

# The Economics of Machine Learning

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## Abstract

1 This survey overviews a new research agenda  
2 on the *economics of machine learning*, pursued  
3 at the [Strategic IntelliGence for Machine Agent](#)  
4 [\(SIGMA\) Lab](#) at UChicago. This overall re-  
5 search agenda has two themes: machine learning  
6 for economics and, conversely, economics for ma-  
7 chine learning (ML). The first theme focuses on  
8 designing and analyzing ML algorithms for eco-  
9 nomic problems, ranging from foundational eco-  
10 nomic models to influential real-world applications  
11 such as recommender systems and national secu-  
12 rity. The second theme employs economic prin-  
13 ciples to study machine learning itself, such as  
14 the valuation and pricing of data, information and  
15 ML models, and designing incentive mechanisms  
16 to improve large-scale ML research peer reviews.  
17 While our research focuses primarily on develop-  
18 ing methodologies, in each theme we also highlight  
19 some real-world impacts of these works, including  
20 ongoing large-scale live experiments and potential  
21 deployments for various applications.

## 1 Machine Learning for Economics

23 From a technical point of view, research in machine learning  
24 can be roughly divided into two categories: learning to de-  
25 tect patterns and learning to act in the unknowns.<sup>1</sup> Our lab’s  
26 research falls primarily into the second category — i.e., learn-  
27 ing to optimize *decisions*, particularly in non-cooperative  
28 multi-agent setups with complex information environments  
29 such as asymmetric or limited access to information. Both  
30 optimization and learning in such game-theoretic problems  
31 exhibit significant challenges due to *uncommon* knowledge  
32 among agents and potential deceptive behaviors from oppo-  
33 nents, and lead to fascinating research questions. Next, we  
34 selectively overview some of our efforts in addressing these  
35 challenges in both foundational economic models and real  
36 world applications.

<sup>1</sup>Though in application, the boundaries between the two have become more and more vague nowadays since most successful technologies have to combine both (e.g., ChatGPT or self-driving cars).

## 1.1 Multi-Agent Learning in Foundational Economic Models

37 *Dominated actions* are a basic concept in game theory. It  
38 is also a natural (and perhaps the simplest possible) multi-  
39 agent generalization of sub-optimal actions as in standard  
40 single-agent decision making. Thus similar to standard bandit  
41 learning, a basic learning question in multi-agent systems is  
42 whether agents can learn to efficiently eliminate all iteratively  
43 dominated actions in an unknown game if they can only ob-  
44 serve noisy bandit feedback about the payoff of their played  
45 actions. Surprisingly, despite a seemingly simple task, in our  
46 recent work [Wu *et al.*, 2022], we show a quite negative re-  
47 sult; that is, standard no regret algorithms — including the  
48 entire family of Dual Averaging algorithms — provably take  
49 exponentially many rounds to eliminate all iteratively dom-  
50 inated actions. Moreover, algorithms with the stronger no  
51 swap regret also suffer similar exponential inefficiency. To  
52 overcome these barriers, we develop a new algorithm that  
53 adjusts Exp3 with Diminishing Historical rewards (termed  
54 Exp3-DH); Exp3-DH gradually “forgets” history at carefully  
55 tailored rates. We prove that when all agents run Exp3-DH  
56 (a.k.a., self-play in multi-agent learning), all iteratively dom-  
57 inated actions can be eliminated within polynomially many  
58 rounds. Our experimental results further demonstrate the  
59 efficiency of Exp3-DH, and that state-of-the-art bandit al-  
60 gorithms, even those developed specifically for learning in  
61 games, fail to eliminate all iteratively dominated actions effi-  
62 ciently  
63

