Utilitarian beliefs in social networks: Explaining the emergence of hatred

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Abstract

We study the dynamics of opinions in a setting where a leader has a payoff that depends on agents' beliefs and where agents derive psychological utility from their beliefs. Agents sample a signal that maximises their utility and then communicate with each other through a network formed by disjoint social groups. The leader has a choice to target a finite set of social groups with a specific signal to influence their beliefs and maximise his returns. Heterogeneity in agents' preferences allows us to analyse the evolution of opinions as a dynamical system with asymmetric forces. We apply our model to explain the emergence of hatred and the spread of racism in a society. We show that when information is restricted, the equilibrium level of hatred is determined solely by the belief of the most extremist agent in the group regardless of the inherent structure of the network. On the contrary, when information is dense, the space is completely polarised in equilibrium with the presence of multiple "local truths" which oscillate in periodic cycles. We find that when preferences are uniformly distributed, the equilibrium level of hatred depends solely on the value of the practical punishment associated with holding a hate belief. Our finding suggests that an optimal policy to reduce hatred should focus on increasing the cost associated with holding a racist belief.

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"If societies cannot enforce the separability of the human mind into sensitivity for what is science and for what is not science, then we can predict that as humans evolve, the taste for truth will disappear incrementally as it yields less pleasure" - Friedrich Nietzsche, Gay Science 1882.

1 Introduction and motivation

Not all beliefs are born equal. Traditional models of learning often assume that the only obstacles to the truth are agents' cognitive capacity and the information structure. However, in some cases, the main obstacle preventing an agent from learning the truth could be her own self. Take the example of an employee who is being told repeatedly by a colleague that he is doing a bad job. Our employee may choose to ignore what his colleague is telling him because it hurts his self-image. In fact, his colleague is sending him a truthful signal about his work performance. After a certain period of time, the employee gets fired for bad performance. If the truth did not hurt the employee, he might have been more attentive to the signals sent by his colleague. This would have potentially allowed him to improve his work performance and avoid getting fired.

In general, knowing the truth allows agents to take optimal actions in the real world. This is the main motivation for humans to learn about the world in which they live in. In certain cases, knowing the truth also yields some psychological utility, and as such this can alter the extent to which agents learn. Knowledge of a certain topic can create a trade-off between the psychological and the practical utility associated with it. When learning the truth yields psychological discomfort, we can observe that agents "choose their own version of reality".

In a February 2021 article, the New York Times interviewed a number of experts in different fields on how the Biden administration can solve what they call our new "reality crisis": a world where an increasing number of citizens chose to create "their own version of reality" from hoaxes and conspiracies.¹ Examples of conspiracy theories relate to whether the Covid Vaccine will implant a tracking microchip or whether Satanic cannibalistic pedophiles run a global child sex traffic. Conspiracy theories are gaining in popularity and can have practical consequences for the democracy and social stability of a country.

¹"How the Biden Administration Can Help Solve Our Reality Crisis These steps, experts say, could prod more people to abandon the scourge of hoaxes and lies." New York Times, 02/02/2021

Indeed, various theories propogated the idea that COVID-19 was manufactured in a Chinese lab fueling anti-Asian racism globally. Xenophobic and violent acts targetted at the Chinese community spurged after COVID-19: as of October 2020 more than 2,800 incidents were officially reported in the USA.² Similarly, the United Kingdom disclosed an increase of 21% in anti-asian hate crimes as compared to the previous year suggesting the pattern is not unique to the US.³ In parallel, the Black Lives Matter movement raised awareness on the ubiquitous violence and racism that impacts the global Black community.

The rise in hate crimes has opened up a social and political debate about the roots and mechanisms of hatred. In this paper, we show that hatred can be exactly understood as a belief that yields utility. Starting with René Girard, the anthropological litterature argues that in order for someone to turn hateful towards a social group, they must be able to blame the scapegoat for some event they suffered from. As such, degrees of hatred can be equated to strength of beliefs: "The more I am convinced that COVID-19 has been created by the Chinese, the more likely I am to act upon it by comitting a racist act". Besides, hatred can also result from network effects, where certain individuals turn hateful the more they are surrounded with hateful people to feel socially integrated to their circle.

In fact, hate crimes and scapegoating are not a new phenomenon. Armenians were blamed for the decline of the Ottoman Empire, Jews were blamed for the austerity in Germany following World War I, Tutsis were blamed by the Hutus for Rwanda's economic crisis in the 80s...⁴Not only have scapegoats emerged to take on the blame for economic and social downturns, but various social groups have also been designated as the cause of the appearance and spread of pandemics. Jews were blamed for the Plague in 1347, AIDS was blamed onto the gay community and the Chikungunya disease was blamed on the Comorean immigrants. One could think that strong institutions, social progress, and increasing education levels would eradicate such irrational behaviours. Yet the Coronavirus pandemic brought scapegoating and racist acts to modern evidence. Even in democratic and well-educated nations, the Chinese have been blamed by some of the local population for the virus. A natural question that arises then is how does hatred emerge and how can we reduce it?

²As reported by STOP AAPI Hate.

³https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/13/anti-asian-hate-crimes-up-21-in-uk-during-coronavirus-crisis ⁴Moise, Jean. 2014. "The Rwandan Genocide: The True Motivations for Mass Killings"

This paper aims to provide a general model of utilitarian beliefs that can be applied to answer this question. We study the mechanisms through which beliefs that yield psychological utility emerge and spread in a social network. The recent psychological litterature has revealed the key role of social groups and cognitive dissonance in shaping agents' choices of beliefs. We base our model on psychological evidence for these forces in order to better capture and explain the dynamics of utilitarian beliefs. Our framework is based on Yariv (2002) belief utility model where we assume that a given belief yields both instrumental and psychological utility. Thus, when agents face a choice of signals to sample to learn about a state of the world, they sample whichever brings them the highest utility. In our setting, agents have hetereogenous preferences: the relative importance of the psychological utility in determining their choice of belief vary. This reflects the fact that people value the truth differently. We can think of the value of the truth as being pinned down by some psychological cost. Some people will want to learn the truth no matter what, whereas some other people will avoid learning the truth to keep a good self image. We analyse a society composed of disjoint social groups where agents want to learn a state of the world. Their belief determines their action and the associated pay-off but also the psychological pleasure they feel. As in DeGroot (1974), beliefs evolve as agents communicate with other agents in their group. Through their communication, they update their beliefs until a consensus is reached. In our framework, the consensus reached in a social group will depend on the topology of the network, the signals agents received as well as their underlying preferences.

We then apply our model to explain the dynamics of hatred. We review the psychological and anthropological litterature related to hatred. We identify two forces: the desire to blame and the desire to belong, that are essential in the emergence of hatred. Our general model of utilitarian beliefs can be conveniently applied to the case of hatred, as it encompasses these two forces. In our setting, a leader has a political interest in blaming the cause of a downturn or pandemic onto a social minority group. The majority of agents suffered from this event. They hold a belief on how likely the scapegoat is responsible for it. This belief then determines whether or not they commit a racist act but also yields them psychological utility. If they commit a racist act, agents receive a punishment. Individual's preferences, the structure of social groups -their sizes, connectedness and segregation as well as the access to information all determine the level of hatred. Our model thus provides a rich framework through which we can study the dynamics of hatred. We show that when information is restricted, the level of hatred is determined solely by the belief of the most extremist agent in the network. However, in the presence of free and diverse source of information, the space becomes polarised with the local consensus varying accross groups. These consensus are driven by network effects, where some individuals end up chosing a hate belief only after their neighbour adopts it. We find that when information is dense, the equilibrium level of hatred oscillates in periodic cycles and the space is completely polarised. This gives a greater incentive to the leader to spread hatred. In such societies, agents can create their own information circles to hold a belief that yields them higher utility without inccuring the cost of social dissonance. We show that when agents have uniform preferences, , the equilibrium level of hatred depends uniquely on the practical punishment associated with holding such a belief. As the number of agents in the population grows, the population tends to satisfy these assumptions.

The primary contribution of this paper is to provide a framework guided by psychological evidence to study the forces that shape the formation of utilitarian beliefs. In contrast to prior work, our model studies the dynamics of beliefs with a network fragmented into social groups and from which agents yield utility. This allows us to study the impact of both preferences and topological structures of communities on the evolution of opinions. To the best of our knowledge, we are not aware of any prior work that provides such a framework. This paper also makes a contribution to the theoretial literature on the analysis of dynamical systems. An advantage of our framework is that we can define our system under asymetric forces resulting in the characterisation of periodic equilibria. In such a setting, our model describes a population with a polarised basis of agents, and a set of oscillating members whose beliefs evolve. Grounded on psychological and anthropological evidence, our model can be applied to study the dynamics of hatred within societies. We hope that our conclusions can help inform the design of policies to limit racism.

The remainder of the paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 presents the model. Section 3 exposes the psychological litterature on which our model is based, reviews the related economic litterature and lays the groundwork for our application to hate dynamics. Consequently, Section 4 applies the model to study the diffusion of hatred following a major disastrous event. Section 5 concludes. The Appendix contains the proofs for all the results.

2 Model

Consider a world with two possible states $\Theta = \{0,1\}$. Society is composed of *N* agents where \mathcal{N} is the set of all agents. Let $\mathscr{G} = \{G_1, G_2, ..., G_k, G_{k+1}\}$ be the set of all K+1 fixed social groups.⁵ We impose that agents belong to a single social group, i.e., for all $j, k \in \{1, 2, ..., K+1\}$ such that $j \neq k$, $G_j \cap G_k = \emptyset$. Agents evaluate the probability of the true state and we let $\mu_{t,i} = p_{t,i}(\theta = 1)$ be the belief of agent *i* in time *t*. At the beginning of period 0, $\mu_{0,i} = 0 \forall i$. This means that initially, all agents believe the true state to be $\theta = 0$ with certainty.

Rounds of communication take place at each period through which agents discuss and update their beliefs. We will explain how beliefs are updated later in this section. For now, we want to introduce the concept of "credibility" and define how agents interact. Let $\phi_{i,j}$ represent the credibility of agent *j* for agent *i*, charecterising how much agent *i* listens and trusts agent *j*, where $0 \le \phi_{i,j} \le 1$. If $\phi_{i,j} = 1$, then agent *i* believes agent *j* to tell the truth, and at the other extreme, $\phi_{i,j} = 0$ implies that agent *i* does not listen to agent *j*. Define *g* to be the function that maps an invidiual *i* to his social group in society, $g : \mathcal{N} \to \mathcal{G}$. We assume that communication happens only within agents of the same social group, and that each agent listens to any agent of its group, including herself, thus imposing:

$$\phi_{i,j} = 0 \iff g(i) \neq g(j)$$

There is a leader, who is not part of any social group. He has a payoff that depends on agents' beliefs. In particular, he maximises his payoff when all agents believe the true state to be $\theta = 1$ (i.e. $\mu_i = 1, \forall i$). To influence agents' belief and increase his return, the leader can send them a signal suggesting that the true state is $\theta = 1$. Denote the signal sent by the leader as $s^L = 1$. ⁶The leader can choose which social groups to target with such signals. All agents which are part of social groups not targetted by the leader stick to their initial belief. This means that the leader can affect only the beliefs of the social groups he explicitly targets.

Similarly to how agents grant certain credibility for each other, agents also grant credibility to

⁵In our paper, we are not interested in how social groups are defined: they could represent different political affiliations, demographics or preferences.

⁶Since the leader maximises his payoff when all agents believe the true state to be $\theta = 1$, then to influence their belief, sending a signal $s^L = 1$ is a strictly dominant strategy as agents take a convex combination of the signals received. As such, he has no interest in sending a signal $s^L < 1$.

the leader. We denote by ϕ_i^L the credibility of the leader for agent *i*. While the credibility of agents are fixed in time and space, we let the credibility of the leader vary. In particular, we assume that the more social groups the leader targets with his signals, the less credible he is. ⁷ Let $\mathscr{S} \subset \mathscr{G}$ be the set of social groups targetted by the leader. We then have that:

$$\begin{cases} \phi^L_{i,\mathscr{S}} > \phi^L_{i,\mathscr{S}'} & \Longleftrightarrow |\mathscr{S}| < |\mathscr{S}'| \qquad \forall i,\mathscr{S},\mathscr{S}' \quad g(i) \in \mathscr{S}, g(i) \in \mathscr{S}' \\ \phi^L_{i,\mathscr{S}} = 0 & \Longleftrightarrow g(i) \notin \mathscr{S} \end{cases}$$

Consequently, the return of the leader will depend on the set of social groups he targets. Let $R_t : \mathscr{G} \to \mathbb{R}$ be the function that gives the return of the leader in a period *t*:

$$R_T(\mathscr{S}) = \sum_{i \in \mathscr{S}} \mu_{T,i} - |\mathscr{S}|c$$

where *c* is a cost of communication. The leader maximisation problem is thus to find a set of groups \mathscr{S}^* that will maximise his returns.

We now explain how agents form and update their beliefs. At the beginning of each period t, agents are exposed to a single or to multiple signals, $s_t \in (0, 1]$ and can choose whether or not to sample one of them. ⁸Each agent weigh a signal s_t^C from source C by the the trust or accuracy they assign to the source. We denote by λ_i^C be the trust agent i gives to source C, where in particular, $\lambda_i^L = \phi_i^L$. Let $\hat{\mu}_{t,i}$ be agent i chosen belief in period t, after she decided which signal to sample (if any). Agent i's chosen belief fully determines her action in period t. We let $a_{t,i}$ denote the action of agent i. $a_{t,i} \in \{0,1\}$ where $\hat{\mu}_{t,i} = p(a_{t,i} = 1)$.

An agent chooses her belief $\hat{\mu}_{t,i}$ to maximise her per-period utility:

$$U(\boldsymbol{\mu}_{t,i}) = u(\boldsymbol{\mu}_{t,i}) + \boldsymbol{\sigma}_i v(\boldsymbol{\mu}_{t,i})$$

In this setting, the first component u is the instrumental utility that the agents gets from the actions implied by her belief. The instrumental utility function is the following :

⁷This has a natural interpretation: when targetting a single social group, a leader can adjust his communication to the exact preferences of that social group in order to persuade them. As the number of social groups he targets increases, his speech becomes less specific and de facto less effective.

⁸We assume that a signal exactly equal to 0 is impossible whereas we allow for a signal to be exactly equal to 1 since such a signal is sent by the leader which we endow with communicative and manipulative skills.

$$u(\mu_{t,i}) = \begin{cases} \chi & a_{t,i} = 0 \\ -\chi & a_{t,i} = 1 \end{cases}$$

where $\chi > 0$. The second component of our utility, *v*, is the psychological utility the agent gets from her belief. σ characterises how much an agent cares about the psychological pleasure derived from her belief relative to its practical consequences materialised by χ . In our set up, we want the psychological utility to be maximal when agents believe the true state of the world to be $\theta = 1$ at antipodes with their instrumental utility, creating a dilemma. An agent's belief depend on the signal they chose to sample. As such, and to provide a psychological utility in the range [-1, 1], we define *v*:

$$v(\mu_{t,i}) = 2 \lambda_{t,i}^C \left(s_{t,i}^C - \frac{1}{2} \right)$$

Note that vis not defined when the agent chooses not to sample a signal (i.e. when $s_{t,i} = \emptyset$). In such a case, we set $v(\mu_{t,i}) = 0$.

