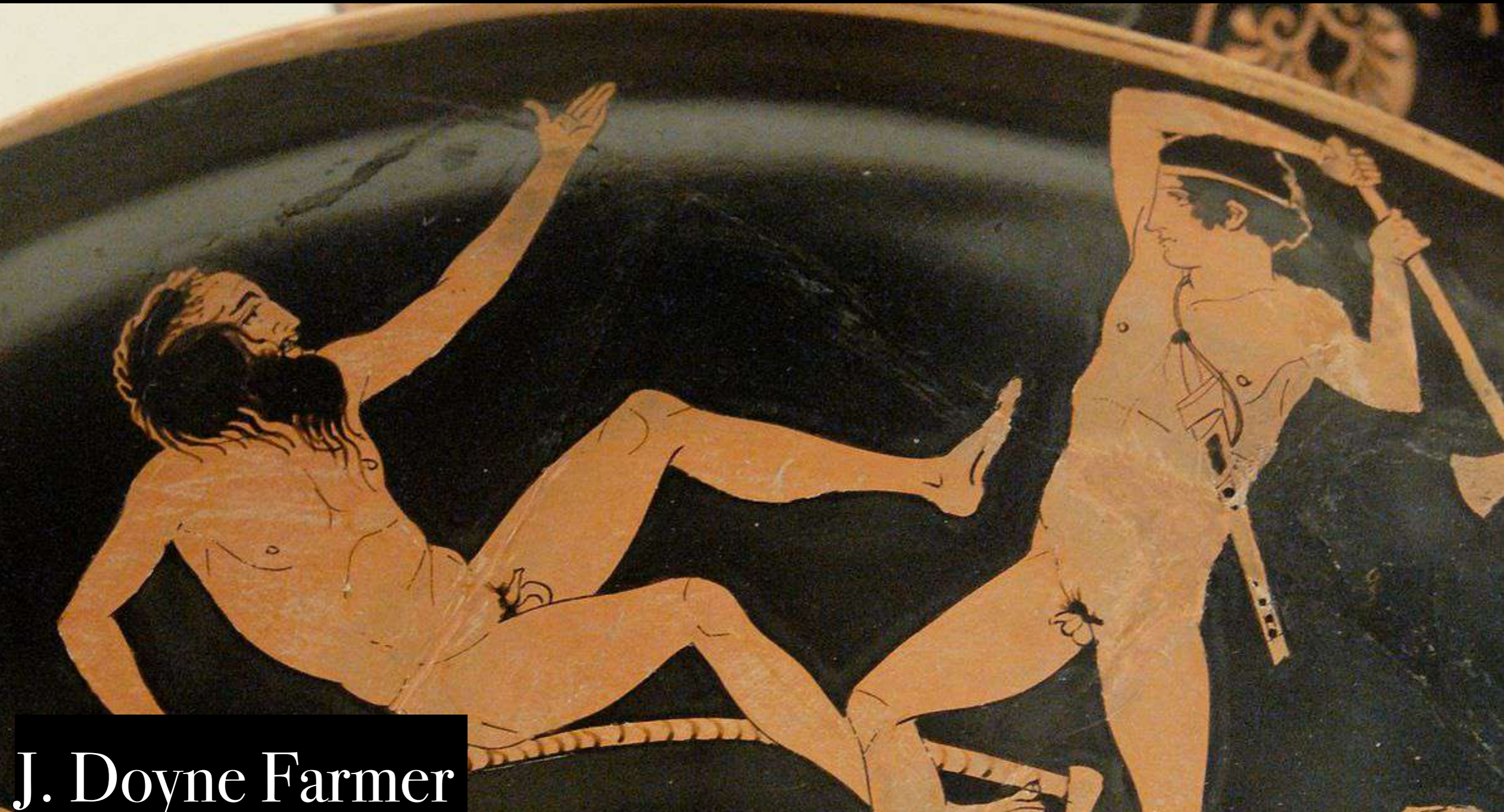
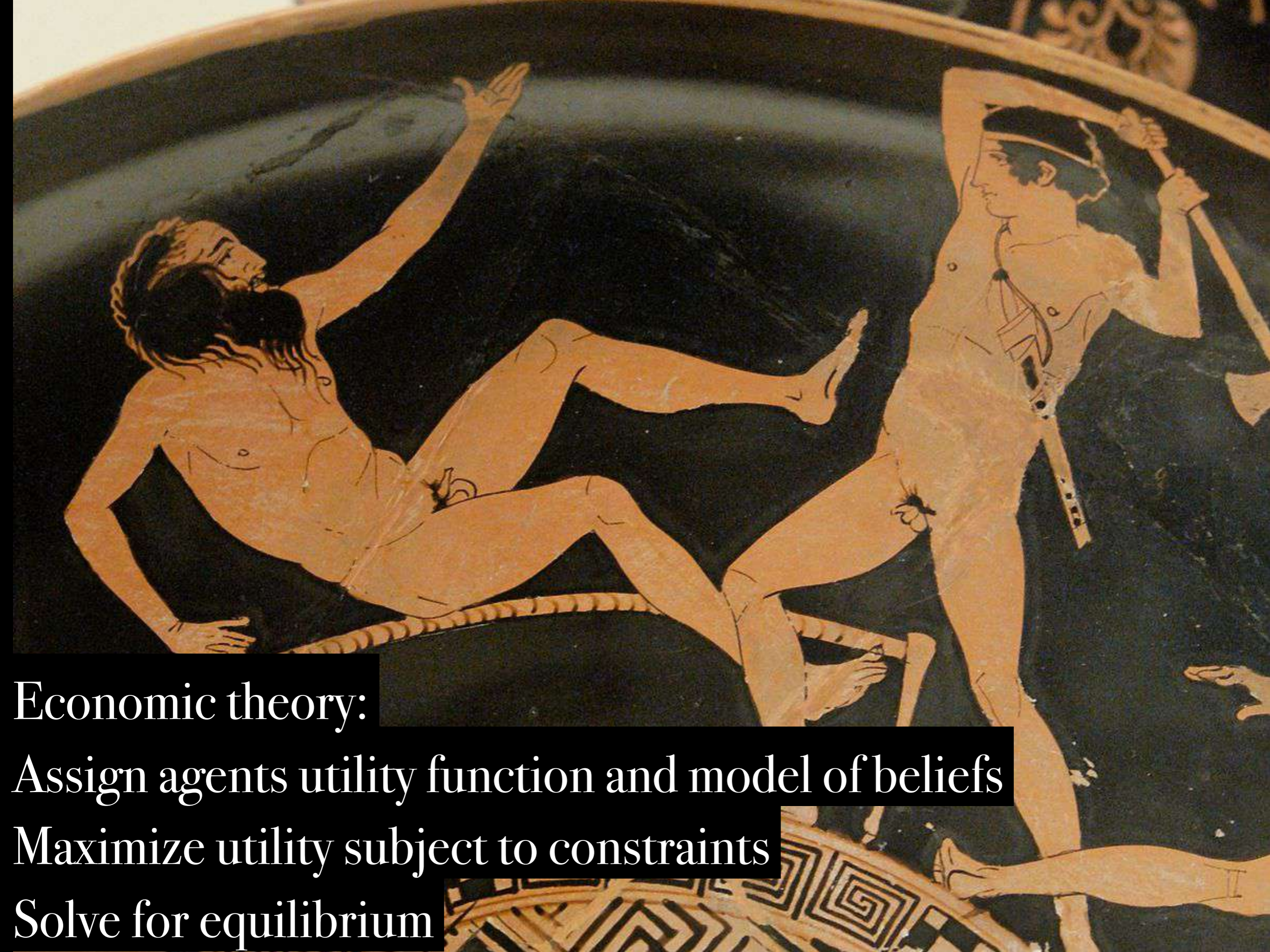


# The complexity economics revolution



J. Doyne Farmer

Institute for New Economic Thinking at the Oxford Martin School, Math Institute, University of Oxford; Santa Fe Institute



Economic theory:

Assign agents utility function and model of beliefs

Maximize utility subject to constraints

Solve for equilibrium

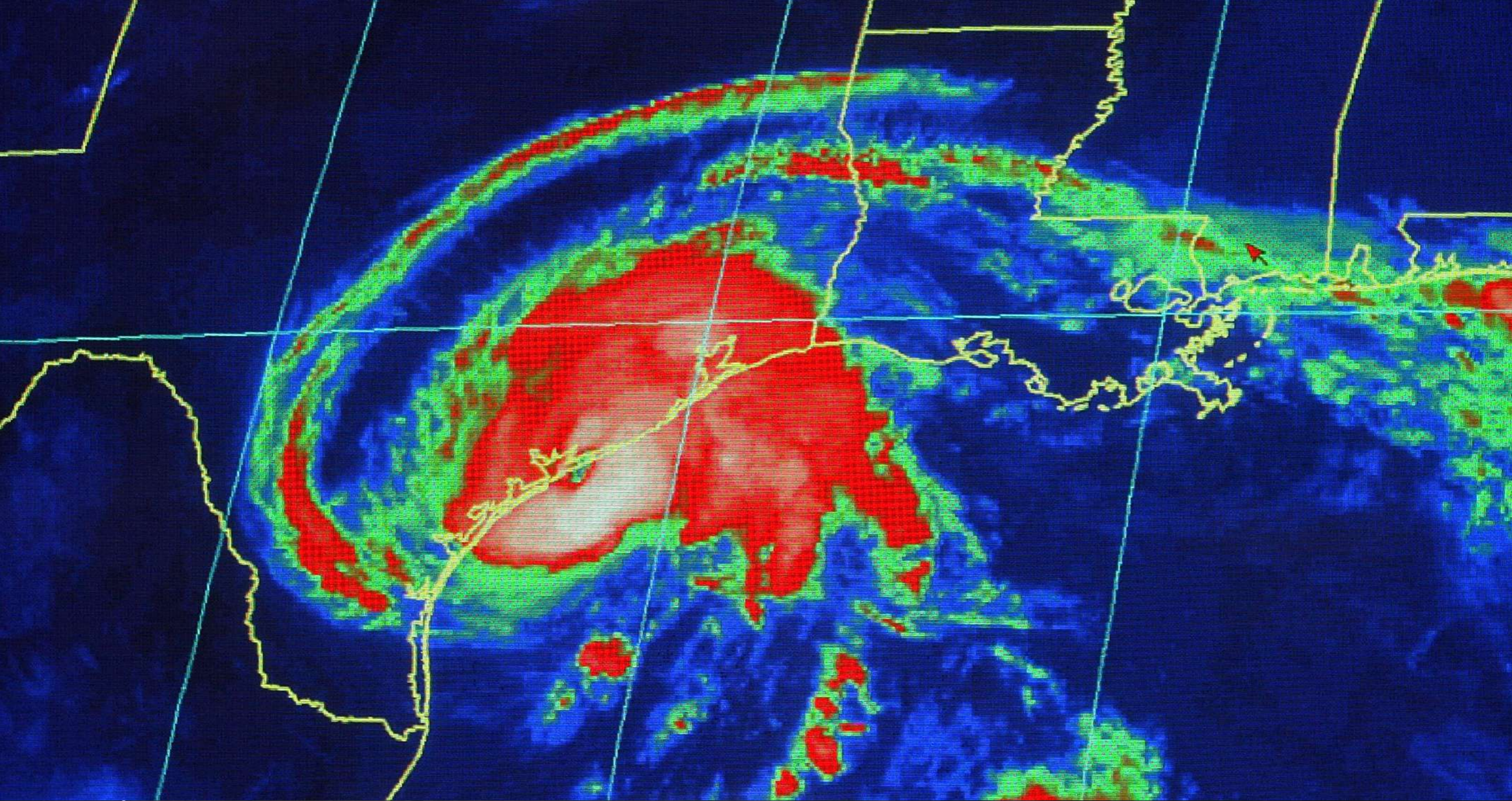
NO  
STEP BEHIND

AUSTERITY  
THAT'S  
ENOUGH

Was austerity good for Greece?



Or was austerity like the sacrifice of Ifigenia?