64 Another basic game-theoretic framework that is gaining  
65 significant recent interest in economics, CS and operation re-  
66 search is the *Bayesian persuasion* problem [Kamenica and  
67 Gentzkow, 2011], which captures the strategic information  
68 communication between a sender and a receiver. In a recent  
69 work [Zu *et al.*, 2021], we study a natural online learning  
70 variant of the basic Bayesian persuasion setup in a repeated  
71 setting, where at each time  $t$ , the sender observes a payoff-  
72 relevant state drawn independently and identically from an  
73 unknown prior distribution, and shares state information with  
74 the receiver, who then myopically chooses an action. As in  
75 the standard setting, the sender seeks to persuade the receiver  
76 into choosing actions that are aligned with the sender’s prefer-  
77 ence by selectively sharing information about the state. How-  
78 ever, in contrast to the standard models, the sender does not  
79 know the prior, and has to persuade while gradually learn-  
80

ing the prior on the fly. We study the sender’s learning problem of making persuasive action recommendations to achieve low regret against the optimal persuasion mechanism with the knowledge of the prior distribution. Our main positive result is an algorithm that, with high probability, is persuasive across all rounds and achieves  $\sqrt{T \log T}$  regret, where  $T$  is the horizon length. The core philosophy behind the design of our algorithm is to leverage robustness against the sender’s ignorance of the prior. Intuitively, at each time our algorithm maintains a set of candidate priors, and chooses a persuasion scheme that is simultaneously persuasive for all of them. To demonstrate the effectiveness of our algorithm, we further prove that no algorithm can achieve regret better than  $\Omega(\sqrt{T})$ , even if the persuasiveness requirements were significantly relaxed. Therefore, our algorithm achieves optimal regret for the sender’s learning problem up to terms logarithmic in  $T$ .

## 1.2 Instantiation in Recommender Systems: Incentives and Dynamics

Multi-agent learning behaviors are ubiquitous in economic systems, particularly with sophisticated revenue-driven players. One important example is recommender systems. Content creators compete for exposure on recommendation platforms, and such strategic behavior leads to a dynamic shift over the content distribution. However, how the creators’ competition impacts user welfare and how the relevance-driven recommendation influences the dynamics in the long run are still largely unknown. In our recent work [Yao *et al.*, 2023a], we provide theoretical insights into these research questions. We model the creators’ competition under the assumptions that: 1) the platform employs an innocuous top- $K$  recommendation policy; 2) user decisions follow the Random Utility model; 3) content creators compete for user engagement and, without knowing their utility function in hindsight, apply arbitrary no-regret learning algorithms to update their strategies. We study the user welfare guarantee through the lens of *Price of Anarchy* [Koutsoupias and Papadimitriou, 1999] and show that the fraction of user welfare loss due to creator competition is always upper bounded by a small constant depending on  $K$  and randomness in user decisions; we also prove the tightness of this bound. Our result discloses an intrinsic merit of the myopic approach to the recommendation, i.e., relevance-driven matching performs reasonably well in the long run, as long as users’ decisions involve randomness and the platform provides reasonably many alternatives to its users.

The reward mechanisms employed by RS platforms create competition among creators which affect their production choices and, consequently, content distribution and system welfare. Following the PoA analysis in the above work, we then turn to study how to change the PoA for the better — that is, how to “pro-actively” design the platform’s reward mechanism in order to steer the creators’ competition towards a desirable welfare outcome in the long run. Our work [Yao *et al.*, 2023b] makes two major contributions in this regard: first, we uncover a fundamental limit about a class of widely adopted mechanisms, coined Merit-based Monotone Mechanisms, by showing that they inevitably lead to a constant fraction loss of the welfare. To circumvent this limitation,

we introduce Backward Rewarding Mechanisms (BRMs) and show that the competition games resulting from BRM possess a potential game structure, which naturally induces the strategic creators’ behavior dynamics to optimize any given welfare metric. In addition, the class of BRM can be parameterized so that it allows the platform to directly optimize welfare within the feasible mechanism space even when the welfare metric is not explicitly defined.