Once agent have chosen their belief, rounds of communications happen within each social group. We represent our social network as a directed weighted graph G(N, E(G)) where each connected component corresponds to a social group. Vertices correspond to agents and edges corresponds to interactions between agents. The weight on an edge \vec{ij} captures the influence of agent *i* on agent *j*, which corresponds to $\phi_{j,i}$ in our model and is assumed to be fixed accross periods. ⁹ Note that $\phi_{i,j} \neq \phi_{j,i}$ is allowed since our model allows for asymetric influence or credibility accross agents. Let Φ be the $n \times n$ non-negative stochastic matrix of interactions and $\mu_{t,k}$ be the row vector of beliefs of agents in period *t* after *k* rounds of communication. The dynamics are described by:

$$\mu_{t,k} = \mu_{t,k-1}\Phi$$

We then have that $\mu_{t,k+r} = \mu_{t,k} \Phi^{(r)}$ where Φ can be thought of the transition matrix of a Markov chain. We assume that Φ is irreducible and aperiodic which allow us to apply the martingale convergence theorem to the beliefs.¹⁰ Irreducibility corresponds to the existence of a path connecting

⁹Fixing the credibility of agents can be interpreted as agents having bounded rationality. Indeed, rational agents should update the credibility or accuracy they give to a certain source when new information is revealed to them.

¹⁰See Kemeny and Snell (1960)

any two vertices in the graph and implies aperiodicity when $\phi_{i,i} > 0 \forall i$ (all agents value their previous belief). Define ω^* as the left row eigenvector corresponding to the unique eigenvalue equal to 1 for Φ . After enough rounds of communication in period *t*, beliefs converge :

$$c_t = \boldsymbol{\omega}^* \hat{\boldsymbol{\mu}}_t$$

Let's now illustrate the dynamics of our model with a simple example.

Example. A society with two social groups G_1 and G_2 . Only G_1 is targeted by the leader.

There are 3 agents in group G_1 . Since G_2 is not targeted by the leader, all agents in this social group will stick to their prior by construction, so we are only interested in the dynamics of the group G_1 .

Let $\chi = 0.4$. At the start of period 0, they all have a belief of exactly 0. Now, at the begining of period 0, they are exposed to only one signal $s^L = 1$. With each agent is associated a set $\{\sigma, \phi^L\}$. We have for agent 1: $\{\sigma_1 = 0.1, \phi_1^L = 0.2\}$, for agent 2: $\{\sigma_2 = 0.9, \phi_2^L = 0.5\}$ and for agent 3: $\{\sigma_3 = 0.9, \phi_3^L = 0.8\}$.

We characterise the matrix of interactions Φ in this example to be :

$$\Phi = \left(\begin{array}{rrrr} 0.1 & 0.4 & 0.5 \\ 0.1 & 0.6 & 0.3 \\ 0.3 & 0.5 & 0.2 \end{array}\right)$$

Let's analyse the belief decision of agent 1.

If he samples no signal, i.e. $s_0 = \emptyset$, then he stays at his prior which is $\mu_0 = 0$ and so his utility is:

$$U(\hat{\mu}_0|s_o = \emptyset) = -\chi \cdot \mu_0 + \chi \cdot (1 - \mu_0) + \sigma_1 \cdot 0$$

=0 \cdot (-0.4) + 0.4 \cdot 1 + 0.1 \cdot 0
=0.4

If he samples $s_0 = 1$, then his chosen belief is $\hat{\mu}_o = \phi_1^L \cdot s^L + (1 - \phi_1^L) \cdot \mu_o = 0.2 \cdot 1 + 0.8 \cdot 0 = 0.2$

and so his utility is

$$U(\hat{\mu}_0|s_o = 1) = -\chi \cdot \mu_0 + \chi \cdot (1 - \mu_0) + \sigma_1 \cdot 2 \phi_1^L \left(s^L - \frac{1}{2}\right)$$

= 0.2 \cdot (-0.4) + 0.4 \cdot 0.8 + 0.1 \cdot 0.1 \cdot 1
= 0.25

In this case, for agent 1, $U(\hat{\mu}_0|s_o = \emptyset) > U(\hat{\mu}_0|s_o = 1)$, and as such, he will chose not to sample the signal and stick to his prior. Thus, his chosen belief at the begining of period 0, is $\hat{\mu}_{0,1} = 0$. Applying the same logic to agent 2 and 3, we get $\hat{\mu}_{0,2} = 0.5$ and $\hat{\mu}_{0,3} = 0.8$. Thus, our row vector of initial chosen belief in period 0 is :

$$\hat{\mu}_0 = (\begin{array}{ccc} 0 & 0.5 & 0.8 \end{array})$$

After one round of communication, the row vector of beliefs is given by :

$$\begin{aligned} \mu_{0,1} = \hat{\mu}_0 \cdot \Phi \\ = (\begin{array}{cccc} 0 & 0.5 & 0.8 \end{array}) \cdot \left(\begin{array}{cccc} 0.1 & 0.4 & 0.5 \\ 0.1 & 0.6 & 0.3 \\ 0.3 & 0.5 & 0.2 \end{array} \right) \\ = (\begin{array}{cccc} 0.29 & 0.70 & 0.30 \end{array}) \end{aligned}$$

After 6 rounds of communication, beliefs eventually converge, $\mu_{0,6} = (0.51 \ 0.51 \ 0.51)$. Thus, $c_0 = 0.51$ and the period 0 ends. Period 1 begins, and all agents of G_1 initially hold a belief $\mu_1 = 0.51$. Then, the same steps described for period 0 happen and similarly for all future periods.

3 Psychological evidence and related litterature

In our model, we want to capture the idea that the dynamics of learning are singular in presence of utilitarian beliefs. In particular they depend on how much weight agents place on the psychological component of their belief. Furthermore, as humans are social beings who communicate with one another, the dynamics of opinions should be studied from a social network framework. This becomes even more crucial in the presence of utilitarian beliefs. Indeed, we will show in Section 4 that network effects can create incentives for individuals to adopt certain beliefs that they would not have adopted with different neighbours. Consequently, in this section, we want to provide psychological evidence for the forces that shape the dynamics of utilitarian beliefs. We review the psychological litterature associated with scapegoating to show how hatred can be understood as a belief that yields utility. This will allow us to apply our model to the dynamics of racism in Section 4.

In his seminal book "Le bouc émisssaire", French anthropologist René Girard establishes a theory where scapegoating is defined as a collective phenomenon that emerges when individuals have been experiencing an endemic and unconscious violence. By being able to gather "all against one", the scapegoat allows for violence to be released and expressed in society. Under his theory, the choice of the scapegoat is arbitrary, as it only serves the purpose of an external outlet through which the majority can get deliverance from their internal anxiety. Consequently, moments of scapegoating in History should be recurring, as they represent a collective crisis that rises in intensity until the internalized violence culminates and must be released. While the designation of the scapegoat is independent of any cause, the targetted group must fit certain criteria. First, the scapegoat must be a minority group that can clearly distinguished from the majority. Second, the majority must believe that the scapegoat is somewhat responsible for the misfortune they are accusing them of. Finally, the scapegoat must present some extreme quality such as wealth, beauty, vice, or weakness.

René Girard's theory is closely related to Freud's notion of projection which he defines as the "self reproach repressed by erecting defensive symptom of distrust of other people. In this way, the subject withdraws his acknowledgement of the self-reproach" (Freud, Further Remarks on the Neuro-Psychoses Of Defence 1896b). In Freudian psychoanalytic theory, projection is an unconscious defense mechanism through which agents get relief by displacing their reproach onto someone else and can do so "without any consideration for reality". Doing so allows the agent to reduce cognitive dissonance that could result from discovering unflattering aspects of one's image or reality such as the notion of guilt (Freud, Fragment of An Analysis Of A Case Of Hysteria 1905).

Building up on Freud's ideas, Dollard et al. (1939) theorize the emergence of scapegoats as the result of society's frustration following a specific event. Individuals cannot target their violence at the original source (either because it is absent or non accessible). Consequently, the aggression is displaced towards an easy target, which usually happens to be a minority group. Providing evidence for the frustration-aggression hypothesis of Dollard, Hovland and Sears (1940) show that incidence of lynchings of Black people in Southern states is positively correlated with bad economic indicators. Amongst other works, Douglas (1995) characterizes scapegoating as a strategy used by agents to minimize feelings of guilt over the outcome of a negative event for which they could be responsible. Related to this theory, Rothschild et al. (2012) posit that a scapegoat allows for the majority to keep their moral integrity by displacing guilt. In three studies, they show that a negative outcome that could be linked to one's own actions or whose source is unknown increase scapegoating. In their theory, two fundamental forces lead to scapegoating : the need to perceive oneself as morally valuable and the need to perceive oneself as having control over one's environment.¹¹

Common to all these theories is the desire to blame a social group to get a sense of relief from the potential responsibility agents could have in their own misfortune. The need for blame as a fundamental process in social cognition has been documented in the psychology litterature. Beardsley (1970) characterizes blame as "a power and poignancy for human life unparalleled by other moral concepts". While blame allows agent to project guilt onto a chosen scapegoat, they must be able to justify that the victim deserves her mistreatment. (McKenna, 2012). Cikara, Botvinick and Fiske (2019) show that the more an individual perceive themselves as threatened by the minority, the more pleasure they get from punishing them.

Malle, Guglielmo and Monroe (2014), propose a theory of blame in which an ordering of

¹¹Glick (2002) and Glick (2005) also develop a theory where scapegoating is attractive as it allows individuals to make sense of negative outcomes without a clear cause in a simple way, which restores the desire for control over their environment, as they can now simply punish the scapegoat.

criteria (event detection, agent causality, intentionality, obligation, reasons and capacity) defines degrees of blame. The human desire for meaning, and avoidance of uncertainty as well as avoidance of the responsibility for a negative outcome all justify the desire for blame (Malle and Knobe 1997, Wong and Weiner 1981, Hilton 2007). Experimental evidence for blame has been provided in Gurdal, Miller and Rustichini (2013) where principals blame agents for the negative outcome of a lottery even though they are aware it is a random event.

Another essential force of scapegoating is operated via the collective power of social groups versus the targeted minority. An essential criterion is the ability of the blamers to self-dissociate from the blamed, which must hence stem from categorization of social groups into in-groups (the blamers) and the outgroups (the scapegoat).¹².Tajfel et al. (1971) show that more defined social categorization allows for increased discriminative behaviors with more "ingroup favoritism" and more "outgroup prejudice". Tajfel (1981) and Chen and Li (2009) show that agents usually seek to maximize the difference between salient in-groups and outgroups. Categorization of society into social groups operates as the necessary structure through which differential treatments of oneself and the other can happen, so long as they can be differentiated. Therefore, the more distinct and distanced the scapegoat in society relative to other groups, the easier it is for agents to direct hate and blame at them.

At the heart of social groups lies the human need for belonging. From an evolutionary perspective, belonging could represent a survival advantage since groups can better hunt, protect themselves from predators, and find potential mates to reproduce. (Mangel and Clark 1985). Baumesteir and Leary (1995) define the need to belong as an "evolutionary selection that guide individual human beings into social groups and lasting relationships. These mechanisms would presumably include a tendency to orient towards other members of the species, a tendency to experience affective distress when deprived of social contact or relationships, and a tendency to feel pleasure or positive affect from social contact and relatedness". Baumesteir and Wotman (1992), show that belonging to a social group is usually associated with positive emotions such as happiness and safety, while Baumesteir and Tice (1990), Leary and Tambor (1993), Argyle (1987) and Myers (1992) all show that social exclusion, and a sense of isolation as well as being de-

¹² See L. Z. Tiedens & C. W. Leach (Eds.). Studies in emotion and social interaction. The social life of emotions (p. 314–335)

prived of relationships is associated with higher depression, anxiety and grief. Kiecolt-Glaser et al. (1984) found that loneliness was associated with decrease in immunocompetence and increase in urinary cortisol respectively. Lynch (1977) summarises evidence from many studies to conclude that "U.S. mortality rates for all causes of death are consistently higher for divorced, single, and widowed individuals" than for married individuals".

Social groups define their own social norms, which are a set of implicit rules that categorize what is acceptable within the group. Deviation from one's group social norms has been shown to lead to communication to produce conformity and eventually loss of social status (Festinger 1950, and Schachter 1951). Since belonging is a fundamental need for humans, the above imply that agents would not in general not want to deviate from their group's accepted beliefs at a given time.

The structure of social groups has a dual impact on the formation of hatred: at the scapegoat level, it allows individual to dissociate from that particular group and to direct the hatred at them. Further, when social groups are rigid and static, agents feel more pressured to adhere to the average group belief as they would not be integrated in society otherwise. If a belief forms in a given group and the agent would not initially choose to believe in it, she might feel pressured to do so in order to be integrated in her own social group. However, this pressure lessens when the agent has the possibility to belong to a different social group if she expresses different views than his initial group majority. Therefore, in our model, agents' desire to belonging is an essential force in the formation of the hate belief that is shaped by the topology of social groups.

The other essential force that we will capture is the desire for self-esteem. This implies that agents are more inclined into believing a specific group is responsible for the bad economic environment when they have themselves suffered from it. Agents blame the scapegoat following an unconscious desire to vengeance, holding them responsible for a global event that causes them distress.¹³ Even if they do not feel attacked or threatened by the scapegoat, holding them responsible allows hatred to operate as a mean of projection of distress into a clear recipient object. This mechanism provides agents with relief and a sense of certainty.

To our knowledge, the economic literature on scapegoating is limited to the work of Glaeser (2005). He uses a model of supply and demand to derive an equilibrium level of hatred in an econ-

¹³Galofré-Vilà et al. (2017) find that between 1930 and 1933, German districts most impacted by radical austerity measured are associated with higher vote shares for the Nazi party. https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w24106/revisions/w24106.rev0.pdf

omy where factors such as desire for vengeance, time spent listening to atrocities stories about the minority as well as costs from reduced economic interactions impact the demand side while the desire to complement policies from a political candidate, financial resources of actors and homogenous party platforms determine the supply side. Our work is closely related to Glaeser (2005) since we both characterise hatred as being initially sparked by a leader who has some political gain in blaming a minority and where agents have some utility in feeling hateful. However, our model uses a new framework of non-Bayesian learning where beliefs enter the utility of agents. This allows us to study how both the interactions within social groups and selfish preferences impact the level of hatred. Furthermore, in our model, we are able to characterise how some individuals are incited to hatred only because of their neighbours being hateful. In Glaeser (2005) agents become haters as a function of the amount of time spent hearing horrible stories, whereas in our model, hatred is a belief that varies with the information access and the preferences of each agent. In our setting, the macroscopical level of hatred is determined globally by the structure of social groups. On the contrary to Glaeser (2005), limiting factors take account of the propensity through which individuals update their belief with the available information and through communication.