Science makes things that are  
random become predictable

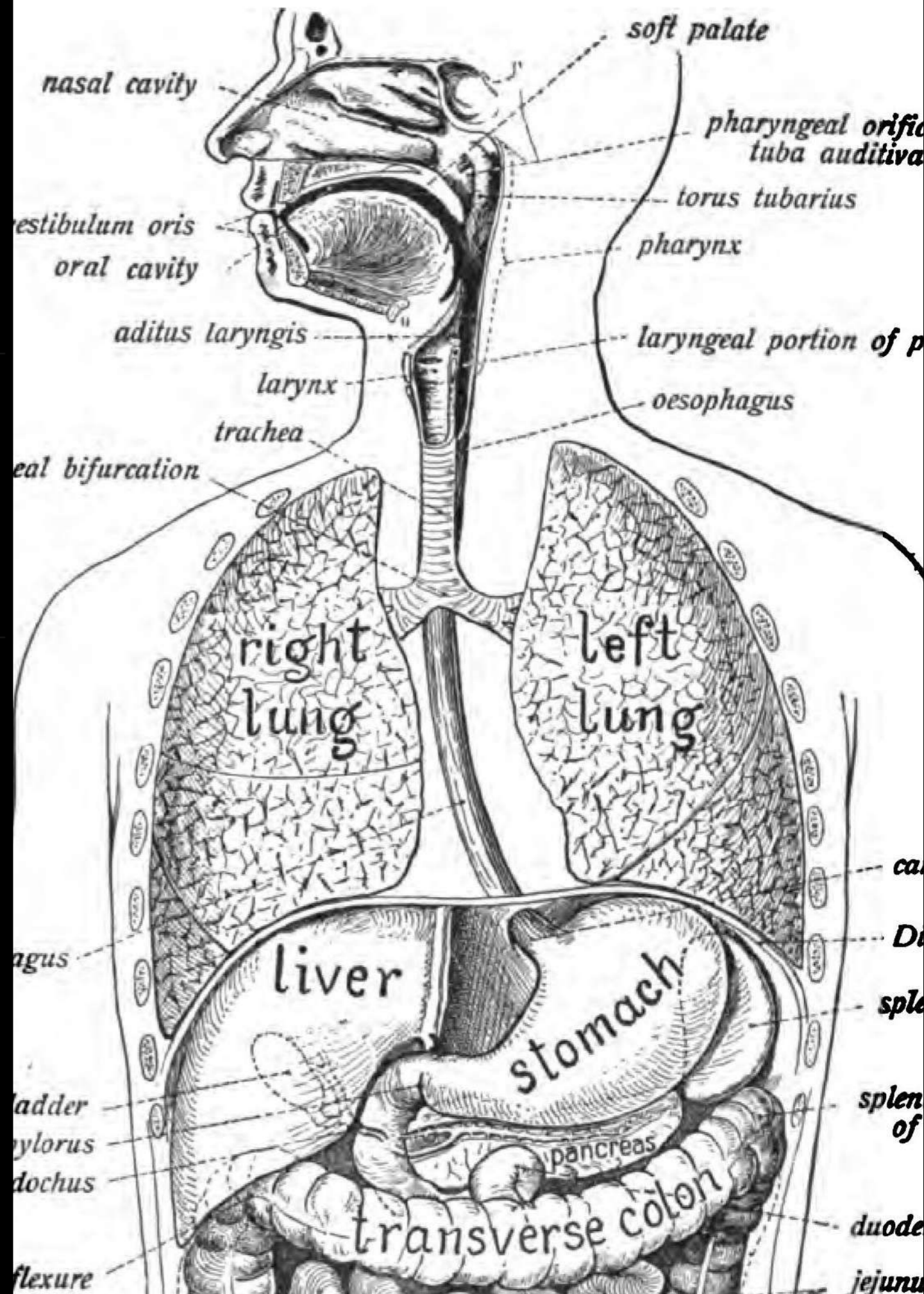


Complexity Economics offers an alternative

# What is the Economy?



The economy is the  
metabolism of  
civilization





The financial system is like the enteric nervous system

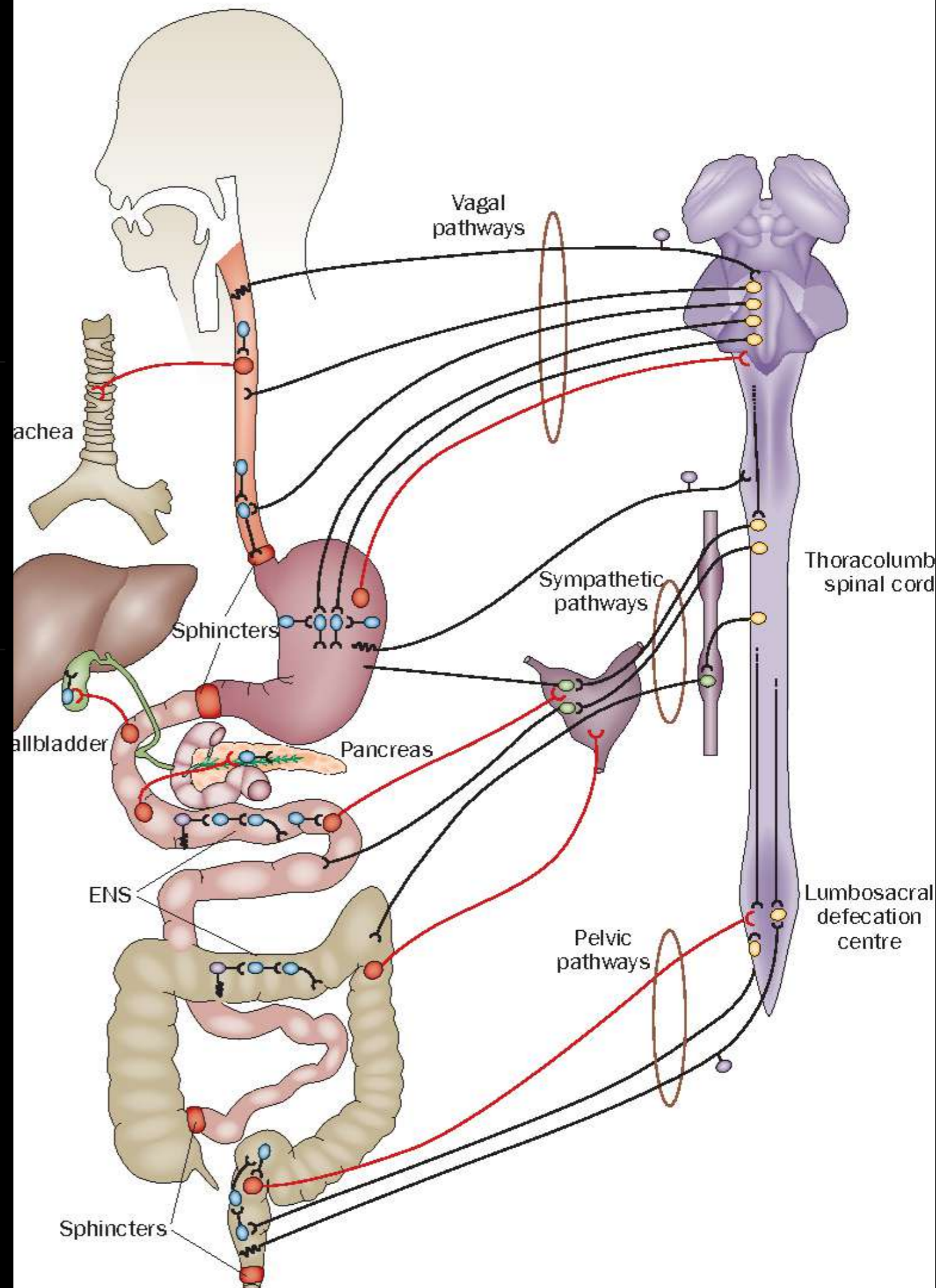
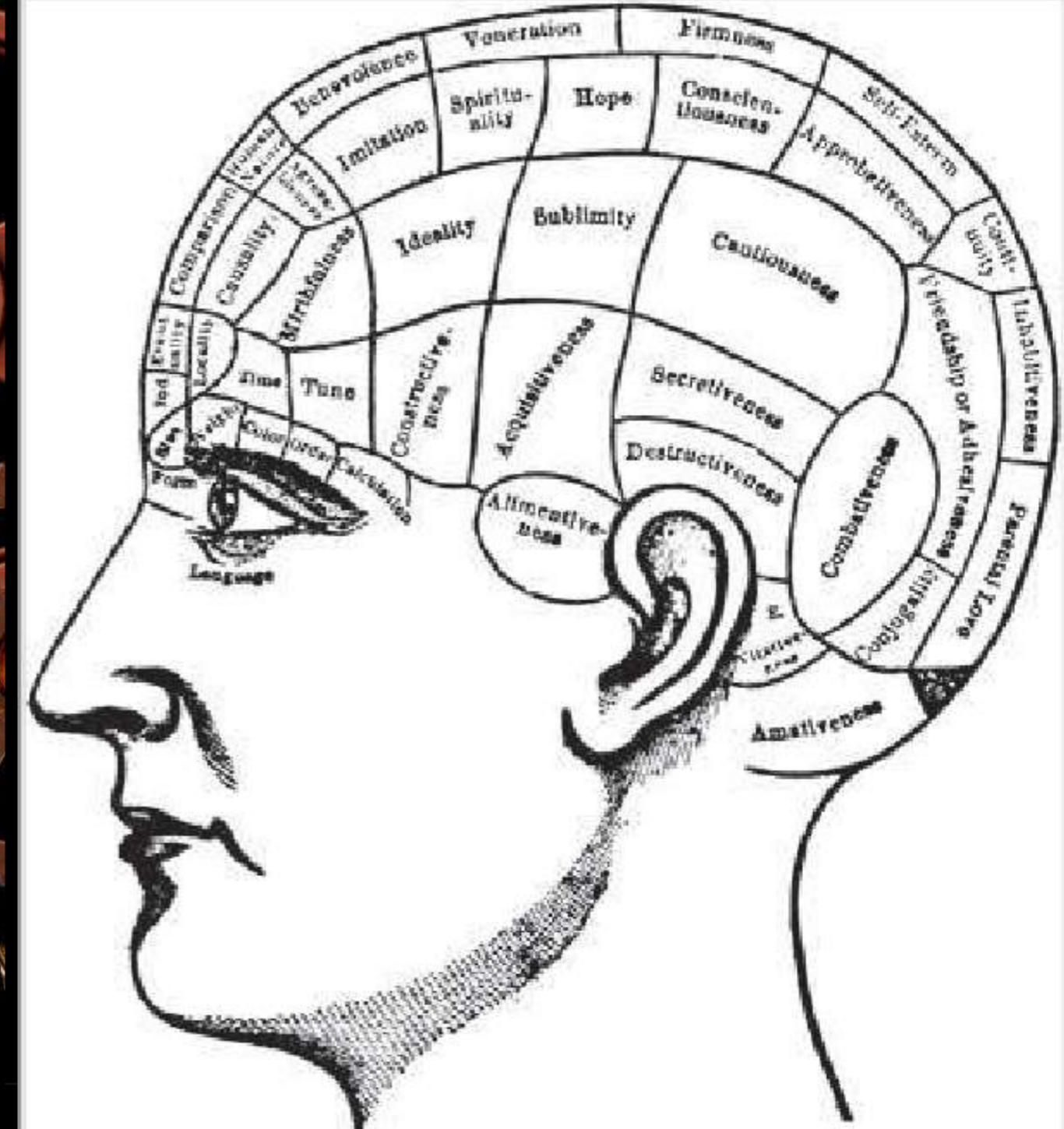
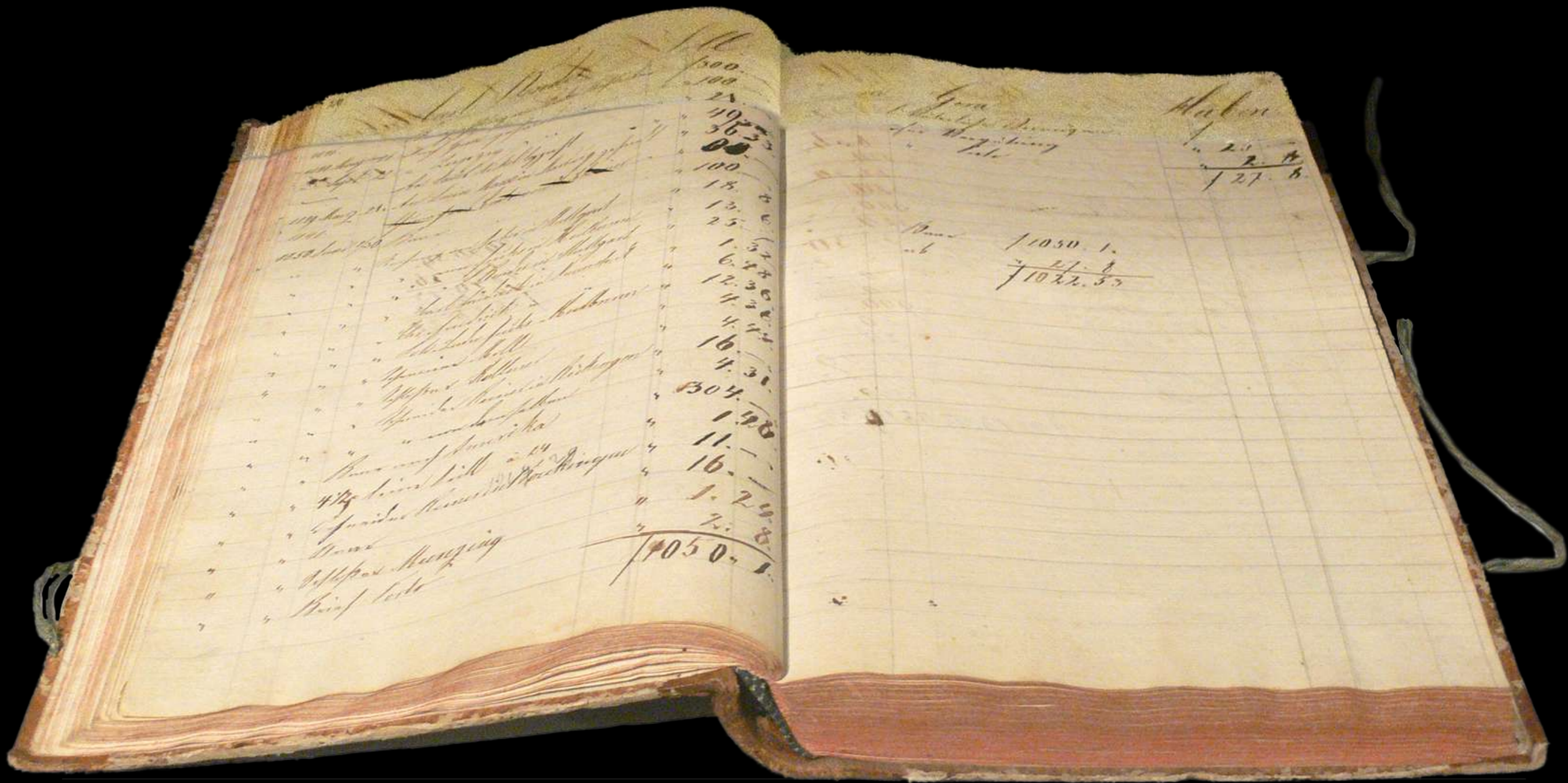


Figure 1 | The innervation of the gastrointestinal tract. The neural connections...



Economics = Accounting + Behaviour



Accounting: Balance sheets are interlinked by transactions and liabilities



50 million firms  
2 billion households  
3.3 billion workers  
trillions of active contracts

The economy is vastly complicated



Behavior is complicated too



Dominant model for behavior is *rational expectations*. Alternatives are now being explored



**Complexity economics: Be flexible!**  
**Model behavior directly**



People use heuristics + bounded  
rationality to solve problems



The economy  
can be simulated





“Standard” complexity economics model:

Assign agents decision making rules or learning algorithms

Simulate collective interactions

Observe economic phenomena



Why does the economy change?



Mainstream economics says the economy changes because of “shocks”

Exogenous Dynamics



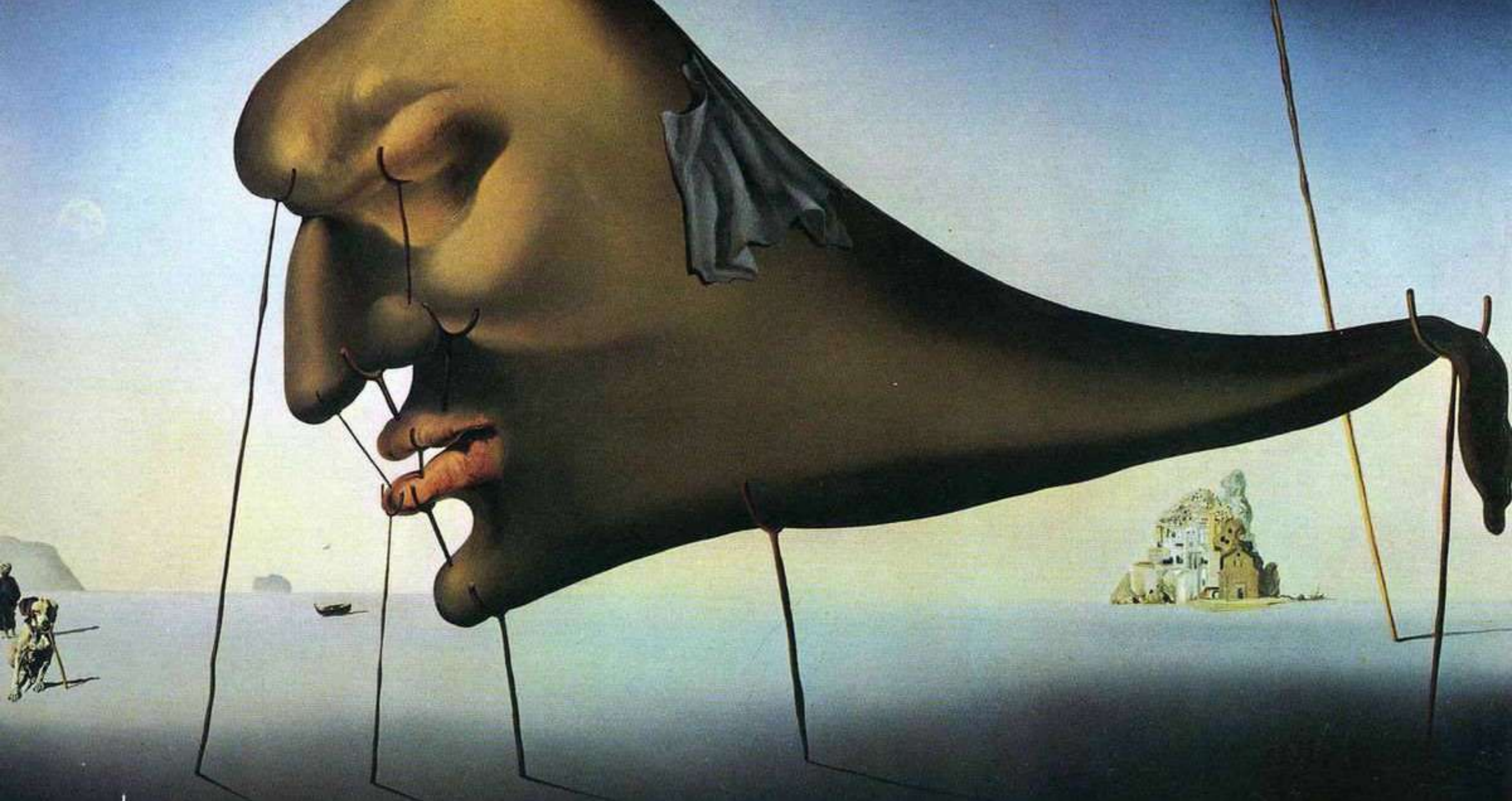
DSGE = rocking horse economy



But the weather changes all by itself  
Endogenous Dynamics



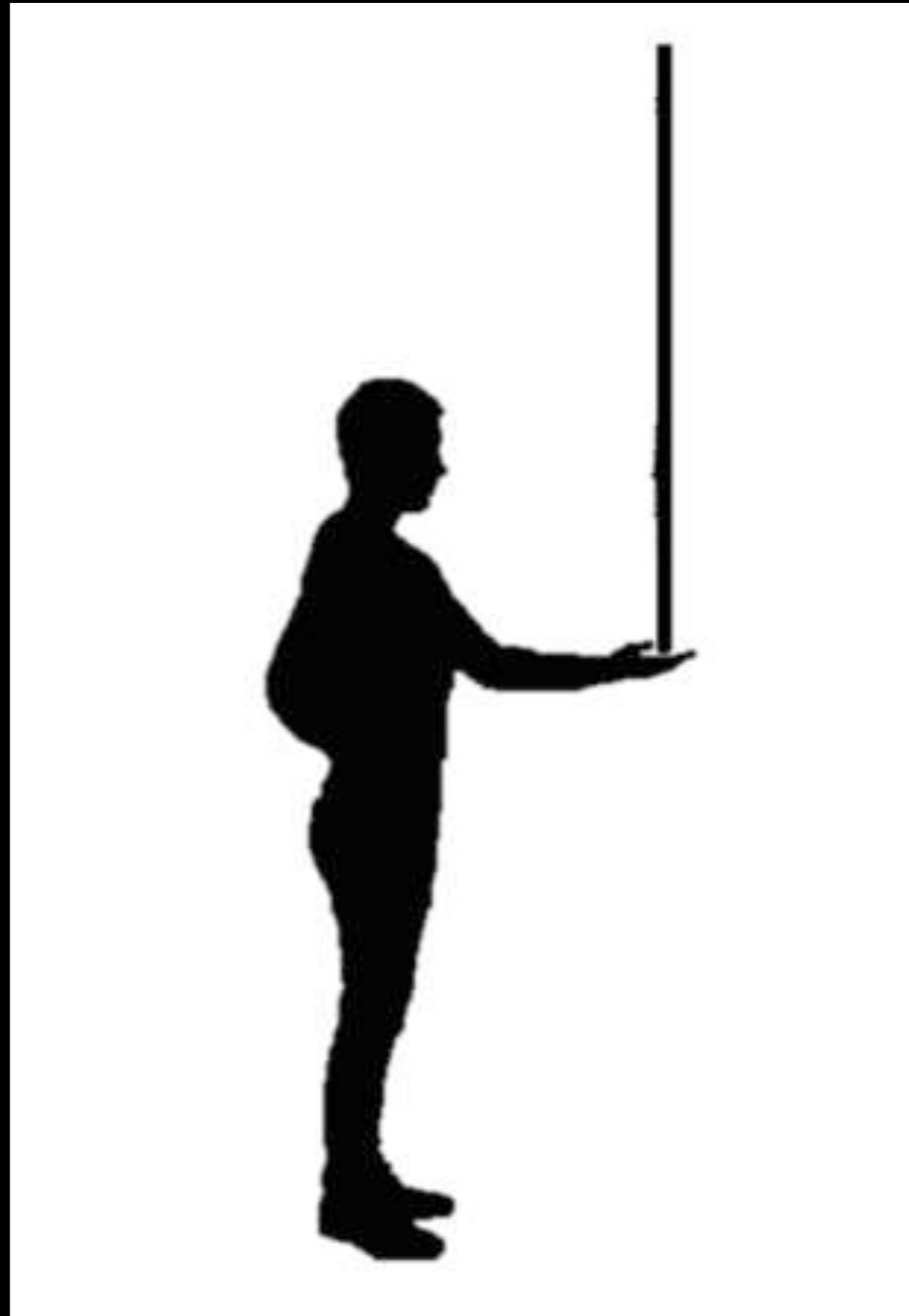
*The economy also changes by itself*



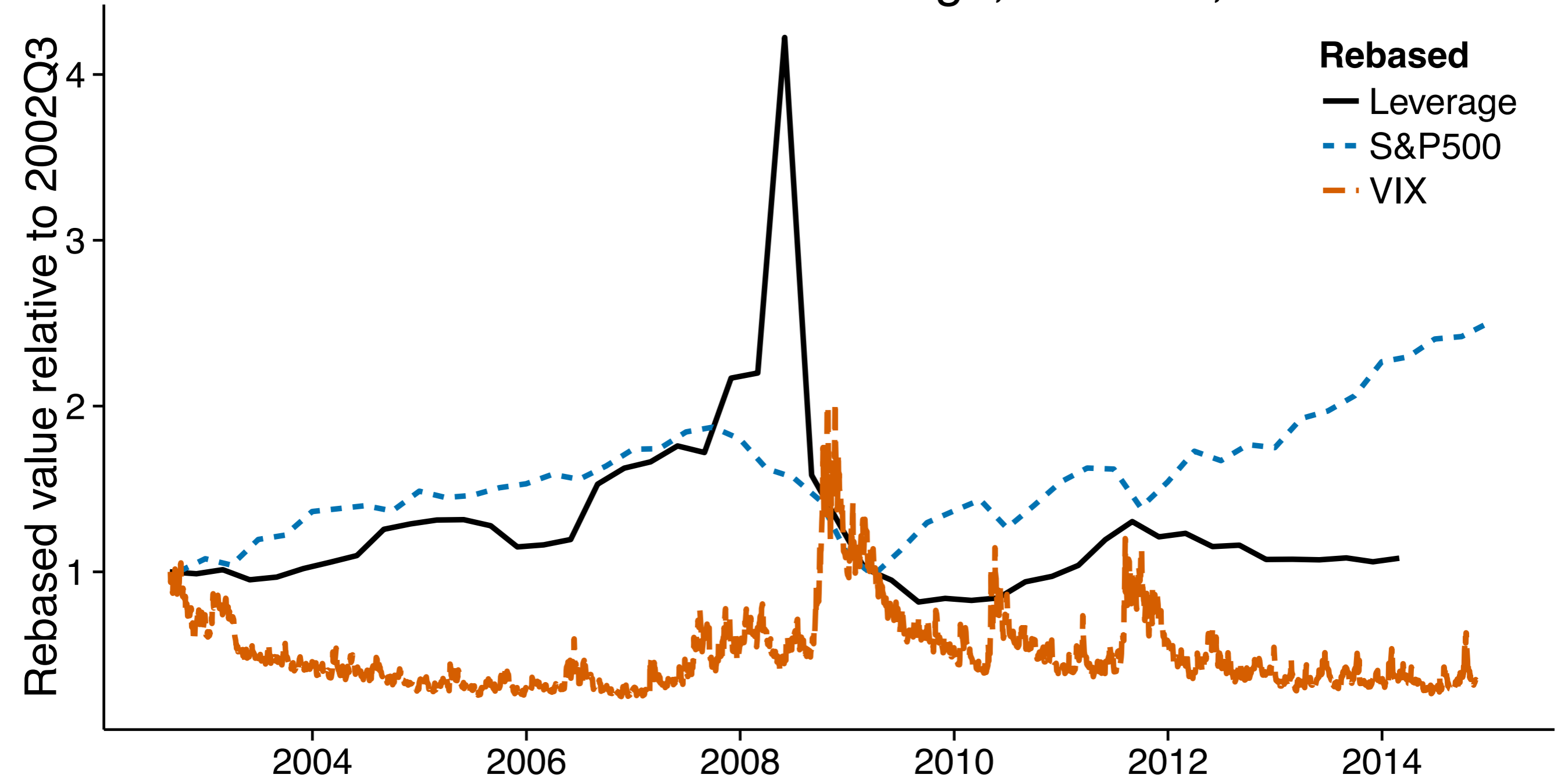
*In economics the future strongly influences the present.  
Rational utility maximizers are unduly static.*



