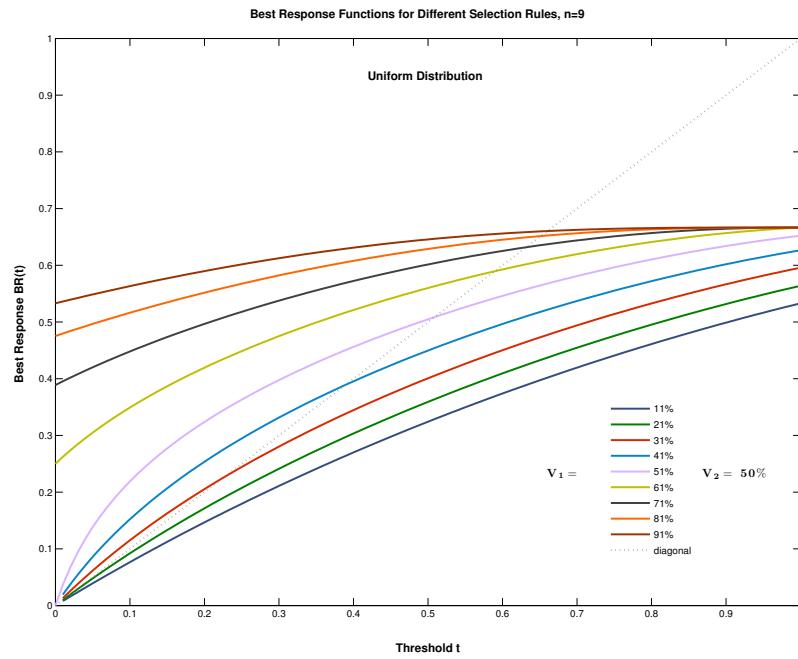
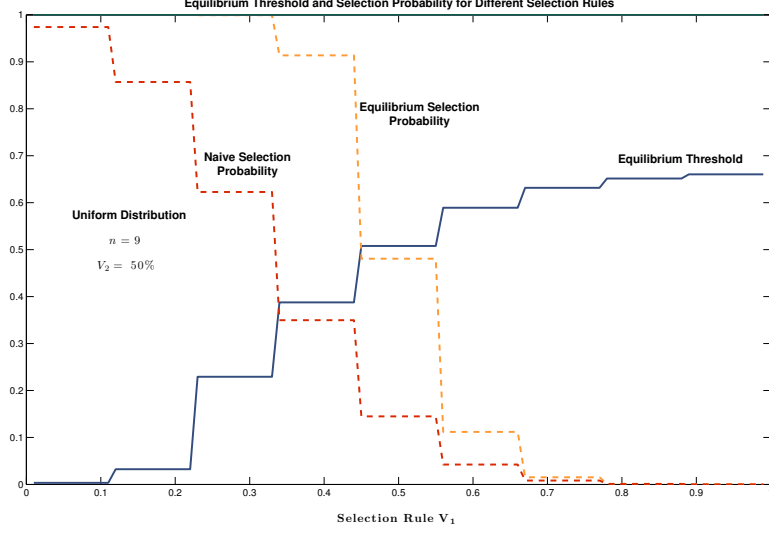


Figure 5:



in the classes of Beta and triangular distributions without ever invalidating the result.

## 5.5 Selection in Subcommittees

It is straightforward (but long) to transpose the asymptotic analysis of the basic model to the case of subcommittees. Let  $\tilde{\theta}(t)$  be such that  $e^{\tilde{\theta}(t)}$  is the unique solution on  $(1, +\infty)$  of the following equation in  $X$

$$\frac{V\bar{p}X}{\bar{p}X + 1 - \bar{p}} + \frac{(S - V)\underline{p}X}{\underline{p}X + 1 - \bar{p}} + \frac{(1 - S)\tilde{p}X}{\tilde{p}X + 1 - \tilde{p}} = v, \quad (14)$$

Let  $\tilde{t}$  be the unique (if any)  $t$  that solves  $V\bar{p}(t) + (S - V)\underline{p}(t) + (1 - S)\tilde{p} = v$ . Then

**Proposition 9** (Convergence of the Best-Responses with Subcommittees). *The best-response functions  $\tilde{\beta}_n$  converges uniformly on  $[0, 1]$  to*

$$\tilde{\beta}(t) = \left(1 + \frac{u^+}{u^-}\tilde{\rho}(t)\right)^{-1},$$

where

$$\tilde{\rho}(t) = \begin{cases} e^{\tilde{\theta}(t)} & \text{if } t < \tilde{t} \\ 1 & \text{if } t \geq \tilde{t} \end{cases}$$

The convergence is uniform on any compact  $\mathcal{K} \subset (0, 1]$ , and if  $V + 1 - S > v$ , it is uniform on  $[0, 1]$ . Furthermore, the function  $\tilde{\beta}(t)$  is continuous on  $[0, 1]$  and strictly increasing in  $t$  on  $[0, \tilde{t}]$ . It is decreasing in  $v$  and increasing in  $V$ . Finally, if  $V' > V$ , then for every  $t \in (0, \tilde{t}(V, v))$ ,  $\tilde{\beta}(t; V', v) > \tilde{\beta}(t; V, v)$ .

And, letting  $T_S^*$  denote the set of equilibria with subcommittees.

**Proposition 10** (Effect of the Rules with Subcommittees).  *$T_S^*(v, V)$  is increasing in  $V$  and decreasing in  $v$ . That is the extremal equilibrium thresholds are increasing with the selection rule and decreasing with the decision rule. Furthermore, for any rule  $(v, V)$ ,  $T_S^*(v, V) \geq T^*(v, V)$ .*

*Proof.* The only point that needs a proof is the last one. For that we just need to compare (3) and (14), and notice that since for every  $t$ ,  $\underline{p}(t) \leq \tilde{p}$ , it must be true that  $e^{\tilde{\theta}(t)} \leq e^{\hat{\theta}(t)}$ , and finally that  $\tilde{\beta}(t) \geq \beta(t)$  which concludes the proof.  $\square$

## 6 Welfare Analysis

So far we haven't tried to answer the question of why selection rules exist, or which rules should be used. In fact, they are useless in the current framework. The optimal voting rule from a utilitarian perspective is to allow every possible issue to be selected by choosing  $V = 0$ , which is equivalent to suppressing the selection stage altogether, and to set  $v = u^- / (u^- + u^+)$  so that the proposal is adopted if and only if the expected utility gain of its supporters is higher than the expected utility loss of its opponents.

The use of selection rules cannot be justified without positing a cost of running the final round. Then there may be some gains in screening issues that cannot make it anyway. This cost may be the cost of gathering more information about the issue in order to formulate a

proposal, or just the opportunity cost of dealing with an issue rather than another for an institution with limited time. In the case of citizens' initiatives, it is the cost to organize a referendum. In what follows, we simply assume a fixed cost  $c$  to organize the final election. We assume a large population and conduct the analysis at the limit. We also focus on a particular equilibrium of the selection game: the highest stable equilibrium threshold. A possible justification for selecting this particular equilibrium is that it is the threshold to which a simple collective learning heuristics converges when initiated at the naive threshold. Let  $t^*$  denote this equilibrium threshold in what follows. It depends on the voting rules and on the distribution that characterizes the issue at stake.

## 6.1 Single Issue

We start by assuming that there is a single issue, or equivalently that all the issues that the institution may face are characterized by the same distribution and the same expected payoffs  $u^+$  and  $u^-$ .

At the limit, the law of large numbers implies that the fraction of the population that eventually supports (and votes for) the proposal is exactly  $\tilde{p}$ , and the fraction of the population that votes to select the issue is  $1 - F(t^*)$ . Then the program of an institution designer with a uniformly weighted utilitarian criterion is

$$\max_{(V,v)} \left( \mathbb{1}_{\tilde{p} \geq v} (\tilde{p}u^+ - (1 - \tilde{p})u^-) - c \right) \mathbb{1}_{1 - F(t_F^*(V,v)) \geq V}. \quad (15)$$

The problem that the selection rule must solve is therefore to screen issues such that  $\tilde{p}u^+ - (1 - \tilde{p})u^- < c$ . If it is successful at doing so, the decision rule can be chosen anywhere in  $\left[0, \frac{u^- + c}{u^- + u^+}\right]$ . Note that the optimal  $v$  in the absence of a selection stage,  $v = \frac{u^-}{u^- + u^+}$ , lies in that interval. For now, we pick some  $v$  anywhere in that interval. An issue is selected if and only if  $t_F^*(V, v) \leq F^{-1}(1 - V)$ . Because the left-hand side is strictly increasing in  $V$  and bounded between 0 and  $\frac{u^-}{u^- + u^+}$ , and the right-hand side is strictly decreasing in  $V$  and equal to 1 at

$V = 0$  and to 0 at  $V = 1$ , it is easy to see that there is a unique  $\tilde{V}_F(v) \in (0, 1)$  such that the issue is always selected when  $V \leq \tilde{V}_F(v)$ , and never selected otherwise. This leads to the following characterization of optimal rules.

**Proposition 11** (Optimal Rules with a Single Issue).

- (i) *With a single issue such that  $\tilde{p}_F \geq \frac{u^- + c}{u^- + u^+}$ , any rule such that  $v \leq \frac{u^- + c}{u^- + u^+}$  and  $V \leq \tilde{V}_F(v)$  is optimal.*
- (ii) *With a single issue such that  $\tilde{p}_F \leq \frac{u^- + c}{u^- + u^+}$ , any rule such that  $V > \tilde{V}_F(v)$  is optimal.*

## 6.2 Multiple Issues

Suppose now that the committee can face different issues from a finite set  $\mathcal{I} = \{1, \dots, I\}$  indexed by  $\iota$ . Each issue is characterized by a distribution  $F_\iota$  and payoff parameters  $u_\iota^-, u_\iota^+, c_\iota$ . Note that the index  $\iota$  is for the issues and not the voters. We allow the cost of organizing the final vote to depend on the particular issue. Let  $\lambda_\iota \equiv \frac{u_\iota^- + c_\iota}{u_\iota^- + u_\iota^+}$ . For each issue and each decision rule  $v$  there is a unique  $\tilde{V}_\iota(v) \equiv \tilde{V}_{F_\iota}(v)$  defined as in the single-issue case such that the issue  $\iota$  is selected if and only if  $V \leq \tilde{V}_\iota(v)$ . Finally, let  $\tilde{p}_\iota$  denote the mean of  $F_\iota$ .

