Why are there so many power laws in economics?

Jakob Kapeller

University of Duisburg-Essen Institute for Socio-Economics & Johannes Kepler University Linz Institute for Comprehensive Analysis of the Economy (ICAE) Editor: Heterodox Economics Newsletter

UNIVERSITÄT DUISBURG ESSEN

Open-Minded



Linz, October 2023

Stefan Steinerberger

University of Washington, Seattle Mathematics Department https://faculty.washington.edu/steinerb/

> www.uni-due.de l www.heterodoxnews.com www.jakob-kapeller.org l



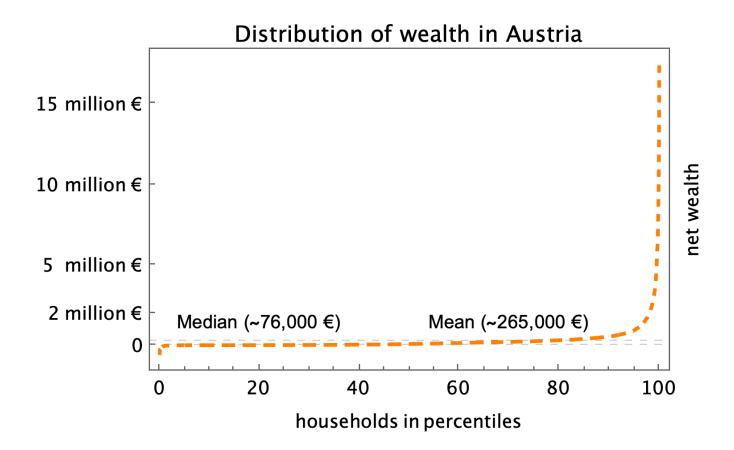
Motivation

- These things repeatedly pop up in my research
 - Wealth distributions, citations & public recognition of academics, market power (e.g. technology adoption)