# Bounded rationality naturally creates endogenous dynamics

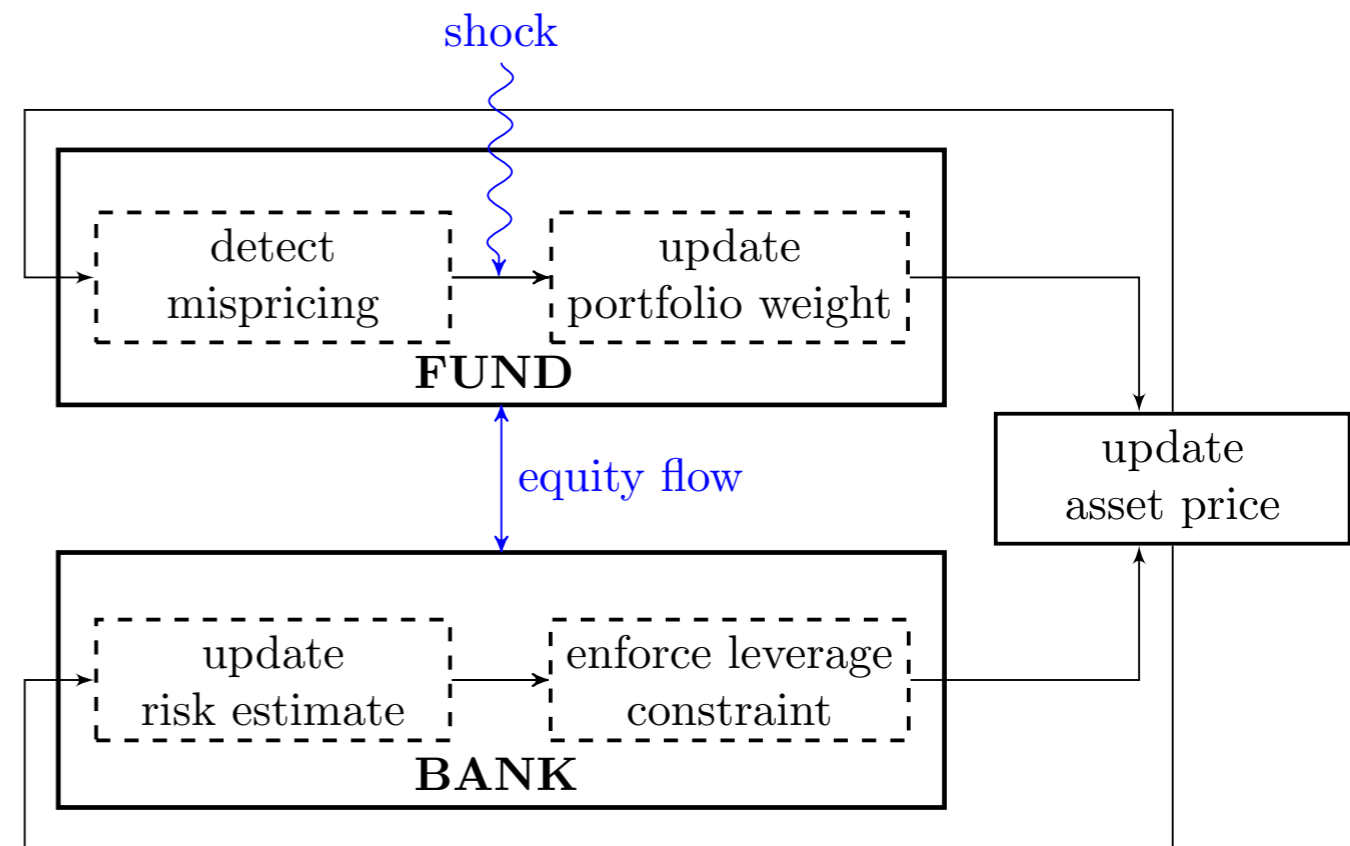


# US Broker Dealers Leverage, S&P500, VIX

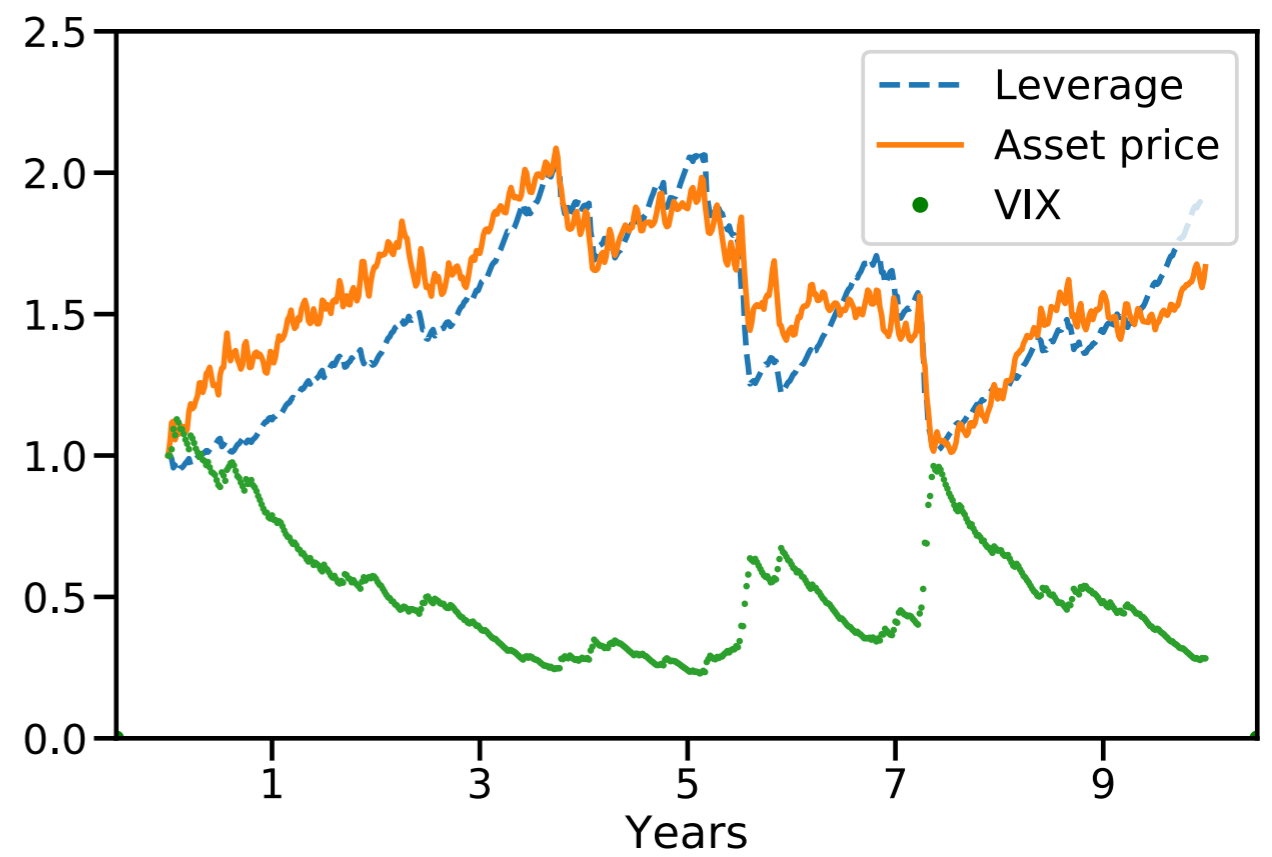
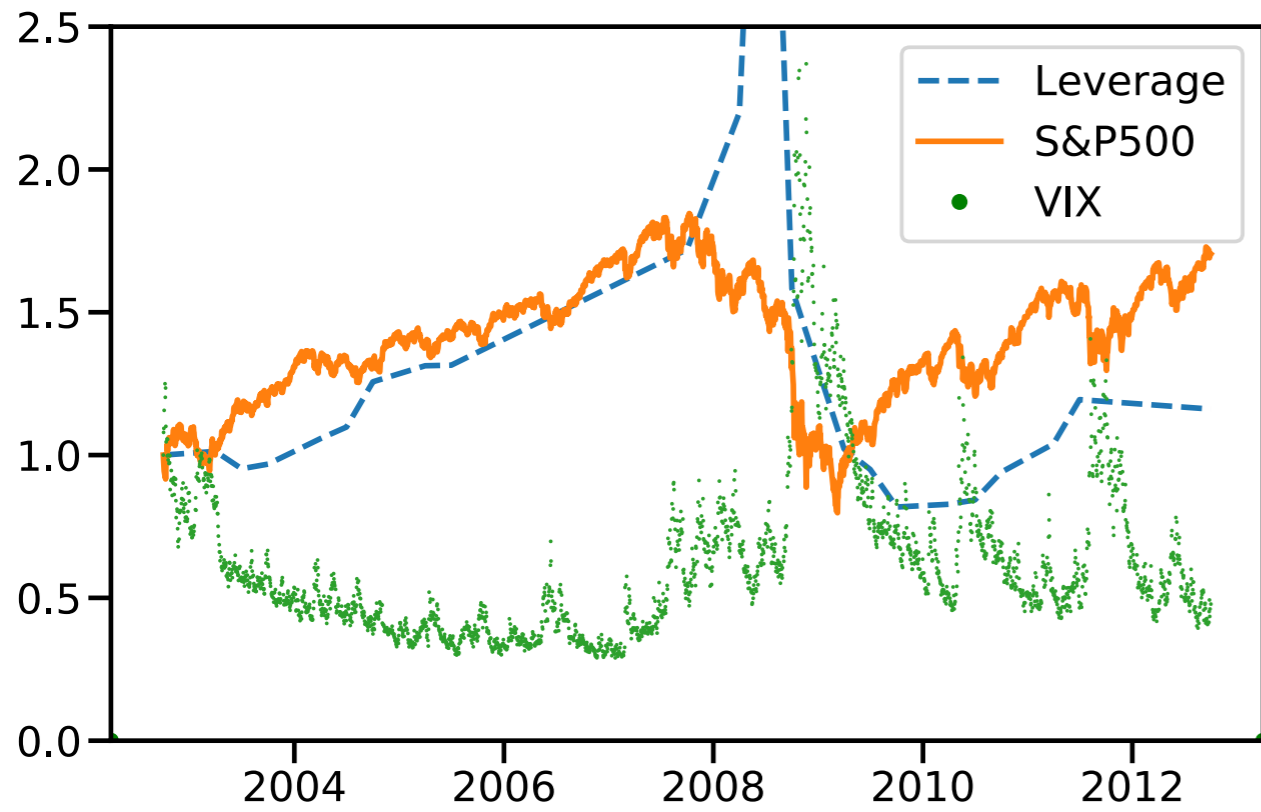


Cause of Crisis of 2008?

- Two agents: bank and fundamentalist
- One risky asset + cash
- Four assumptions:
  - Bank uses exponential moving average of historical volatility to estimate expected volatility
  - Basel II risk management (VaR) sets leverage target
  - Price formation (supply = demand) (Increasing leverage target => buying => price of asset rises)
  - Fundamentalist buys undervalued asset & vice versa

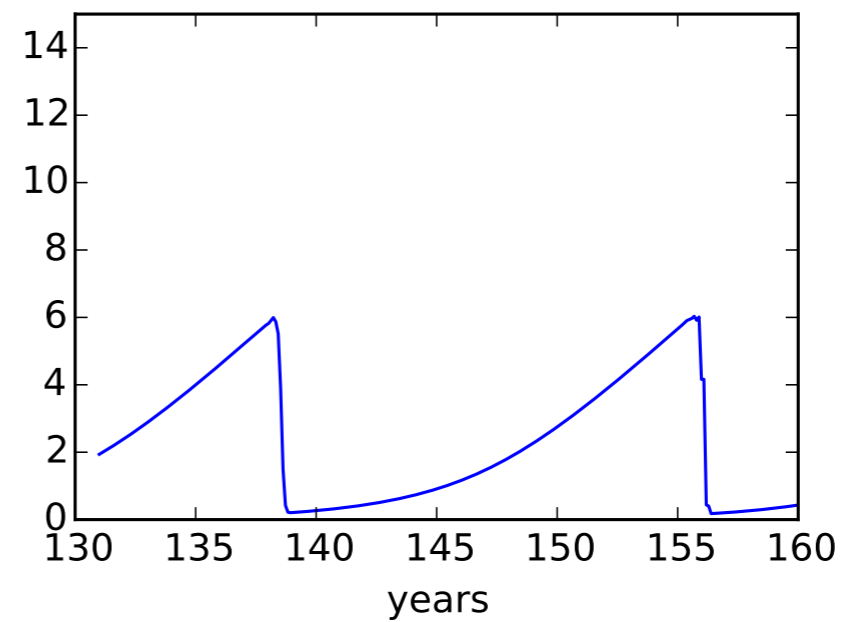
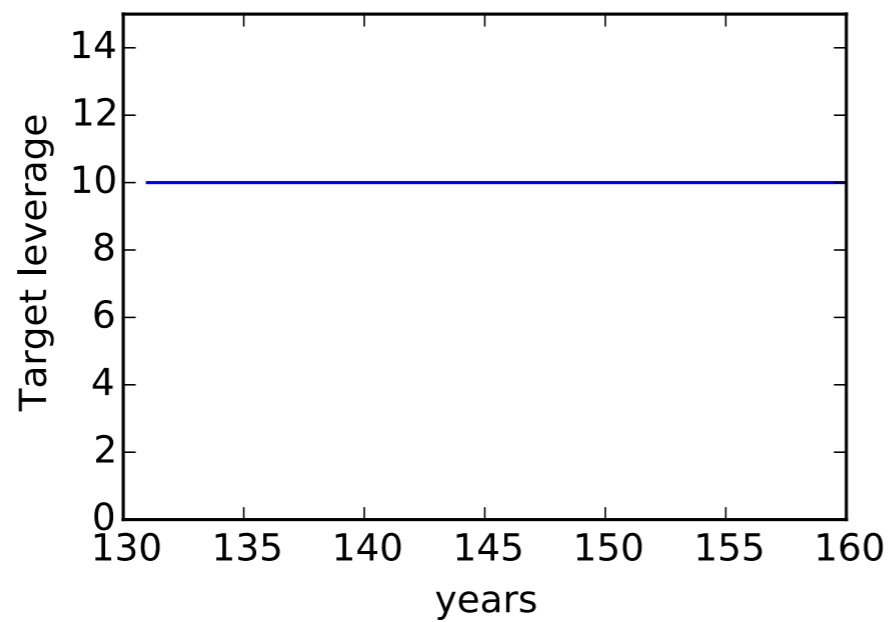
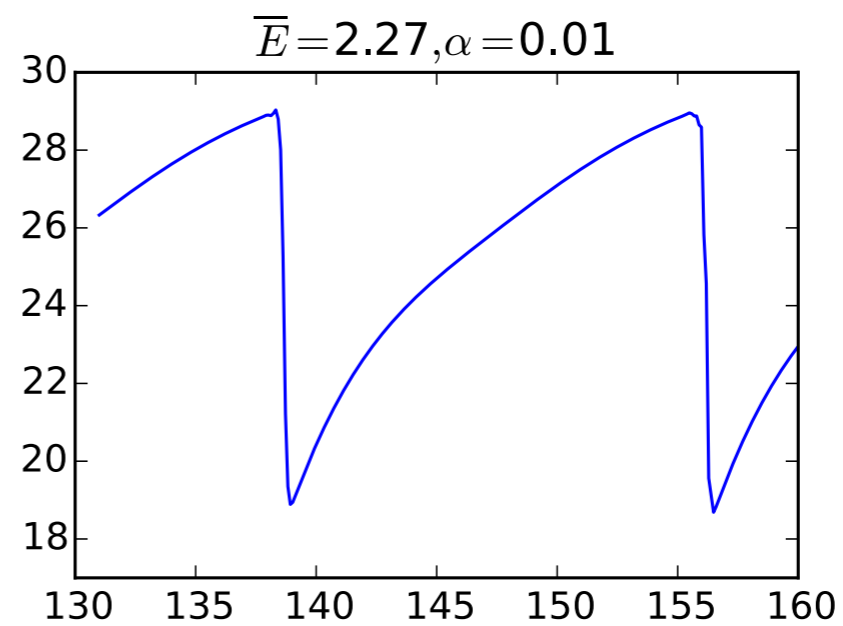
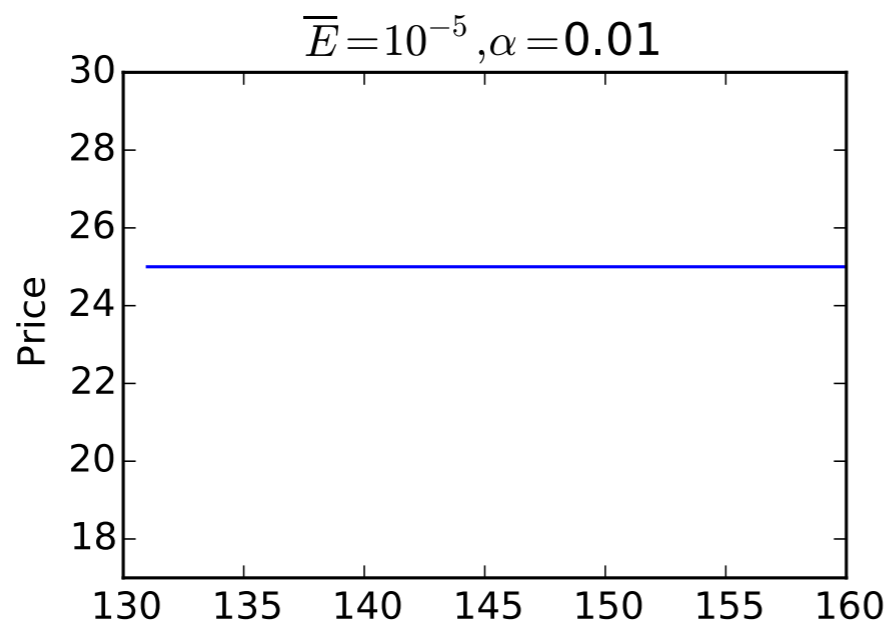