With these notations, we can define the set of issues that are optimally selected  $\mathcal{I}^+ \equiv \{\iota | \tilde{p}_\iota \geq \lambda_\iota\}$ , and the set of issues that are optimally screened  $\mathcal{I}^- \equiv \{\iota | \tilde{p}_\iota \leq \lambda_\iota\}$ . We say that a rule achieves *perfect discrimination* if it selects every issue in  $\mathcal{I}^+$  and none other.

And for any decision rule  $v$ , let  $\tilde{V}^+(v) \equiv \min_{\iota \in \mathcal{I}^+} \tilde{V}_\iota(v)$ , and  $\tilde{V}^-(v) \equiv \max_{\iota \in \mathcal{I}^-} \tilde{V}_\iota$ . For a given  $v$ ,  $\tilde{V}^+(v)$  is the highest possible selection rule that selects every issue in  $\mathcal{I}^+$ , and  $\tilde{V}^-(v)$  is the lowest possible selection rule that screens every issue in  $\mathcal{I}^-$ . The following proposition is a direct consequence of the single-issue case.

**Proposition 12** (Perfectly Discriminating Rules with Multiple Issues).

- (i) *If there exists some  $v^* \leq \min_{\mathcal{I}^+} \lambda_\iota$  such that  $\tilde{V}^-(v^*) \leq \tilde{V}^+(v^*)$ , then any voting procedure  $(V^*, v^*)$  such that  $\tilde{V}^-(v^*) \leq V^* \leq \tilde{V}^+(v^*)$  achieves perfect discrimination and is therefore optimal.*

(ii) *If for every  $v \leq \min_{\mathcal{I}^+} \lambda_i$ ,  $\tilde{V}^-(v) > \tilde{V}^+(v)$ , there is no voting procedure that achieves perfect discrimination.*

In case (ii), any voting procedure is bound to generate type I and type II errors even though we conducted the analysis at the limit in the size of the committee where there is no uncertainty about which issues should be selected and which issues should be screened. This result suggests an explanation for why certain institutions may use different rules for different types of issues. To characterize the optimal rules in case (ii), more structure is needed so that type I errors can be weighed against type II errors.

## 7 Final Remarks

We have developed a model of issue selection in committees which predicts that voters are more conservative when the selection rule is more stringent. The decision rule has the opposite effect. Our results rely on the assumptions that voters are uncertain about their own final preferences at the selection stage, and their preferences are independent. It would naturally be interesting to understand how correlations in preferences would affect our results, but this question poses considerable technical difficulties and it is left for future research.

Under favorable identification conditions, our results could be tested directly. However, the rules of these institutions rarely change, if at all. For the case of the Supreme Court, as for other major institutions, the continuation of the rules is usually interpreted as a guarantee of credibility. Finding an identification strategy to test our predictions on “established” committees is a stimulating direction for future research. Our model may also have normative applications. Indeed, we derive efficient selection and decision rules that depend on the costs of organizing elections. As such, we provide a rationale for the choice of an agenda-setting procedure for emerging or established institutions that have no explicit rules, such as the Committee of Permanent representatives of the European Union. Our results can also be used for the choice of rules for citizens’ initiatives, a procedure that has recently been introduced or extended in

several European countries. The wide variety of committees that use, or could use, selection rules calls for a better understanding of their effect, and offers several potential applications for this research.

## Appendix A Proof of the Equilibrium Characterization

***Proof of Proposition 2: Equilibrium Characterization.*** The expected utility of voter  $i$  if the issue is selected, conditional on the event  $\mathcal{E}_i$  that her vote is pivotal, is given by  $E(U_i|\mathcal{E}_i)$ , which is of the form  $(A_i + B_i)p_i - B_i$ , where

$$A_i = u^+ E \left( \sum_{\substack{C \subseteq N_i \\ \#C \geq n_v - 1}} \prod_{j \in C} p_j \prod_{l \in N_i \setminus C} (1 - p_l) \middle| \mathcal{E}_i \right) > 0,$$

and

$$B_i = u^- E \left( \sum_{\substack{C \subseteq N_i \\ \#C \geq n_v}} \prod_{j \in C} p_j \prod_{l \in N_i \setminus C} (1 - p_l) \middle| \mathcal{E}_i \right) > 0.$$

$i$  selects the issue if this expression is greater than 0, that is if  $p_i > t_i = B_i/(A_i + B_i)$ . Clearly  $B_i/u^- < A_i/u^+$  implying  $t_i = B_i/(A_i + B_i) < u^-/(u^- + u^+)$ .

In a symmetric equilibrium, all the voters use the same threshold  $t$ , and  $\mathcal{E}_i$  is the event that exactly  $n_V - 1$  voters in  $N_i$  have a type  $p$  above  $t$ . The expected value of their type is then that is  $\bar{p}(t)$ , while for the  $n_V^c$  other voters in  $N_i$ , it is  $\underline{p}(t)$ . Because the types are independent,  $A$  and  $B$  can be written as follows, where the subscript  $i$  is no longer needed because of the symmetry,

$$A = u^+ \sum_{s=n_v-1}^{n-1} \sum_{\substack{j+l=s \\ j \leq n_v-1 \\ l \leq n_v^c}} \binom{n_V-1}{j} \binom{n_V^c}{l} \bar{p}(t)^j (1-\bar{p}(t))^{n_V-1-j} \underline{p}(t)^l (1-\underline{p}(t))^{n_V^c-l} = \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v-1) u^+,$$

and

$$B = u^- \sum_{s=n_v}^{n-1} \sum_{\substack{j+l=s \\ j \leq n_v-1 \\ l \leq n_v^c}} \binom{n_v-1}{j} \binom{n_v^c}{l} \bar{p}(t)^j (1-\bar{p}(t))^{n_v-1-j} \underline{p}(t)^l (1-\underline{p}(t))^{n_v^c-l} = \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v) u^-.$$

And in the summation term, we can recognize the probability mass function of the random variable  $S_n(t)$  which gives the tally of votes eventually cast by other voters in favor of the proposal given a pivotal voter's information. Then the best response function of this voter is given by  $\beta_n(t)$ , and the symmetric equilibria of the game are the fixed points of  $\beta_n$ .

The expressions of  $A$  and  $B$  imply the continuity of  $\beta_n$  and, since  $\beta_n$  maps the unit interval to itself, Brouwer's fixed point theorem implies the existence of a symmetric equilibrium.  $\square$

## Appendix B Proofs for the Asymptotic Analysis

We start by providing the inversion formula for continuous distributions without proof, it is the continuous analog of [Lemma 4](#) and a well known result<sup>17</sup>. Then we prove three additional lemmas which are useful for the main proofs. Some of these proofs use results from [Lemma 1](#), which was stated in the main body of the paper and is proved below.

**Lemma 6** (Inversion Formula for Continuous Distributions). *Let  $X$  be a real random variable with a density function  $g(x)$  on  $\mathbb{R}$ . Let*

$$\gamma(s) \equiv E e^{isX} = \int_{\mathbb{R}} e^{isx} g(x) dx,$$

*be its characteristic function. Then for any  $x \in \mathbb{R}$  we have the inversion formula*

$$g(x) = (2\pi)^{-1} \int_{-\pi}^{\pi} e^{-isx} \gamma(s) ds.$$

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<sup>17</sup>See [Jensen \(1995\)](#) or [Feller \(1971\)](#)



**Lemma 7.** For every compact  $\mathcal{K} \subset (0, 1)$  (or  $\mathcal{K} \subset [0, 1]$  if  $V > v$ ), there exist positive constants  $c_\sigma, C_\sigma > 0$  such that for every  $n$  sufficiently large and every  $t \in \mathcal{K}$ , we have

$$c_\sigma \sqrt{n} \leq \min\{\sigma_n(\theta_n(t)), \sigma_n(\theta'_n(t))\} \leq \max\{\sigma_n(\theta_n(t)), \sigma_n(\theta'_n(t))\} \leq C_\sigma \sqrt{n}.$$

*Proof.* The definition of  $\sigma_n$  implies that for any  $\theta$

$$\frac{\sigma_n(\theta)}{\sqrt{n}} = \left\{ \frac{(V_n - 1/n) \bar{p}(t)(1 - \bar{p}(t))e^\theta}{(\bar{p}(t)e^\theta + 1 - \bar{p}(t))^2} + \frac{(1 - V_n) \underline{p}(t)(1 - \underline{p}(t))e^\theta}{(\underline{p}(t)e^\theta + 1 - \underline{p}(t))^2} \right\}^{1/2}.$$

By Lemma 1 (see the proof of this lemma for more precision), we can bound  $\theta_n(t)$  and  $\theta'_n(t)$  upward and downward by the same values  $\bar{\theta}$  and  $\underline{\theta}$  for every  $t \in \mathcal{K}$  and every  $n$  sufficiently large. Since  $\underline{p}$  and  $\bar{p}$  are increasing in  $t$ , we can write that for every  $t \in \mathcal{K}$

$$\frac{\{(V_n - 1/n) \tilde{p}e^{\underline{\theta}}\}^{1/2}}{1 - \tilde{p} + e^{\underline{\theta}}} \leq \frac{\sigma_n(\theta_n(t))}{\sqrt{n}} \leq e^{\bar{\theta}/2} \left\{ \frac{(V_n - 1/n)}{(\tilde{p}e^{\underline{\theta}})^2} + \frac{(1 - V_n) \tilde{p}}{(1 - \tilde{p} + e^{\underline{\theta}})^2} \right\}^{1/2}.$$

Because the right hand-side and the left hand-side both converge to finite and strictly positive real numbers, we can conclude for  $\theta_n$ . We can write the same for  $\theta'_n$ .  $\square$