## 1.3 Instantiation in Adversarial Domains: Deception-Aware Learning of Equilibria

Another representative game-theoretic environment of strategic learning is to play against intelligent adversaries, with applications to border controls, national security and military settings [Tambe, 2011]. One of the key challenges in this case is that the learning from a strategic opponent — in fact an adversary in our domains — may intentionally manipulate his behaviors in order to mislead our learning. Our recent work [Nguyen and Xu, 2019] focuses on understanding how such attacker deception affects the game equilibrium. We examine a basic deception strategy termed imitative deception, in which the attacker simply pretends to have a different payoff assuming his true payoff is unknown to the defender. We provide a clean characterization about the game equilibrium as well as optimal algorithms to compute the equilibrium. In a follow-up paper, we further study how the defender can pro-actively deceive the adversary, by attempting to alter the adversary’s perception of the defender’s patrolling strategies so as to influence the attacker’s decision making [Nguyen and Xu, 2019; Nguyen and Xu, 2022]. We are interested in understanding the complexity and effectiveness of optimal defender deception under different attacker behavior models. Specifically, we consider three different attacker strategies of response (to the defender’s deception) with increasing sophistication, and design efficient polynomial-time algorithms to compute the equilibrium for each. Moreover, we prove formal separation for the effectiveness of patrol deception when facing an attacker of increasing sophistication, until it becomes even harmful to the defender when facing the most intelligent attacker we consider. Our results shed light on when and how deception should be used in adversarial domains.

Besides optimizing strategic decisions in game-theoretic problems, in many real-world situations, we may face the exact opposite of this problem — instead of prescribing equilibrium of a given game, we may directly observe the agents’ equilibrium behaviors but want to infer the underlying parameters of an unknown game. This research question, also known as inverse game theory, has been studied in multiple recent works in the context of Stackelberg games. Unfortunately, existing works exhibit quite negative results, showing statistical hardness and computational hardness, assuming follower’s perfectly rational behaviors. Our recent work [Wu *et al.*, ] relaxes the perfect rationality agent assumption to the classic quantal response model, a more realistic behavior model of bounded rationality. Interestingly, we show that the smooth property brought by such bounded rationality model actually leads to provably more efficient learning of the follower utility parameters in general Stackelberg games.

197 Systematic empirical experiments on synthesized games con- 252  
198 firm our theoretical results and further suggest its robustness 253  
199 beyond the strict quantal response model. 254

## 200 **Remarks on Real-World Deployment** 255

201 Besides developing methodologies, we have also been at- 256  
202 tempting to apply some of our algorithms to real-world prob- 257  
203 lems in order to show how it could work in reality. For in- 258  
204 stance, in collaboration with researchers and engineers from 259  
205 a large social media recommendation platform, we are cur- 260  
206 rently live testing the new incentive mechanisms of Section 261  
207 1.2 that we designed to reward content creators in order im- 262  
208 prove the system’s social welfare. The initial results based 263  
209 on 3 weeks of live experiments show very promising perfor- 264  
210 mance, though the test will likely last for a few more months 265  
211 in order to generate more convincing statistics. 266

212 For the multi-agent learning in adversarial environments, 267  
213 as mentioned in Section 1.3, we are currently developing 268  
214 a systematic testbed for evaluating multi-agent learning al- 269  
215 gorithms in highly non-cooperative game-theoretic environ- 270  
216 ments. This testbed (a project we called *SigGym*) will serve 271  
217 similar purpose as OpenAI Gym, but with simulated complex 272  
218 and large-scale strategic games that are of critical importance 273  
219 of national security. We plan to open source our simulation 274  
220 environment by the end of the year and invite researchers to 275  
221 tackle these important challenges together. 276