# The Basel Leverage Cycle Model



Reality

Model



Small banking sector

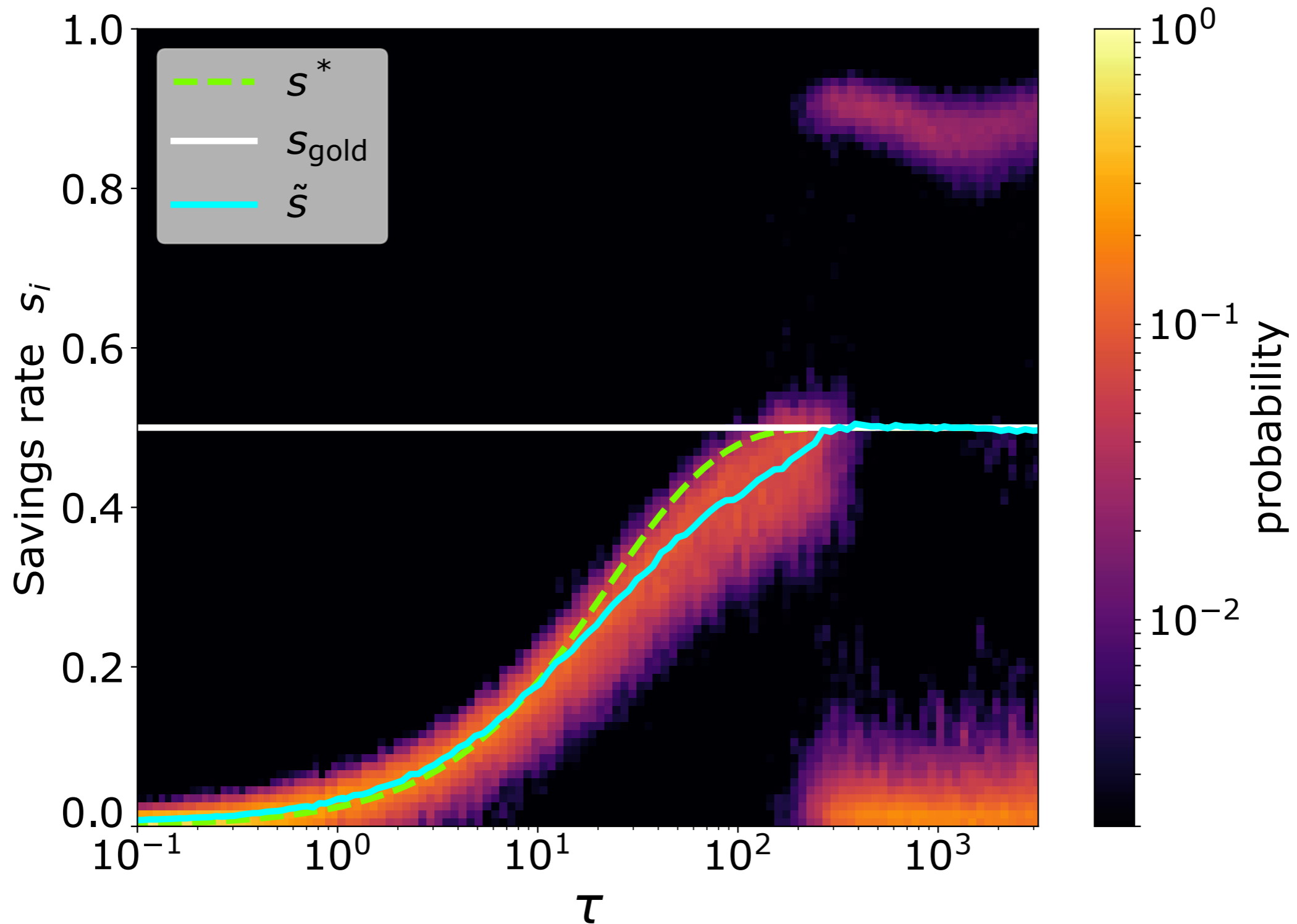
Large banking sector

Price and leverage change, even without any external shocks  
Bifurcation is sudden!

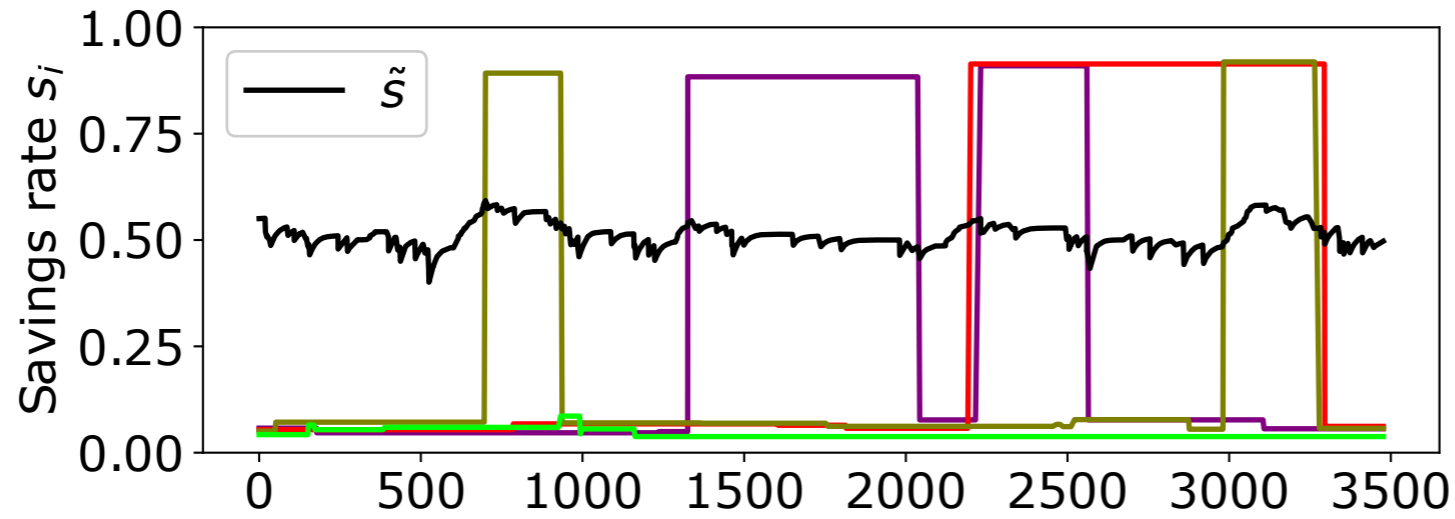
# Standard macro model with bounded rationality

Yuki Asano, Jakob Kolb, JDF, Jobst Heitzig

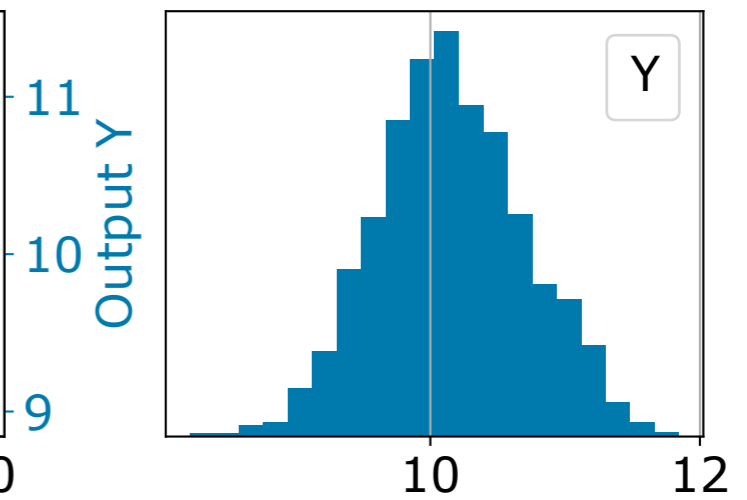
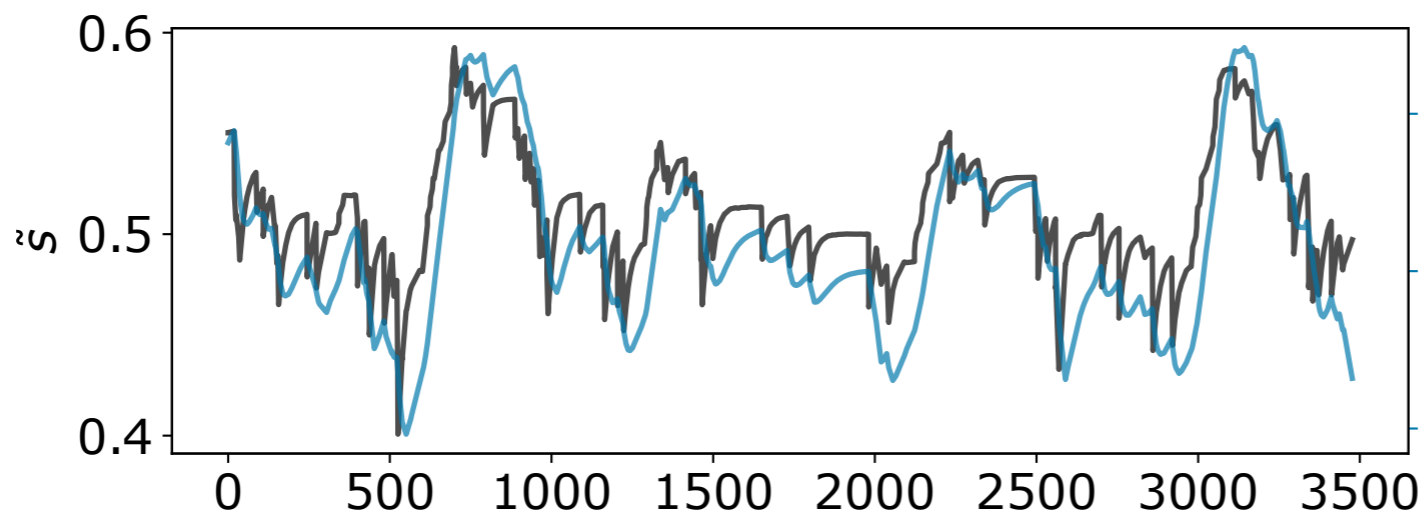
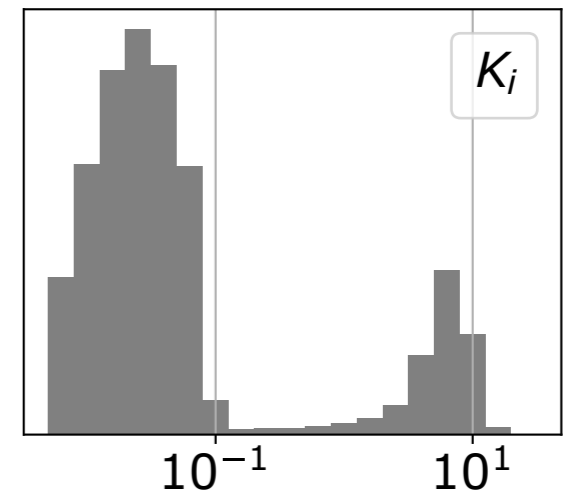
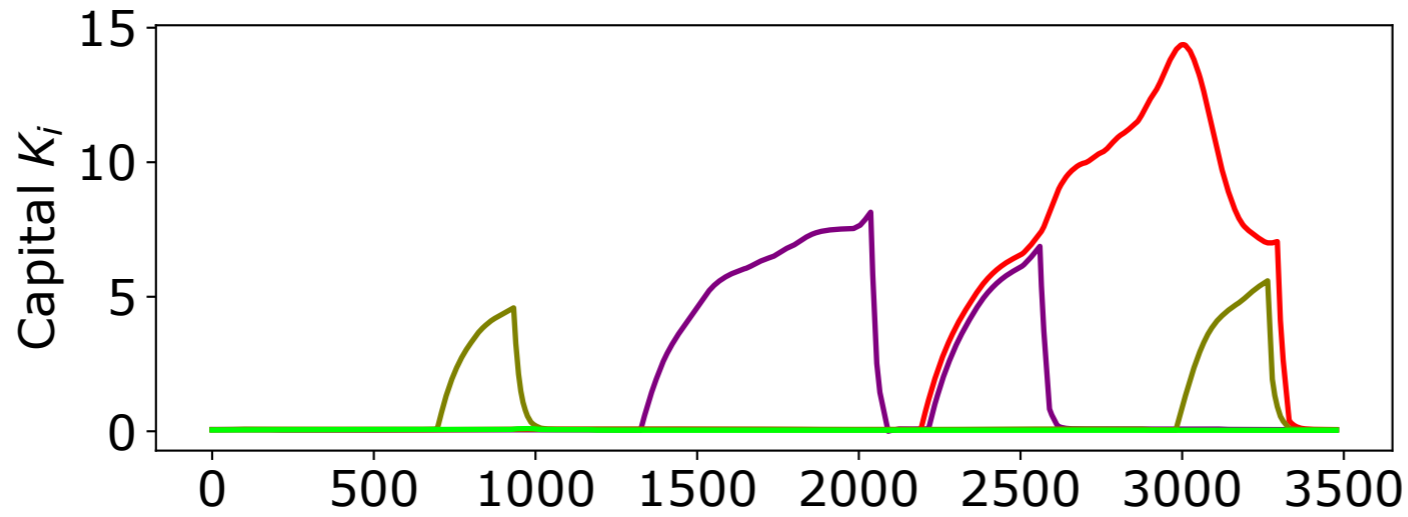
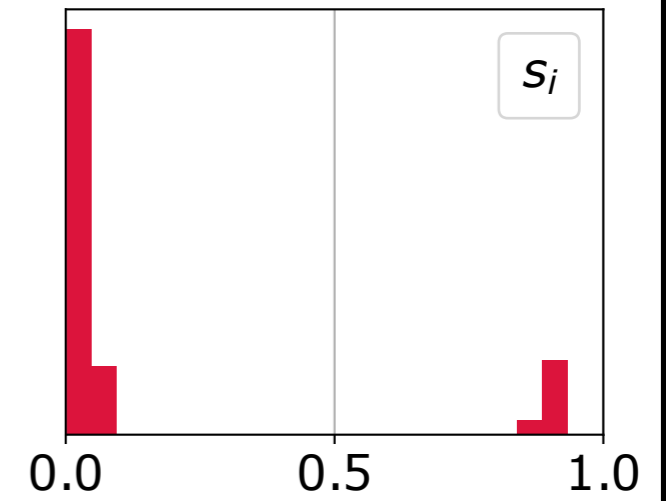
- Standard RCK model: Rational, representative household chooses savings rate to maximize discounted consumption
- Invests savings in representative firm
  - compromise between consumption and investment
- Our version: Heterogeneous households have social network. At intermittent intervals of average length  $\tau$ , each copies savings rate of neighbor with highest consumption.



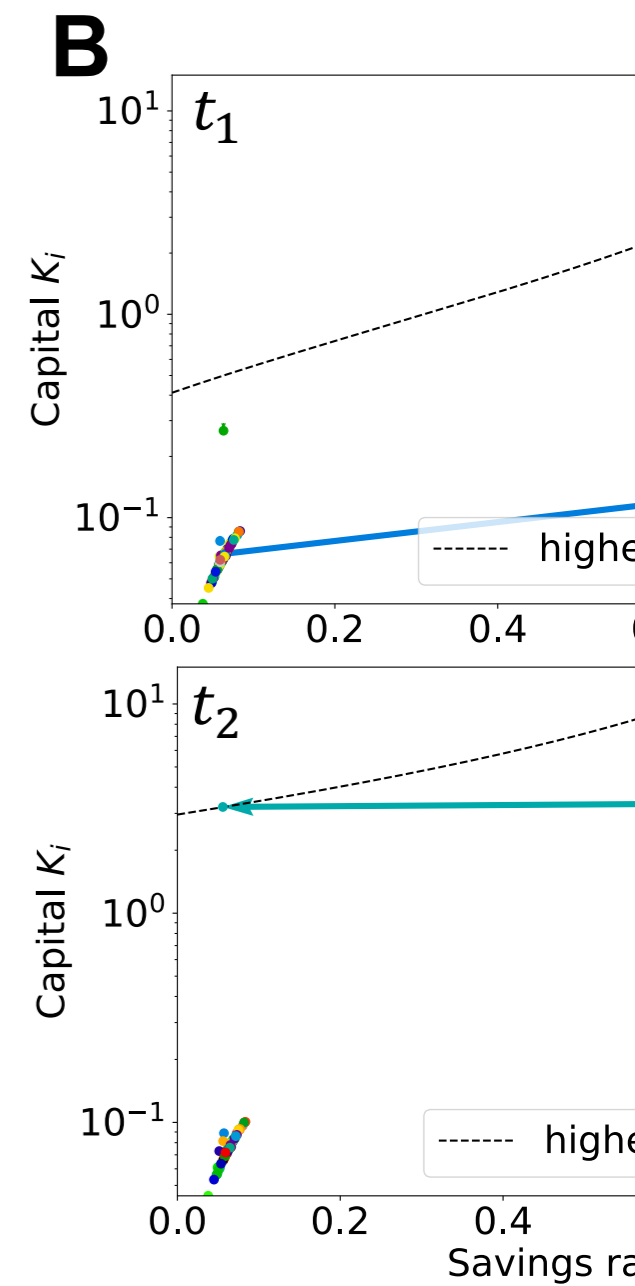
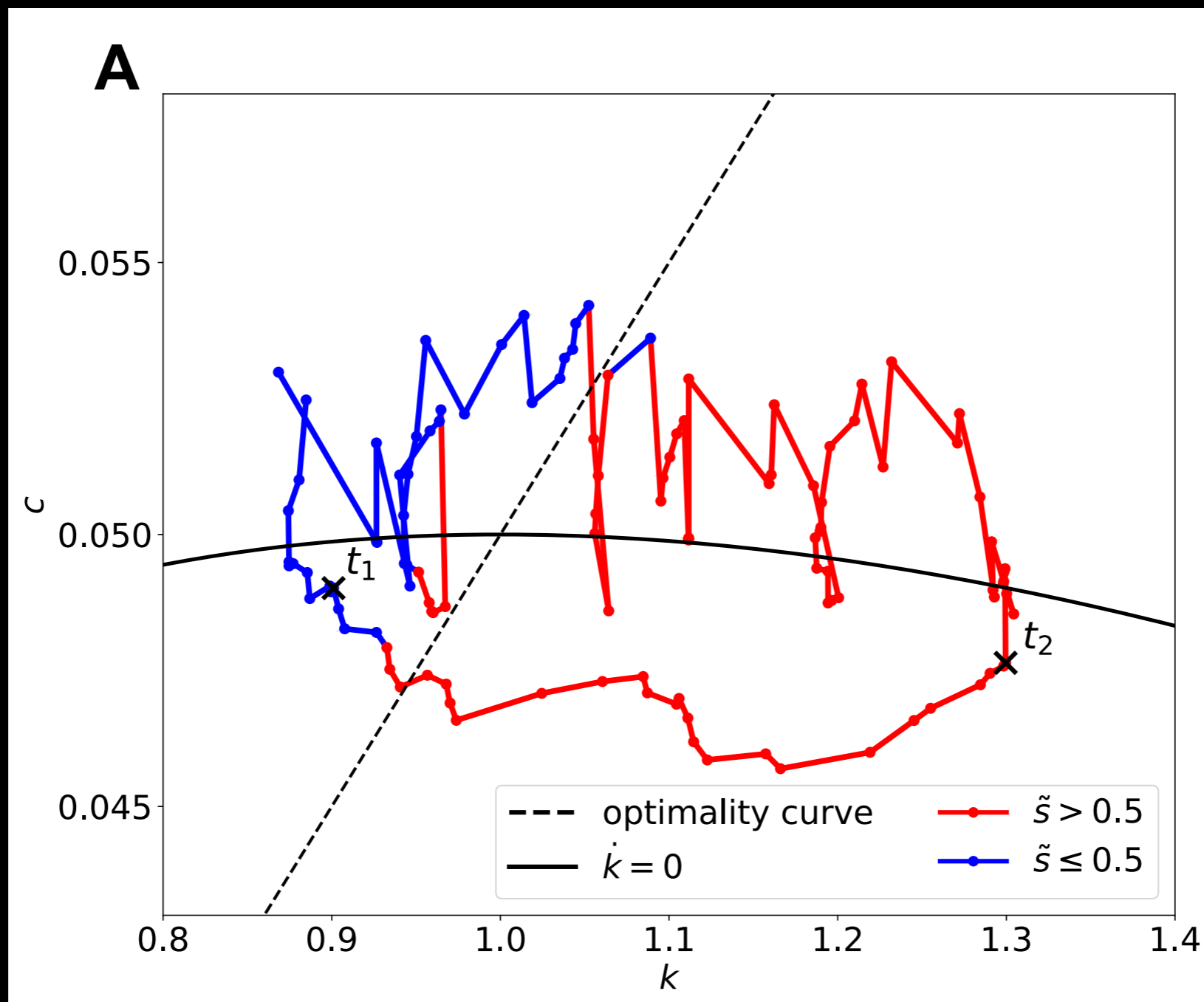
Time evolution