**Lemma 8.** For every compact  $\mathcal{K} \subset (0, 1)$  (or  $\mathcal{K} \subset [0, 1]$  if  $V > v$ ), there exist positive constants  $C \leq c_\sigma$  and  $\bar{\kappa}$  such that for every  $s \in [-C\sqrt{n}, C\sqrt{n}]$ , every  $t \in \mathcal{K}$ , and every  $n$  sufficiently large we have

$$\left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{4} \right).$$

*Proof.* Consider the complex valued function  $\kappa_n(s) = \frac{1}{n} \log \varphi_{\theta_n}(s/\sigma_n(\theta_n))$ . We will expand it in  $s$  to prove the result. For that, we start by writing

$$\kappa_n(s) = (V_n - 1/n) \log \left( \frac{\bar{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \bar{p}}{\bar{p} \exp(\theta_n) + 1 - \bar{p}} \right) + (1 - V_n) \log \left( \frac{\underline{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \underline{p}}{\underline{p} \exp(\theta_n) + 1 - \underline{p}} \right) - i\mu s/\sigma,$$

where we use the notations  $\sigma$  for  $\sigma_n(\theta_n)$ ,  $\theta$  for  $\theta_n$  and  $\mu$  for  $\mu_n(\theta_n) = n_v$ . Then the first and

second derivatives are

$$\kappa'_n(s) = \frac{i}{\sigma} \left( (V_n - 1/n) \frac{\bar{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma)}{\bar{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \bar{p}} + (1 - V_n) \frac{\underline{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma)}{\underline{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \underline{p}} - \mu \right),$$

and

$$\kappa''_n(s) = \left( \frac{i}{\sigma} \right)^2 \left( (V_n - 1/n) \frac{\bar{p}(1 - \bar{p}) \exp(\theta + is/\sigma)}{(\bar{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \bar{p})^2} + (1 - V_n) \frac{\underline{p}(1 - \underline{p}) \exp(\theta + is/\sigma)}{(\underline{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \underline{p})^2} \right).$$

By construction, we have  $\kappa'_n(0) = 0$  and  $\kappa''_n(0) = -1/n$ . An elementary proof by induction shows that for  $k \geq 2$  we can write

$$\kappa_n^{(k)}(s) = \left( \frac{i}{\sigma} \right)^k \left( (V_n - 1/n) \frac{\bar{Q}_k(\exp(\theta + is/\sigma))}{(\bar{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \bar{p})^k} + (1 - V_n) \frac{\underline{Q}_k(\exp(\theta + is/\sigma))}{(\underline{p} \exp(\theta + is/\sigma) + 1 - \underline{p})^k} \right),$$

where  $\bar{Q}_k$  and  $\underline{Q}_k$  are polynomials of degree  $k - 1$  whose coefficients are polynomials in  $\bar{p}$  and  $\underline{p}$  respectively. For a polynomial  $P(X)$ , we let  $|P|(X)$  be the polynomial whose coefficients are the norms of the coefficients of  $P(X)$ . Then we can bound  $\kappa_n^{(k)}(s)$  upward on any interval  $I = [-A\sigma\pi, A\sigma\pi]$  with  $A < 1$  by

$$\bar{\kappa}_k(t) = \left( \frac{1}{\sigma} \right)^k \left( \frac{|\bar{Q}_k|(e^\theta)}{\bar{m}^k} + \frac{|\underline{Q}_k|(e^\theta)}{\underline{m}^k} \right),$$

where

$$\bar{m} = \min_{z \in [-A\pi, A\pi]} |\bar{p}e^{\theta+iz} + (1 - \bar{p})| > 0,$$

and

$$\underline{m} = \min_{z \in [-A\pi, A\pi]} |\underline{p}e^{\theta+iz} + (1 - \underline{p})| > 0.$$

The dependency of  $\bar{\kappa}_k$  on  $t$  comes through  $\theta = \theta_n(t)$ ,  $\sigma = \sigma_n(\theta_n(t))$ ,  $\bar{p}(t)$  and  $\underline{p}(t)$ . In particular, we have shown that  $\kappa_n^{(3)}(s)$  is Lipschitz-continuous on  $I = [-A\sigma\pi, A\sigma\pi]$  since its derivative is uniformly bounded on  $I$ . This in turn implies that  $\kappa_n^{(3)}(s)$  is absolutely continuous so that

for every  $s \in I$ , by the fundamental theorem of calculus, we can write the following Taylor expansion for  $\kappa_n(s)$

$$\kappa_n(s) = -\frac{s^2}{2n} + \int_0^s \frac{\kappa_n^{(3)}(u)}{2} (s-u)^2 du.$$

And using [Lemma 7](#) to bound  $\sigma$ , this leads to

$$\left| \kappa_n(s) + \frac{s^2}{2n} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{\kappa}_3}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{3/2}} |s|^3.$$

Remark that  $\bar{\kappa}_3$  is continuous in  $t$  on  $\mathcal{K}$  so that we can define  $\bar{\kappa} \equiv \max_{t \in K} \bar{\kappa}_3$  and replace  $\bar{\kappa}_3$  by  $\bar{\kappa}$  in the expression above. Hence we can write that

$$\varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n(t))} \right) = \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{2} + \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \omega \right),$$

where  $\omega$  is some complex number with norm less than or equal to 1. Then we can use the following inequality which is a particular case of an inequality from [Feller \(1971, p.535\)](#) and holds for any  $\lambda \in \mathbb{C}$

$$|e^\lambda - 1| \leq |\lambda| e^{|\lambda|}.$$

With  $\lambda = \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \omega$ , we obtain

$$\left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{4} \right) \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{4} + \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \right).$$

And for  $|s| \leq cn^{\frac{1}{2}}$  with  $c = \frac{3c_\sigma^3}{2\bar{\kappa}}$ , the second exponential term is bounded upward by 1. Fixing some  $A > 1$  and choosing

$$C \equiv \min \{c, Ac_\sigma \pi\},$$

we have shown that for every  $s$  such that  $|s| \leq C\sqrt{n}$ , every  $t \in K$ , and  $n$  sufficiently large

$$\left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{4} \right).$$

□

For the next two lemmas let  $\gamma(u) \equiv E e^{iuS_n}$  be the characteristic function of  $S_n$ . Then  $\tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{u}{s_n}\right) \equiv \gamma\left(\frac{u}{s_n}\right) e^{-\frac{iunm_n}{s_n}}$ , with  $m_n(t) = \frac{1}{n}E S_n(t)$  and  $s_n(t) = \sqrt{\text{Var}S_n(t)}$ , is the characteristic function of the standardized random variable  $Z_n(t) \equiv \frac{S_n(t) - nm_n(t)}{s_n(t)}$ .

**Lemma 9.** *There exist positive constants  $c_s, C_s$  such that for  $n$  sufficiently large and every  $t \in [0, 1]$*

$$c_s < \frac{s_n}{n^{1/2}} < C_s.$$

*Proof.* This is because

$$\frac{s_n^2}{n} = (V_n - 1/n)\bar{p}(t)(1 - \bar{p}(t)) + (1 - V_n)\underline{p}(t)(1 - \underline{p}(t))$$

converges uniformly on  $[0, 1]$  to  $V\bar{p}(t)(1 - \bar{p}(t)) + (1 - V)\underline{p}(t)(1 - \underline{p}(t)) > 0$ . □

**Lemma 10.** *There exist positive constants  $C' \leq c_s\sqrt{n}$  and  $\bar{k}$  such that for every  $u \in [-C'\sqrt{n}, C'\sqrt{n}]$ , every  $t \in [0, 1]$ , and  $n$  sufficiently large we have*

$$\left| \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{u}{s_n(t)}\right) - e^{-\frac{u^2}{2}} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{k}}{6c_s^3n^{1/2}} |u|^3 \exp\left(-\frac{u^2}{4}\right).$$

*Proof.* The proof is essentially the same as for [Lemma 8](#) and we do not write it down to save space. □

**Proof of Lemma 1: Convergence of  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$ .** Let  $\bar{k} = \sup \mathcal{K} < 1$  and  $\underline{k} = \inf \mathcal{K} > 0$ . The functions  $\bar{p}(t)$ ,  $\underline{p}(t)$ ,  $1 - \bar{p}(t)$  and  $1 - \underline{p}(t)$  are all continuous on  $[0, 1]$  and bounded downward by 0 and upward by 1. Since  $\bar{p}$  and  $\underline{p}$  are increasing in  $t$ , it is easy to see on (4) that  $\hat{\theta}$ ,  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$  are all decreasing in  $t$ . Letting  $\hat{\psi} = e^{\hat{\theta}}$ , and  $\psi_n = e^{\theta_n}$  and  $\psi'_n = e^{\theta'_n}$ , we have that, for every  $t \in K$ ,  $\psi_n(\bar{k}) \leq \psi_n(t)$ ,  $\psi'_n(t) \leq \psi_n(\underline{k})$ . Because the function  $\Psi(\cdot)$  is continuous,  $\psi_n$  and  $\psi'_n$  converge pointwise to  $\hat{\psi}$ , and this implies that for  $n$  sufficiently large,  $\psi_n(\underline{k})$ ,  $\psi'_n(\underline{k}) \leq 2\hat{\psi}(\underline{k})$  and  $\psi_n(\bar{k})$ ,  $\psi'_n(\bar{k}) \geq \hat{\psi}(\bar{k})/2$ . Letting  $\underline{\theta} = \log(\hat{\psi}(1)/2)$  and  $\bar{\theta} = \log(2\hat{\psi}(0))$ , we have shown that

for  $n$  sufficiently large, the functions  $\theta_n(t)$ ,  $\theta'_n(t)$  and  $\hat{\theta}(t)$  are uniformly bounded downward and upward by (respectively)  $\underline{\theta}$  and  $\bar{\theta}$ .