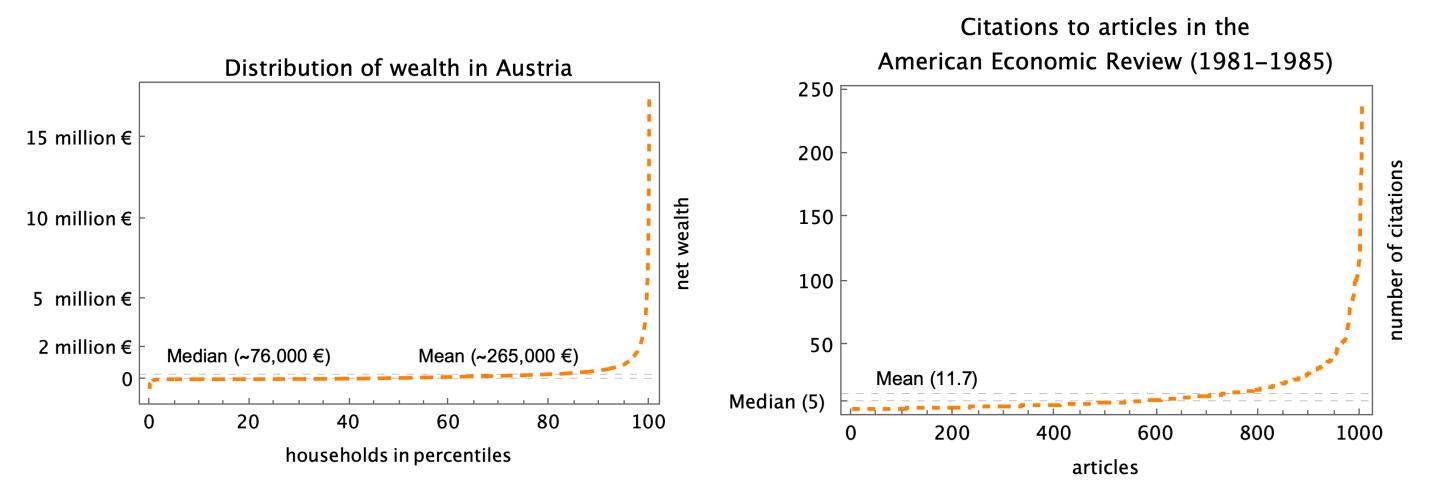
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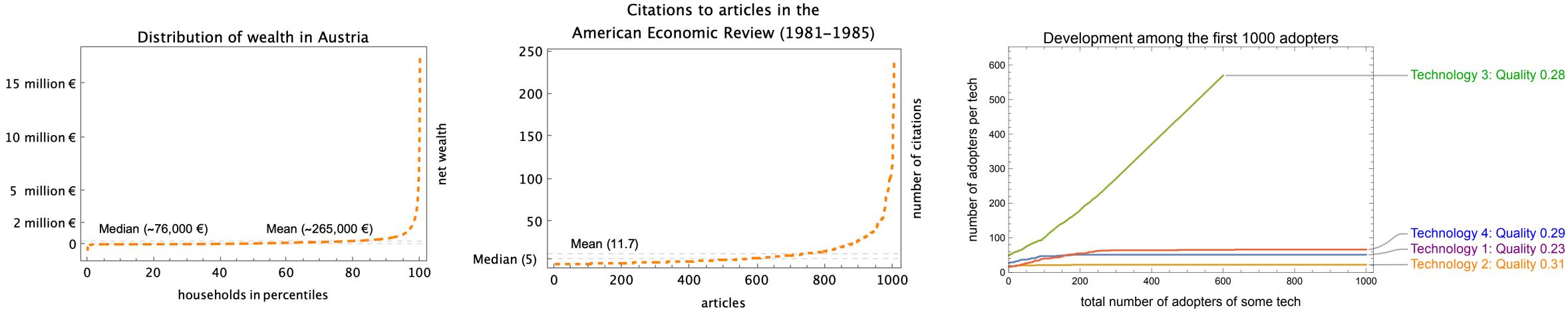
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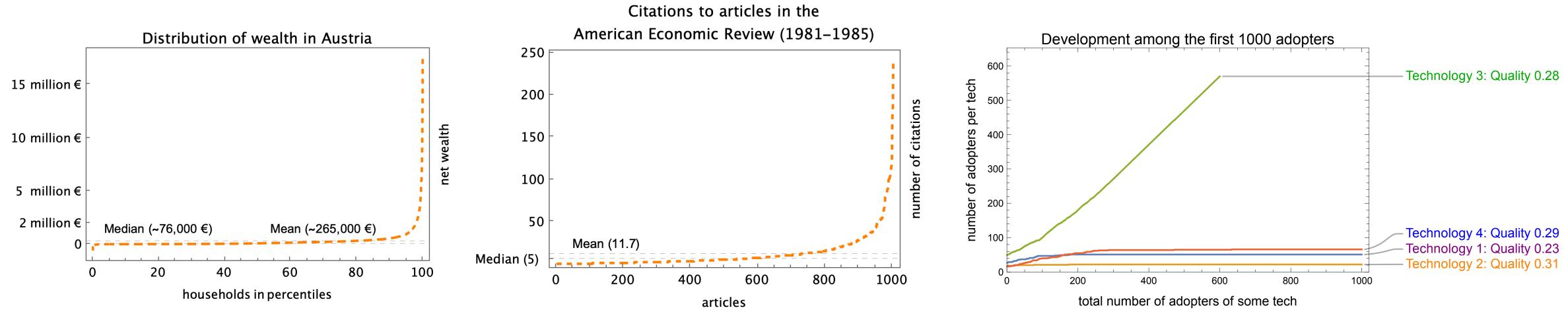








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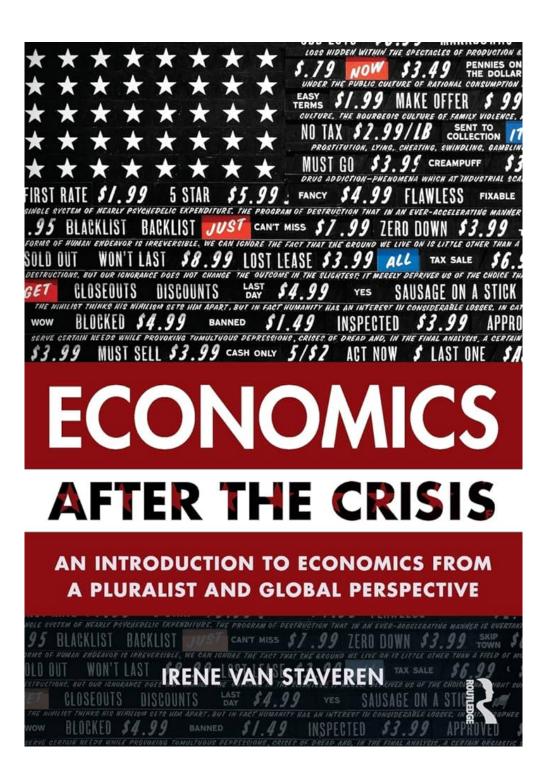