## 222 **2 Economics for Machine Learning** 277

223 The impact of machine learning on our society has now 280  
224 grown to be so large that it starts to require systematic eco- 281  
225 nomic and societal studies about ML. The societal aspect 282  
226 of ML has already attracted extensive attention recently, in- 283  
227 cluding the born and popularity of new research conferences 284  
228 such as AISE, FaaCCT. However, the economic aspect about 285  
229 ML has received relatively less attention. In this survey, we 286  
230 will overview some of our initial studies in this space and 287  
231 highlight many fascinating big open problems, such as how 288  
232 to democratize ML to make this technology accessible to 289  
233 small entities like small businesses or even single person and 290  
234 how to induce high-quality innovation in machine learning at 291  
235 the era of numerous publications. We argue why resolving 292  
236 these crucial problems will require researchers from various 293  
237 disciplines, and wish to bring together interdisciplinary re- 294  
238 searchers and encouraging more works into this field. 295

### 239 **2.1 Incentive-Aware Machine Learning** 296

240 Despite its significant success in recognition-style tasks, ma- 297  
241 chine learning often suffers from additional challenges of be- 298  
242 ing gamed when applied to non-cooperative multi-agent do- 299  
243 mains for strategic decision making, e.g., for deciding loan 300  
244 approval or which ad or content to recommend. To address 301  
245 these questions, ML algorithms need to be “incentive-aware” 302  
246 and study of such algorithms has attracted significant recent 303  
247 interest in various learning tasks (supervised vs unsupervised, 304  
248 online vs offline) under various situations of manipulations 305  
249 (adversarial vs strategic, test vs training time). 306

250 In the study of strategic manipulation of testing data for 307  
251 classification, most previous works have focused on two ex- 308  
309

252 treme situations where any testing data point either is com- 253  
254 pletely adversarial or always equally prefers the positive la- 254  
255 bel. Our recent work [Sundaram *et al.*, 2021] generalizes 255  
256 both of these through a unified framework for strategic clas- 256  
257 sification and introduce the notion of strategic VC-dimension 257  
258 (SVC) to capture the PAC-learnability in our general strate- 258  
259 gic setup. SVC provably generalizes the recent concept of 259  
260 adversarial VC-dimension (AVC) introduced by [Cullina *et* 260  
261 *al.*, 2018]. We instantiate our framework for the fundamen- 261  
262 tal strategic linear classification problem. We fully charac- 262  
263 terize: (1) the statistical learnability of linear classifiers by 263  
264 pinning down its SVC; (2) it’s computational tractability by 264  
265 pinning down the complexity of the empirical risk minimiza- 265  
266 tion problem. Interestingly, the SVC of linear classifiers is 266  
267 always upper bounded by its standard VC-dimension. This 267  
268 characterization also strictly generalizes the AVC bound for 268  
269 linear classifiers in [Cullina *et al.*, 2018]. 269

270 Another of our recent work concerns the strategic manip- 270  
271 ulation in a fundamental problem of online learning, i.e., 271  
272 the stochastic multi-armed bandits problem [Bubeck *et al.*, 272  
273 2012]. Motivated by economic applications such as recom- 273  
274 mender systems, we study a situation where each arm is a 274  
275 *self-interested* strategic player who can modify its own re- 275  
276 ward whenever pulled, subject to a cross-period budget con- 276  
277 straint, in order to maximize its own expected number of 277  
278 times of being pulled. We analyze the robustness of three 278  
279 popular bandit algorithms: UCB,  $\epsilon$ -Greedy, and Thompson 279  
280 Sampling. We prove that all three algorithms achieve a re- 280  
281 gret upper bound  $O(\max\{B, K \ln T\})$  where  $B$  is the total 281  
282 budget across arms,  $K$  is the total number of arms and  $T$  282  
283 is the running time of the algorithms. This regret guarantee 283  
284 holds for *arbitrary adaptive* manipulation strategy of arms. 284  
285 Our second set of main results shows that this regret bound 285  
286 is *tight*— in fact, for UCB, it is tight even when we restrict 286  
287 the arms’ manipulation strategies to form a *Nash equilibrium*. 287  
288 We do so by characterizing the Nash equilibrium of the game 288  
289 induced by arms’ strategic manipulations and show a regret 289  
290 lower bound of  $\Omega(\max\{B, K \ln T\})$  at the equilibrium. 290