Then using the closed form expressions of  $\theta_n$  and  $\hat{\theta}$ , and the inequality  $|\log x - \log y| \leq \max_{y \leq z \leq x} (z^{-1}) \times |x - y|$ , we have, for  $n$  sufficiently large and every  $t \in K$ ,

$$\left| \hat{\theta}(t) - \theta_n(t) \right| \leq e^{-\underline{\theta}} \left| \Psi(V, 1 - V, v; t) - \Psi(V_n - 1/n, 1 - V_n, v_n; t) \right|$$

Now  $\Psi \equiv \Psi(V, 1 - V, v; t)$  and  $\Psi_n \equiv \Psi(V_n - 1/n, 1 - V_n, v_n; t)$  respectively solve the equations

$$a\Psi^2 + b\Psi + c = 0 \tag{16}$$

and

$$a_n\Psi_n^2 + b_n\Psi_n + c_n = 0 \tag{17}$$

with  $a = v\underline{p}\bar{p}$ ,  $b = (V - v)\bar{p}(1 - \underline{p}) + (1 - V - v)\underline{p}(1 - \bar{p})$ ,  $c = -v(1 - \bar{p})(1 - \underline{p})$ ,  $a_n = v_n\underline{p}\bar{p}$ ,  $b_n = (V_n - 1/n - v_n)\bar{p}(1 - \underline{p}) + (1 - V_n - v_n)\underline{p}(1 - \bar{p})$ , and  $c_n = -v_n(1 - \bar{p})(1 - \underline{p})$ . Subtracting (17) to (16), we obtain with some algebra

$$|\Psi - \Psi_n| = \frac{|(a_n - a)\Psi_n^2 + (b_n - b)\Psi_n + (c_n - c)|}{|b + a(\Psi + \Psi_n)|}.$$

The term at the numerator is bounded upward uniformly in  $t$  by

$$|v_n - v| e^{2\bar{\theta}} + 2(|V_n - V| + |v - v_n|) e^{\bar{\theta}} + |v_n - v|.$$

The term at the denominator is bounded downward by

$$M(t) = \max(|b| - |a| \cdot |\Psi + \Psi_n|, |a| \cdot |\Psi + \Psi_n| - |b|).$$

We can write that  $|b| - |a| \cdot |\Psi + \Psi_n| \geq |b| - 2|a| e^{\bar{\theta}}$  and  $|a| \cdot |\Psi + \Psi_n| - |b| \geq 2|a| e^{\underline{\theta}} - |b|$ .

Hence for every  $t \in [0, 1]$ ,  $M(t) \geq m(t) = \max(|b| - 2|a|e^{\bar{\theta}}, 2|a|e^{\underline{\theta}} - |b|)$ . But then  $m(t)$  is continuous on the compact  $\mathcal{K}$  and therefore attains its minimum  $m \geq 0$ . If  $m = 0$ , there must exist some  $t$  such that  $|b(t)| = 2|a(t)|e^{\bar{\theta}} = 2|a(t)|e^{\underline{\theta}}$ . This is possible if and only if  $a(t) = 0$ , that is if  $t = 0 \notin \mathcal{K}$ , a contradiction. Therefore  $m > 0$ , and we can write

$$|\Psi - \Psi_n| \leq m^{-1} \left( |v_n - v| e^{2\bar{\theta}} + 2(|V_n - V| + |v - v_n|) e^{\bar{\theta}} + |v_n - v| \right), \quad (18)$$

where the right-hand side converges to 0 in  $\mathcal{O}(1/n)$  and is independent of  $t$ .

If  $V > v$ , then  $\hat{\theta}(0)$  is finite and we can extend the reasoning above to compacts that include 0. To see that  $\hat{\theta}(0)$  is finite, suppose that  $\lim_{t \rightarrow 0} \hat{\theta}(t) = \infty$ . Then if we take the limit of (4) as  $t \rightarrow 0$  with  $(\alpha, \beta, \gamma) = (V, 1 - V, v)$ , we obtain that

$$\lim_{t \rightarrow 0} \underline{p}(t) e^{\hat{\theta}(t)} = \frac{v - V}{1 - v},$$

but this is only possible if  $V \leq v$  because  $\underline{p}(t) e^{\hat{\theta}(t)}$  is positive for every  $t$ .

For the sense of variation of  $\hat{\theta}(t)$ , note that  $\bar{p}$  and  $\underline{p}$  are both strictly increasing in  $t$ , implying that the functions  $\frac{1-\bar{p}}{\bar{p}}$  and  $\frac{1-\underline{p}}{\underline{p}}$  are strictly decreasing in  $t$ . Writing that

$$\frac{V}{e^{-\hat{\theta}} + \frac{1-\bar{p}}{\bar{p}}} + \frac{1-V}{e^{-\hat{\theta}} + \frac{1-\underline{p}}{\underline{p}}} = v, \quad (19)$$

shows that  $\hat{\theta}$  must be strictly decreasing in  $t$ . This also gives us the sense of variation with respect to  $v$ . The senses of variation of  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$  are obtained similarly. The continuity of each of these three functions is proved by examination of their closed form expressions.

For the sense of variation with respect to  $V$ , we notice that  $\hat{\theta}$  is continuously differentiable with respect to  $V$  by looking at its closed form expression, and proceed to differentiate (19)

with respect to  $V$  yielding

$$dV \left\{ \frac{1}{1 + \frac{\bar{p}}{1-\bar{p}}e^{-\hat{\theta}}} - \frac{1}{1 + \frac{p}{1-p}e^{-\hat{\theta}}} \right\} + e^{-\hat{\theta}} d\hat{\theta} \left\{ \frac{V}{\left(1 + \frac{\bar{p}}{1-\bar{p}}e^{-\hat{\theta}}\right)^2} + \frac{1-V}{\left(1 + \frac{p}{1-p}e^{-\hat{\theta}}\right)^2} \right\} = 0,$$

implying that  $\text{sign}\left(\frac{d\hat{\theta}}{dV}\right) = \text{sign}\left(\frac{1}{1 + \frac{p}{1-p}e^{-\hat{\theta}}} - \frac{1}{1 + \frac{\bar{p}}{1-\bar{p}}e^{-\hat{\theta}}}\right) = -1$  as  $\bar{p} > \underline{p}$ .  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 2: Convergence of the Tail Probabilities.** The first part of point (i) and point (ii) are immediate consequences of the strong law of large numbers which states that for every  $\varepsilon, \delta > 0$ , there is some  $N_{\varepsilon, \delta}$  such that for every  $n > N_{\varepsilon, \delta}$ ,

$$\Pr\left(\frac{|S_n - m_n|}{n} < \varepsilon\right) > 1 - \delta.$$

Indeed, we can write

$$\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v) = \Pr\left(\frac{S_n - m_n}{n} \geq \frac{n_v - m_n}{n}\right),$$

and since  $m_n/n \rightarrow m$  and  $n_v/n \rightarrow v$ , for any  $\eta > 0$ , there is some  $N_\eta$  such that, for every  $n > N_\eta$ ,

$$v - m - \eta < \frac{n_v - m_n}{n} < v - m + \eta.$$

Then,

$$\Pr\left(\frac{S_n - m_n}{n} > v - m + \eta\right) < \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v) < \Pr\left(\frac{S_n - m_n}{n} > v - m - \eta\right).$$

If  $v > m$ , we can choose  $\eta$  such that, for a given small  $\varepsilon$ ,  $v - m - \eta > \varepsilon$ . But then, for any  $\delta > 0$  and  $n > \max(N_\eta, N_{\varepsilon, \delta})$ ,

$$\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v) < \Pr\left(\frac{S_n - m_n}{n} > v - m - \eta\right) < \Pr\left(\frac{S_n - m_n}{n} > \varepsilon\right) < 1 - \Pr\left(\frac{|S_n - m_n|}{n} < \varepsilon\right) < \delta,$$

which proves that  $\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v) \rightarrow 0$  when  $m < v$ . The arguments for  $m \geq v$ , and for  $\Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)$  work in the same way. The second parts of point (i) and (ii) result from a direct application of the Gärtner-Ellis Theorem.  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 3: Rewriting the Tail Probabilities–1.** Using (2) we can write

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr(S_n \geq \alpha_n) &= \int_{z \geq \alpha_n} P(dz) = \int_{z \geq \alpha_n} \frac{dP}{dP_\theta}(z) P_\theta(dz) \\ &= \int_{z \geq \alpha_n} \varphi_n(\theta) e^{-\theta z} P_\theta(dz) = \varphi_n(\theta) e^{-\theta \alpha_n} E_\theta(e^{-\theta(S_n - \alpha_n)} \mathbb{1}_{S_n \geq \alpha_n}) \\ &= \varphi_n(\theta) e^{-\theta \alpha_n} \sum_{z \geq \alpha_n, z \in \mathbb{Z}} e^{-\theta(z - \alpha_n)} P_\theta(S_n = z). \end{aligned}$$

And this proves the lemma since the other terms in (9) cancel each other out.  $\square$

**Proof of Lemma 5: Rewriting the Tail Probabilities–2.** The summation term in (9) is  $\sigma_n(\theta)$  times the point probability  $P_\theta(S_n - \alpha_n - Y = 0)$  where  $Y$  is independent of  $S_n$  and  $P_\theta(Y = y) = (1 - e^{-\theta}) e^{-\theta y}$  for  $y = 0, 1, 2, \dots$  (this works because  $\theta > 0$ ). Then  $S_n - \alpha_n - Y$  is concentrated on  $\mathbb{Z}$  with maximal step 1 and its characteristic function is

$$\frac{\varphi_n(\theta + is/\sigma_n(\theta))}{\varphi_n(\theta)} e^{is\mu_n(\theta)/\sigma_n(\theta)} e^{is(\mu_n(\theta) - \alpha_n)} \frac{1 - e^{-\theta}}{1 - e^{-\theta - is}}.$$

Using the inversion formula in (10), we obtain (11) after scaling the integrand.  $\square$

**Proof of Proposition 5: Convergence of the Best-Responses.** Let  $\mathcal{K} = [k, 1]$  with  $0 < k < \tilde{t}$  if  $V \leq v$  and  $k = 0$  if  $V > v$ . For some fixed  $0 < \alpha < 1/2$ , we define the sets

$$I_N^\ell \equiv \left\{ t \in [0, 1] : \hat{\theta}(t) \geq N^{\alpha-1/2} \right\} \cap \mathcal{K},$$

$$I_N^m \equiv \left\{ t \in [0, 1] : |\hat{\theta}(t)| \leq N^{-\alpha-1/2} \right\},$$

$$I_N^h \equiv \left\{ t \in [0, 1] : \hat{\theta}(t) \leq -N^{\alpha-1/2} \right\}.$$



Note that, because  $\hat{\theta}$  is continuous, strictly decreasing in  $t$  and crosses 0 at  $\tilde{t}$ ,  $I_N^\ell$  is of the form  $[0, t_0]$  ( $\ell$  stands for *low*  $t$ 's),  $I_N^m$  is of the form  $[t_1, t_2]$  with  $t_1 < \tilde{t} < t_2$  ( $m$  stands for *middle*  $t$ 's) and  $I_N^h$  is of the form  $[t_3, 1]$  ( $h$  stands for *high*  $t$ 's). Also for a given  $N$ ,  $t_0 < t_1 < t_2 < t_3$  so that the intervals do not cover  $\mathcal{K}$ .