Our work is also closely related to the economic literature on psychological expected utility whereby beliefs about a given state impact the utility directly. Laying the grounds for our model are Yariv, (2001); Koszegi, (2003), Oster, Shoulson and Dorsey (2014) and Caplin and Leahy (2001). In those models, agents actions depend on their beliefs and are the result of a utility-maximisation problem. These beliefs yield ego-utility which interferes with the optimal actions being taken. On the other hand, our paper also relates to the literature on non-bayesian updating. The closest works to ours in the questions asked are Golub and Jackson (2010), Acemoglu et al. (2008) and De Marzo, Vayanos, and Zwiebel (2003). Other relevant paper to our work are Banerjee (1992); Acemoglu and Ozdaglar (2010), Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer, and Welch (1992); Ellison and Fudenberg (1993), Acemoglu Chernozhukov, and Yildiz (2016), Banerjee and Fudenberg (2004) Mossel, Sly and Tamuz (2015), Molavi, Tahbaz-Salehi and Jadbabaie (2018) and Reshidi (2020).

4 Application of our model to the dynamics of hatred

We can now aply our model to understand how hatred emerges and spread within a society.

Consider a society initially prosperous, until a major harsh economic or social event happens that touches a significant share of the population.¹⁴This cause-event is disastrous at a large scale: not only does it impact the life of many agents but the impact itself is consequential for each agent.

Following such a large-scale event, no clear responsible can be unequivocally identified. This represents a threat for the political leader¹⁵ to be blamed. Targetting the blame at a specific group represents a political advantage where he can win some electorate. As argued in section 3, the chosen scapegoat group must meet two criteria : they must be a minority to provide a political advantage to the leader (otherwise he would loose more electorate than he can potentially win) and the majority should be able to make a link between the current event and the scapegoat group.¹⁶

Consider a world with two possible states, $\Theta = \{0,1\}$ with $\theta = 1$ corresponding to the event "The scapegoat is responsible for the event and should be punished" and $\theta = 0$ corresponding to the event "The scapegoat is not responsible". Let $\mu_{t,i} = p_{t,i}(\theta = 1)$ be the belief of agent *i* in time *t*. Initially, at the onstart of period 0, $\mu_{0,i} = 0 \forall i$, essentially representing the fact that racism is not "innate" since we are interested in studying its emergence and dynamics.

There are K + 1 social groups in our society, assume that the group G_{K+1} is the scapegoat. It is a minority group associated with the global event. Then, the leader has a choice of which subset $\mathscr{S} \subseteq \mathscr{G} \setminus G_{k+1}$ to target with hateful signals about the scapegoat to incite hatred.

4.1 A dictator world

First, let's study the dynamics of hatred in a dictator world, where information is restricted to the one provided by the leader.

Consider a group in $\mathscr{G} \setminus G_{k+1}$ and assume that they are targetted by the leader. We know that initially all agents start with $\mu_{0,i} = 0$, and at each period they receive a signal $s_{t,i} = s^L = 1, \forall i, t$ and

¹⁴Examples of such events can be found in history. For instance, following World War I, Germany was held responsible for the damages caused and had to repay an amount of 67.8 billion goldmarks, which led to a period of austerity that touched in particular middle and lower classes. Another modern example could be the pandemic of the Coronavirus that led to more than 300,000 deaths in the USA.

¹⁵In our model we assume the existence of a unique leader interested in spreading hatred. Extensions with multiple competing political parties are left for future research.

¹⁶For instance, in the 1920s in Germany, the majority of middle and lower classes lived under dire economic conditions due to the austerity imposed while Jews were usually in the upper class and hence very wealthy. Thus Hitler could introduce the idea that since Jews were untouched by austerity they must have wanted it, and are hence responsible for Germany's misery. In a similar way, Trump introduces the idea the Chinese people are responsible for the Coronavirus pandemic since the virus originated in China.

 $\lambda_{t,i} = \phi_i^L, \forall t$. Thus the choice of agents when receiving this signal is either to sample it, or ignore it and stick to their prior. Since initially $\mu_{i,-1} = 0 \forall i$, agents must gain a lot of blaming-utility to choose to adopt the leader's belief. There are huge initial costs of holding a hate belief. ¹⁷ Thus after being exposed to the leader in period 0, the beliefs of agents are :

$$egin{cases} \hat{\mu}_{0,i} = \phi_{i,L} & ext{if } \sigma_i > 2X \ \hat{\mu}_{0,i} = 0 & ext{if } \sigma_i \leq 2X \end{cases}$$

Then, after choosing their belief, they communicate, and they do so at each new period. We then have the following result:

Proposition 1. Equilibrium level of hatred

At finite horizons, the network topology matters, in particular, within one round of communication we can guarantee a minimum consensus belief at under the following condition on the network topology. We have $\omega_j^* \leq \omega_k^*$ for every $\sigma_j \geq \sigma_k$ and $\phi_j^L < \phi_k^L$. On the contrary, at infinite horizon, the network topology is irrelevant. Provided there is a single agent with $\sigma_i > 2X$, then $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k = \max\{\phi_i^L\}_{i:\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi_i^L}, \text{for some } q}$. In particular, if there a single agent k with $\sigma_k > 2X$ and $\phi_k^L = \max\{\phi_i^L\}_{i\in N}$ then $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k = \phi_k^L$ regardless of the network topology.

This proposition reveals an important dynamic of a utilitarian belief. At the finite horizons, for a given sequence of initially chosen beliefs, as determined by σ , agents with lowest beliefs on hate should be those who have the highest social influence on the network. Under the dynamics of our system, the finite horizon consensus belief is a convex combination of the leader's credibility for agents. Some agents are forced into hatred due to the communication round and convergence of opinions without it ever being the result of the influence of the leader on them. Those agents can be interpreted as individuals who do not have much incentive to develop hatred and the only way their individual belief is contributing into the final hate consensus level is via them adopting their group belief. On the reverse, agents with high incentive to hatred make an individual choice to become hateful and their adopting of the leader's belief has a direct impact on the final belief. But at infinite horizon, the steady-state level of hatred is independent of the network topology

¹⁷An interesting empirical question would be whether ϕ^L and σ are independent. Is the credibility or accuracy an agent assigns to another dependent on how much they want to believe in their words. Or said differently, do we tend to take as accurate statements that we desire to believe in?

and at equilibirum, the leader targets all agents in the majority group, and they all have belief $\mu_{\infty} = \max\{\phi_i^L\}_{i:\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi_i^L}, \text{for some q}}$ and commit a racist act with probability μ_{∞} . The intuition for infinite horizon equilibrium is the follow. At the beginning of each period, agents can adopt the leader's belief weighted by his credibility whenever it yields enough utility. Utility is increasing in the probability that the true state is $\theta = 1$, where more agents adopt the leader's belief giving other agents an incentive to adopt it as it establishes social norms in their society. Said differently, the people with the highest utility to blame will be the first to adopt the leader's belief. Even though preferences of agents and the punishment for holding a hate belief never change, as the consensus increases more agent have an incentive to adopt the leader's belief as it becomes the norm. This is exactly because of the group effect that we described in section 3.

Given these dynamics, we are now interested in the decision of the leader. Who will he target with hateful messages to spark hatred?

Consequently, the leader has a choice of choosing which groups in $S = \{G_1, G_2, ..., G_k\}$ to target with hateful messages in order to maximise his returns as defined in Section 2.

Assume that the leader cares about the level of hatred in a future period r (for example r could be the election period) but sends hateful messages in all periods 0 to r.

We can thus redefine our leader maximisation problem using our assumption of distinct groups :

$$\begin{split} \max_{i} \sum_{i \in S} \mu_{i} - |S|c & \iff \max_{G \in S} c_{k,G}|G| - |S|c \\ \text{subject to} & \begin{cases} \phi_{i,\mathscr{S}}^{L} > \phi_{i,\mathscr{S}'}^{L} & \iff |\mathscr{S}| < |\mathscr{S}'| & \forall i,\mathscr{S},\mathscr{S}' \quad g(i) \in \mathscr{S}, g(i) \in \mathscr{S} \\ \phi_{i,\mathscr{S}}^{L} = 0 & \iff g(i) \notin \mathscr{S} \end{cases} \end{split}$$

where g is the mapping function defined in section 2.

In particular, we let $\phi_{i,S}^L = \max\{0, \phi_i^L - \frac{N_s}{K}\}$ where $N_s = |\bigcup_{G \in S} G|$ and $K = |G_1 \cup ... \cup G_k|$. Then his return $R : 2^S \to \mathbb{R}$, is given by $R(S') = c_{k,G}|G| - |S'|c$ for $G \in S'$ and $S' \subseteq S$. In the below, we will assume that c = 0, representing the fact that nowadays targetting individuals with messages can be done at virtually no cost via social platforms such as Twitter or Facebook. This assumption does not alter the qualitative or comparative nature of our results. Adding a cost reduces the incentive for the leader homogenously accross all groups. We will be looking at a period *r*where all groups are in equilibrium consensus as defined in the above section.

Proposition 2. In a dictator world, where the leader can have full control of the signals sent to individuals, if $\max_{i \in G} \phi_i^L$ is equal in all groups, then the choice of the leader is simply determined by the size of the groups. Let S^* denote the set of social groups maximising the leader's returns, which may not be unique, then S^* is chosen such that $|S^*| = \phi^{L,\max} \cdot \frac{K}{2}$. Under heterogenous preferences, and equal group sizes, $|g| = N \quad \forall g$, then the leader targets all group g with $\phi_g > \frac{N}{K}$. Finally, if social groups are not heterogenous in their preferences and sizes, then the leader returnmaximising set must balance off adverse effects of group sizes. In fact if S^* is a returnmaximising set of groups, then: all omitted groups $G_m \notin S^*$ are such that $\phi_m < \frac{|G_m|}{K} + 2\sum_{s \in S^*} \frac{|g_s|}{K}$ and all included groups $G_s \in S^*$ verify $\phi_s > \frac{|G_s|}{K} + 2\sum_{l \in S^*, l \neq s} \frac{|g_l|}{K}$.

Proposition 2 calls attention to an important fact: the size of a group is at the same time a curse and an advantange for the leader. The bigger the group, the greater the number of people that turn hateful if this group is targetted by the leader, which increases his returns. However, the bigger the group, the more it represents an absolute advantage to the leader so the more he has to adapt his communication to fit the preferences of this group. Consequently he is less credible for all groups, thus reducing back his returns. As such, when groups all have a similar extreme individual (i.e. as an individual whose credibility for the leader is maximal and similar in all groups) then the choice of the leader simply comes back to selecting social groups such that his choice is half the population size hence balancing the trade off. However, when groups are very heterogenous in the agent who has maximum credibility, then the leader has to select which groups to target individually where both $(\phi_G^{L,\max}, |G|)$ matter. Intuitively, he wants to target groups with the highest possible $\phi_G^{L,\max}$ but with a size |G| enhancing the absolute effect of $\phi_G^{L,\max}$ (more hateful people) instead of having more effect on reducing $\phi_{G'}^{L,\max}$ for all other groups $G' \neq G$ (leader is less credible for everyone because of high size group). Thus, even when the cost of communication is 0, to optimise his returns and maximise the level of hatred in society, the leader should not target all groups. The relative sizes of groups and their preferences will be an important factor in determining whether or not they are being targetted by hateful messages from the leader to spark hatred.

4.2 A world with diverse information

We now focus on a modern world of free diverse information where agents are not only targetted by signals from the leader but they are also exposed to a continuum of signals on (0,1].¹⁸ Since there is a continuum of signals on (0,1] we will simplify our choice space and assume that the agent has at the begining of each period k a choice to sample a signal $s_k \in \{s^0, 1, \emptyset\}$ where $s^0 \approx 0$ is a signal sent from a policymaker whose interest is to fight hatred and $s_k = 1 = s^L$ is the signal sent from the leader. Indeed, since the agent choses which signal to sample based on her realised utility, she is always comparing levels of utility. We assume that this comparison ends up being a binary comparison between a signal of almost 0 and a signal of 1. ¹⁹ If the agent does not sample a signal, she sticks to her prior which is last period's consensus.

In the presence of multiple signals and a leader targetting at each period all agents to promote hatred, one might wonder when does the policymaker have the most return in treating agents with information to reduce their hate belief. In this set up, agents sample a signal if and only if it provides the most utility. Thus, signals from the policymaker might be never sampled and represent a pure economic cost. In the next proposition, we show when the policymaker has the highest return in sending truthful information to agents.

Proposition 3. Suppose the policymaker had the option to randomly send truthful information $(s^P \approx 0)$ to agents in order to reduce their hate belief. When agents yield ego utility from their belief and sample a signal in order to maximise their utility, then the policymaker has the most return in sending truthful signals when σ is distributed on $\mathcal{U}(0,1)$, where \mathcal{U} is the uniform distribution. ²⁰

The result of proposition 3 is very intuititive. The choice of signal sampled by the agent depends on the value of their σ . If the policymaker treats randomly agents with information, she

¹⁸We assume that s_k can be equal to 1 exactly since it is the signal sent from the leader who has some manipulative power whereas a signal can never be exactly 0.

¹⁹This is not exactly correct, as signals of different magnitude can be weighted differently (reflecting accuracy or trust of each source) and so the comparison is not always transitive. However, in the below, we will assume that we can always find two signals of very close magnitude coming from infinite sources which are hence assigned different level of trust, such that our comparison can be transitive and reduce to a choice between a signal of magnitude almost 0 and a signal of magnitude 1.

²⁰E. Weinan, Li, Tiejun and Vanden-Eijnden. 2019. "Applied Stochastic Analysis". *Graduate Studies In Mathematics. American Mathematical Society.* has been a useful resource to derive this result.

wants the effect of her treatment to be the greatest. This happens exactly when σ is uniformly distributed. Indeed, if σ were deterministic, the policymaker would be better off learning about the types of agents beforehands and selecting the agents whose σ imply they will sample her signal. Yet, when she treats randomly agents (because the cost of learning their type is too high for instance) she maximises the effect of her treatment when σ is random as well. Practically, the policy maker has the most return in sending informative signals randomly when an event touches a large population in a similar manner (a pandemic, a large economic crisis...).

Recall that agents weigh the signal from the leader by ϕ_i^L . In the below we will assume that λ_i^P , the accuracy or trust the agent has in the policymaker is $\lambda_i^P = 1 - \phi_i^L$. Since we restrict signals to be diametrically opposite, they likely come from antithetic sources. As such, agents will trust one or the other depending on their identity and preferences. Hence at the beginning of each period, agents choose to sample or not a signal such that :

$$s_{k,i} = \underset{\hat{\mu}_{k,i}}{\operatorname{arg\,max}} U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}) \qquad \text{subject to} \qquad \hat{\mu}_{k,i} = \lambda_{k,i}^C s_{k,i}^C + (1 - \lambda_{k,i}^C) c_{k-1} \qquad \forall k, \quad s_{k,i}^C \in \{s_0, 1, \emptyset\}$$

Studying the dynamics of hatred, we get the following result which describes how society becomes more polarised as the consensus belief increases. The society becomes split into followers (agents who always sample the signal of the leader and follow him) and resistants (agents who follow the policynaker) and the agents who are indifferent decreases.

Proposition 4. Under the presence of both a leader and a policymaker targetting all agents with signals respectively $s^P \approx 0$ and $\mu^L = 1$, when agents choose their belief in order to maximise their utility, then as the consensus group belief increases, the network becomes more polarised. Eventually, when $c_k > \frac{1}{2}$, the society is completely polarised with agents either following the leader by sampling his belief or resisting him by sampling the policymaker belief and these form two distinct groups.