### 291 **2.2 Towards a Market for Data and ML** 291

292 An important functionality of machine learning is to trans- 291  
293 form data to information, i.e., distilled data. Our recent works 292  
294 start to investigate the problem of pricing the information 293  
295 generated by machine learning algorithms [Chen *et al.*, 2020; 294  
296 Liu *et al.*, 2021], or directly pricing data [Chen *et al.*, 2022]. 295

296 In [Chen *et al.*, 2020], we consider a monopoly informa- 296  
297 tion holder selling information to a budget-constrained deci- 297  
298 sion maker, who may benefit from the seller’s information. 298  
299 The decision maker has a utility function that depends on his 299  
300 action and an uncertain state of the world. The seller and the 300  
301 buyer each observe a private signal regarding the state of the 301  
302 world, which may be correlated with each other. The seller’s 302  
303 goal is to sell her private information to the buyer and ex- 303  
304 tract maximum possible revenue, subject to the buyer’s bud- 304  
305 get constraints. We show that the optimal information selling 305  
306 mechanisms are simple in the sense that they can be natu- 306  
307 rally interpreted, have succinct representations, and can be 307  
308 efficiently computed. The optimal mechanism has the format 308  
309 of acting as a consultant who recommends the best action to 309

310 the buyer but uses different and carefully designed payment  
 311 rules for different settings. Our optimal mechanisms can be  
 312 easily computed by solving a single polynomial-size linear  
 313 program. This result significantly simplifies exponential-size  
 314 LPs solved by the Ellipsoid method in the previous work,  
 315 which computes the optimal mechanisms in the same setting  
 316 but without budget limit. In a followup work, we characterize  
 317 closed-form format of the optimal mechanism in the special  
 318 case of binary buyer actions [Liu *et al.*, 2021].

319 In [Chen *et al.*, 2022], we consider a new problem of sell-  
 320 ing data to a machine learner who looks to purchase data  
 321 to train his machine learning model. A key challenge in  
 322 this setup is that neither the seller nor the machine learner  
 323 knows the true quality of data. When designing a revenue-  
 324 maximizing mechanism, a data seller faces the tradeoff be-  
 325 tween the cost and precision of data quality estimation. To  
 326 address this challenge, we study a natural class of mech-  
 327 anisms that price data via costly signaling. Motivated by the  
 328 assumption of i.i.d. data points as in classic machine learning  
 329 models, we first consider selling homogeneous data and de-  
 330 rive an optimal selling mechanism. We then turn to the sale  
 331 of heterogeneous data, motivated by the sale of multiple data  
 332 sets, and show that 1) on the negative side, it is NP-hard to  
 333 approximate the optimal mechanism within a constant ratio  
 334  $\frac{e}{e+1} + o(1)$ ; while 2) on the positive side, there is a  $1/k$ -  
 335 approximate algorithm, where  $k$  is the number of the machine  
 336 learner’s private types.

### 337 2.3 Mechanism Design for Better ML Peer Review

338 In recent years, major machine learning conferences such as  
 339 NeurIPS and ICML have faced a concerning decline in the  
 340 quality of peer review—a development posing a significant  
 341 challenge to the global machine learning community. For in-  
 342 stance, the NeurIPS 2021 experiment highlighted that nearly  
 343 half to two-thirds of accepted papers would likely face re-  
 344 jection if subjected to review by an alternate set of refer-  
 345 ees. This inconsistency in review outcomes was further ag-  
 346 gravated at NeurIPS 2021, a trend partly attributable to the  
 347 exponential increase in submission volumes. To mitigate this  
 348 issue, there has been a progressive trend to propose various  
 349 strategies aimed at enhancing the peer review process in ma-  
 350 chine learning. An emergent approach, termed the “Isotonic  
 351 Mechanism”, employs mechanism design to solicit private in-  
 352 formation from authors, thereby enabling more accurate esti-  
 353 mation of review scores [Su, 2021].