Because  $\theta_n$  converges uniformly to  $\hat{\theta}$  in  $\mathcal{O}(1/n)$  (faster than  $1/n^{1/2-\alpha}$ ), it must be true that for  $N$  sufficiently large and  $n \geq N$  we can bound any  $\theta_n(t)$  downward on  $I_N^\ell$  by  $\underline{\theta}_N \equiv \frac{1}{2N^{1/2-\alpha}}$ . For the same reason, we can bound any  $|\theta_n(t)|$  downward by the same  $\underline{\theta}_N$  on  $I_N^h$ .

We divide the proof into six parts, the first five of which prove the uniform convergence. Part I and II prove that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} |R_n(t) - \exp(\hat{\theta}(t))|$$

converges to 0 as  $N$  goes to infinity. Specifically, part I shows that each of the integrals at the numerator and the denominator of the second fraction in (12) converges to  $(2\pi)^{1/2}$  at a rate that is independent of  $t$  on  $I_n^\ell$ . The second part shows that the first fraction in (12) converges to  $\hat{\theta}(t)$  at a rate that does not depend on  $t$  on  $I_N^\ell$ . The third part deals with the intervals  $I_N^h$ , and the fourth part with the intervals  $I_N^m$ . Finally part V puts the pieces together to conclude that the convergence of  $R_n$  is uniform on  $\mathcal{K}$  and implies the uniform convergence of the best-response functions. Part VI proves all the remaining claims of the proposition.

**Part I.** First, we look at the interval  $I_N^\ell$ . As we just noted,  $\theta_n(t)$  is bounded below by  $\underline{\theta}_N$  on  $I_N^\ell$ . We start by decomposing each of the integrals of interest into several terms. We write the decomposition for the integral at the denominator in (12), the convergence proof for the other

integral is essentially the same.

$$\begin{aligned}
& \underbrace{\int_{-\infty}^{+\infty} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)}} ds}_{T_1} - \underbrace{\int_{|s| > \pi \sigma_n(\theta_n)} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)}} ds}_{T_2} \\
& + \underbrace{\int_{I_n(\theta_n)} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)}} \left( J \left( \theta_n, \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) - 1 \right) ds}_{T_3} \\
& + \underbrace{\int_{I_n(\theta_n)} \left( \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right) \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)}} J \left( \theta_n, \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) ds}_{T_4},
\end{aligned}$$

where  $\gamma_\theta = e^{-\theta} / (1 - e^{-\theta})$ .

**First Term  $T_1$ .** The first term is equal to  $B_0(\lambda)$  defined above with  $\lambda = \theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)$ . It is well known (see [Jensen, 1995](#), section 2.1) that  $B_0(\lambda) = 2\pi\lambda e^{\frac{\lambda^2}{2}} (1 - \Phi(\lambda))$  where  $\Phi(\cdot)$  is the standard normal cdf.  $B_0(\lambda)$  is strictly increasing in  $\lambda$ , and by [Lemma 7](#) we know that  $\lambda > \underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma \sqrt{n}$  for every  $t \in I_n^\ell$ . We also know that  $B_0(\lambda)$  converges to  $(2\pi)^{1/2}$  when  $\lambda \rightarrow \infty$ , so we can write, that for every  $t \in I_n^\ell$

$$0 \leq (2\pi)^{1/2} - B_0(\theta_n(t)\sigma_n(\theta_n(t))) \leq (2\pi)^{1/2} - B_0(\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma \sqrt{n}),$$

and conclude that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} |T_1(n, t) - (2\pi)^{1/2}| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

**Second Term  $\mathbf{T}_2$ .** For the second term, we can write for every  $t \in [0, 1]$

$$\begin{aligned} \left| \int_{|s| > \pi \sigma_n(\theta_n)} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)}} ds \right| &\leq \int_{|s| > \pi c_\sigma \sqrt{n}} \left| e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \frac{1}{1 + \frac{is}{\theta_n \sigma_n(\theta_n)}} \right| ds \\ &\leq \int_{|s| > \pi c_\sigma \sqrt{n}} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds \\ &\leq \int_{|s| > \pi c_\sigma \sqrt{n}} e^{-\frac{|s|}{2}} ds = 4e^{-\frac{\pi c_\sigma \sqrt{n}}{2}}, \end{aligned}$$

so that the second term converges uniformly to 0. In the series of inequalities above, we used the fact that for every  $x \in \mathbb{R}$

$$\left| \frac{1}{1 + ix} \right| \leq 1. \quad (20)$$

**Third Term  $\mathbf{T}_3$ .** For the third term we start by writing that for any real number  $z$

$$\begin{aligned} |J(\theta, z) - 1| &= \left| \frac{\frac{iz}{\theta} - \gamma_\theta (1 - e^{-iz})}{1 + \gamma_\theta (1 - e^{-iz})} \right| \\ &\leq (\theta^{-1} + \gamma_\theta) |z|, \end{aligned}$$

where we used the inequalities  $|1 - e^{-iz}| \leq |z|$  and

$$|1 + \gamma_\theta (1 - e^{-iz})| = \sqrt{(1 + \gamma_\theta(1 - \cos(-z)))^2 + (\gamma_\theta \sin(-z))^2} \geq 1. \quad (21)$$

Using (20) as well, we conclude that, for every  $t \in I_N^\ell$ , we can bound the absolute value of the third term upward by

$$\frac{\theta_N^{-1} + \gamma_{\theta_N}}{c_\sigma \sqrt{n}} \int_{-\infty}^{+\infty} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} |s| ds = 2 \left( \frac{\theta_N^{-1} + \gamma_{\theta_N}}{c_\sigma \sqrt{n}} \right).$$

Because  $\underline{\theta}_N^{-1}$  and  $\gamma_{\underline{\theta}_N}$  are  $\mathcal{O}(N^{1/2-\alpha})$ , we can conclude that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} |T_3(n, t)| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

**Fourth Term  $T_4$ .** From Lemma 8 we obtain that for  $|s| \leq C\sqrt{n}$

$$\left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{\kappa}}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{4} \right).$$

From (21) and Lemma 7, we have for every  $t \in I_N^\ell$

$$\left| J \left( \theta_n, \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) \right| \leq 1 + \frac{|s|}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}}.$$

From (20), we deduce that the norm of  $T_4$  is bounded upward by

$$\begin{aligned} & \underbrace{\int_{|s| \leq C\sqrt{n}} \frac{\bar{\kappa}_3}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} |s|^3 \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{4} \right) \left( 1 + \frac{|s|}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}} \right) ds}_{T_{4.1}} + \underbrace{\int_{|s| \geq C\sqrt{n}} \exp \left( -\frac{s^2}{2} \right) \left( 1 + \frac{|s|}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}} \right) ds}_{T_{4.2}} \\ & + \underbrace{\int_{C\sqrt{n} \leq |s| \leq \pi\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) \right| \left( 1 + \frac{|s|}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}} \right) ds}_{T_{4.3}} \end{aligned}$$

$T_{4.1}$  is bounded upward by

$$2 \left( 1 + \frac{C}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma} \right) \frac{\bar{\kappa}_3}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}} \int_0^{+\infty} s^3 e^{-\frac{s^2}{4}} = 8 \left( 1 + \frac{C}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma} \right) \frac{\bar{\kappa}_3}{6c_\sigma^3 n^{1/2}},$$

where the right-hand side is obtained by integration by part. It is immediate to conclude that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} |T_{4.1}(n, t)| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

$T_{4.2}$  is equal to

$$\begin{aligned} 2 \left( \int_{C\sqrt{n}}^{\infty} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds + \frac{1}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}} \int_{C\sqrt{n}}^{\infty} s e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds \right) &\leq 2 \left( \int_{C\sqrt{n}}^{\infty} e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds + \frac{1}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}} \int_{C\sqrt{n}}^{\infty} s e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds \right) \\ &\leq 2 \left( 2e^{-\frac{Cn^{1/2}}{2}} + \frac{1}{\underline{\theta}_N c_\sigma n^{1/2}} e^{-\frac{C^2 n}{2}} \right), \end{aligned}$$

where we used the fact that  $e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \leq e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}}$  for positive and sufficiently large  $s$ . This proves that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^t} |T_{4.2}(n, t)| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

For  $T_{4.3}$ , first note that  $C \leq \pi c_\sigma \leq \pi \sigma_n(\theta_n)$  by construction. We need to go back to the definition of  $\varphi_\theta(\cdot)$  in [Lemma 5](#) to get the expression

$$\left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) \right| = \left| \frac{\bar{p} e^{is/\sigma_n(\theta_n)} + (1 - \bar{p}) e^{-\theta_n}}{\bar{p} + (1 - \bar{p}) e^{-\theta_n}} \right|^{n_V - 1} \left| \frac{\underline{p} e^{is/\sigma_n(\theta_n)} + (1 - \underline{p}) e^{-\theta_n}}{\underline{p} + (1 - \underline{p}) e^{-\theta_n}} \right|^{n_V^c}. \quad (22)$$

At this point we use the fact that for any real number  $z \in [-\pi, \pi]$  and any  $a, b \in \mathbb{R}$ ,  $|ae^{iz} + b| \leq |a + b|$ , with a strict inequality if  $z \neq 0$ . This inequality and the fact that the function  $\left| \frac{\bar{p} e^{iz} + (1 - \bar{p}) e^{-\theta_n}}{\bar{p} + (1 - \bar{p}) e^{-\theta_n}} \right|$  is continuous in  $t$  and  $z$  together imply that we can define the following quantity

$$\bar{\delta} \equiv \max_{C/c_\sigma \leq z \leq \pi} \max_{t \in [0, 1]} \left| \frac{\bar{p} e^{iz} + (1 - \bar{p}) e^{-\theta_n}}{\bar{p} + (1 - \bar{p}) e^{-\theta_n}} \right| < 1.$$