Histograms





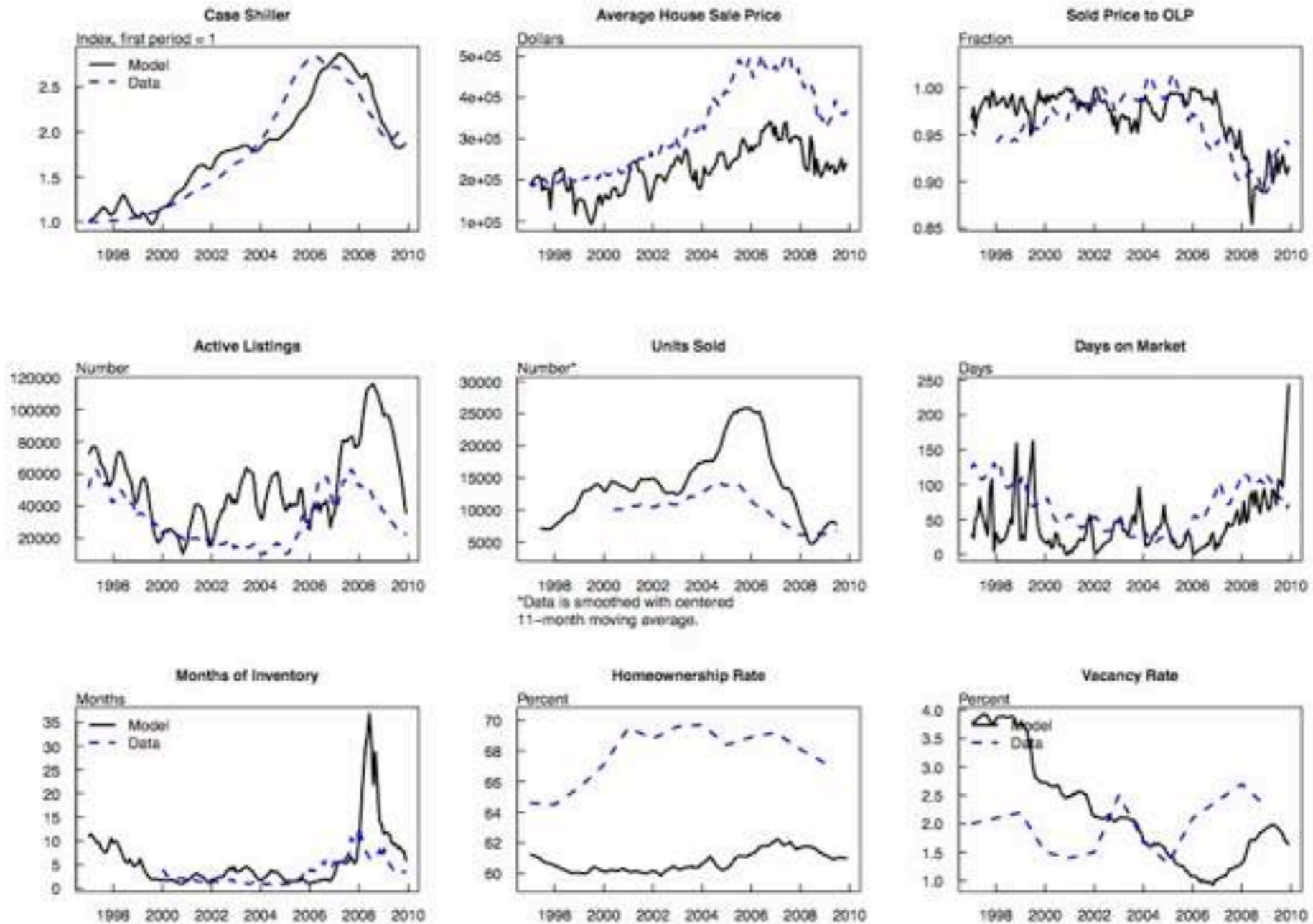




**EURACE macro model. Endogenous business cycles are typical for ABMs.**

Dawid, Harting, van der Hoog, Neugart (2018)

## Housing Market Results



# Simulation of Washington DC Housing Market

Axtell, Carella, Farmer, Geanakoplos, Goldstein, Howitt and others.

# Economic Forecasting with an Agent-based Model

Sebastian Poledna<sup>a,b,f</sup>, Michael Gregor Miess<sup>e,a,c,g</sup>, Cars Hommes<sup>d,h,i,\*</sup>

<sup>a</sup>*International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Schlossplatz 1, 2361 Laxenburg, Austria*

<sup>b</sup>*Institute for Advanced Study, University of Amsterdam, Oude Turfmarkt 147, 1012 GC Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

<sup>c</sup>*Institute for Advanced Studies, Josefstädter Straße 39, 1080 Wien, Austria*

<sup>d</sup>*CeNDEF, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands*

<sup>e</sup>*Institute for Ecological Economics, Vienna University of Economics and Business, Welthandelsplatz 1, 1020 Wien, Austria*

<sup>f</sup>*Earthquake Research Institute, The University of Tokyo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, Japan*

<sup>g</sup>*Complexity Science Hub Vienna, Josefstädter Straße 39, 1080 Wien, Austria*

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<sup>i</sup>*Bank of Canada, Ottawa, Canada*

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## Abstract

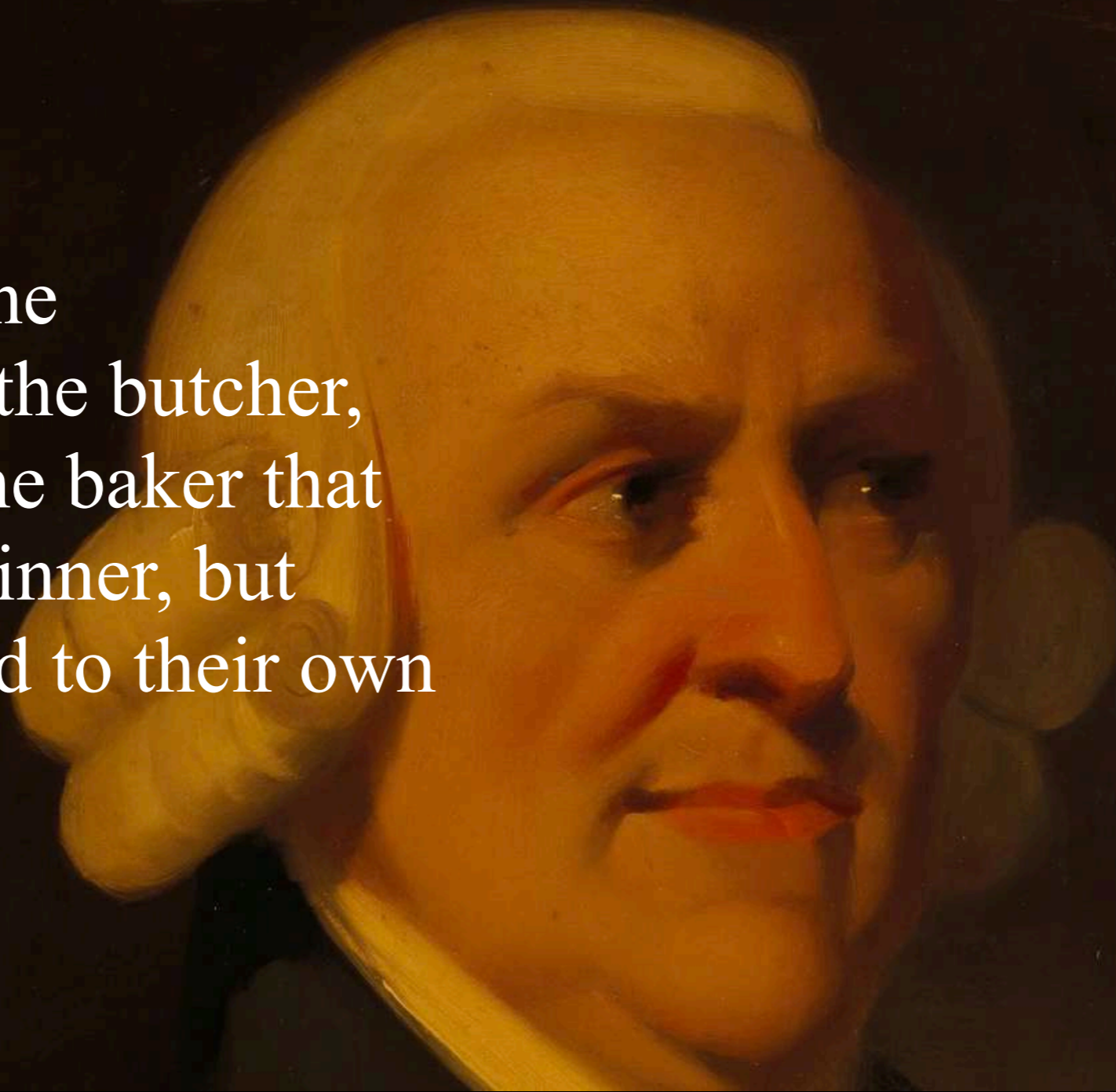
We develop the first agent-based model (ABM) that can compete with benchmark VAR and DSGE models in out-of-sample forecasting of macro variables. Our ABM for a small open economy uses micro and macro data from national and sector accounts, input-output tables, government statistics, census and business demography data. The model

And hot off the press...

The economy  
is an ecology  
of specialists

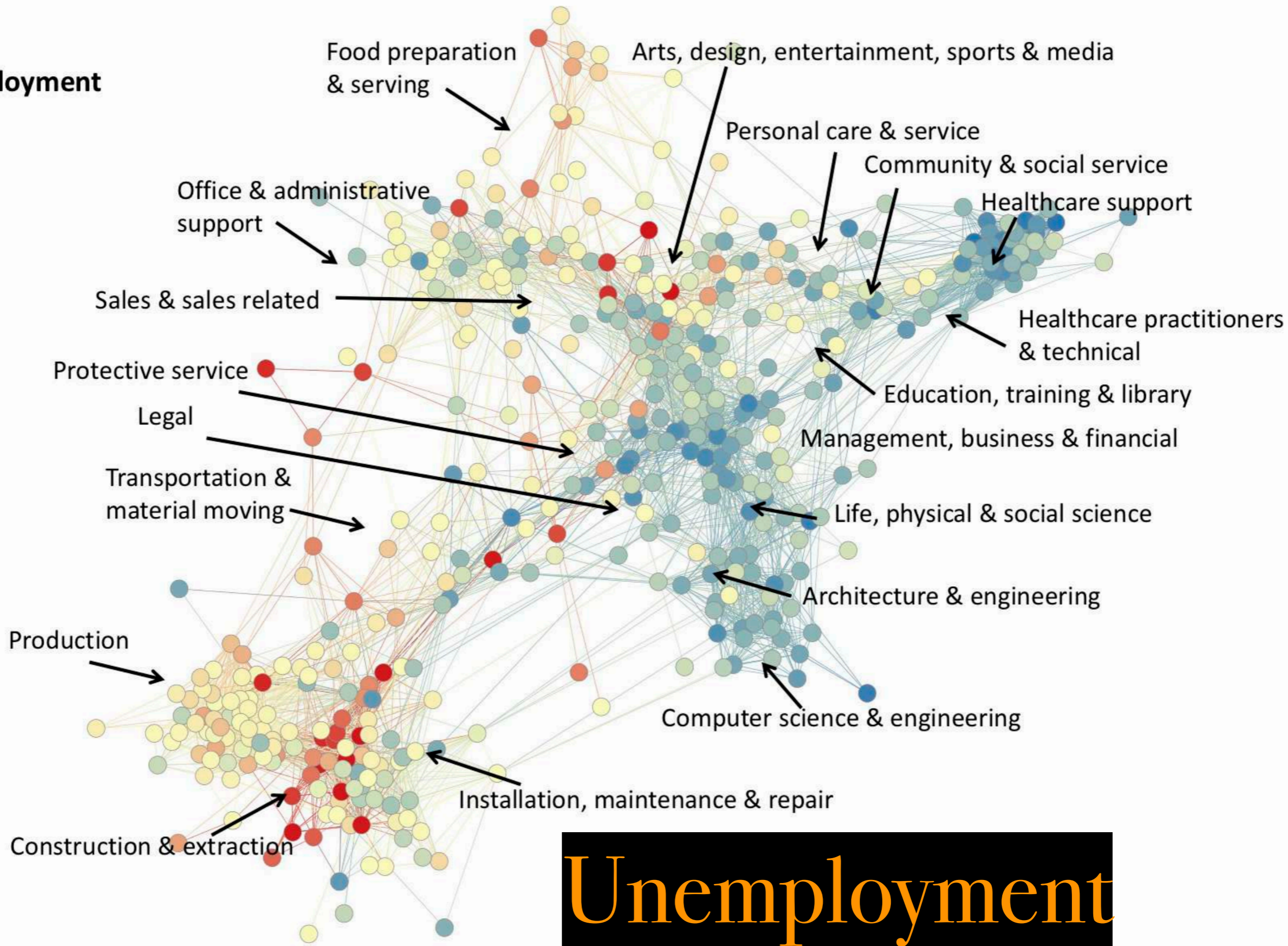


“It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest.”



Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 1776.