- They also are found in other phenomena of interest to socio-economists, like city size, firm size, capital income, components of private wealth, the popularity of websites or books, the size of individual social networks etc.
- Power laws are a well-established concept in other sciences (e.g. physics, maths, biology...)
 - Possible starting point for interdisciplinary collaborations diverse contributions on ,generative mechanisms'





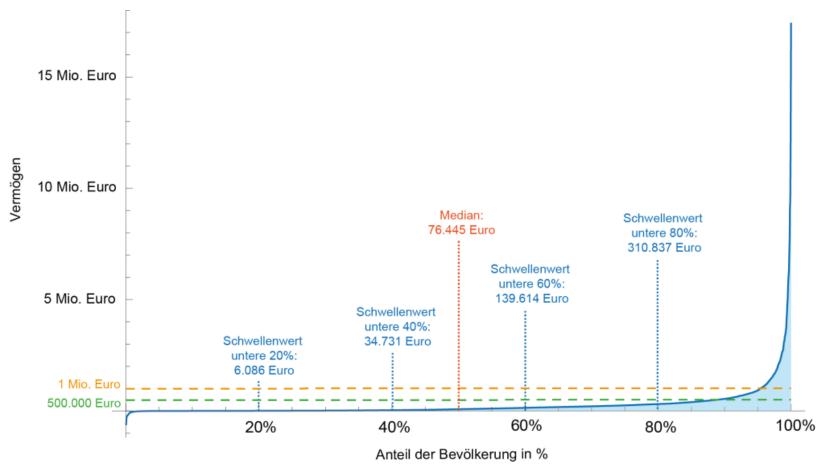
- These things repeatedly pop up in my teaching
 - Recent task: Create a new introduction to economics from a pluralist view point for future teachers – "Economic Thought"
 - Stealing from this great book the idea to introduce main economic actors (households, firms, state, etc.) and to provide a first conceptualization to assure that students' basic impressions are aligned but how to best introduce core economic properties of such actors?
 - My answer: Stratification of actors as a core dimension of interest info on aggregate + parts!