And similarly

$$\underline{\delta} \equiv \max_{C/c_\sigma \leq z \leq \pi} \max_{t \in [0, 1]} \left| \frac{\underline{p} e^{iz} + (1 - \underline{p}) e^{-\theta_n}}{\underline{p} + (1 - \underline{p}) e^{-\theta_n}} \right| < 1.$$

Then the first term in [\(22\)](#) is bounded upward by  $\bar{\delta}^{n_V}$  and the second term by  $\underline{\delta}^{n_V^c}$ . Finally, letting  $\delta = \max(\bar{\delta}, \underline{\delta})$ , we have obtained that

$$\left| \varphi_{\theta_n} \left( \frac{s}{\sigma_n(\theta_n)} \right) \right| \leq \delta^{n-1},$$

whenever  $C\sqrt{n} \leq |s| \leq \pi\sigma_n(\theta_n)$  with  $\delta < 1$ . Therefore we can bound  $T_{4.3}$  upward by

$$2\delta^{n-1} \int_{C\sqrt{n}}^{\pi C_\sigma \sqrt{n}} \left(1 + \frac{s}{\underline{\theta}_N C_\sigma n^{1/2}}\right) ds \leq \delta^{n-1} (\pi C_\sigma - C) \sqrt{n} \left(1 + \frac{\pi C_\sigma}{\underline{\theta}_N C_\sigma}\right).$$

Therefore

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} |T_{4.3}(n, t)| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

To sum up, we have shown that each of the integrals in the second fraction in (12) converges to  $(2\pi)^{1/2}$ , call them  $J^1(n, t)$  and  $J^2(n, t)$  (say  $J^1$  is at the numerator), both satisfy

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} |J^k(n, t) - (2\pi)^{1/2}| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

This implies that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^\ell} \left| \frac{J^1(n, t)}{J^2(n, t)} - 1 \right| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

**Part II.** Now we consider the first fraction in (12). By Lemma 1, we know that  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$  converge uniformly to  $\hat{\theta}$  on  $\mathcal{K}$  in  $\mathcal{O}(1/n)$ . Then for the ratio  $\frac{1-e^{-\theta_n}}{1-e^{-\theta'_n}}$  we can write

$$\left| \frac{1 - e^{-\theta_n}}{1 - e^{-\theta'_n}} - 1 \right| = \frac{|e^{-\theta'_n} - e^{-\theta_n}|}{|1 - e^{-\theta'_n}|},$$

and the numerator of the right-hand side is in  $\mathcal{O}(1/n)$  while the denominator is minimized on  $I_N^l$  at  $\underline{\theta}_N$  and is therefore in  $\mathcal{O}(N^{\alpha-1/2})$  so that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^l} \left| \frac{1 - e^{-\theta_n(t)}}{1 - e^{-\theta'_n(t)}} - 1 \right| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

Consider the ratio of the standard deviations

$$\frac{\sigma_n(\theta_n)}{\sigma_n(\theta'_n)} = \left( e^{\theta_n - \theta'_n} \frac{\frac{(V_n - 1/n)\bar{p}(1-\bar{p})}{(\bar{p}e^{\theta_n} + 1 - \bar{p})^2} + \frac{(1-V_n)p(1-p)}{(\underline{p}e^{\theta_n} + 1 - \underline{p})^2}}{\frac{(V_n - 1/n)\bar{p}(1-\bar{p})}{(\bar{p}e^{\theta'_n} + 1 - \bar{p})^2} + \frac{(1-V_n)p(1-p)}{(\underline{p}e^{\theta'_n} + 1 - \underline{p})^2}} \right)^{1/2}.$$

It is clear that  $e^{\theta_n - \theta'_n}$  converges to 1 uniformly on  $\mathcal{K}$ , as for the second fraction, it is easy to show that the numerator and the denominator both converge uniformly on  $\mathcal{K}$  to

$$\frac{V\bar{p}(1-\bar{p})}{(\bar{p}e^{\hat{\theta}} + 1 - \bar{p})^2} + \frac{(1-V)\underline{p}(1-\underline{p})}{(\underline{p}e^{\hat{\theta}} + 1 - \underline{p})^2} > 0,$$

implying that the fraction converges to 1 uniformly on  $\mathcal{K}$  as well as the ratio of the standard deviations.

By definition of  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$ , we have  $K'_n(\theta_n) - K'_n(\theta'_n) = 1$ . Since  $K'$  is continuously differentiable, there exists some  $\tilde{\theta}_n$  between  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$  such that  $K'_n(\theta_n) - K'_n(\theta'_n) = (\theta_n - \theta'_n)K''_n(\tilde{\theta}_n)$ . Since by definition  $K''_n(\theta) = \sigma_n^2(\theta)$ , we can write  $\theta_n - \theta'_n = \frac{1}{\sigma_n^2(\tilde{\theta}_n)}$ . And since  $\tilde{\theta}_n$  is between  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$ , it converges uniformly to  $\hat{\theta}$ . Hence

$$\frac{\sigma_n^2(\tilde{\theta}_n)}{n^2} = e^{\tilde{\theta}_n} \left( \frac{(V_n - 1/n)\bar{p}(1-\bar{p})}{(\bar{p}e^{\tilde{\theta}_n} + 1 - \bar{p})^2} + \frac{(1 - V_n)\underline{p}(1-\underline{p})}{(\underline{p}e^{\tilde{\theta}_n} + 1 - \underline{p})^2} \right)$$

converges uniformly to the finite valued function of  $t$

$$e^{\hat{\theta}} \left( \frac{V\bar{p}(1-\bar{p})}{(\bar{p}e^{\hat{\theta}} + 1 - \bar{p})^2} + \frac{(1-V)\underline{p}(1-\underline{p})}{(\underline{p}e^{\hat{\theta}} + 1 - \underline{p})^2} \right) > 0.$$

Therefore we can write that

$$e^{n v(\theta_n - \theta'_n)} = \exp \left( \frac{1}{n} \cdot \frac{n^2}{\sigma_n^2(\tilde{\theta}_n)} v_n \right),$$

converges uniformly to 1 on  $\mathcal{K}$ .

Now consider the ratio

$$\frac{\varphi_n(\theta'_n)}{\varphi_n(\theta_n)} = \exp(K_n(\theta'_n) - K_n(\theta_n)) = \exp \left( K'_n(\dot{\theta}_n)(\theta_n - \theta'_n) \right),$$

where  $\dot{\theta}_n$  is between  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$ . Since  $K'_n$  is increasing, the definitions of  $\theta_n$  and  $\theta'_n$  imply that

$n_v - 1 \leq K'_n(\hat{\theta}_n) \leq n_v$  and therefore

$$\exp((n_v - 1)(\theta_n - \theta'_n)) \leq \frac{\varphi_n(\theta'_n)}{\varphi_n(\theta_n)} \leq \exp(n_v(\theta_n - \theta'_n)).$$

We have already argued that the upper bound converges uniformly to 1, and the same argument obviously extends to the lower bound, hence the ratio itself converges to 1 uniformly on  $\mathcal{K}$ .

To sum up, Part I and II show together that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^l} |R_n(t) - \exp(\hat{\theta}(t))| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

**Part III.** We want to show the same on  $I_N^h$ . For that, we use (8) in Lemma 2. It implies that for every  $t \in I_N^h$ , and  $n$  sufficiently large

$$\frac{1}{n} \log(1 - \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)) \leq -\frac{1}{2} \left( v|\hat{\theta}(t)| - \kappa(|\hat{\theta}(t)|) \right).$$

Then, by taking the minimum of  $\left( v|\hat{\theta}(t)| - \kappa(|\hat{\theta}(t)|) \right)$  over  $t \in I_N^h$  and remembering that  $v > \kappa'(\theta)$  for  $\theta > 0$ , we have for every  $t \in I_N^h$

$$\frac{1}{n} \log(1 - \Pr(S_n(t) \geq n_v - 1)) \leq -M_N,$$

with  $M_N = \frac{1}{2} (v|N^{\alpha-1/2}| - \kappa(|N^{\alpha-1/2}|)) > 0$ . In particular,  $M_N$  is in  $\mathcal{O}(N^{\alpha-1/2})$ . Noticing that  $R_n \geq 1$ , we can write that for  $n \geq N$  with  $N$  sufficiently large and for every  $t \in I_N^h$

$$1 \leq R_n(t) \leq \frac{1}{1 - e^{-nM_N}},$$

which implies that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^h} |R_n(t) - 1| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

**Part IV.** To prove the result on the intervals  $I_N^m$ , we use the same type of approximations



as in Part I, but this time we work with  $S_n(t)$  and the original probability measure rather than with the tilted probability measure  $P_\theta$ . The idea is to use a central limit theorem to approximate the distribution of the standardized random variable<sup>18</sup>  $Z_n(t) \equiv \frac{S_n(t) - nm_n(t)}{s_n(t)}$ , where  $s_n(t) = \sqrt{\text{Var} S_n(t)}$  around 0 by a normal distribution. However we need the approximation to work uniformly for all  $t$  in a shrinking neighborhood of  $\tilde{t}$ , making the direct application of any of the usual central limit theorems useless for our purpose.

Let  $\gamma(u) \equiv E e^{iuS_n}$  be the characteristic function of  $S_n$ . By [Lemma 4](#), we can write for any  $k \in \{0, \dots, n\}$

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr(S_n \geq \alpha_n) &= \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} (2\pi)^{-1} \int_{-\pi}^{\pi} \exp(-iu\alpha_n) e^{-iuz} \gamma(u) du \\ &= \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} (2\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{-\pi s_n}^{\pi s_n} \exp\left(-\frac{is(\alpha_n - nm_n)}{s_n}\right) e^{-iz\frac{s}{s_n}} \gamma\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) e^{-ism_n/s_n} ds \\ &= \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} (2\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{-\pi s_n}^{\pi s_n} \exp\left(-\frac{is(\alpha_n + z - nm_n)}{s_n}\right) \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) ds, \end{aligned} \quad (23)$$

where  $\tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) \equiv \gamma\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) e^{-\frac{ism_n}{s_n}}$  is the characteristic function of  $Z_n$ .

We show that for  $\alpha_n \in \{n_v, n_v - 1\}$  these integrals (respectively at the numerator and the denominator of  $R_n$ ) satisfy

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |\Pr(S_n \geq \alpha_n) - 1/2| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0,$$

thus implying that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |R_n(t) - 1| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

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<sup>18</sup>These notations were already introduced in the paragraph preceding [Lemma 9](#).