# Unemployment

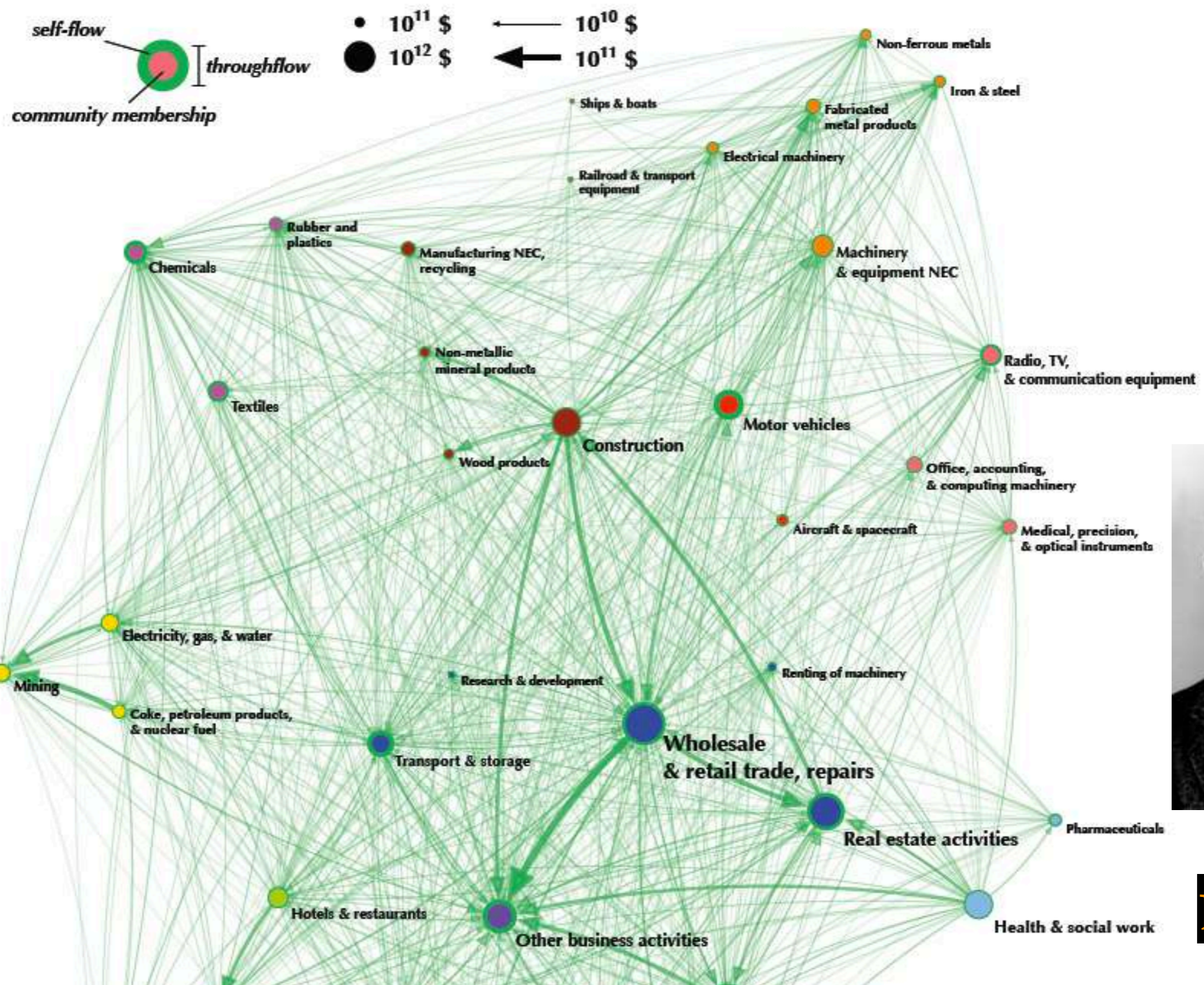


# Unemployment



Physical supply chain of a laptop





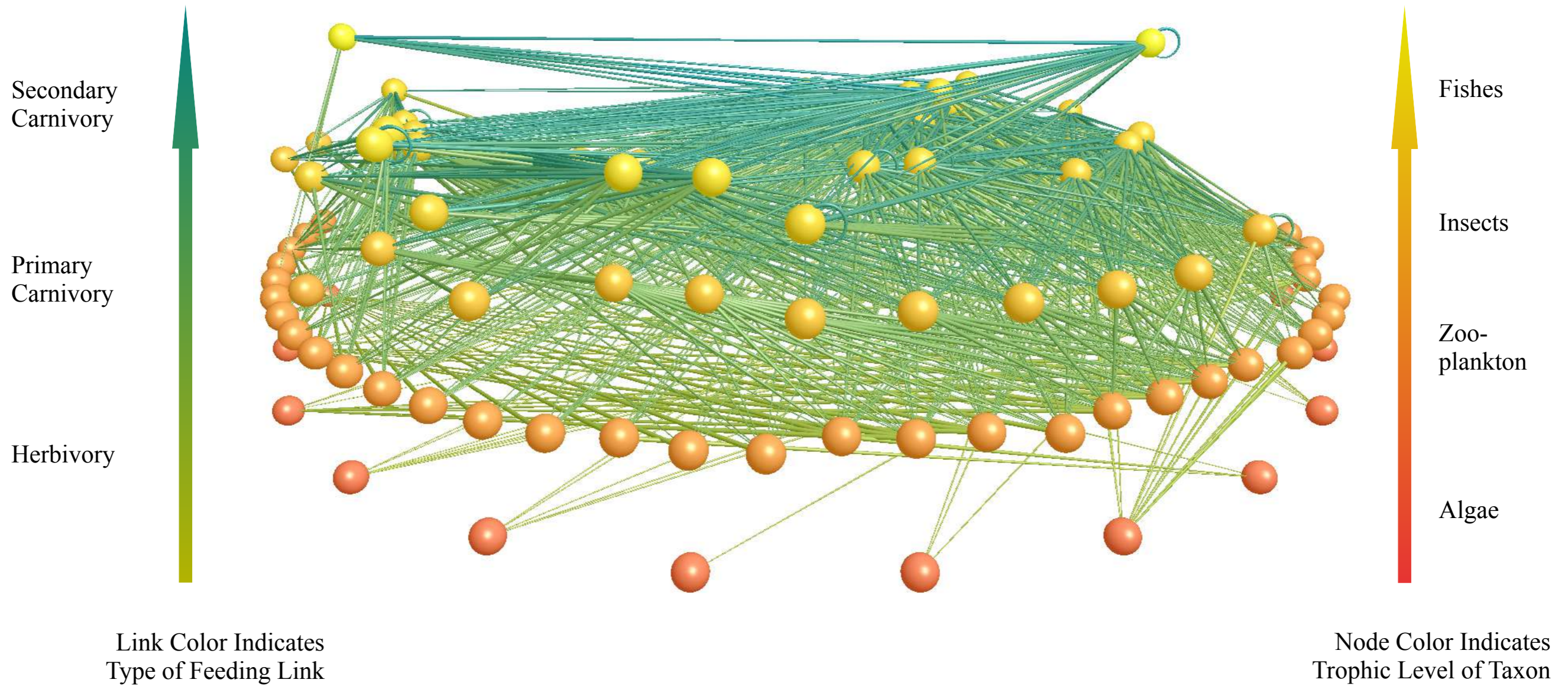
**Wassily  
Leontief**

# Production Network of the USA



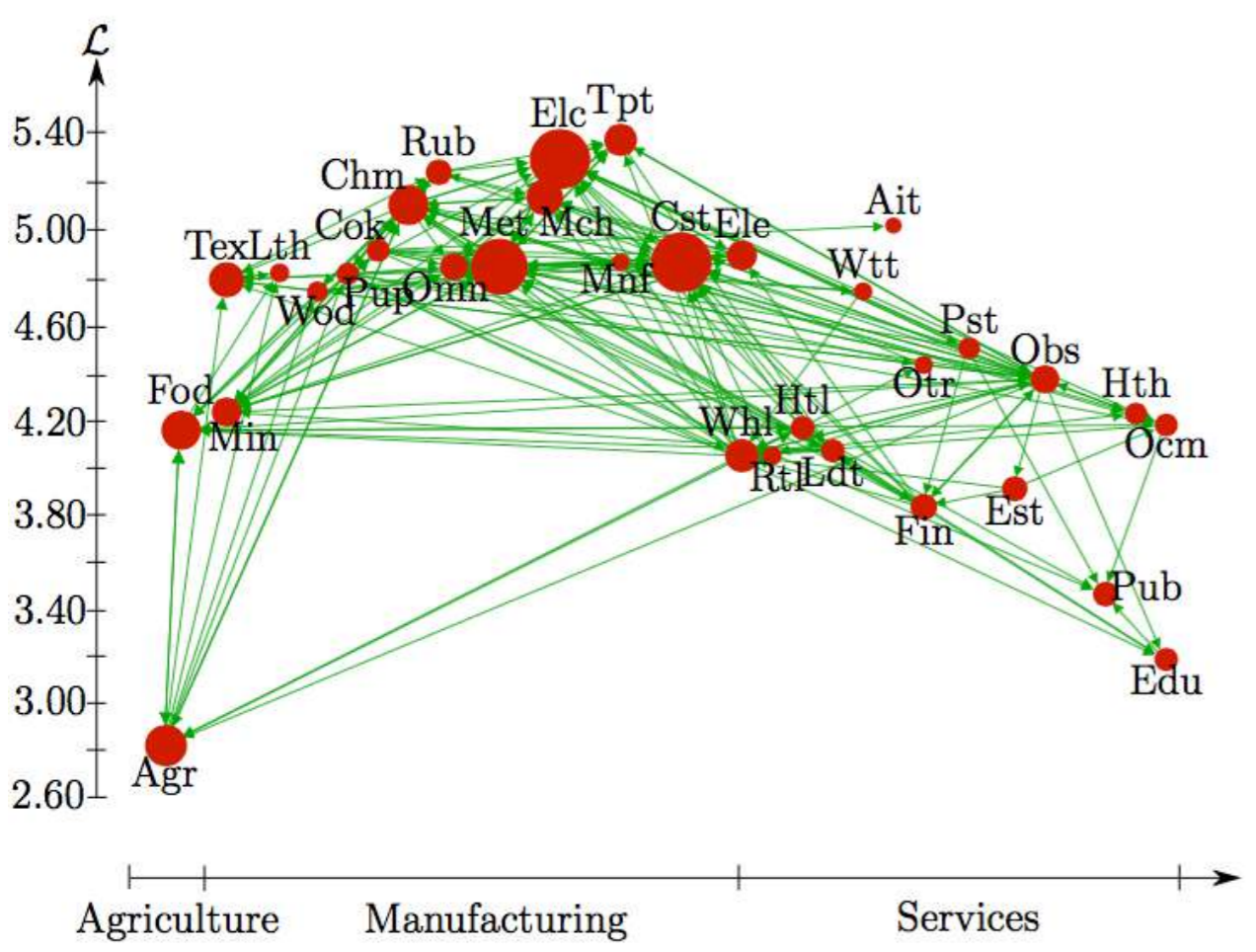
McNerney and Silverberg

# 997 Feeding Links among 92 Taxa: 10 Basal, 72 Invertebrates, 10 Fishes

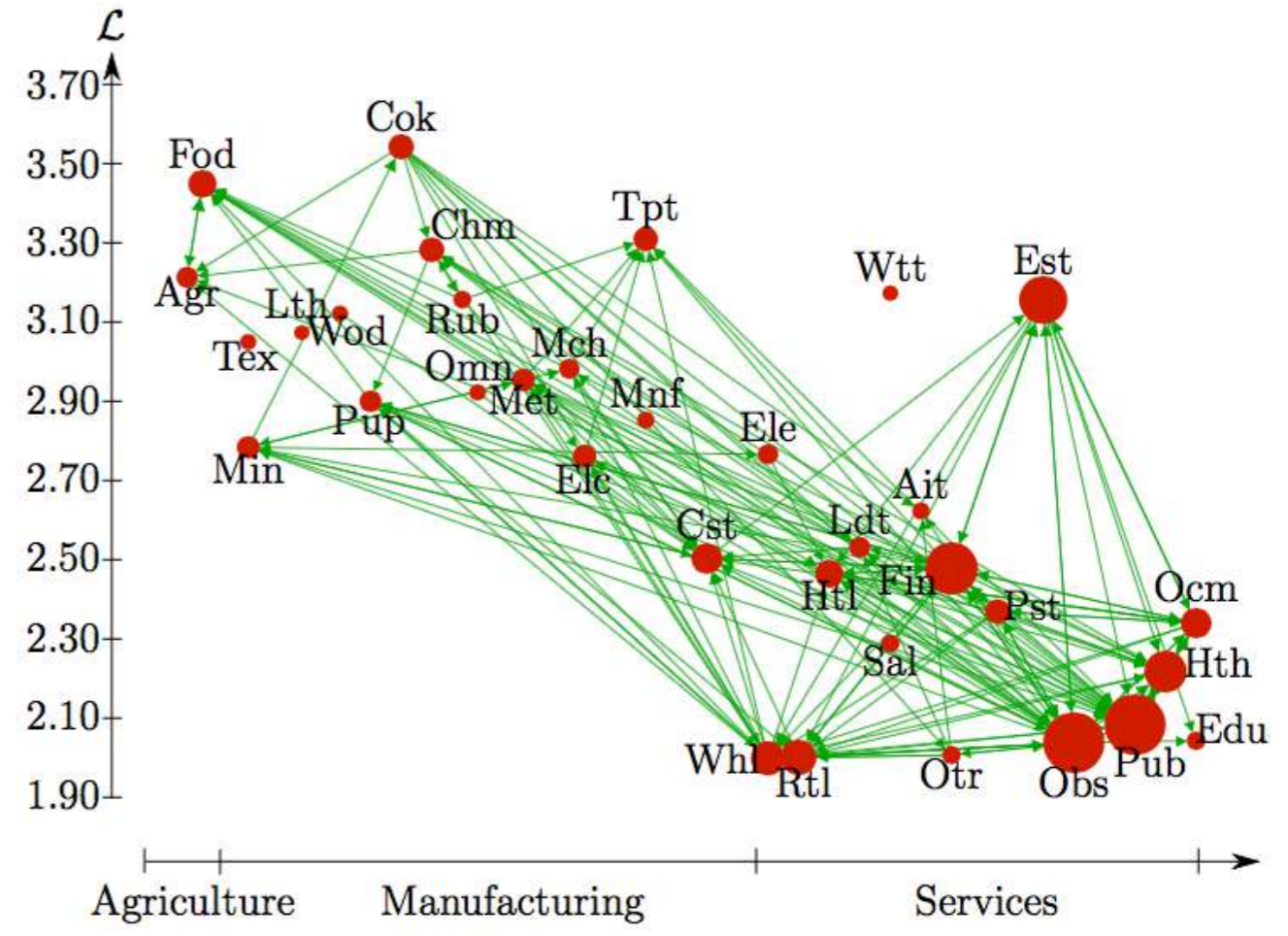


# Food Web of Little Rock Lake, Wisconsin

Jennifer Dunne



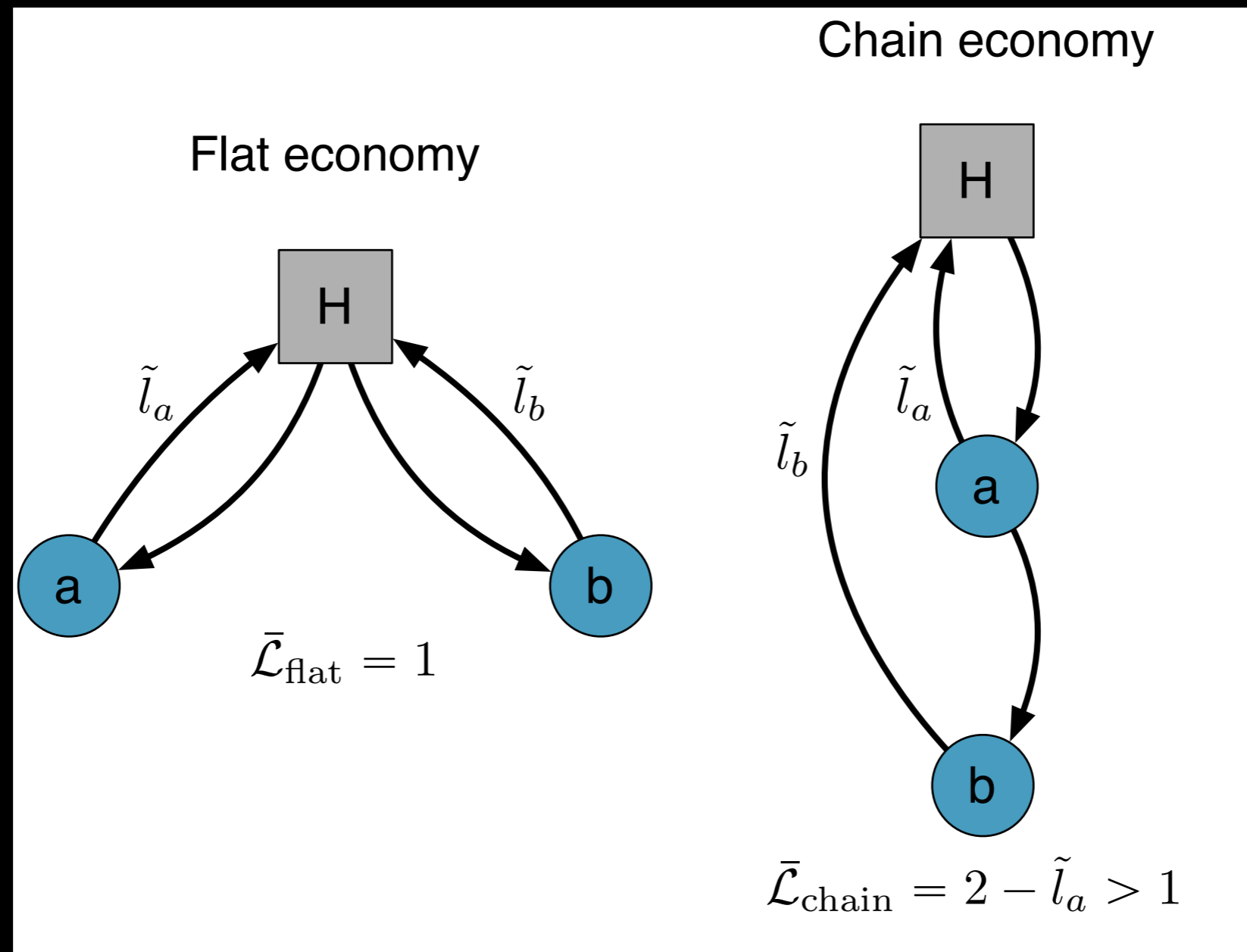
China



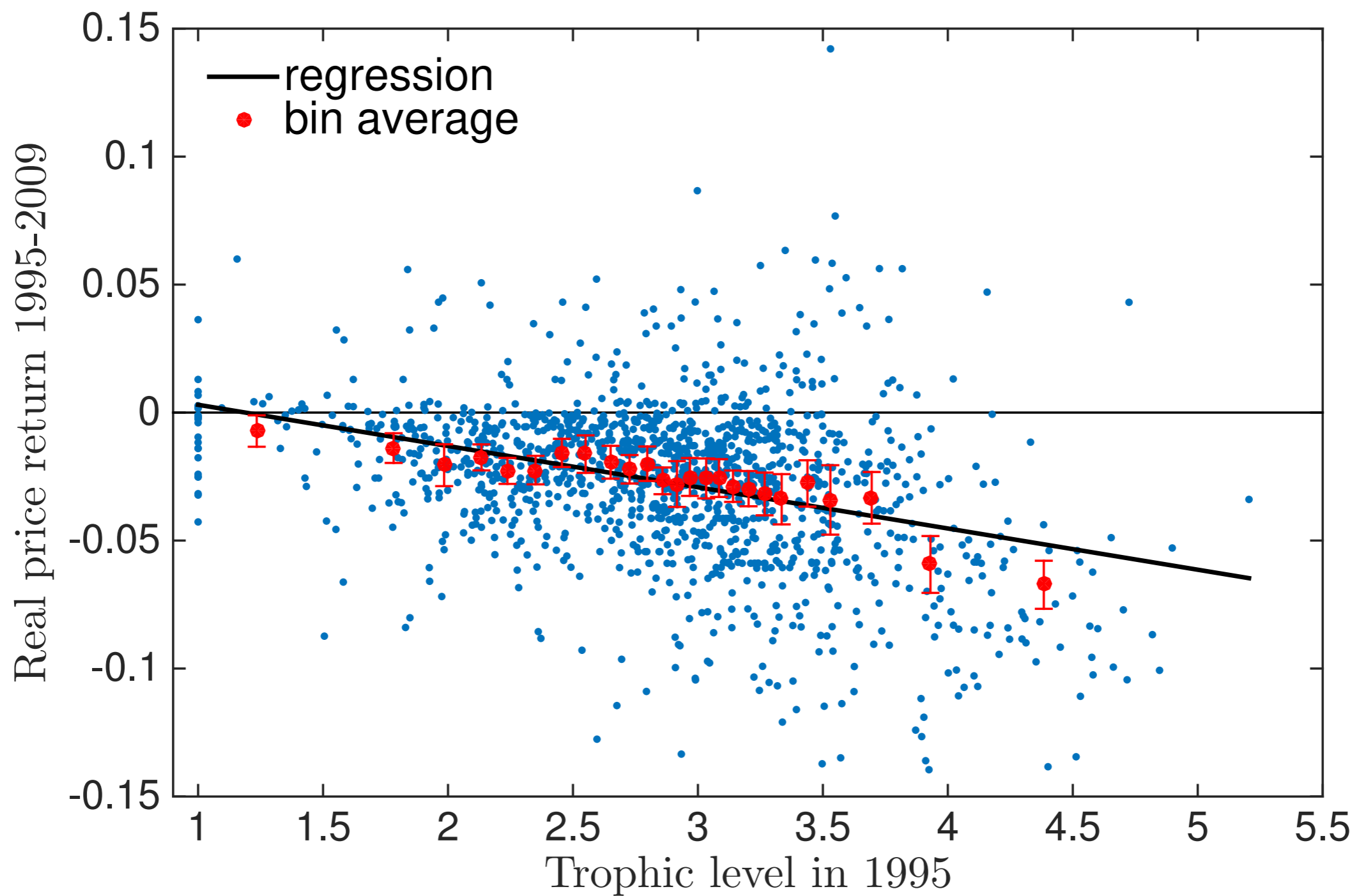
USA

# Trophic structure of production

# Division of labor implies division of innovation



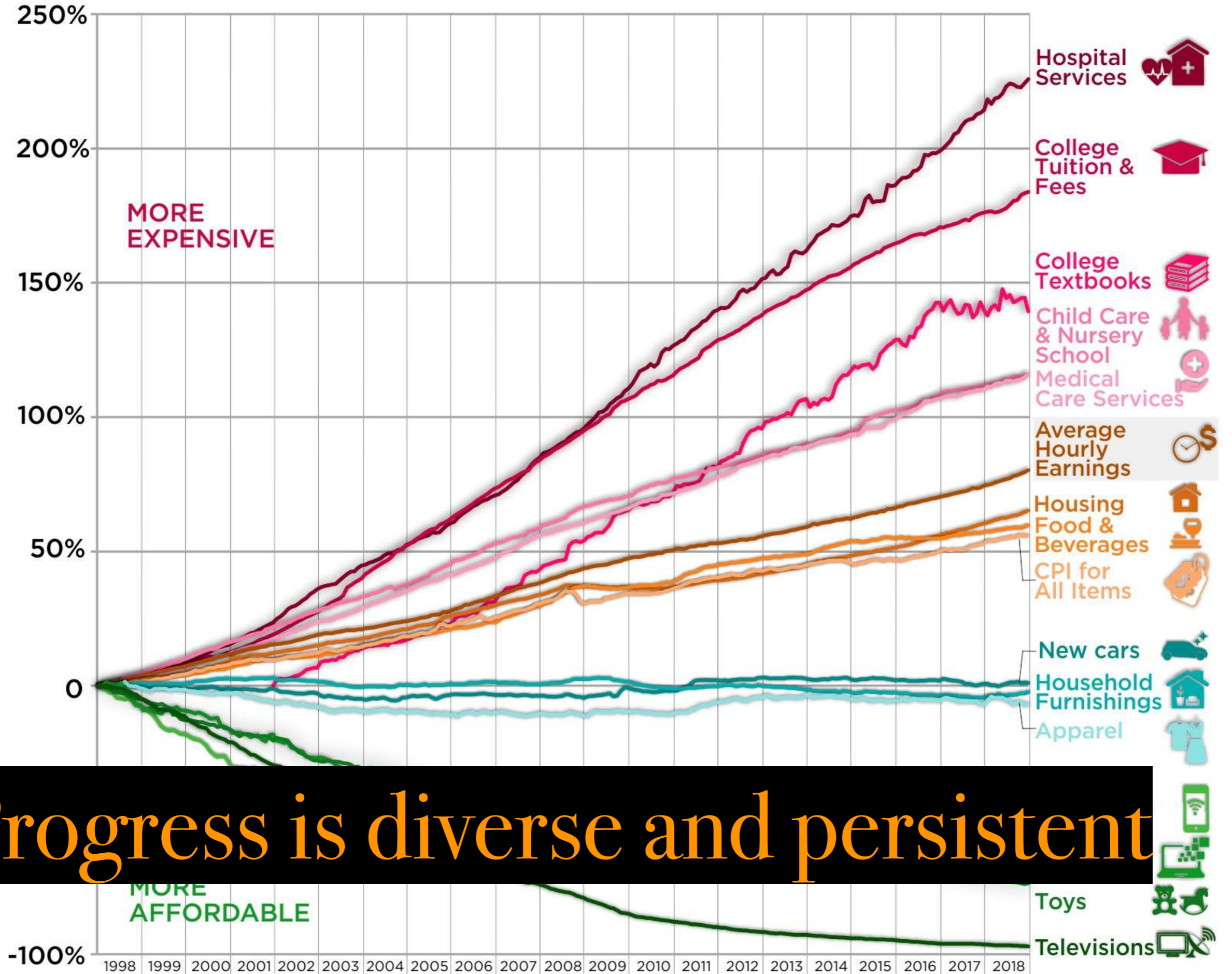