When $c_k < \frac{1}{2}$, as the consensus increases, more people are incentivised to sample the signal from the policymaker and similarly more people are incentivised to sample the signal from the leader. Equivalently, as the consensus increases, less people have an incentive to stick to the consensus. This is reflected by different effects on each group.

Initially, when the consensus is low, a large group of people would rather stick to the consensus without explicitly taking an individual risk in either updating their belief towards the policymaker or towards the leader. Sampling the leader's signal leads to a higher hate belief and implies higher risk of being punished by acting upon it. On the reverse, sampling the policymaker signal implies a lower hate belief and hence imposes a psychological cost on the agent (who can no longer blame as much on the scapegoat). Therefore, sticking to the consensus is the conservative option and balances out the two risks. Said differently, it is less costly for agents to adopt either version of reality passively rather than explicitly chosing it. However, as the consensus increases, this group of people becomes smaller as they have more incentive to adopt either version of reality. The consensus increasing has different implication on the group of people who are inclined to sample the signal of the leader vs those who sample the policymaker's.

As the consensus increases, agents with low utility of blaming perceive a higher risk of being punished by adopting a high hate belief if they stick to the average group belief and as such make an explicit decision to chose a lower hate belief by sampling the policymaker's signal. On the reverse, agents with higher utility of blaming are more inclined into explicitly adopting a higher hate belief by sampling the signal of the policymaker since the average group belief is already high anyways. (i.e. they are incentivised to be more hateful when other people around them are already somehow hateful).

These two effects are opposite on each group and can be described of as risk-aversion (or empathy) versus ego utility effect.

Eventually, when $c_k > \frac{1}{2}$, the society becomes completely polarised with agents either explicitly adopting the signal of the leader or adopting the the signal of the policymaker. On the one hand agents with high utility of blaming will always follow the leader (followers) and agents with low utility of blaming (or equivalently agents who weigh more the practical implications of hatred -lack of empathy, loss of opportunities in life...) will resist the leader (resistants) but no one is indifferent.

Given these asymetric dynamics, we can study the equilibrium level of hatred. In the next proposition, we show that we can characterise it under different settings.

Proposition 5. Let *F* be the function describing the dynamics of the consensus, i.e. $c_k = F(c_{k-1})$ and c^* denote its equilibrium if it exists. We then have the following results:

1. When ϕ^L and σ are independently distributed on $\mathscr{U}(0,1)$, then $c^* = 1 - \chi$, as $N \to \infty$.

2. Without any assumption on the distribution of ϕ^L and σ , then F is piecewise linear function defined on [0,1] composed of M + 1 disjoint intervals $I_1, ..., I_M$, where M is the number of discontinuities of F over [0,1]. Then, F admits a stable fixed point c^* if c^* is the fixed point of the first visited interval such that $F(I_m) \subseteq I_m$.

3. When F does not admit a stable fixed point c^* in the first interval where $F(I_m) \subseteq I_m$ and without any assumption on the distribution of ϕ^L and σ , then the consensus belief is eventually periodic.

The results of proposition 5 are striking. Recall that σ describes how much an agent weighs the psychological utility yield from his beliefs relative to its practical utility. As such, σ pins down which agents sample the leader or the policymaker's signal or none. Which agents belong to which category further depends on the general level of hatred at each period, and hence varies with time. Consequently, when we do not assume any distribution for ϕ^L and σ , the equilibrium level of hatred will depend on the relative proportions of these three groups, which vary accross periods. Either these proportions balance out exactly, and *F* admits a stable fixed point, or the consensus belief will be eventually periodic. In such a case, an exact equilibrium is not guaranteed, and the level of hatred varies periodically. In this equilibrium state, the population is split into three distinct groups: the resistants, the followers, and the agents who oscillate between beliefs.Regardless of the bounds of the periodic oscillations, the value of the punishment *X* plays a crucial role in the equilibrium level of hatred. As *X* increases, the number of agents who always sample the signal from the policy-maker (leader) cannot decrease (increase). This suggests that directing policy towards increasing the practical cost associated with holding a hate belief has potential to reduce each agent's hatred level.

In fact, in a society where agents' credibility for the leader and their desire to blame are uniformly distributed, then the equilbrium level of hatred is solely a function of the punishment associated with holding a hate belief. This means that if the cause event touched agents homogeneously, then the best way to reduce the level of hatred, is to increase the cost associated with it. This observation complements the findings from Proposition 3. When σ is uniformly distributed, the policymaker has the highest returns in proposing general information campaigns, rather than focusing on specific agents in the population. This is because treating agents randomly, even if they are not the most hateful, will reduce the general level of hatred via network feedback effects. In large populations, the equilibrium level of hatred becomes completely pinned down by the punishment value. This is because the types of agent as defined by their value of $\{\sigma, \phi^L\}$ determine their actions. When $\{\sigma, \phi^L\}$ are distributed uniformly and independently, the asymetric forces guiding agents' choices eventually balance out in the system. Then, the only threshold determining the direction of their force (i.e. whether they lean towards the policymaker or the leader), is only a function of the punishment χ . Consequently, to reduce the level of hatred, governments should increase the cost associated with it. This can be understood either as legal punishment for hate crimes, social cost associated with being racist...This suggests an important direction for future policy.

5 Conclusion

Humans optimal decision-making process is often associated with desires to reduce suffering and maximise happiness. As such, it makes sense to interpret beliefs within the same framework when they yield utility to the agent who holds them. We propose a framework to study utilitarian beliefs within social networks. We believe that it is important to understand how such beliefs must be analysed differently. They result from the utility-maximising choice of the agent, where heterogeneity in preferences implies different individual decision-making processes. Studying these asymmetric forces within network effects is essential to better understand how these beliefs evolve. We based our model on psychological and anthropological evidence for such forces and applied it to study the dynamics of hatred, -which can be represented as a utilitarian belief. We find that when preferences are uniformly distributed, the equilibrium level of hatred depends solely on the value of the practical punishment associated with holding a hate belief. Our finding suggests that misinformation campaigns are inefficient when agents derive utility from their beliefs. An optimal policy should instead focus on increasing the cost of holding a racist belief.

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A Appendix : Proofs

Proof of Proposition 1

Proof. First, let's prove the finite horizon case.

In period 0, the consensus is $c_0 = \omega_i^* \hat{\mu}_{0,i}$, where $\hat{\mu}_0$ is either 0 or ϕ_i^L . Agents start period 0 with no hatred, i.e. $\mu_{-1,i} = 0$ for all *i* and are xposed to $s_0 = \mu_L = 1$. They can choose to adopt it weighted by ϕ_i^L , where $\phi_i^L > 0$ in which case $\hat{\mu}_{0,i} = \phi_i^L > 0$ or stick to his prior in which case $\hat{\mu}_{0,i} = \mu_{-1,i} = 0$.

Utility if she adopts the leader belief

$$\mathbb{E}(U|x_0 = \mu_L) = \phi_i^L(-X) + (1 - \phi_i^L)X + \sigma_i\phi_i^L$$
$$= -2X\phi_i^L + X + \sigma_i\phi_i^L$$

Utility if she sticks to his prior

$$\mathbb{E}(U|x_0 = \emptyset) = \mu_{-1}(-X) + (1 - \mu_{-1})X$$
$$= X$$

Thus an agent adopts the leader belief in period 0 if and only if $\mathbb{E}(U|x_0 = \mu_L) > \mathbb{E}(U|x_0 = \emptyset)$ which happens when $\sigma_i > 2X$

Consequently after their utility maximisation choice, agents have either $\hat{\mu}_{0,i} = \phi_i^L$ if $\sigma_i > 2X$ or $\hat{\mu}_{0,i} =$

 $\mu_{-1} = 0 \text{ if } \sigma_i \leq 2X \text{ .}$ Then $c_0 = \sum_{i \mid \sigma_i > 2X} \omega_i^* \phi_i^L + \sum_{i \mid \sigma_i \leq 2X} \omega_i^* \cdot 0 = \sum_{i \mid \sigma_i > 2X} \omega_i^* \phi_i^L \text{ .}$ It follows that $\min_{\omega^*} c_0 \iff \omega_j^* \leq \omega_k^*$ for every $\sigma_j \geq \sigma_k$ and $\phi_i^L < \phi_k^L$.

Let's now prove the infinite case now.

Let's evaluate the utility at any period k > 0. In any other period, the agent is evaluating the utility if he adopts the leader belief

$$\mathbb{E}(U|x_1 = \mu_L) = \phi_i^L(-X) + (1 - \phi_i^L)X + \sigma_i\phi_i^L$$
$$= -2X\phi_i^L + X + \sigma_i\phi_i^L$$

vs the utility if he sticks to his prior:

$$\mathbb{E}(U|x_2 = \emptyset) = c_{k-1}(-X) + (1 - c_{k-1})X$$

= $-2c_{k-1}X + X$

Indeed, at round k, an agent adopts the leader belief if $\phi_i^L > \mu_{k-1}$ and $\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_{k-1})}{\phi_i^L}$ or sticks to last period consensus belief c_{k-1} .

We can rewrite the consensus in period k as :

$$c_{k} = \sum_{\left\{i:\sigma_{i} > \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L} - c_{k-1})}{\phi_{i}^{L}}, \phi_{i}^{L} > c_{k-1}\right\}} w_{i}\phi_{i}^{L} + \sum_{\left\{i:\sigma_{i} < \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L} - c_{k-1})}{\phi_{i}^{L}}\right\}} w_{i}c_{k-1} + \sum_{\left\{i:\sigma_{i} > \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L} - c_{k-1})}{\phi_{i}^{L}}, \phi_{i}^{L} < c_{k-1}\right\}} w_{i}c_{k-1}$$

$$c_{k} = \sum_{\left\{i:\sigma_{i} > \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L} - c_{k-1})}{\phi_{i}^{L}}, \phi_{i}^{L} > c_{k-1}\right\}} w_{i}\phi_{i}^{L} + c_{k-1} \left(\sum_{\left\{i:\sigma_{i} < \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L} - c_{k-1})}{\phi_{i}^{L}}\right\}} w_{i} + \sum_{\left\{i:\sigma_{i} > \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L} - c_{k-1})}{\phi_{i}^{L}}, \phi_{i}^{L} < c_{k-1}\right\}} w_{i}\right)$$

Let's prove the first result. First note that as long as there is an agent for whom $\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_{k-1})}{\phi_i^L}, \phi_i^L > c_{k-1}$ then $c_k > c_{k-1}$.

If there is at least one agent *j* with $\sigma_j > 2X$, he adopts ϕ_j^L in period 0, then $c_0 > 0$ and c_k is updated dynamically as more agents have an incentive to switch to hatred. Indeed, in period *k*, the incentive to switch to hatred is $\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_{k-1})}{\phi_i^L}$ whereas, in period k + 1 it is $\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_k)}{\phi_i^L}$.

Let the consensus becomes stable from period K^* onwards. Then, in period K^* all agents have $\mu_{k^*} = c$. Assume for the sake of contradiction that $c < \max\{\phi_i^L\}_{i:\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi_i^L}, \text{for some } q}$. Let agent *m* be the

agent such that
$$\phi_m^L = \max\{\phi_i^L\}_{i:\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi_i^L}, \text{ for some } q}}$$
 but $\phi_m^L > c$

Then in period K^* , agent *m* choose ϕ_m^L which contradicts our initial assumption. Thus, $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k = \max\{\phi_i^L\}_{i:\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi_i^L}, \text{for some q}}$.

To prove the first result, let *j* be an agent such that $\sigma_i > 2X$ and $\phi_j^L = \max{\{\phi_i^L\}_{i \in N}}$.

Then by the above, if agent j has incentive to switch in period 0 to ϕ_j^L , then at each period he chooses ϕ_j^L .

By definition, at stationary state, $\mu_i = c \quad \forall i$. Again by contradiction, at stationary state, agent $c = \phi_j^L$. Thus $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k = \max{\{\phi_i^L\}_{i\in N}}$

Proof of Proposition 2

Let *S* be the set of groups from which the leader can choose. $S = \{G_1, G_2, ..., G_k\}$. We define his return $R: 2^S \to \mathbb{R}$ and for a given set $S' \subseteq S$, we have :

 $R(S') = \sum_{g \in S'} (c_{r,g}|g| - (r+1)c|g|)$ Assuming c = 0,

$$R(S') = \sum_{g \in S'} c_{r,g}|g|$$

Since *r* is a period of equilibrium, then we have showed above that $c_{r,g} = \max_{i \in g} \{\phi_i^L\}_{i:\sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi^L}, \text{ for some } q}$.

In large groups, we can assume that the condition $i : \sigma_i > \frac{2X(\phi_i^L - c_q)}{\phi_i^L}$, for some q is satisfied, and hence $c_{r,g} = \max_{i \in g} \phi_i^L = \phi_g$. Then we defined $\phi_{i,S}^L = \max(0, \phi_i^L - \frac{|\cup_{g \in S}g|}{K})$, so $\phi_{g,S}^L = \max(0, \phi_g^L - \frac{|\cup_{g \in S}g|}{K})$. Since we already defined $\phi_G = \max_{i \in g} \phi_i^L$, then we will let $\phi_{g,S}^L > 0$, hence $\phi_{g,S}^L = \phi_g^L - \frac{|\cup_{g \in S}g|}{K}$. Then

$$R(S') = \sum_{g \in S'} (\phi_g - \frac{|\cup_{g \in S'} g|}{K})|g|$$

= $\sum_{g \in S'} (\phi_g|g| - \frac{|\cup_{g \in S'} g| \cdot |g|}{K})$

Since we defined social groups such that $g_i \cap g_j = \emptyset$ $\forall i \neq j$ then,

$$R(S') = \sum_{g \in S'} (\phi_g |g| - \frac{|g|^2}{K})$$

In the case with homogenous preferences, $\phi_G = \phi \quad \forall g$

$$R(S') = \sum_{g \in S'} (\phi \cdot |g| - \frac{|g|^2}{K})$$

Then the return becomes only a function of the total size of the groups chosen in a given set S'. Let $N = \sum_{g \in S'} |g|$ for a given set S'.

We can rewrite

$$R(N) = \phi N - \frac{N^2}{K}$$

Then we see that the return maximising set S' is characterised by $N = \phi \frac{K}{2}$ In the case with non-homegenous preferences but equal size groups, we can rewrite

$$R(S') = \sum_{g \in S'} (\phi_G \cdot M \cdot N - \frac{M^2 N^2}{K})$$
$$= MN \sum_{g \in S'} (\phi_G - \frac{MN}{K})$$

where M = |S'| and $N = |g|, \quad \forall g$

Then notice that adding a group increases return by $\phi_G - \frac{N}{K}$. Consequently, the leader will target all groups g with $\phi_g > \frac{N}{K}$.