Before starting, note that since  $m_\infty(\tilde{t}) \equiv \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} m_n(t) = v$ , we can write

$$\begin{aligned} \left| \frac{n_v - nm_n(t)}{s_n(t)} \right| &= \left| n \frac{v_n - m_n(t)}{s_n(t)} \right| \\ &\leq c_s^{-1} n^{1/2} \left( |v_n - v| + |m_\infty(\tilde{t}) - m_\infty(t)| + |m_n(t) - m_\infty(t)| \right). \end{aligned}$$

The first term on the right-hand side is bounded upward by  $1/n$ , the last term is equal to  $|(V_n - 1/n - V)\bar{p}(t) + (V - V_n)\underline{p}(t)| \leq 3/n$  for every  $t \in [0, 1]$ . The second term is bounded upward by

$$V\bar{p}(t) \left| \frac{\bar{p}(t)e^{\hat{\theta}(t)}}{\bar{p}(t) + (1 - \bar{p}(t))e^{\hat{\theta}(t)}} - 1 \right| + (1 - V)\underline{p}(t) \left| \frac{\underline{p}(t)e^{\hat{\theta}(t)}}{\underline{p}(t) + (1 - \underline{p}(t))e^{\hat{\theta}(t)}} - 1 \right|,$$

which in turn can be bounded upward by

$$(V\bar{p}(t) + (1 - V)\underline{p}(t)) |e^{\hat{\theta}(t)} - 1| \leq |e^{\hat{\theta}(t)} - 1|.$$

Because there exists a neighborhood  $\mathcal{V}$  of 0 such that  $|e^\theta - 1| \leq 2\theta$  for  $\theta \in \mathcal{V}$ , it must be true that for  $n$  sufficiently large, we can write

$$\sup_{t \in I_N^m} |e^{\hat{\theta}(t)} - 1| \leq 2N^{-(\alpha+1/2)}.$$

Noticing that a similar reasoning can be made by replacing  $n_v$  by  $n_v - 1/n$ , these calculations lead to the following result.

**Remark 1.** For  $\alpha_n \in \{n_v, n_v - 1/n\}$ , we have

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} \left| \frac{\alpha_n - nm_n(t)}{s_n(t)} \right| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

Now going back to the main argument, we decompose (23) as follows

$$\begin{aligned}
& (2\pi s_n)^{-1} \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} \int_{-\infty}^{+\infty} \exp\left(-\frac{is(\alpha_n + z - nm_n)}{s_n}\right) e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds \\
& - (2\pi s_n)^{-1} \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} \int_{|s|>\pi s_n} \exp\left(-\frac{is(\alpha_n + z - nm_n)}{s_n}\right) e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} ds \\
& + (2\pi s_n)^{-1} \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} \int_{-\pi s_n}^{\pi s_n} \exp\left(-\frac{is(\alpha_n + z - nm_n)}{s_n}\right) \left(\tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}}\right) ds. \tag{24}
\end{aligned}$$

We proceed term by term.

**First Term.** The integral in the first term is well defined and it is the inversion formula for the characteristic function  $e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}}$  of the standard normal distribution, hence by Lemma 6 it is equal to  $2\pi\phi\left(\frac{\alpha_n+z-nm_n}{s_n}\right)$ , where  $\phi(x) = (2\pi)^{-1/2}e^{-\frac{x^2}{2}}$  is the pdf of the standard normal distribution. Therefore the first term is equal to

$$\sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} s_n^{-1} \phi\left(\frac{\alpha_n + z - nm_n}{s_n}\right). \tag{25}$$

A Taylor expansion of the cdf of the standard normal distribution  $\Phi$  yields for every  $z$

$$\begin{aligned}
s_n^{-1} \phi\left(\frac{\alpha_n + z - nm_n}{s_n}\right) = \\
\Phi\left(\frac{\alpha_n - nm_n + z + 1}{s_n}\right) - \Phi\left(\frac{\alpha_n - nm_n + z}{s_n}\right) - s_n^{-2} \phi'\left(\frac{\alpha_n - nm_n + \zeta(z)}{s_n}\right),
\end{aligned}$$

where  $\zeta(z) \in [0, 1]$ . Hence (25) is equal to

$$\Phi\left(\frac{n(1-m_n)}{s_n}\right) - \Phi\left(\frac{\alpha_n - nm_n}{s_n}\right) - s_n^{-2} \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} \phi'\left(\frac{\alpha_n - nm_n + \zeta(z)}{s_n}\right).$$

Because  $m_n(t)$  converges to  $V\bar{p}(t) + (1-V)\underline{p}(t)$  which is uniformly (in  $t$ ) bounded upward by  $V + (1-V)\tilde{p} < 1$ , and because  $s_n(t)$  is uniformly bounded upward by  $C_s\sqrt{n}$ , the first term of

this equation converges to 1 uniformly for  $t \in [0, 1]$ . By [Remark 1](#), we also have

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} \left| \Phi \left( \frac{\alpha_n - nm_n}{s_n} \right) - \Phi(0) \right| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

Finally the last term is bounded upward in absolute value by

$$(2\pi)^{-1/2} c_s^{-2} n^{-1} (n - \alpha_n) \left( \left| \frac{\alpha_n - nm_n}{s_n} \right| + \left| \frac{1}{s_n} \right| \right),$$

and by [Remark 1](#) and [Lemma 9](#),

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} (2\pi)^{-1/2} c_s^{-2} n^{-1} (n - \alpha_n) \left( \left| \frac{\alpha_n - nm_n}{s_n} \right| + \left| \frac{1}{s_n} \right| \right) \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

**Second Term.** For  $n$  sufficiently large, the absolute value of the integral in the second term of (24) is bounded upward by

$$2 \int_{s > \pi s_n} e^{-\frac{s}{2}} \leq 4e^{-\frac{c_s \sqrt{n}}{2}}.$$

Therefore, using [Lemma 9](#), the absolute value of the second term of (24) is bounded upward by  $\frac{2n^{1/2}}{\pi c_s} e^{-\frac{c_s \sqrt{n}}{2}}$ , which converges to 0 uniformly for  $t \in [0, 1]$ .

**Third Term.** For the last term of (24), we start by switching the integral and the sum signs, which can be done since the sum is finite and the integral is well defined. After scaling the integrand by  $\pi$ , we have

$$(2s_n)^{-1} \int_{-s_n}^{s_n} \exp \left( -\frac{is\pi(\alpha_n - nm_n)}{s_n} \right) H \left( \frac{\pi s}{s_n}, \alpha_n \right) \left( \tilde{\gamma} \left( \frac{\pi s}{s_n} \right) - e^{-\frac{(\pi s)^2}{2}} \right) ds,$$

where  $H(u, \alpha_n) \equiv \sum_{z=0}^{n-\alpha_n} e^{-iuz}$ . For  $s \neq 0$  we have

$$H \left( \frac{\pi s}{s_n}, \alpha_n \right) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } n - \alpha_n \text{ is even} \\ 1 + e^{-\frac{i\pi s}{s_n}} & \text{if } n - \alpha_n \text{ is odd} \end{cases},$$

and  $H(0, n_v) = 1 + n - \alpha_n$ . That is, the absolute value of  $H\left(\frac{\pi s}{s_n}, \alpha_n\right)$  is bounded upward by 2 on every compact set that excludes 0, and by  $n$  on any compact neighborhood of 0. Therefore, the last term of (24) is bounded upward in absolute value by

$$(\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{-\pi s_n}^{\pi s_n} \left| \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) - e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right| ds + (2\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{-1/n^2}^{1/n^2} n \left( \left| \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) \right| + \left| e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right| \right) ds. \quad (26)$$

Both  $\left| \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{s}{s_n}\right) \right|$  and  $\left| e^{-\frac{s^2}{2}} \right|$  are bounded upward by 1, and with Lemma 9, we can conclude that the second term in (26) is bounded upward by  $2(\pi c_s)^{-1} n^{-3/2}$  which goes to 0 independently of  $t$  as  $n$  goes to infinity.

For the first term of (26), we use Lemma 10 which implies that for  $|u| \leq C'\sqrt{n}$

$$\left| \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{u}{s_n(t)}\right) - e^{-\frac{u^2}{2}} \right| \leq \frac{\bar{k}}{6c_s^3 n^{1/2}} |u|^3 \exp\left(-\frac{u^2}{4}\right).$$

Hence the absolute value of the first term in (26) is bounded upward by

$$\begin{aligned} & \underbrace{(\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{|u| \leq C'\sqrt{n}} \frac{\bar{k}}{6c_s^3 n^{1/2}} |u|^3 \exp\left(-\frac{u^2}{4}\right) du}_{T_1} \\ & + \underbrace{(\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{|u| > C'\sqrt{n}} e^{-\frac{u^2}{2}} du}_{T_2} \\ & + \underbrace{(\pi s_n)^{-1} \int_{C'\sqrt{n} \leq |u| \leq \pi s_n} \left| \tilde{\gamma}\left(\frac{u}{s_n}\right) \right| du}_{T_3}. \end{aligned}$$

We have

$$T_1 \leq 2(\pi s_n)^{-1} \frac{\bar{k}}{6c_s^3 n^{1/2}} \int_0^\infty s^3 e^{-\frac{s^2}{4}} ds \leq \frac{4\bar{k}}{3\pi c_s^4 n},$$

where the last term is obtained by Lemma 9 and integration by part. Hence  $T_1$  goes to 0 independently of  $t$  as  $n$  goes to infinity.

$T_2$  is bounded upward by  $2(\pi c_s \sqrt{n})^{-1} e^{-\frac{C'}{2}\sqrt{n}}$  which goes to 0 independently of  $t$  as  $n$  goes to infinity.