354 Our recent work [Wu *et al.*, 2023] extends the original  
 355 Isotonic Mechanism in an elegant paper by [Su, 2021] from  
 356 single-owner to multiple-owner settings, in order to make it  
 357 applicable to peer review where a paper often has multiple au-  
 358 thors. Our approach starts by partitioning all submissions of  
 359 a machine learning conference into disjoint blocks such that  
 360 each block of submissions shares a common set of co-authors.  
 361 We then employ the Isotonic Mechanism to elicit a ranking of  
 362 the submissions from each author and to produce adjusted re-  
 363 view scores that align with both the reported ranking and the  
 364 original review scores. The generalized mechanism uses a  
 365 weighted average of the adjusted scores on each block. We  
 366 show that, under certain conditions, truth-telling is a Nash  
 367 equilibrium for all authors for any valid partition of the over-

lapping ownership sets. While the calibration performance of  
 the mechanism depends on the partition structure, it is com-  
 putationally intractable in general to find the optimal parti-  
 tion. We develop a quadratic-time greedy-based algorithm  
 that provably finds a good partition with appealing approxi-  
 mation guarantees. Extensive experiments on both synthetic  
 data and real-world conference review data demonstrate the  
 effectiveness of the proposed mechanism.

### Remarks on Real-World Deployment

We have also been actively seeking to apply our methods to  
 real-world problems. For instance, we are currently in con-  
 versations with leading ML conference organizations in ap-  
 plying the new generalized Isotonic mechanism. Though this  
 deployment is less mature than those mentioned at the end  
 of Section 1, we are hopeful and believe that our mechanisms  
 are both simply enough for real-world deployment and strong  
 enough for guaranteeing the performance.

On the market design for ML algorithms as mentioned  
 in Section 2.2, we are currently implementing such a data-  
 centric market for machine-learning-as-a-service in collabo-  
 ration with researchers from systems and database. Specifi-  
 cally, in our recent work [Galhotra *et al.*, 2023], we observe  
 a gap in today’s ML industry: many ML users can benefit  
 from new data in possession of others whom they do not know  
 about, whereas these data owners sit on piles of data without  
 knowing whom can benefit from their data. This gap creates  
 the opportunity for building a marketplace that can automati-  
 cally connect supply with demand. To fill this gap, we devel-  
 oped new techniques to tackle two core challenges in design-  
 ing such a market: (a) to efficiently match demand with sup-  
 ply, we develop an algorithm to automatically discover useful  
 data for any ML task from a pool of thousands of datasets,  
 achieving high-quality (data, ML model) matching; (b) to en-  
 courage participation from ML users, particularly those small  
 task owners without much ML expertise, we design a care-  
 fully tailored pricing mechanism for selling data-augmented  
 ML models. The following Figure 1 shows the structure of  
 the marketplace we designed. Compared to existing markets  
 like Vertex AI or Sagemaker, our pricing mechanism signifi-  
 cantly reduces ML users’ participation risk. We are currently  
 working on deploying a prototype of this platform.

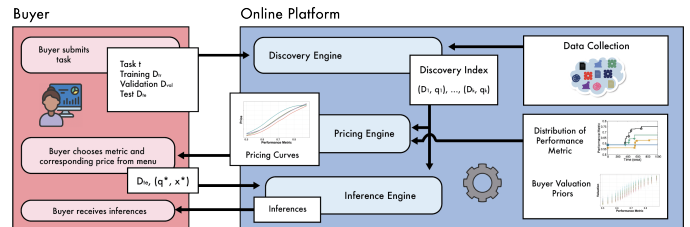


Figure 1: Overview of the Designed Data Market Architecture

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