Finally, under non-homegenous preferences and unequal group sizes, then, we can rewrite

$$\begin{split} R(S') &= \sum_{g \in S'} (\phi_g |g| - \frac{|g|^2}{K}) \\ &= \sum_{g \in S'} \phi_g |g| - \sum_{g \in S'} \frac{|g^2|}{K} - 2 \frac{\sum_{j=1}^M \sum_{i=1}^{j-1} |g_i| \cdot |g_j|}{K} \end{split}$$

If S' is a return-maximising set, then if g_m is an omitted group in equilibrium, we must have $R(S' \cup g_m) - R(S') < 0 \iff \phi_{g_m} |g_m| - \frac{|g_m|^2}{K} - 2\sum_{l \in S'} \frac{|g_m| \cdot |g_l|}{K} < 0$ Thus all omited groups $g_m \notin S'$ are such that $\phi_{g_m} < \frac{|g_m|}{K} + 2\sum_{l \in S'} \frac{|g_l|}{K}$. And on the contrary, all included groups, $g_s \in S'$ are such that $\phi_{g_s} < \frac{|g_s|}{K} + 2\sum_{l \in S', l \neq s} \frac{|g_l|}{K}$.

Proof of Proposition 3

Define the outcome x_j to be the event that when the policy maker sends a signal $x_k = 0$ to agent *j*, the consensus in our network c_k ends up being lower versus when they do not. We have,

$$p_{j} = \mathbb{P}(X = x_{j})$$

$$= \mathbb{P}(c_{k} | \text{ agent } j \text{ gets signal } x_{k} = 0 < c_{k} | \text{ agent } j \text{ does not get signal } x_{k} = 0)$$

$$= \mathbb{P}(\text{agent } j \text{ samples signal } x_{k} = 0)$$

$$= \mathbb{P}(U_{k,j}(\text{ agent } j \text{ samples signal } x_{k} = 0) > U_{k,j}(\text{ agent } j \text{ does not sample signal } x_{k} = 0))$$

$$= \begin{cases} \mathbb{P}(\sigma_{j} \leq 2Xc_{k-1}) & \text{if } c_{k-1} \leq \frac{1}{2} \\ \mathbb{P}\left(\sigma_{j} < 2X(\phi_{j}^{L} + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_{j}^{L}c_{k-1})\right) & \text{if } c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2} \end{cases}$$

We can then define our Shannon entropy to provide the expected information content of X:

$$H(X) = \mathbb{E}(I(X)) = \mathbb{E}(-log(\mathbb{P}(x_j)))$$

We then get:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{j=1}^{n} p_j log(p_j)$$

Let's prove that *H* is maximized when *X* and hence σ is uniformely distributed. We define the function *f* on the range (0, 1] as follows:

$$f(x) = x \log(x)$$

We can then write:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{j=1}^{n} f(p_j)$$

The second derivative of f is:

$$f^{''}(x) = \frac{1}{x}$$

which is strictly positive on the (0, 1]. Hence f is strictly convex on (0, 1], and the sum $\sum_{j=1}^{n} f(p_j)$ is a strictly convex function. Thus, H is strictly concave. From the convexity of f, we make use of the Jensen's inequality applied to the random variable $\mathbb{P}(X)$, to write the following:

$$f\left(\mathbb{E}(\mathbb{P}(X))\right) \leq \mathbb{E}\left(f(\mathbb{P}(X))\right) \implies f\left(\frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} p_{j}}{n}\right) \leq \frac{1}{n} \sum_{j=1}^{n} f(p_{j})$$
$$\implies \frac{1}{n} \sum_{j=1}^{n} f(p_{j}) \geq f\left(\frac{1}{n}\right)$$
$$\implies -H(X) \geq n \frac{1}{n} \log\left(\frac{1}{n}\right)$$
$$\implies H(X) \leq \log(n)$$

For a uniform distribution, where $p_j = \frac{1}{n}, \forall j$, the Shannon entropy is:

$$H(X) = -\sum_{j=1}^{n} p_j log(p_j) = -n\frac{1}{n} \log\left(\frac{1}{n}\right) = \log(n)$$

which achieves the upper bound limit.

- Finally, as *H* is a strictly concave function, the uniform distribution is the unique distribution which maximizes the Shannon entropy.
- Intuitively this mean that information has highest power when σ is uniformely distributed. Since a signal x = 0 can only reduce the consensus, then the effect of information is strictly positive. Therefore, maximising the expected information content of our information release is equivalent to maximising the return of information.

Proof of Proposition 4

Fix a period k and remember that now the agent has a choice to sample three signals $s_k \in \{s^P, s^L, \emptyset\}$ where $s^P \approx 0$ is the signal from the policymaker, $s^L = \mu^L = 1$ is the signal from the leader. Let's evaluate the utility under each sampling possibility.

• Utility if the agent samples the signal from the policy-maker

The belief of the agent becomes $\hat{\mu}_{k,i} = \lambda_i^P s^P + (1 - \lambda_i^P) c_{k-1} \approx (1 - \lambda_i^P) c_{k-1}$ since $s_k \approx 0$ and the expected utility U is:

$$E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_k^P=0)) = X(1-(1-\lambda_i^P)c_{k-1}) - X(1-\lambda_i^P)c_{k-1} - \sigma_i\lambda_i^P$$

= X - 2X(1-\lambda_i^P)c_{k-1} - \sigma_i\lambda_i^P

• Utility if the agent samples the signal from the leader

The belief of the agent becomes $\hat{\mu}_{k,i} = \phi_i^L + (1 - \phi_i^L)c_{k-1}$ and the expected utility U is:

$$\begin{split} E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_k^L=1)) = & X(1-(\phi_i^L+(1-\phi_i^L)c_{k-1})) - X(\phi_i^L+(1-\phi_i^L)c_{k-1}) + \sigma_i\phi_i^L \\ = & X - 2X\phi_i^L - 2X(1-\phi_i^L)c_{k-1} + \sigma_i\phi_i^L \end{split}$$

• Utility if the agent sticks to its prior

The belief of the agent becomes $\hat{\mu}_{k,i} = c_{k-1}$ and the expected utility *U* is:

$$E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s_k = \emptyset)) = X(1 - c_{k-1}) - Xc_{k-1}$$

= X - 2Xc_{k-1}

The agent will sample from the policy-maker or the leader iff it provides the highest utility of the three methods, assume that $\lambda_i^P = 1 - \phi_i^L$.

Then the agent prefers sampling the signal of the leader over sticking to the consensus when

$$E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_{k}=1)) > E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_{k}=\emptyset))$$

$$\iff X - 2X\phi_{i}^{L} - 2X(1-\phi_{i}^{L})c_{k-1} + \sigma_{i}\phi_{i}^{L} > X - 2Xc_{k-1}$$

$$\iff \sigma_{i} > 2X(1-c_{k-1})$$

Then the agent prefers sampling the signal of the leader over the policymaker when

$$\begin{split} E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_{k}=1)) > & E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_{k}=0)) \\ \iff \sigma_{i} > & \frac{2X(\phi_{i}^{L}+c_{k-1}(1-2\phi_{i}^{L}))}{1} \\ & \sigma_{i} > & 2X(c_{k-1}+\phi_{i}^{L}-2\phi_{i}^{L}c_{k-1}) \end{split}$$

Finally, the agent prefers sticking to the consensus over sampling the policymaker when:

$$E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=s_k=\emptyset)) > E(U(\hat{\mu}_{k,i}|s=0))$$

$$\iff X - 2Xc_{k-1} > X - 2X(1-\lambda_i^P)c_{k-1} - \sigma_i\lambda_i^P$$

$$\iff \sigma_i > 2Xc_{k-1}$$

We can then define :

$$\alpha = 2X(1 - c_{k-1})$$

$$\beta = 2X(c_{k-1} + \phi_i^L - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})$$

$$\gamma = 2Xc_{k-1}$$

We will then rank α , β , λ on [0, 1]

1. Rank α, β $\alpha < \beta \iff 1 - c_{k-1} < c_{k-1} + \phi_i^L - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1}$ $\iff 1 - 2c_{k-1} < \phi_i^L (1 - 2c_{k-1})$ $\iff \phi_i^L > 1, c_{k-1} < \frac{1}{2} \quad \text{or} \quad \phi_i^L < 1, c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2}$ $\iff c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2} \quad \text{as} \quad \phi_i^L < 1 \forall i.$

2. Rank α, γ

$$\alpha < \gamma \iff 1 - c_{k-1} < c_{k-1} \iff c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2}$$

3. Rank β , γ

$$\beta < \gamma \iff c_{k-1} + \phi_i^L - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1} < c_{k-1} \iff c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2}$$

We then have two cases

Case 1 $c_{k-1} < \frac{1}{2}$ Then we have $\begin{cases} \alpha > \beta \\ \alpha > \gamma \\ \beta > \gamma \end{cases}$

Hence we have $\alpha > \beta > \gamma$

- Let $\sigma_i \in [0,1]$ where $0 \le \gamma < \beta < \alpha \le 1$. We evaluate the preferences on each interval. Define $\mathscr{C} = \{L, P, C\}$ to be the set of choices for the agent where he can of sampling the leader signal, the policmaker's and sticking to the cosnensus. Per above each is associate with an expected utility level so we can establish preferences.
- In $[0, \gamma]$, we have $C \gtrsim L, P \gtrsim L$ and $P \gtrsim C$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to sample the policymaker's signal.

- In $(\gamma, \beta]$, we have $C \gtrsim L, P \gtrsim L$ and $C \gtrsim P$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to stick to the consensus.
- In $(\beta, \alpha]$, we have $C \gtrsim L, L \gtrsim P$ and $C \gtrsim P$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to stick to the consensus.
- In $(\alpha, 1]$, we have $L \gtrsim C, L \gtrsim P$ and $C \gtrsim P$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to sample the leader.'s signal.

Therefore we get a complete mapping on [0, 1] for the choices of sampling by the agent :

Agent samples the policymaker signal $\iff \sigma_i \in [0, 2Xc_{k-1}]$ Agent sticks to the consensus $\iff \sigma_i \in (2Xc_{k-1}, 2X(1-c_{k-1})]$ Agent samples the leader signal $\iff \sigma_i \in (2X(1-c_{k-1}), 1]$

Consequently we see that as c_{k-1} \uparrow , less people choose to stick to the consensus.

Case 2
$$c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2}$$

Then we have
$$\begin{cases} \alpha < \beta \\ \alpha < \gamma \\ \beta < \gamma \end{cases}$$

Hence we have $\alpha < \beta < \gamma$

- In $[0, \alpha]$, we have $C \gtrsim L, P \gtrsim L$ and $P \gtrsim C$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to sample the policymaker's signal.
- In $(\alpha, \beta]$, we have $L \gtrsim C, P \gtrsim L$ and $P \gtrsim C$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to sample the policymaker's signal.
- In $(\beta, \gamma]$, we have $L \gtrsim C, L \gtrsim P$ and $P \gtrsim C$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to sample the leader's signal.
- In $(\gamma, 1]$, we have $L \gtrsim C, L \gtrsim P$ and $C \gtrsim P$, hence by transitivity, the agent prefers to sample the leader's signal.
- Therefore we get a complete mapping on [0,1] for the choices of sampling by the agent :
- $\begin{cases} \text{Agent samples the policymaker signal} & \iff \sigma_i \in [0, 2X(c_{k-1} + \phi_i^L 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})] \\ \text{Agent sticks to the leader signal} & \iff \sigma_i \in (2X(c_{k-1} + \phi_i^L 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1}), 1] \end{cases}$
- Consequently when $c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2}$, the choice space becomes completely polarised, and agents adopt either the policymaker's signal or the leader signal.

Proof of Proposition 5

Part 1. When the punishment value X is such that $X \ge \frac{1}{2}$, agents never sample the leader's signal and $\forall k \in \mathbb{N}$ the consensus belief $c_k = 0$.

Proof. Let's prove that if $X \ge \frac{1}{2}$, then $\forall k \in \mathbb{N}$ the consensus belief remains $c_k = 0$. We will prove the proposition by induction.

Let $X \ge \frac{1}{2}$ and suppose $c_{k-1} = 0$, $k - 1 \in \mathbb{N}$. We will show that no agent will sample from the leader nor the policy-maker. Thus, the consensus belief will remain $c_k = 0$.

From the Proof of Proposition 4, with $c_{k-1} = 0$, we write that agents will sample the leader's signal:

$$\iff \sigma_i > 2X(1-c_{k-1}) = 2X \ge 1.$$

We also note that agents will sample the policy-makers's signal:

$$\iff \sigma_i \leq 2Xc_{k-1} = 0.$$

Recall that:

$$\forall i \in n, \sigma_i \in (0,1).$$

Thus, no agent sample from the leader nor the policy-maker at timepoint *k*. Each agent will stick to the consensus and hold a belief
$$\mu_{i,k} = c_{k-1} = 0$$
.

Therefore,

$$c_k = \sum_{i=1}^n w_i \mu_{i,k} = 0$$

We proved that:

$$\forall k \in \mathbb{N}, X \ge \frac{1}{2}, c_{k-1} = 0 \implies c_k = 0.$$

We note that the consensus belief at timepoint k = 0 is such that $c_k = 0$. Thus $c_1 = 0$ and we proved by induction that:

$$X \ge \frac{1}{2} \implies \forall k \in \mathbb{N}, c_k = 0.$$

Part 2. For $X < \frac{1}{2}$, if we assume that σ_i and ϕ_i^L are realizations of i.i.d uniformly distributed random variables Σ and Φ^L over (0,1) respectively, and let the number of agents n tend to infinity, then the sequence of consensus belief $c_k = f(c_{k-1}) \forall k \in \mathbb{N}^*$ starting at $c_0 = 0$ is monotonically increasing and converges to $c_{\infty} = 1 - X$.

Proof. We will follow three steps to prove Proposition 2: 1) we will show that by assuming σ_i and ϕ_i^L are realizations of i.i.d uniformly distributed random variables Σ and Φ^L over (0, 1) respectively, and letting the number of agents *n* tend to infinity, we can express the consensus sequence $c_k = f(c_{k-1}) \forall k \in \mathbb{N}$ as a quadratic and linear function of c_{k-1} for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ and $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ respectively. 2) These expressions will allow us to prove that for $X < \frac{1}{2}$, the consensus belief

sequence is monotonically increasing on [0, 1 - X). 3) We will then be able to conclude on the convergence of the sequence to $c_{\infty} = 1 - X$.

We will first use the results from Proof of Proposition 4 to express for all k in \mathbb{N} the sequence $c_k = f(c_{k-1})$ as a quadratic and linear function of c_{k-1} for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ and $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ respectively.

Recall that the consensus belief is defined as:

$$c_k = \sum_{i=1}^n w_i \mu_{i,k}, \forall k \in \mathbb{N},$$

where $\mu_{i,k}$ represents the hatred belief of agent *i* at timepoint *k* and w_i is fixed $\forall i$ such that $\forall i \in n, w_i > 0$ and $\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i = 1$.

To explore the dynamics of the consensus belief sequence, we will express c_k as a function of the param-

eters σ_i, ϕ_i^L for agents *i*, the constant *X*, and the previous consensus belief c_{k-1} . The Proof of Proposition 4 allows us to express $f(c_{k-1})$ over the domain $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ as:

$$f(c_{k-1}) = \sum_{i,\sigma_i \le 2Xc_{k-1}} \left[w_i \phi_i^L c_{k-1} \right] + \sum_{i,2Xc_{k-1} < \sigma_i \le 2X(1-c_{k-1})} \left[w_i c_{k-1} \right] + \sum_{i,\sigma_i > 2X(1-c_{k-1})} \left[w_i \left(\phi_i^L + (1-\phi_i^L)c_{k-1} \right) \right]$$
(1)

Similarly, over the domain $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$, we can write:

$$f(c_{k-1}) = \sum_{i,\sigma_i \le 2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})} \left[w_i \phi_i^L c_{k-1} \right] + \sum_{i,\sigma_i > 2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})} \left[w_i \left(\phi_i^L + (1 - \phi_i^L) c_{k-1} \right) \right].$$

$$(2)$$

We will now apply the assumption that σ_i and ϕ_i^L are realizations of i.i.d uniformly distributed random variables Σ and Φ^L respectively, to simplify Equations (1,2).