Finally, for  $T_3$ , we start by noting that  $C' \leq \pi c_s \leq \pi s_n$  by construction (see Lemma 10). By definition of  $\tilde{\gamma}$ , we have

$$\left| \tilde{\gamma} \left( \frac{s}{s_n} \right) \right| = \left| \bar{p} e^{i \frac{s}{s_n}} + 1 - \bar{p} \right|^{n_V - 1} \left| \underline{p} e^{i \frac{s}{s_n}} + 1 - \underline{p} \right|^{n_V^c},$$

and at this point we use the fact that for any real number  $z \in [\pi, \pi]$  and any real numbers  $a$  and  $b$ ,

$$|a e^{iz} + b| \leq |a + b|,$$

with a strict inequality if  $z \neq 0$ . This inequality and the fact that the function  $|\bar{p} e^{iz} + 1 - \bar{p}|$  is continuous in  $t$  imply together that we can define the following quantity

$$\bar{\delta} \equiv \max_{C/c_s \leq z \leq \pi} \max_{t \in [0,1]} |\bar{p} e^{iz} + 1 - \bar{p}| < 1.$$

And similarly

$$\underline{\delta} \equiv \max_{C/c_s \leq z \leq \pi} \max_{t \in [0,1]} |\underline{p} e^{iz} + 1 - \underline{p}| < 1.$$

Then the term under the integral in  $t_3$  is bounded upward by  $\bar{\delta}^{n_V - 1} \underline{\delta}^{n_V^c} \leq \delta^{n-1}$  where  $\delta \equiv \max\{\bar{\delta}, \underline{\delta}\} < 1$ . Finally, this shows that  $t_3$  is bounded upward by  $(\pi c_s)^{-1} \delta^{n-1} (\pi C_s - C')$  which goes to 0 independently of  $t$  as  $n$  goes to infinity.

All this shows that the last term in (24) goes to 0 uniformly on  $[0, 1]$ .

To conclude, since  $1 - \Phi(0) = 1/2$  we have proved that for  $\alpha_n \in \{n_v, n_v - 1\}$ ,

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |\Pr(S_n \geq \alpha_n) - 1/2| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0,$$

thus implying that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |R_n(t) - 1| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

To finish the proof, we need to show that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |R_n(t) - \rho(t)| \xrightarrow{N \rightarrow \infty} 0.$$

For that, we just write that

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |R_n(t) - \rho(t)| \leq \sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |R_n(t) - 1| + \sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^m} |\rho(t) - 1|.$$

The first term converges to 0 as we just proved. We know that  $\rho$  is continuous, increasing and bounded upward by 1. Hence the second term is bounded upward by  $1 - \rho(\min\{t \in I_N^m\})$ , which by definition converges to  $1 - \rho(\tilde{t}) = 0$ .

**Part V.** Fix some  $\varepsilon > 0$ . We just proved that there exists  $N_\ell$ ,  $N_m$  and  $N_h$  such that for every  $k \in \{\ell, m, h\}$ , and for every  $N \geq N_k$ ,

$$\sup_{n \geq N} \sup_{t \in I_N^k} |R_n(t) - \rho(t)| < \varepsilon.$$

Fix  $N_m$  and choose  $N'_\ell \geq N_\ell$  and  $N'_h \geq N_h$  such that  $(\max\{N'_\ell, N'_h\})^{\alpha-1/2} < N_m^{-\alpha-1/2}$ , so that  $I_{N'_\ell}^\ell \cup I_{N_m}^m \cup I_{N'_h}^h = \mathcal{K}$ . Then it is clear that for every  $n > \max\{N_m, N'_h, N'_\ell\}$  we have  $\sup_{t \in \mathcal{K}} |R_n(t) - \rho(t)| < \varepsilon$ , which proves that  $R_n(t)$  converges uniformly on  $\mathcal{K}$ .

**Part VI.** The continuity of  $\beta$  at every  $t \neq \tilde{t}$  can be deduced from the continuity of  $\hat{\theta}(t)$  which is implied by the continuity of  $\bar{p}$  and  $\underline{p}$  and the continuity of  $\hat{\theta}$  in  $\bar{p}$  and  $\underline{p}$ . For the continuity at  $\tilde{t}$ , it is implied by the fact that the solution of (3) is  $e^{\hat{\theta}} = 1$  if and only if  $V\bar{p} + (1-V)\underline{p} = v$ , that is if and only if  $t = \tilde{t}$ . Therefore  $\lim_{t \uparrow \tilde{t}} e^{\hat{\theta}(t)} = 1$ , implying the continuity of  $\beta$  at  $\tilde{t}$ .

The sense of variation of  $\beta$  with respect to  $t$ ,  $v$  and  $V$  can be deduced from that of  $\hat{\theta}$  which was analyzed in Lemma 1. □

**Proof of Proposition 6: Convergence of the Thresholds.** (i) is just a consequence of the fact that  $\hat{\theta}(0)$  is finite if and only if  $V > v$  and is otherwise infinite, which is proved in the

proof of [Lemma 1](#). Hence  $\beta(0) = 0$  if and only if  $V \leq v$ , and otherwise  $\beta(0) > 0$ .

For (ii), let  $g(t) \equiv \beta(t) - t$  and  $g_n(t) \equiv \beta_n(t) - t$ . By [Proposition 5](#),  $g_n$  converges uniformly to  $g$  on any compact  $\mathcal{K} \subset (0, 1]$ . Since  $t_n \in T_n^*$ , we can write  $|g(t_n)| = |g(t_n) - g_n(t_n)|$ . Suppose  $t_\infty \neq 0$ . Fix some  $\varepsilon > 0$  and choose  $\mathcal{K} = [t_\infty/2, 1]$ . For  $n$  sufficiently large,  $t_n \in \mathcal{K}$ . The uniform convergence of  $g_n$  on  $\mathcal{K}$  implies that for  $n$  sufficiently large, we can bound  $|g(t_n) - g_n(t_n)|$  upward by  $\varepsilon$ . Since  $t_n \in T_n^*$  we have  $g_n(t_n) = 0$ , hence  $|g(t^*)| = \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} |g(t_n) - g_n(t_n)| \leq \varepsilon$ , for every  $\varepsilon > 0$ , implying that  $g(t^*) = 0$ . Now suppose that  $t_\infty = 0$ . If  $V > v$ , the convergence of  $g_n(\cdot)$  is uniform on  $[0, 1]$  and the argument we just gave would imply  $t_\infty = 0 \in T^*$  which cannot be true by (i). Hence the only possibility is that  $v \leq V$ , and therefore  $t_\infty = 0 \in T^*$ .

For (iii), let  $B = \{t \in [0, 1] : d(t, T^*) \geq \delta\}$ .  $B$  is closed because the distance function  $d(\cdot, T^*)$  is continuous, and since  $B$  is also clearly bounded, it is a compact set. Let  $B^+ = \{t \in B : g(t) \geq 0\}$  and  $B^- = \{t \in B : g(t) \leq 0\}$ . These two sets are also compact sets by continuity of  $f$ , they are closed sets. Then we can define  $\varepsilon^+ = \frac{1}{2} \inf_{t \in B^+} g(t)$  and  $\varepsilon^- = \frac{1}{2} \inf_{t \in B^-} -g(t)$ . These numbers are strictly positive because of the definition of  $B^+$  and  $B^-$ . Let  $\varepsilon = \min(\varepsilon^-, \varepsilon^+)$ . We know that  $g_n$  converges uniformly to  $g$  on  $B$  because  $B$  is a compact set and by (i),  $0 \in B$  if and only if  $V > v$ . Then there exists some  $N$  such that for every  $n > N$  and every  $t \in B$ ,  $|f(t) - f_n(t)| < \varepsilon$ . But then  $|g_n(t)| > |g(t)| - \varepsilon > 0$ , where the second inequality comes from the fact that either  $t \in B^-$  or  $t \in B^+$  and from the definition of  $\varepsilon$ . In particular  $T_N^* \subseteq [0, 1] \setminus B$ .

Finally, for (iv), note that if  $\beta(\cdot)$  crosses the 45°-line at  $t^*$ , then  $g(\cdot)$  changes sign at  $t^*$ . Then for  $\varepsilon > 0$  small enough,  $[t^* - \varepsilon, t^* + \varepsilon] \subset (0, 1)$  is such that  $g(t^* - \varepsilon)g(t^* + \varepsilon) < 0$ . Because  $g_n(\cdot)$  converges to  $g(\cdot)$ , there exists  $N$  such that for every  $n \geq N$  and we have  $|g_n(t^* \pm \varepsilon) - g(t^* \pm \varepsilon)| < |g(t^* \pm \varepsilon)|/2$ . But then it must be true that  $g(t^* \pm \varepsilon)$  has the same sign as  $g_n(t^* \pm \varepsilon)$ , implying that  $g_n(t^* + \varepsilon)g_n(t^* - \varepsilon) < 0$ . Hence for every  $\varepsilon$  there exists  $N$  such that  $n \geq N$  sufficiently large, we can choose  $t_n \in T_n^*$  such that  $|t_n - t^*| < \varepsilon$ .  $\square$

**Proof of [Proposition 8](#).** We make the argument for an increase in  $V$ . By [Proposition 7](#),  $T^*(v, V') \geq T^*(v, V)$ . Let  $\tau = \sup T^*(v, V)$  and  $\tau' = \sup T(v, V')$ . Suppose  $\tau' > \tau$ . Let  $g(t) \equiv \beta(t; v, V) - t$  and  $g'(t) \equiv \beta(t; v, V') - t$ . Because for any pair of voting rules  $\beta(1) \leq t_{\text{naive}} < 1$ ,



we know that  $g(1) < 0$ . Hence at  $\tau$   $g$  is either reaching a maximum or crossing 0, and the same holds for  $\tau'$  and  $g'(\cdot)$ . If  $\tau'$  is a crossing point we know that there exists a sequence  $\{t'_n\}$  of points in  $T_n^*(V', v)$  that converges to  $\tau'$  and with point (iii) of [Proposition 6](#) we can conclude. Suppose that  $\tau'$  is a maximum of  $g'(\cdot)$ . Then there exists a point  $t_0$  in the left neighborhood of  $\tau'$  such that  $g'(t_0) < 0$ . Now since  $\beta(\cdot)$  is strictly increasing in  $V$  at  $\tau$ , it must be that  $g'(\tau) > g(\tau) = 0$ , and by continuity of  $g'(\cdot)$ , there exists a point  $t'$  between  $\tau$  and  $t_0$  at which  $g'(\cdot)$  crosses 0. But then there exists a sequence  $\{t'_n\}$  of points in  $T_n^*(V', v)$  that converges to  $t' > \tau$  and with point (iii) of [Proposition 6](#) we can conclude.  $\square$

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