Chain economy amplifies improvements multiplicatively



# Trophic level predicts economic growth

# 20 Years of Price Changes in The United States

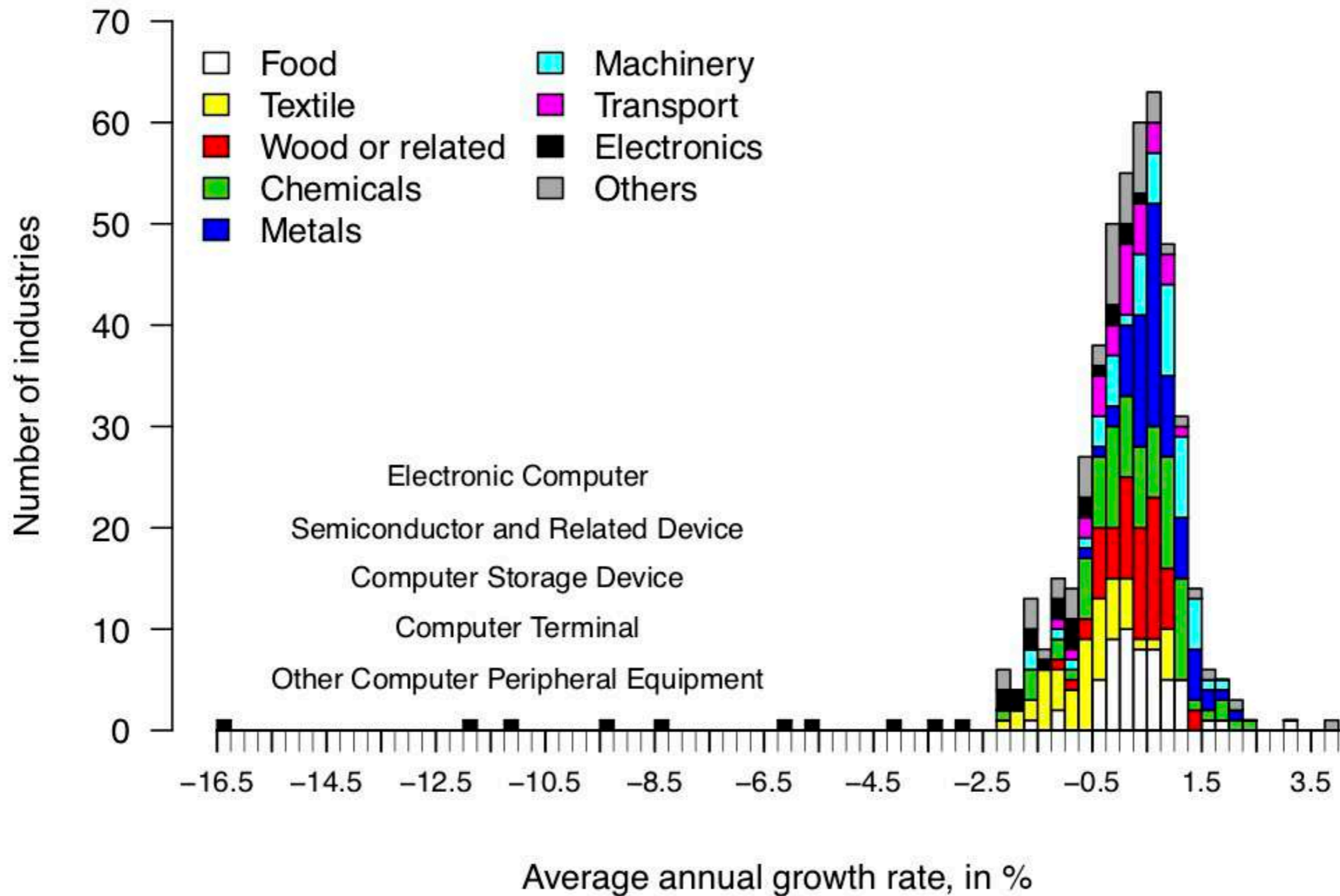
Selected Consumer Goods & Services, Wages (January 1998 to December 2018)



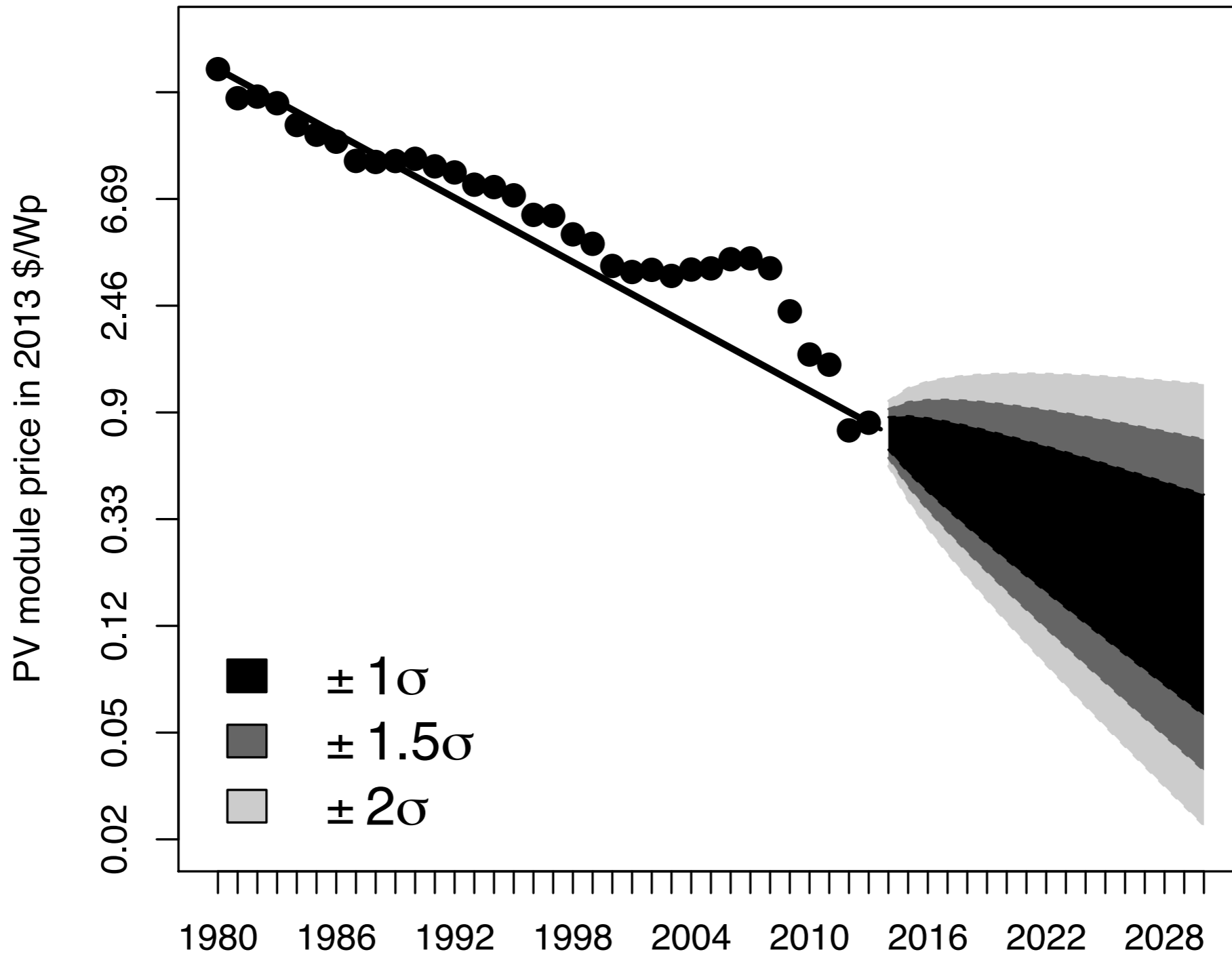
Progress is diverse and persistent

# Technological progress

# Distribution of price annual growth rates U.S. Manufacturing, 1958–2011



Thanks to Francois Lafond and Jangho Yang



Can use this to forecast prices of technologies



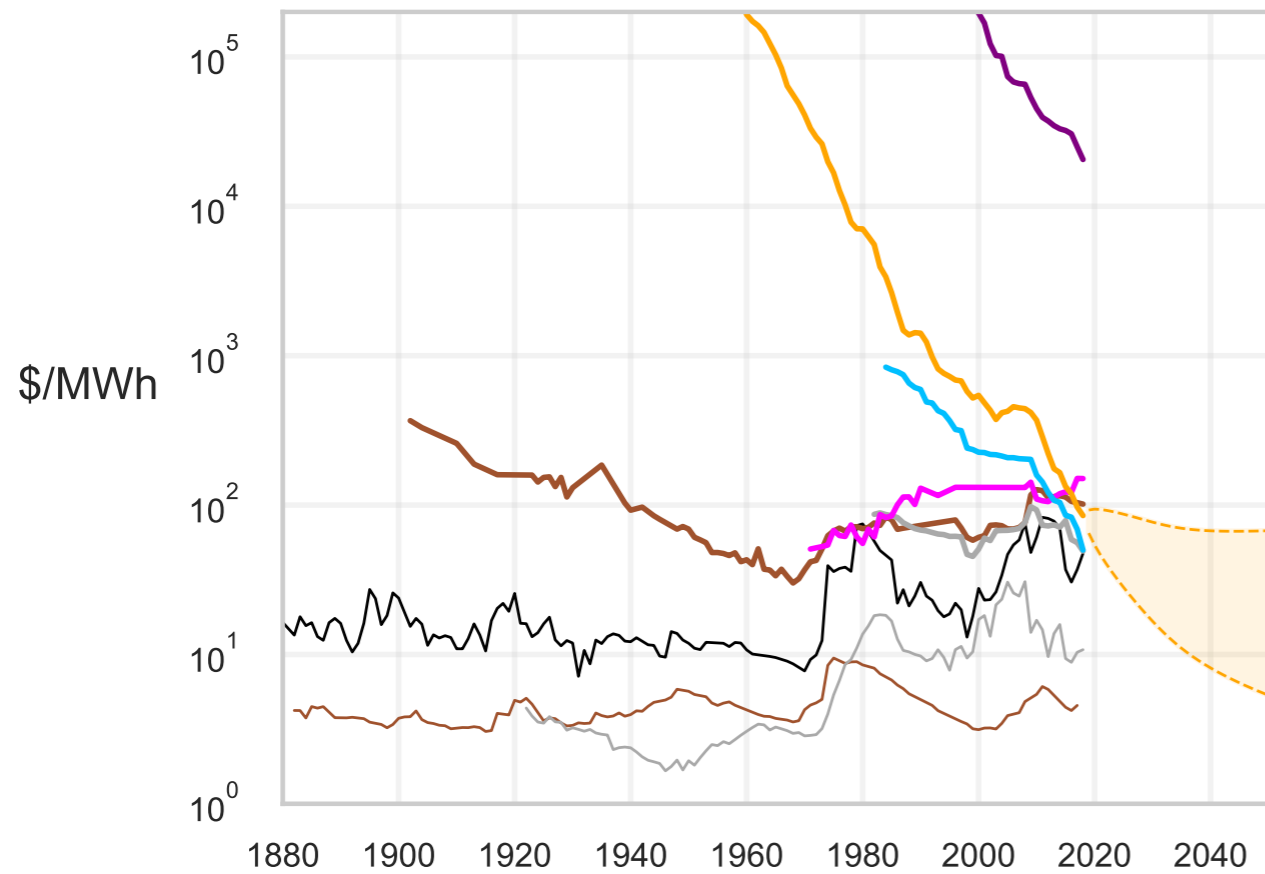
# What about Climate Change?





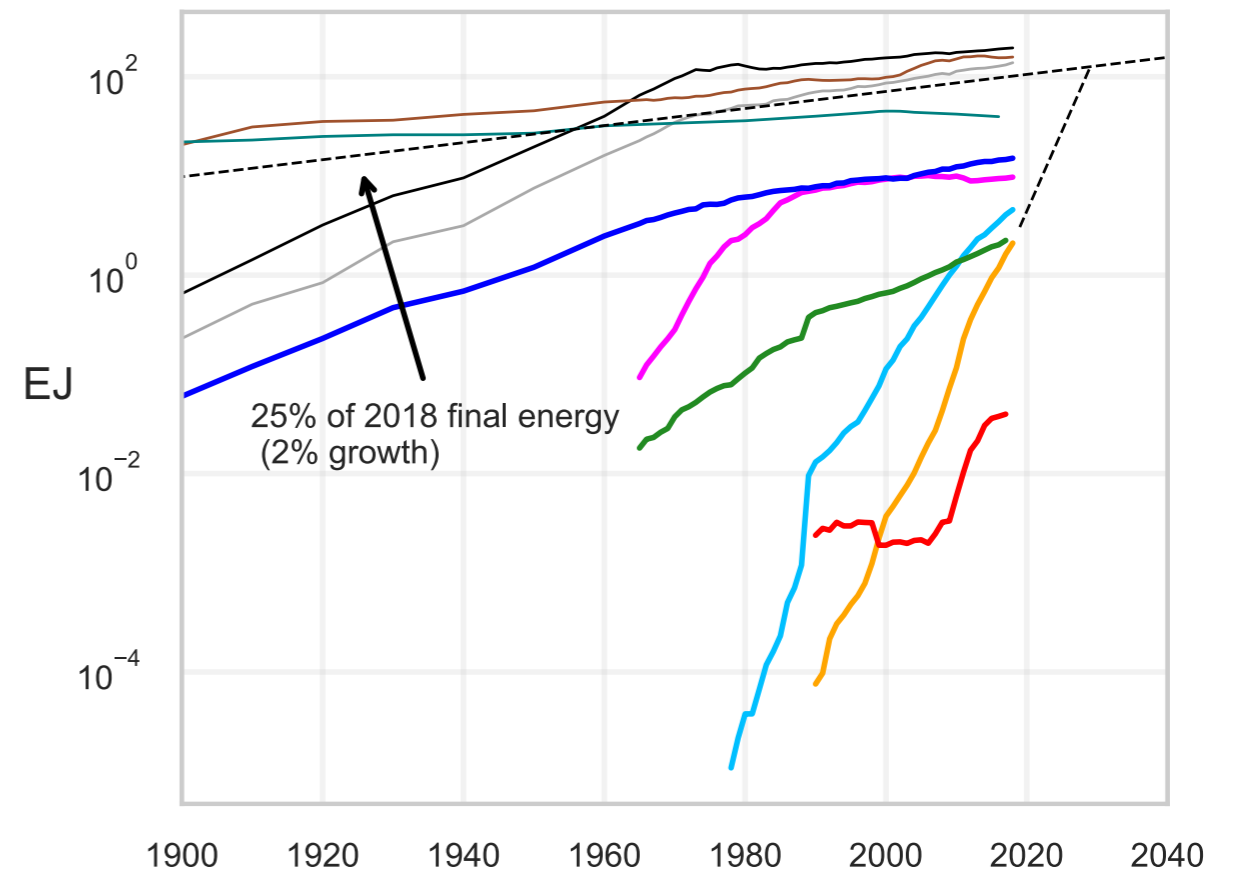
Bill Nordhaus says optimal warming is 3.5 degrees...