- From this assumption, c_k is the sum of i.i.d random variables and is itself a random variable. We can thus apply the weak law of large numbers as the number of agents $n \to \infty$. From now on, we let $n \to \infty$. We can write: $c_k = \mathbb{E}(c_k)$. We will now show that this allows us to express the function f over the domain $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$ and $(\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ as a quadratic and linear function of c_{k-1} respectively.
- We will start by taking the expected values of c_k as defined in Equations (1,2) respectively, and simplify the expression for f over [0,1]. In order to compute these expected values, we will remove the dependencies on σ_i of the sum terms in Equation (1,2) and express f as a single sum over all agents $i \in N$. To do so, we let, H be the Heaviside function defined over \mathbb{R} such that:

$$H(x) := \begin{cases} 0 & x \le 0 \\ 1 & x > 0 \end{cases}.$$

For clarity, we will compute the expected values of Equation (1) and Equation (2) separately.

We now consider f in the region $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ defined by Equation (1) and make use of the Heaviside

function H to compute the expected value for c_k . Starting from Equation (1), we write:

$$f(c_{k-1}) = \mathbb{E}\left[\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i \left[\phi_i^L c_{k-1} + c_{k-1}(1-\phi_i^L)H\left(\sigma_i - 2Xc_{k-1}\right) + \phi_i^L(1-c_{k-1})H\left(\sigma_i - 2X(1-c_{k-1})\right)\right]\right]$$
$$= \sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i \mathbb{E}\left[\Phi^L c_{k-1} + c_{k-1}(1-\Phi^L)H\left(\Sigma - 2Xc_{k-1}\right) + \Phi^L(1-c_{k-1})H\left(\Sigma - 2X(1-c_{k-1})\right)\right]$$
(3)

$$= \mathbb{E}\left[\Phi^{L}c_{k-1} + c_{k-1}(1-\Phi^{L})H(\Sigma-2Xc_{k-1}) + \Phi^{L}(1-c_{k-1})H(\Sigma-2X(1-c_{k-1}))\right].$$

To simplify Equation (3), we note that the expected value of $H(\Sigma - a)$ for $a \in \mathbb{R}$ is equal to the probability of the event $\Sigma > a$. When $a \in [0, 1]$ and $\Sigma \sim \mathscr{U}(0, 1)$:

$$\mathbb{E}\left[H(\Sigma - a)\right] = \mathbb{P}(\Sigma > a) = 1 - \mathbb{P}(\Sigma \le a) = 1 - a$$

We are now ready to express $f(c_{k-1})$ in the range $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ as a quadratic function of c_{k-1} :

$$f(c_{k-1}) = c_{k-1} \left(\frac{1}{2} + (1 - \frac{1}{2})(1 - 2Xc_{k-1}) - \frac{1}{2}(1 - 2X(1 - c_{k-1})) \right) + \frac{1}{2}(1 - 2X(1 - c_{k-1})) \quad (4)$$

= $-2Xc_{k-1}^2 + (2X + \frac{1}{2})c_{k-1} + \frac{1}{2} - X.$

Equation (4) will allow us to study the dynamics of the consensus belief c_k as k increases in the range $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$.

The next step of the analysis is to simplify the expression for f as defined over the range $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ by

Equation (2). We will then be ready to explore the dynamics of the consensus belief in the range $c_{k-1} \in [0, 1]$.

We will now express f as defined in Equation (2) as a linear function of c_{k-1} by using the Heaviside function and computing the expected value of c_k .

$$f(c_{k-1}) = \mathbb{E}\left[\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i \left[\phi_i^L c_{k-1} + \left(\phi_i^L + (1 - 2\phi_i^L) c_{k-1}\right) H\left(\sigma_i - 2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})\right)\right]\right]$$

$$= \sum_{i=1}^{n} w_i \mathbb{E}\left[\Phi^L c_{k-1} + \left(\Phi^L + (1 - 2\Phi^L) c_{k-1}\right) H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1})\right)\right] \quad (5)$$

$$= \mathbb{E}\left[\Phi^L c_{k-1} + \left(\Phi^L + (1 - 2\Phi^L) c_{k-1}\right) H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1})\right)\right].$$

We must now compute the expected value expressed by Equation (5). Specifically, we must calculate

 $\mathbb{E}\left[H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1})\right)\right]$. To do so, we let *T* be the random variable defined as:

$$T = 2X(c_{k-1} + \Phi^L(1 - 2c_{k-1})).$$

We will now prove that T is a uniformly distributed random variable over $[2X(1-c_{k-1}), 2Xc_{k-1}]$, which

will allow us to prove that

$$\forall X \in [0, \frac{1}{2}), \forall c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], \mathbb{E}\left[H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1})\right)\right] = 1 - X$$

.

We first note that:

$$X = 0, \Sigma \sim \mathscr{U}(0, 1) \implies \mathbb{E}\left[H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1})\right)\right] = \mathbb{E}\left[H\left(\Sigma - 0\right)\right) = 1 = 1 - X.$$

Then, we note that:

$$X \in (0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1] \implies \frac{dT}{d\Phi^L} = 2X(1 - 2c_{k-1}) < 0.$$

Thus *T* is defined by a monotonically decreasing function of Φ^L . $\Phi^L \sim \mathscr{U}(0,1)$, therefore *T* is uniformly distributed over its range. The boundaries of *T* are:

$$T(\Phi^L = 0) = 2Xc_{k-1}.$$

 $T(\Phi^L = 1) = 2X(1 - c_{k-1}).$

We note that:

$$X \in (0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2} \implies 2Xc_{k-1} > 2X(1 - c_{k-1}).$$

Therefore, $T \sim \mathscr{U}(2X(1-c_{k-1}), 2Xc_{k-1})$. By letting $f_T(y)$ be the density function of the random variable *T* we write:

$$f_T(y) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{2Xc_{k-1} - 2X(1 - c_{k-1})} = \frac{1}{2X(2c_{k-1} - 1)}, & \text{if } y \in [2X(1 - c_{k-1}), 2Xc_{k-1}], \\ 0, & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

We are now ready to compute $\mathbb{E} \left[H \left(\Sigma - 2X (\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1}) \right) \right]$. We let F_{Σ} be the cumulative distribution function of the random variable $\Sigma \sim \mathscr{U}(0, 1)$ and write:

$$\mathbb{E}[H(\Sigma - T)] = 1 - \mathbb{P}(\Sigma \le T)$$

$$= 1 - \int_{2X(1 - c_{k-1})}^{2Xc_{k-1}} F_{\Sigma}(y) f_T(y) dy$$

$$= 1 - \frac{1}{2X(2c_{k-1} - 1)} \int_{2X(1 - c_{k-1})}^{2Xc_{k-1}} F_{\Sigma}(y) dy.$$
(6)

To calculate the integral in Equation (6) we note that

$$X \in [0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} \in [\frac{1}{2}, 1] \implies [2X(1 - c_{k-1}), 2Xc_{k-1}] \subseteq [0, 1].$$

Thus:

$$\begin{split} \mathbb{E}\left[H(\Sigma-T)\right] = &1 - \frac{1}{2X(2c_{k-1}-1)} \int_{2X(1-c_{k-1})}^{2Xc_{k-1}} y \mathrm{d}y \\ = &1 - \frac{1}{2X(2c_{k-1}-1)} \cdot \frac{(2X)^2 \cdot (c_{k-1}^2 - (1-c_{k-1})^2)}{2} \\ = &1 - \frac{2X(2c_{k-1}-1)}{2(2c_{k-1}-1)} \\ = &1 - X. \end{split}$$

Therefore we proved that:

$$\forall X \in [0, \frac{1}{2}), \forall c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], \mathbb{E}\left[H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^L + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^L c_{k-1})\right)\right] = 1 - X$$

We can now simplify the expression for f defined in Equation (5) for $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ as a linear function of c_{k-1} :

$$f(c_{k-1}) = \mathbb{E}\left[\Phi^{L}c_{k-1} + \left(\Phi^{L} + (1 - 2\Phi^{L})c_{k-1}\right)H\left(\Sigma - 2X(\Phi^{L} + c_{k-1} - 2\Phi^{L}c_{k-1})\right)\right]$$
(7)
$$= \frac{1}{2}c_{k-1} + \left(\frac{1}{2} + (1 - 2\frac{1}{2})c_{k-1}\right)(1 - X)$$

$$= \frac{1}{2}c_{k-1} + \frac{1 - X}{2}.$$

Equation (7) will allow us to study the dynamics of the consensus belief c_k in the range $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$. The sequence of consensus belief c_k is now defined by Equation (4) and Equation (7) on $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ and $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ respectively. This will allow us to enter the second step of the proof and show that the sequence $c_k = f(c_{k-1})$ starting at $c_0 = 0$ is monotonically increasing on $c_{k-1} \in [0, 1-X)$. We will then prove that the $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k = 1-X$.

- To prove that c_k is monotonically increasing with k on the region $c_{k-1} \in [0, 1-X)$, we will first prove that the consensus belief increases montonically up to a value c_{k^*} at a period $k^* \in \mathbb{N}$ such that $c_{k^*} > \frac{1}{2}$. At that timepoint, it will enter in the region where the sequence is defined by Equation (7). We will then prove that it increases monotonically and converges to $c_{\infty} = 1 - X$.
- Let's prove that $\forall X \in [0, \frac{1}{2})$, the consensus belief sequence is monotonically increasing in the range $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, and reaches a value c_{k^*} at a period $k^* \in \mathbb{N}$ such that $c_{k^*} > \frac{1}{2}$.

From Equation (4), we note that:

$$c_{k} - c_{k-1} = -2Xc_{k-1}^{2} + (2X + \frac{1}{2})c_{k-1} + \frac{1}{2} - X - c_{k-1}$$

$$= -2Xc_{k-1}^{2} + (2X - \frac{1}{2})c_{k-1} + \frac{1}{2} - X.$$
(8)

We will now prove that:

$$X \in [0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}] \implies c_k > c_{k-1}$$

First, we observe that for X = 0:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}], X = 0 \implies c_k - c_{k-1} = \frac{1}{2}(1 - c_{k-1}) > 0.$$

Thus, for X = 0, the sequence for c_k is increasing for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Let's now prove it is also the case for $X \in (0, \frac{1}{2})$.

We note that on $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$:

$$c_k - c_{k-1} = 0 \iff -2Xc_{k-1}^2 + (2X - \frac{1}{2})c_{k-1} + \frac{1}{2} - X = 0.$$
 (9)

We can now show that the quadratic function defined by Equation (9) is strictly positive for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, and thus that the consensus sequence c_k is monotonically increasing for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$.

When $X \in (0, \frac{1}{2})$, the discriminant of Equation (9) is $\Delta = -4X^2 + 2X + \frac{1}{4}$, and $\Delta \in (\frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{2}]$. Equation (9) admits real solutions c_1, c_2 of the form

$$c_1 = \frac{(2X - \frac{1}{2}) - \sqrt{-4X^2 + 2X + \frac{1}{4}}}{4X} \text{ and } c_2 = \frac{(2X - \frac{1}{2}) + \sqrt{-4X^2 + 2X + \frac{1}{4}}}{4X}$$

By substituting the extreme values for Δ , we observe that $c_1 < 0$ and $c_2 > \frac{1}{2}$. Therefore we observe that for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, $c_k - c_{k-1}$ is defined by a quadratic function with a negative coefficient for the 2nd order polynomial term, whose roots are $c_1 < 0$ and $c_2 > \frac{1}{2}$. Therefore:

$$X \in (0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}] \implies c_k - c_{k-1} > 0.$$

We proved that:

$$X \in [0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}] \implies c_k > c_{k-1}.$$

The sequence c_k is thus monotonically incerasing for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$.

Let's now show that the sequence of consensus belief c_k will reach a value c_{k^*} at period k^* such that $c_{k^*} > \frac{1}{2}$ with $c_{k^*-1} \le \frac{1}{2}$. This will allow us to show that the sequence enters the region $c_{k-1} > \frac{1}{2}$, in which

it will converge to $c_{\infty} = 1 - X$.

First, for X = 0, we notice that

$$c_k = \frac{1}{2} - X + \frac{1}{2}c_{k-1} = \frac{1}{2}(1 + c_{k-1}) \implies c_1 = \frac{1}{2} \implies c_2 > \frac{1}{2}$$

Thus for X = 0, the sequence of consensus belief c_k reaches a value c_{k^*} at period $k^* \in \mathbb{N}$ such that $c_{k^*} > \frac{1}{2}$. Let's prove that the statement holds $\forall X \in (0, \frac{1}{2})$.

For $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, f is a polynomial function of c_{k-1} with a negative coefficient for the 2nd order polynomial term. Therefore, f is monotonically increasing on the region $(-\infty, \arg \max_{c_{k-1}} f(c_{k-1}))$. We notice that:

$$X \in (0, \frac{1}{2}) \implies \operatorname*{arg\,max}_{c_{k-1}} f(c_{k-1}) = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8X} > \frac{1}{2}$$

Thus $\forall X \in (0, \frac{1}{2})$, f is monotonically increasing on $c_{k-1} \in (-\infty, \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8X})$, and specifically in $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Thus:

$$\forall X \in (0, \frac{1}{2}), c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}] \implies \max f(c_k) = f(\frac{1}{2}) = \frac{3}{4} - \frac{X}{2} > \frac{1}{2}.$$
 (10)

Therefore, for c_k to remain smaller than $\frac{1}{2}$ for all $k \in \mathbb{N}$, the sequence must converge to a point $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Recall that we proved Equation (8) admits no solution in $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Therefore, for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$ there exist no fixed point of f, and the consensus belief cannot converge to a value $\in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Thus, because the sequence of consensus beliefs c_k is monotonically increasing for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, and that

for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, max $f(c_k) > \frac{1}{2}$, there exists a period $k^* \in \mathbb{N}$ such that $c_{k^*} > \frac{1}{2}$.

We will now prove that the consensus belief then increases monotonically on $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1-X)$ and converges to $c_{\infty} = 1 - X$.

We will start by proving that the sequence of consensus belief is monotonically increasing for $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1-X)$.

From Equation (2), we note that:

$$c_k - c_{k-1} = \frac{1}{2}c_{k-1} + \frac{1-X}{2} - c_{k-1} = \frac{1-X}{2} - \frac{1}{2}c_{k-1}.$$
(11)

Thus,

$$c_k - c_{k-1} > 0 \iff \frac{1-X}{2} - \frac{1}{2}c_{k-1} > 0 \iff c_{k-1} < 1 - X.$$
 (12)

Therefore, we conclude by induction that $\forall k \in \mathbb{N}, k \ge k^* \implies c_k < 1 - X$ and the sequence of consensus belief c_k is monotonically increasing on $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1 - X]$.

We will now complete the proof by showing that c_k is bounded above by 1 - X, which allows us to prove the third step described, namely that $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k = 1 - X$. We use the result from Equation (12) to prove by induction that:

$$\forall k \in \mathbb{N}, c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], c_{k-1} < 1 - X \implies c_k < 1 - X.$$

Suppose that $c_{k-1} < 1 - X$, then:

$$c_k < \frac{1}{2}(1-X) + \frac{1-X}{2} \implies c_k < 1-X.$$

We now verify that the relation holds for c_{k^*} , the first term such that $c_k > \frac{1}{2}$. From Equation (10), we note

that c_{k^*} is bounded such that:

$$c_{k^*} \leq \frac{3}{4} - \frac{X}{2}.$$

We observe that:

$$\frac{3}{4} - \frac{X}{2} < 1 - X \iff X < \frac{1}{2}.$$

Thus:

$$X\in [0,\frac{1}{2})\implies c_{k^*}<1-X.$$

The consensus sequence is thus bounded above by 1 - X. Therefore, it is monotonically incereasing and bounded above, which implies its limit $\lim_{k\to\infty} c_k$ exists. Let c_{∞} be this limit. We can express c_{∞} as:

$$\lim_{k \to \infty} c_k = \lim_{k \to \infty} c_{k-1} \implies \frac{1}{2} c_{\infty} + \frac{1-X}{2} = c_{\infty} \implies c_{\infty} = 1-X.$$

We proved that, $\forall X \in (0, \frac{1}{2})$, by assuming σ_i and ϕ_i^L are realizations of i.i.d uniformly distributed random variables Σ and Φ^L over (0, 1) respectively, and letting the number of agents *n* tend to infinity, the consensus belief starting at $c_0 = 0$ is monotonically increasing with $k \in \mathbb{N}$ and converges to $c_{\infty} = 1 - X$.

Part 3. *f* is a piecewise linear function of $M + 1 \in \mathbb{N}$ intervals $I_1, ..., I_{M+1}$, whose range are defined by the M discontinuities of f over [0,1]. The discontinuites repesent the unique threshold values of c_{k-1} for which at least one agent *i* changes the signal it samples. The M+1 pairwise disjoint intervals are such that $\bigcup_{i=1}^{M+1} I_i = [0,1]$. Some of these interval $I^* \subset I$ admit fixed points. If the consensus belief converges to a fixed point, then it will converge to the fixed point of the first interval it visits which belongs to I^* .

Proof. We are interested in providing explicit equations for the fixed points c of each of the linear functions which define f in its continuous intervals. The discontinuities of f repesent the unique threshold values of c_{k-1} for which at least one agent i changes opinion. To provide an explicit equation for each fixed point, we will first proceed in three steps: 1) group the agents based on their change in signal sampling as the consensus increases, and define t_i as the threshold value of c_{k-1} for such a change to occur, 2) order the agents in each of these respective groups such that $i < j \implies t_i < t_j$, 3) express the equation for the fixed point c of each of these intervals. We will then prove that intervals I^* of [0, 1] which admit a fixed point are such that $f(I^*) \subset I^*$. This will allow us to prove that, if the consensus belief converges to a fixed point c, then the fixed point is that of the linear function defining f in the first visited interval I^* .

- We will start by providing explicit equations for the fixed points of the linear functions which define each interval of f.
- From Proof of Proposition 5 part 2, we know that over $c_{k-1} \in [0,1]$, f is defined as a piecewise linear function expressed by Equations (1,2) for $c_{k-1} \in [0,\frac{1}{2}]$ and $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2},1]$ respectively. We will thus proceed with our three step analysis for the range $c_{k-1} \in [0,\frac{1}{2}]$ and $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2},1]$ separately.

Let's proceed with the three defined steps for the region $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$.

We will show that we can group all agents in *i* into three sub-groups as c_{k-1} increases in [0, ¹/₂]: a) agents who always sample the leader's signal, b) agents who stick to the consensus before always sampling from the policy-maker when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached, c) agents who stick to the consensus before always sampling from the leader when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached.
 From Proof of Proposition 4, we recall that:

four roof of roposition 1, we recall that.

$$0 \le \sigma_i \le 2Xc_{k-1},$$
the agent samples the policy-maker, $2Xc_{k-1} < \sigma_i \le 2X(1-c_{k-1}),$ the agent sticks to the consensus, $2X(1-c_{k-1}) < \sigma_i \le 1,$ the agent samples the leader.

To show that we can group the agents in a), b), and c), we first show that at timepoint k = 1, agents have either stuck to the consensus or sampled from the leader:

$$\forall i \in N, \sigma_i > 0 \text{ and } c_0 = 0 \implies \sigma_i > 2Xc_0,$$

and no agent sampled from the policy-maker. Hence at period k = 1, agents stuck to the consensus or sampled from the leader. This will allow us to group the agents in the sub-groups as defined in a), b) and c).

- a) Some agents will always sample from the leader's signal as c_{k-1} increases in $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Indeed, an agent *i* will sample the leader at period 1 if $\sigma_i > 2X$. We notice that the threshold $2X(1 c_{k-1})$ decreases as c_{k-1} increases in \mathbb{R} and escpecially on $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Thus, all agents *i* such that $\sigma_i > 2X$ will sample from the leader for all $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. Let $\mathscr{A} = \{i | \sigma_i > 2X\}$. Without loss of generality, we relabel the agents in \mathscr{A} from 1 to $|\mathscr{A}| = A$.
- b) We will now show that some agents will change from sticking to the consensus to sampling the policymaker as c_{k-1} increases from 0 to $\frac{1}{2}$. By observing that:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}], 2X(1 - c_{k-1}) \in [X, 2X],$$

we state that:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}], \forall i, \sigma_i \leq X \implies \sigma_i \leq 2X(1 - c_{k-1}).$$

- Therefore, for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, agents such that $\sigma_i \leq X$ will never sample the leader. In the limit $c_{k-1} \rightarrow \frac{1}{2}, 2Xc_{k-1} = 2X(1-c_{k-1})$ and these agents will therefore change from sticking to the consenus to sampling from the polic-maker as c_{k-1} increases in $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$. For each of these agents *i*, the change will occur at a threshold value t_i for c_{k-1} , such $t_i = \frac{\sigma_i}{2X}$. Let \mathscr{B} be the set of cardinality *B* of agents *i* such that $\sigma_i \leq X$. Without loss of generality, we label the agents in \mathscr{B} from A + 1 to A + B.
- c) We will now show that some agents will change from sticking to the consensus to sampling the leader as c_{k-1} increases from 0 to $\frac{1}{2}$. By observing that:

$$\forall c \in [0, \frac{1}{2}], 2Xc \in [0, X],$$

we state that:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}], \forall i, \sigma_i > X \implies \sigma_i > 2Xc_{k-1}.$$

- Therefore, for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, agents such that $\sigma_i > X$ will never sample from the policy-maker. Using the same argument as in point b), as c_{k-1} increases in $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$, these agents will transfer from sticking to the consensus to sampling from the leader. For each of these agents *i*, the change will occur at a threshold $t_i = 1 \frac{\sigma_i}{2X}$. Let \mathscr{D} be the set of cardinality *D* of agents such that $\sigma_i > X$. Without loss of generality, we label the agents in \mathscr{D} from A + B + 1 to A + B + D.
- Now that the agents who exhibit the same behaviour as c_{k-1} increase in $[0, \frac{1}{2}]$ are grouped, we are ready to reorder these agents within each group. This will allow us to provide explicit expressions for the

fixed points c of each of the linear functions which define the intervals of f.

- 2) Without loss of generality, we re-order the agents in \mathscr{B} and \mathscr{D} , such that within each group $i < j \implies t_i \leq t_j$.
- We will now express the explicit equations for the fixed points of the linear functions defining f for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$.
- 3) Let \mathscr{E} be the set of agents who change opinion as c_{k-1} increases in $[0, \frac{1}{2}] : \mathscr{E} := \mathscr{B} \cup \mathscr{D}$. We order the set of threshold values t_i for all i in \mathscr{E} , such that $i < j \implies t_i \le t_j$. We have $E = |\mathscr{E}| = B + D$. Let $I_1, ..., I_{B+D+1}$ be the E pairwise disjoint intervals such that $\bigcup_{i=1}^{B+D+1} I_i = [0, \frac{1}{2}]$, where $t_1, ..., t_{B+D}$ are the discontinuities of the function, $t_0 = 0$ and $t_{B+D+1} = \frac{1}{2}$. We can now define the equation for the consensus update in the interval $I_m = (t_m, t_{m+1}]$, where $1 \le m \le B + D$. We let b be the number of agents i in \mathscr{B} such that $t_i \le t_m$, and d the number of agents i in \mathscr{D} such that $t_i \le t_m$. We define $f_m := f(c_{k-1}), \forall c_{k-1} \in I_m$. According to Equation (1) we can express that:

$$f_m(c_{k-1}) = \sum_{i=1}^{A} w_i(\phi_i^L + (1 - \phi_i^L)c_{k-1}) + \sum_{i=A+1}^{A+b} w_i\phi_i c_{k-1} + \sum_{i=A+b+1}^{A+B+d} w_i c_{k-1} + \sum_{i=A+B+1}^{A+B+d} w_i(\phi_i^L + (1 - \phi_i^L)c_{k-1}) + \sum_{i=A+B+d+1}^{A+B+d} w_i c_{k-1}.$$

We can now write an explicit equation for the fixed poins of the linear intervals of f for $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. A

point *c* must be such that $c \in I_m$ and $f_m(c) = c$. We express the latter condition as:

$$c = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{A} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i=A+B+1}^{A+B+d} w_i \phi_i^L}{1 - \left[\sum_{i=1}^{A} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L) + \sum_{i=A+1}^{A+b} w_i \phi_i + \sum_{i=A+b+1}^{A+B} w_i + \sum_{i=A+B+1}^{A+B+d} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L) + \sum_{i=A+B+d+1}^{A+B+D} w_i\right]}$$
(13)

We expressed the equation and conditions for a fixed point to exist in the region $c_{k-1} \in [0, \frac{1}{2}]$. We will now repeat the anlysis on the range $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ before showing that if these fixed points exist for f over $c_{k-1} \in [0, 1]$, then they are stable and the sequence of consensus belief converges to the fixed point c of the first visited interval which admits a fixed point.

Let's repeat the analysis for *f* defined on $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ by Equation (7).

- 1) We will start by showing that we can split the agents into four distinct sub-groups as c_{k-1} increases over $(\frac{1}{2}, 1]$: a) agents who will always sample from the policy-maker, b) agents who will always sample from the leader, c) agents who will transfer from sampling the leader to sampling the policy-maker when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached, and d) agents who will transfer from sampling the policy-maker from sampling the leader to sampling the policy-maker when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached, and d) agents who will transfer from sampling the policy-maker to sampling the leader when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached.
- We will now understand the behaviour of agents within $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$, to subsequently group them.

From Proof of Proposition 4, we can write:

$$\begin{cases} 0 \le \sigma_i \le 2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1}), & \text{the agent samples the policy-maker,} \\ 2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c) < \sigma_i \le 1, & \text{the agent samples the leader.} \end{cases}$$

Agents will change opinion if the order of σ_i and $2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})$ changes. To understand the behaviour of agents, we explore the variation of $2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})$ with c_{k-1} in the range $(\frac{1}{2}, 1]$.

$$\frac{d(2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1}))}{dc_{k-1}} = 2X(1 - 2\phi_i^L).$$
(14)

The sign of $2X(1-2\phi_i^L)$ varies on ϕ_i^L , hence we split the agents between $\phi_i^L \le \frac{1}{2}$ and $\phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}$ to analyse their respective decision making behaviour.

We will now explore the behaviour of each agent *i*as c_{k-1} increases in $(\frac{1}{2}, 1]$. We first consider agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L \leq \frac{1}{2}$ and observe that:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], \forall i, \phi_i^L \le \frac{1}{2} \implies \frac{d(2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1}))}{dc_{k-1}} \ge 0.$$

We note that the thresholds at the boundaries of the interval $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$ for agents to change are respectively:

$$\begin{cases} 2X(\phi_i^L + \frac{1}{2} - 2\frac{1}{2}\phi_i^L) = X, & \text{if } c_{k-1} = \frac{1}{2}, \\ 2X(\phi_i^L + 1 - 2\phi_i^L) = 2X(1 - \phi_i^L), & \text{if } c_{k-1} = 1. \end{cases}$$
(15)

Thus, by using the bounds from Equation (15), we state that the threshold value of σ for an agent to sample

the leader increase linearly from X to $2X(1-\phi_i^L)$ a c_{k-1} increases from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. So we note that:

$$\forall c_{k-} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], \forall i, \phi_i^L \leq \frac{1}{2}, \begin{cases} \sigma_i \leq X, & \implies \text{ agent } i \text{ always samples the policy-maker,} \\ \sigma_i > 2X(1 - \phi_i^L), & \implies \text{ agent } i \text{ always samples the leader,} \\ X < \sigma_i \leq 2X(1 - \phi_i^L), & \implies \text{ agent } i \text{ samples the leader, then the policy-maker.} \end{cases}$$

We now consider agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}$. We note that:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], \forall i, \phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2} \implies \frac{\mathrm{d}(2\mathrm{X}(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1}))}{\mathrm{d}c_{k-1}} < 0.$$

Thus the threshold value of σ_i for an agent to sample the leader decreases linearly from X to $2X(1-\phi_i^L)$

as c_{k-1} increases from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. Therefore, we note that:

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1], \forall i, \phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}, \begin{cases} \sigma_i \le 2X(1 - \phi_i^L) & \implies \text{ agent } i \text{ always samples the policy-maker.} \\ \sigma_i > X & \implies \text{ agent } i \text{ always samples the leader.} \\ 2X(1 - \phi_i^L) < \sigma_i \le X & \implies \text{ agent } i \text{ samples the policy-maker, then the leader.} \end{cases}$$

We are now ready to split the population into the four distinct sets defined in a), b), c) and d). From these

groups, we will be able to write down the expressions for fixed points of the affine functions which

define *f* in the region $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$.