## Cost



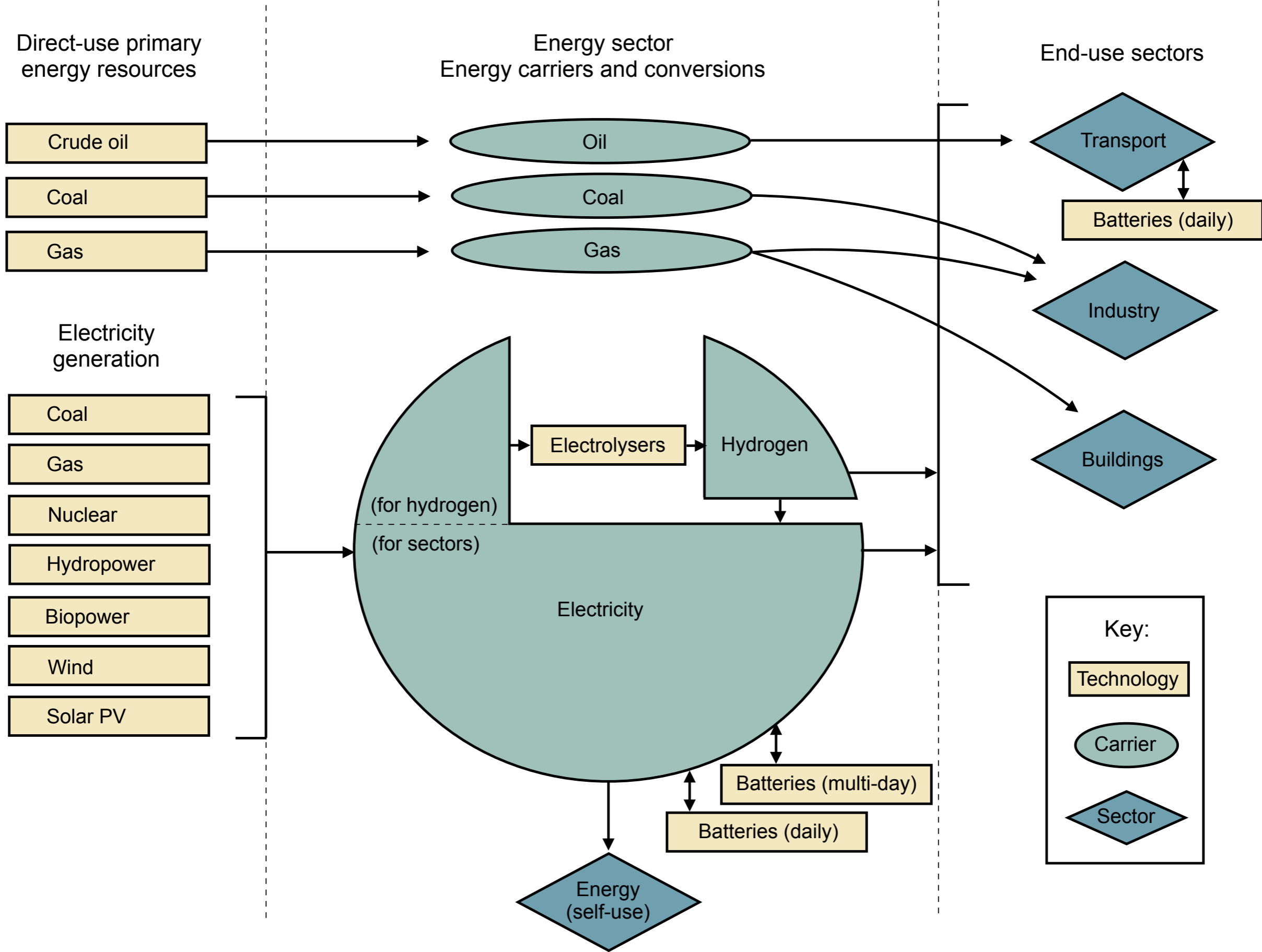
- Coal
- Gas
- Crude oil
- Traditional biomass
- Coal electricity
- Gas electricity
- Nuclear

## Production

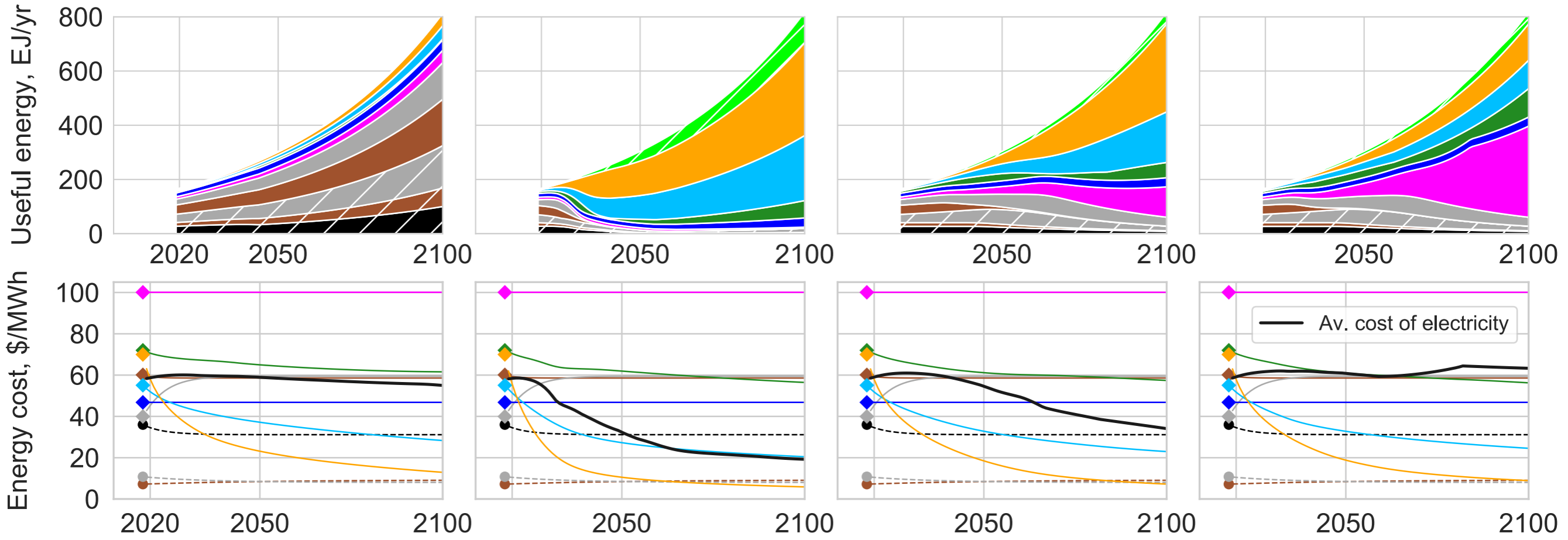


- Hydropower
- Biopower
- Wind
- Solar PV
- Concentrating solar power
- Batteries (annuitized cost)

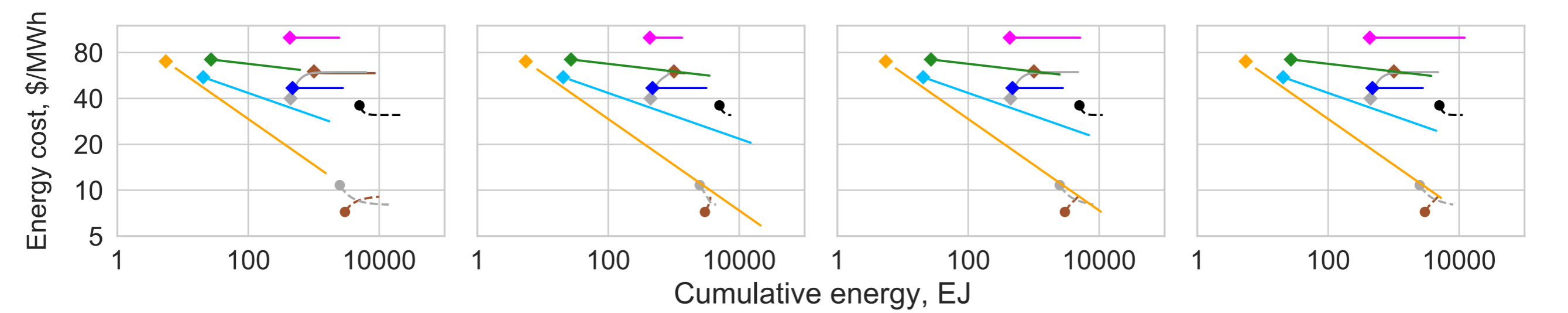
# Prices and production of energy technologies



# Components of the energy system

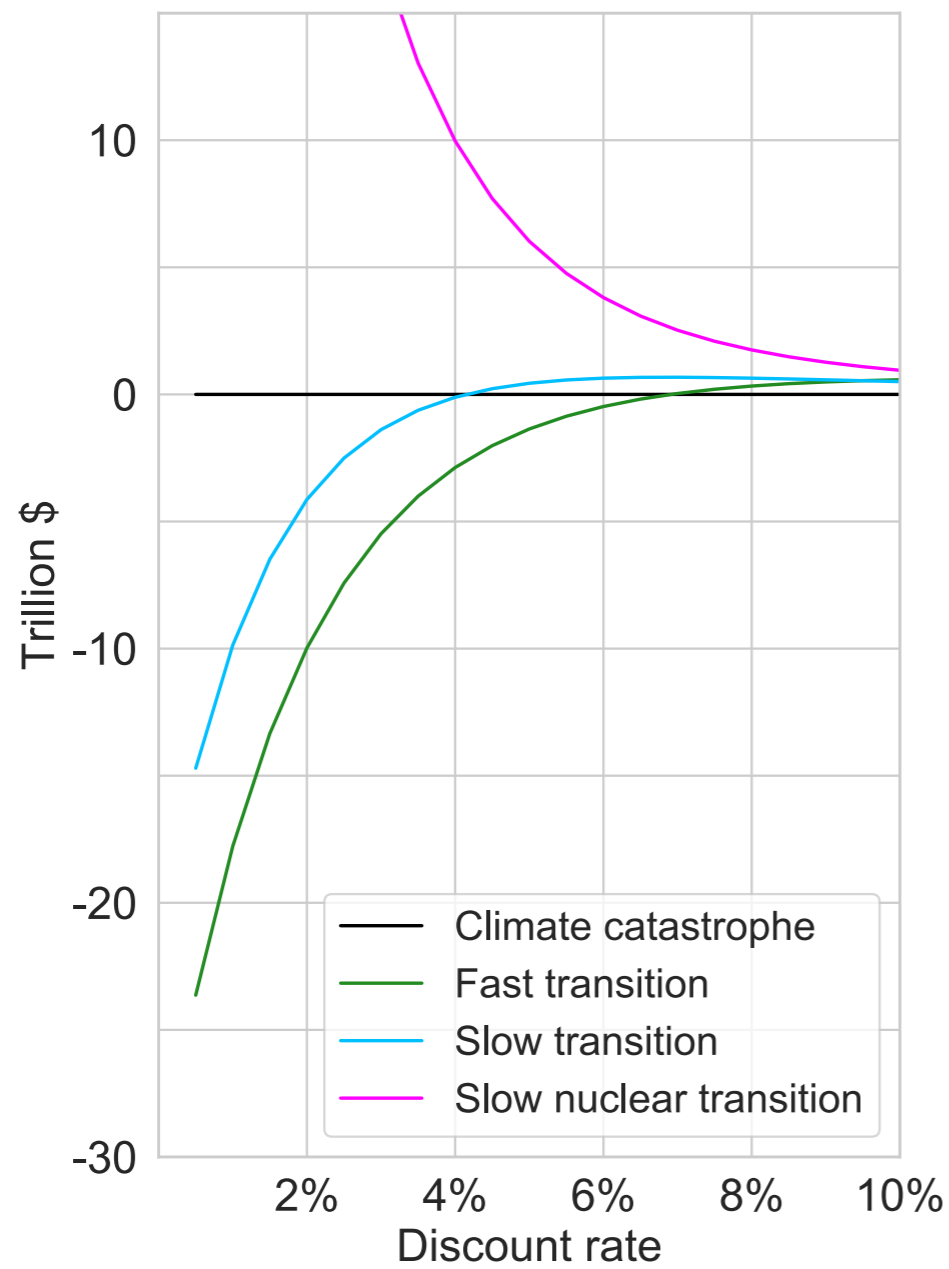
**Climate Catastrophe****Fast Transition****Slow Transition****Slow Nuclear Transition**

# Scenarios for the green energy transition

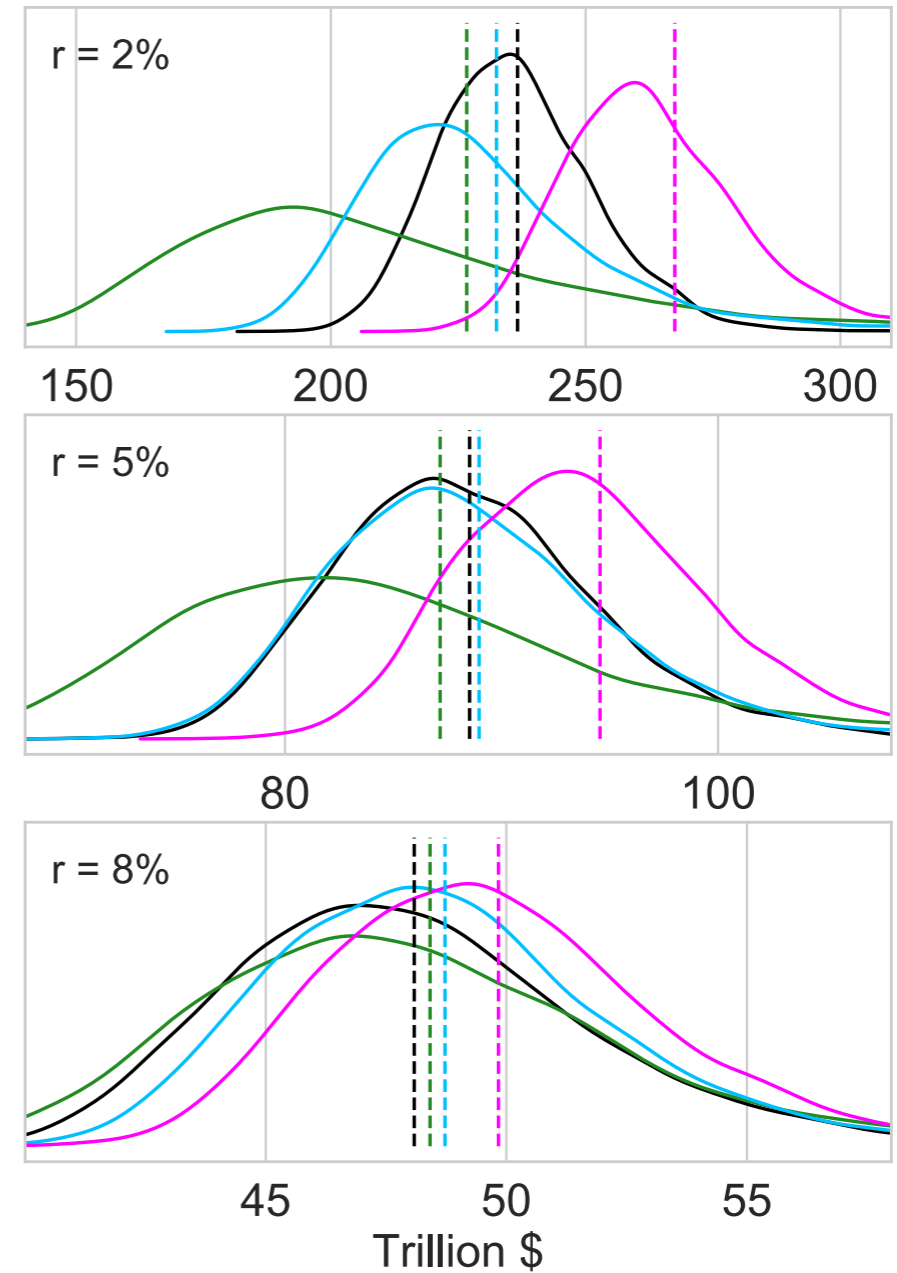


- |      |                  |            |                      |                          |                      |
|------|------------------|------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Oil  | Hydrogen         | Nuclear    | Wind                 | Multi-day grid batteries | Direct-use fuel cost |
| Coal | Coal electricity | Hydropower | Solar PV             | Electrolyzers            | LCOE by source       |
| Gas  | Gas electricity  | Biopower   | Daily grid batteries |                          |                      |

Net present value



Distribution of NPV



Predicted cost of the green energy transition under different scenarios



Fast renewable green energy transition  
is cheaper than business as usual!



We need a better map of the economy



# Hypothesis

- Our understanding of the economy and our ability to predict on many levels will become dramatically better when we are able to map out and simulate the production network at fine scale and link to financial markets
- Ultimately we want to link to other social models, e.g. to predict how an epidemic will affect supply chains



Complexity Economics is a young science

# Key problems to be solved for ABM to be predictive time series models

- Parameter estimation (Platt)
- Initial condition estimation
- Data (data, data, data, ...)

# Economic Forecasting with an Agent-based Model

Sebastian Poledna<sup>a,b,f</sup>, Michael Gregor Miess<sup>e,a,c,g</sup>, Cars Hommes<sup>d,h,i,\*</sup>

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## Abstract

We develop the first agent-based model (ABM) that can compete with benchmark VAR and DSGE models in out-of-sample forecasting of macro variables. Our ABM for a small open economy uses micro and macro data from national and sector accounts, input-output tables, government statistics, census and business demography data. The model

Proof of principle – just a start

# Global microeconomics

## Let macro emerge from micro

Takes advantage of heterogeneity  
Much more data at microscale  
Better statistical significance  
Endogenous dynamics  
Can model emergence  
Predicts more things



A detailed historical painting of a busy harbor scene. The foreground is filled with a large crowd of people in period clothing, engaged in various activities. In the middle ground, numerous sailing ships with tall masts and rigging are docked at a quay or in the harbor. The background shows a town built on a hillside, with a prominent church spire, and mountains in the distance under a blue sky with a few birds flying. The overall scene depicts a bustling port town in a past era.

We are facing serious problems:  
financial crises  
inequality  
climate change

Complexity economics offers new solutions