Let's group the agents.

a) Agents who will always sample from the policy-maker. We showed that agents *i* such that

$$\begin{cases} \phi_i^L \leq \frac{1}{2}, & \sigma_i \leq X, \\ \phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}, & \sigma_i \leq 2X(1 - \phi_i^L). \end{cases}$$

always sample from the policy-maker. We denote \mathscr{R} the set of such agents, with $R = |\mathscr{R}|$. Without loss of generality, we label the agents in \mathscr{R} from 1 to *R*.

b) Agents who will always sample from the leader. We showed that agents *i* such that

$$\begin{cases} \phi_i^L \leq \frac{1}{2}, & \sigma_i > 2X(1 - \phi_i^L), \\ \phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}, & \sigma_i > X. \end{cases}$$

always sample from the leader. We denote \mathscr{U} the set of such agents, with $U = |\mathscr{U}|$. Without loss of generality, we label the agents in \mathscr{U} from R + 1 to R + U.

c) Agents who will transfer from sampling the leader to sampling the policy-maker when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached. We showed these agents *i* are such that

$$\phi_i^L \leq \frac{1}{2}, X < \sigma_i \leq 2X(1-\phi_i^L).$$

- Let \mathscr{W} be the set of such agents *i*, with $W = |\mathscr{W}|$. These agents will change opinon when threshold values t_i of c_{k-1} is reached such that the order between σ_i and $2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})$ changes. Without loss of generality, we label the agents in \mathscr{W} from R + U + 1 to R + U + W. We define $\forall i \in \mathscr{W}, t_i = \frac{\frac{\sigma_i}{2X} \phi_i^L}{1 2\phi_i^L}$.
- d) Agents who will transfer from sampling the policy-maker to sampling the leader when a threshold value for c_{k-1} is reached. We showed these agents *i* are such that

$$\phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}, 2X(1-\phi_i^L) < \sigma_i \le X.$$

- Let \mathscr{Y} be the set of such agents *i*, with $Y = |\mathscr{Y}|$. These agents will change opinon when threshold values t_i of c_{k-1} is reached such that the order between σ_i and $2X(\phi_i^L + c_{k-1} - 2\phi_i^L c_{k-1})$ changes. Without loss of generality, we label the agents in \mathscr{Y} from R + U + W + 1 to R + U + W + Y. We define $\forall i \in \mathscr{Y}, t_i = \frac{\frac{\sigma_i}{2X} - \phi_i^L}{1 - 2\phi_i^L}$.
- We grouped agents into four distinct sub-groups. We are now ready to reorder the agents within the groups and express the fixed points of each of the linear functions defining f for $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$.
- 2) Without loss of generality, we re-order the agents in \mathcal{W} and \mathcal{Y} , such that within each group $i < j \implies t_i \leq t_j$.
- We will now express the explicit equations for the fixed points of the linear functions defining f for $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$.
- 3) Let \mathscr{Z} be the set of agents who change opinion as c_{k-1} increases in $(\frac{1}{2}, 1]$: $\mathscr{Z} := \mathscr{W} \cup \mathscr{Y}$. We order the set of threshold values t_i for all i in \mathscr{Z} , such that $i < j \implies t_i \le t_j$. We have $Z = |\mathscr{Z}| = W + Y$. Let $I_{B+D+2}, ..., I_{B+D+W+Y+2}$ be the Z pairwise disjoint intervals such that $\bigcup_{i=B+D+2}^{B+D+W+Y+2} I_i = (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$, where $t_{B+D+2}, ..., t_{B+D+W+Y+1}$ are the discontinuities of f on $c_{k-1} \in (\frac{1}{2}, 1]$, and $t_{B+D+W+Y+1} = 1$. We can now define the equation for the consensus update in the interval $I_m = (t_m, t_{m+1}]$, where $B+D+2 \le m < B+D+W+Y+2$. We let w be the number of agents i in \mathscr{W} such that $t_i \le t_m$, and y the number of agents i in \mathscr{Y} such that $t_i \le t_m$. We define $f_m := f(c_{k-1}), \forall c_{k-1} \in I_m$. According to Equation (2) we can express that:

$$f_{m}(c_{k-1}) = \sum_{i=1}^{R} w_{i} \phi_{i}^{L} c_{k-1} + \sum_{i=R+1}^{R+U} w_{i} (\phi_{i}^{L} + (1-\phi_{i}^{L})c_{k-1}) + \sum_{i=R+U+1}^{R+U+w} w_{i} \phi_{i}^{L} c_{k-1} + \sum_{i=R+U+w+1}^{R+U+W} w_{i} (\phi_{i}^{L} + (1-\phi_{i}^{L})c_{k-1}) + \sum_{i=R+U+W+y+1}^{R+U+W+Y} w_{i} \phi_{i}^{L} c_{k-1}$$

To be a fixed point in the interval *m*, a point *c* must be such that $c \in I_m$ and $f_m(c) = c$.

$$c = \frac{\sum_{R+U}^{R+U} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{P+U+w+1}^{P+U+W+y} w_i \phi_i^L}{1 - \left[\sum_{i=1}^{R} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i=R+1}^{R+U} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L) + \sum_{R+U+1}^{P+U+w} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{R+U+w+1}^{R+U+W+y} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L) + \sum_{R+U+W+y+1}^{R+U+W+y} w_i \phi_i^L\right]}$$
(16)

We expressed the equation and conditions for a fixed point to exist in the region $c_{k-1} \in [0, 1]$. We are now ready to study the dynamics of these fixed points, and conclude on the convergence of the sequence of consensus belief.

We have shown how to compute the fixed points for the affine function defined within each interval separating discontinuities. We will now prove that such fixed points which are in f are stable.

With M + 1 as the number of distinct linear intervals of f for $c_{k-1} \in [0, 1]$, $\forall m \in [1, ..., M + 1]$, we define

the slope of the affine function in I_m as β_m . If we define n_{1m} , n_{2m} , n_{3m} as the sets of indices of agents who choose to sample the policy-maker, stick to the consensus, and sample the leader respectively in each interval I_m , we can write:

$$\forall m, \beta_m = \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L).$$

We note that:

$$\forall i \in n, \phi_i^L \in (0,1), w_i \in (0,1), \sum_{i=1}^n w_i = 1$$

Thus with $n_{1m} \cup n_{2m} \neq \emptyset$,

$$0 < \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L) < \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i = 1$$

Thus, for any continuous interval I_m of the function, if a fixed point $c \in I_m$, $|\beta_m| < 1$ and $F(I_m) \subseteq I_m$. Therefore, all fixed point defined over [0, 1] are stable.

Thus, if a fixed point c exists in $c_{k-1} \in [0,1]$, the fixed point is a solution of Equation (13) or Equation (16) if c is such that $c \leq \frac{1}{2}$ or $c > \frac{1}{2}$ respectively. We have proved that if the consensus belief visits an interval I_m such that f admits a fixed point on I_m , then the consensus belief c_k will converge to that fixed point as $k \to \infty$. The consensus belief can therefore admit a fixed point and converge to a single value.

Part 4. Let I_v be the set of intervals visited by the consensus belief sequence $c_k = f(c_{k-1})$ as $k \to \infty$. Let $x \in \mathbb{N}^*$. Let D_x be the set of discontinuities of the xth iterate of f over $c_{k-1} \in [0,1]$, defined as f^x . If $\nexists I^* \in I_v$, $f(I^*) \subset I^*$, and $\exists x^* \in \mathbb{N}, \forall x \ge x^*, \forall c_{k-1} \in [0,1], f^x(c_{k-1}) \in D_{x-1} \Longrightarrow c_{k-1} \in D_{x-1}$, then the consensus belief sequence is eventually periodic. Once the consensus belief is periodic, the agents are split into three distinct sub-groups: a) agents who will always sample the policy-maker, b) agents who will always sample the leader, c) agents who will periodically oscillate between a combination of sampling the leader, the policy-maker, or sticking to the consensus.

Proof. We will prove Proposition 4 by showing that if the discontinuities in the iterates f^x of function f are finite as $x \to \infty$, then f is a piecewise linear function whose iterates converge to a piecewise step function. The discontinuities of the piecewise step function are a subset of the discontinuities of all the iterates of f. If the consensus belief visits no interval of f admitting a fixed point, then the sequence of consensus belief is eventually periodic.

- We sart by expressing a condition for the disconinuities in the iterates f^x of f to be finite as $x \to \infty$. This will allow us to prove that $\lim_{x\to\infty} f^x$ is a stepwise function with a finite number of discontinuities, and thus show that the sequence of consensus belief is eventually periodic.
- Let $x \in \mathbb{N}$ and f^x be the *x*th iterate of *f*. We define D_x as the set of discontinuities of f^x over $c_{k-1} \in [0,1]$. Assume that:

$$\exists x^* \in \mathbb{N}, \forall x \ge x^*, \forall c_{k-1} \in [0,1], f^x(c_{k-1}) \in D_{x-1} \implies c_{k-1} \in D_{x-1}.$$
(17)

- Condition (17) ensures that there exists $x^* \in \mathbb{N}$, such that from the iterate x^* of f onwards, no new preimage $c_{k-1} \in [0,1]$ yield a discontinuity. Therefore, there is a maximum and finite number of discontinuities for all iterates $f^x, x > x^*$.
- From this statement, we will prove that the consensus sequence c_k is eventually periodic by showing that f tends to a piecewise step function where each continuous interval converges to a value in [0, 1]. As the number of values visited by the consensus c_k would then become finite, the sequence of consensus belief will become periodic.
- To do so, we let g be the first iterate of f for which Condition (17) holds. Suppose there are M 1 discontinuities in the function g, $(M 1) \in \mathbb{N}^*$. We have shown in Proof of Statement 3 of Proposition 5 that f is a piecewise linear function, where each affine interval m is defined with a slope β_m , with $\beta_m < 1$. We also let γ_m be the Y-intercept of each affine function m defining f. We can write:

$$\forall m \in [1,...,M], g_m(c_{k-1}) = \beta_m c_{k-1} + \gamma_m.$$

Writing $g_m^2(c_{k-1})$ as the second iterate of the function *g* over each interval *m*, we have:

$$g_m^2(c_{k-1}) = \beta_m(\beta_m c_{k-1} + \gamma_m) + \gamma_m$$
$$= \beta_m^2 c_{k-1} + \beta_m \gamma_m + \gamma_m$$

Generalising for all $p \in \mathbb{N}$:

$$g_m^p(c_{k-1}) = \beta_m^p c_{k-1} + \sum_{i=0}^{p-1} \beta_m^i \gamma_m$$
(18)

We must now prove that $\lim_{n\to\infty} g_m^n(c_{k-1})$ converges for any *m* in [1,...,M]. Equation (18) implies that:

$$\beta_m g_m^p = \beta_m^{p+1} c_{k-1} + \sum_{i=1}^p \beta_m^i \gamma_m$$

Therefore,

$$\beta_m g_m^p - g_m^p = \beta_m^p c_{k-1} (\beta_m - 1) + \beta_m^p - \gamma_m$$
$$\implies g_m^p = \frac{\beta_m^p [c_{k-1} (\beta_m - 1) + 1] - \gamma_m}{\beta_m - 1}$$

Following the same reasoning as in in Proof of Statement 3 of Proposition 5, as the iterates of *f* represent a new decision making step of the agents in the population, we must have that the slope $\beta_m < 1$ for all interval *m* in $g(c_{k-1})$. Thus, $0 < \beta_m < 1$, and at infinite horizon we have:

$$\lim_{p\to\infty}g_m^p(c_{k-1})=\frac{\gamma_m}{1-\beta_m}$$

To show that $\lim_{p\to\infty} g_m^p(c_{k-1})$ converges for all $\forall m \in [1,...,M]$, we define n_{1m}, n_{2m}, n_{3m} as the sets of agents who choose the policy-maker, consensus and leader respectively, in interval *m*, and write:

$$\forall m \in [1, ..., M], \beta_m = \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L).$$

Correspondingly we have:

$$\forall m, \gamma_m = \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i \phi_i^L$$

Therefore:

$$\forall m \in [1, ..., M], \beta_m + \gamma_m = \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i (1 - \phi_i^L) + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i \phi_i^L$$

$$= \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i \phi_i^L + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i$$

$$< \sum_{i \in n_{1m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{2m}} w_i + \sum_{i \in n_{3m}} w_i$$

$$= 1.$$

Thus,

$$\forall m \in [1,...,M], \beta_m + \gamma_m < 1 \Longrightarrow \gamma_m < 1 - \beta_m,$$

and with $\gamma_m \in (0,1), \beta_m \in (0,1) \forall m \in [1,...,M],$

$$\forall c_{k-1} \in [0,1], \lim_{n \to \infty} g_m^p(c_{k-1}) \in (0,1).$$

Therefore, each affine interval *m* converges when *p* tends to ∞ , and the function g^p tends to a piecewise step function of *M* constant values $\in (0, 1)$.

We will now show that a sequence defined by a function g^p which is a piecewise step function of M constant values is eventually periodic.

Let:

$$\forall m \in [1,...,M], l_m = \lim_{p \to \infty} g_m^p(c_{k-1}).$$

In the limit where $p \rightarrow \infty$:

 $g^{p}([0,1]) = \{l_1,...,l_M\}.$

The sequence becomes the mapping of a finite set within itself, which is eventually periodic. This completes the proof of statement 3. \Box

We will now analyse the behaviour of agents when the dynamical system is periodic.

Assume that the dynamical system of the consensus belief is periodic, with p_0 and p_1 the extremum values of the period, such that $0 < p_0 < p_1 \le 1$. the behaviour of the agents can be separated into: 1) agents who do not change opinion as the system evolves over the period, 2) agents who oscillate between different opinions. We consider the three cases for the values of p_0 and p_1 , namely a) $0 < p_0 < p_1 \le \frac{1}{2}$, b) $0 < p_0 \le \frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2} < p_1 \le 1$, c) $\frac{1}{2} < p_0 < p_1 \le 1$. **Case a.** $0 < p_0 < p_1 \le \frac{1}{2}$

In this range of periodic orbit, the agents' behaviours are split as follows:

$$\begin{cases} \sigma_i \leq 2X p_0, & \text{the agent will always sample from the policy-maker,} \\ \sigma_i > 2X(1-p_0), & \text{the agent will always sample from the leader,} \\ 2X p_0 < \sigma_i \leq 2X p_1, & \text{the agent will oscillate between the consensus and the policy-maker,} \\ 2X(1-p_1) < \sigma_i \leq 2X(1-p_0), & \text{the agent will oscillate between the consensus and the leader.} \end{cases}$$

Case b. $0 < p_0 \le \frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2} < p_1 \le 1$

In this range of extremum values, the agents' behaviours are split as follows: For agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L < \frac{1}{2}$:

 $\sigma_i \leq 2X p_0$ and $\sigma_i \leq 2X(\phi_i^L + p_1 - 2\phi_i^L p_1) \implies$ the agent will always sample from the policy-maker For agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}$:

 $\sigma_i > 2X(1-p_0)$ and $\sigma_i > 2X(\phi_i^L + p_1 - 2\phi_i^L p_1) \implies$ the agent will always sample from the leader

For agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L = \frac{1}{2}$:

 $\begin{cases} \sigma_i \leq 2X p_0, & \text{the agent will always sample from the policy-maker,} \\ \sigma_i > 2X(1-p_0), & \text{the agent will always sample from the leader.} \end{cases}$

Remaining agents will oscillate either from consensus to policy-maker or leader, or between leader

and policy-maker.

Case c. $\frac{1}{2} < p_0 < p_1 \le 1$ In this range of extremum values, the agents' behaviours are split as follows: For agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L \le \frac{1}{2}$:

$$\begin{cases} \sigma_i \leq 2X(\phi_i^L + p_0 - 2\phi_i^L p_0), & \text{the agent will always sample from the policy-maker,} \\ \sigma_i > 2X(\phi_i^L + p_1 - 2\phi_i^L p_1), & \text{the agent will always sample from the leader.} \end{cases}$$

For agents *i* such that $\phi_i^L > \frac{1}{2}$:

$$\begin{cases} \sigma_i \leq 2X(\phi_i^L + p_1 - 2\phi_i^L p_1), & \text{the agent will always sample from the policy-maker,} \\ \sigma_i > 2X(\phi_i^L + p_0 - 2\phi_i^L p_0), & \text{the agent will always sample from the leader.} \end{cases}$$

Remaining agents will oscillate between sampling from the policy-maker and the leader.