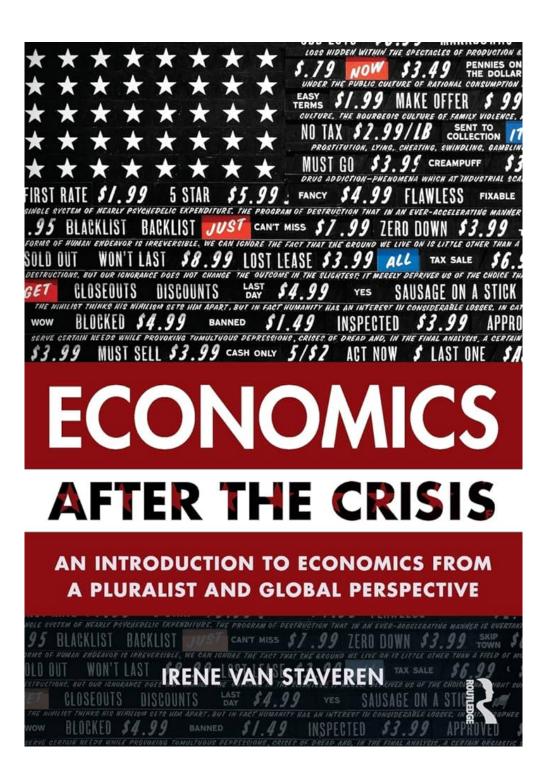




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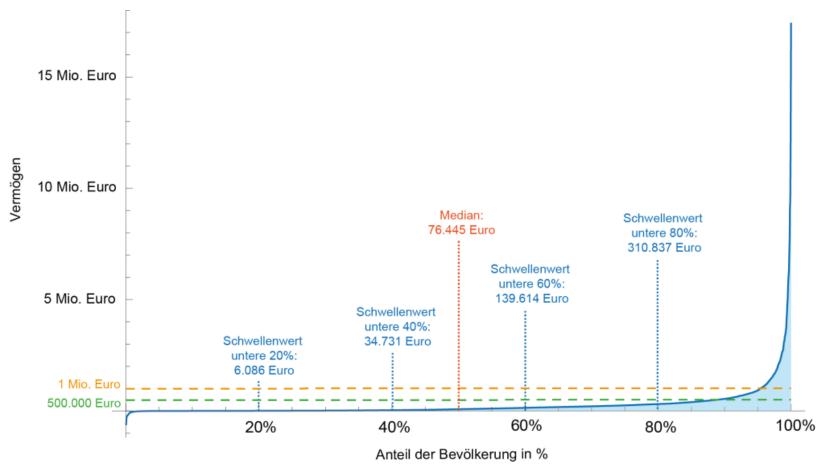
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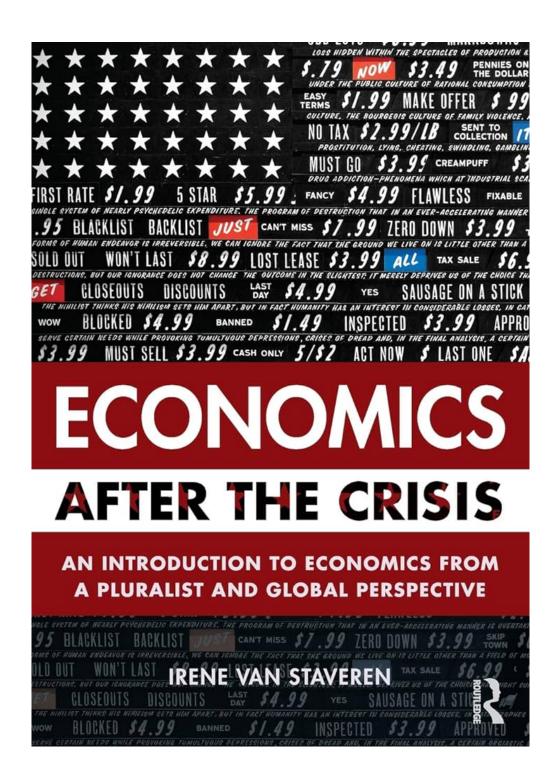


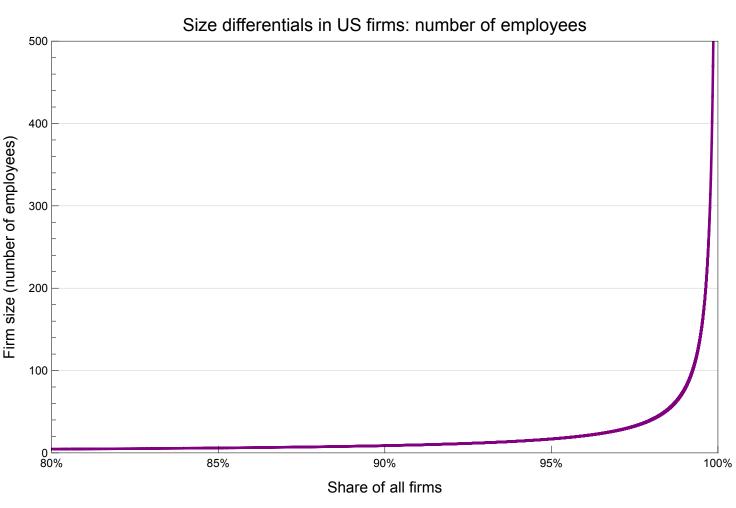


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Based on: Axtell, Robert (2001): Zipf Distribution of U.S. Firm Sizes. Science, Vol. 293





Agenda

- Motivation
- Conceptualizing power laws
 - **Defining power laws**: some variants
 - Talking about power laws: some (preliminary) lessons
- Generating power laws
 - General overview on generative mechanisms
 - Simple models of **cumulative advantage** (and the welfare state)
 - Simple models of multiplicative random growth (and the welfare state)
 - Concluding thoughts





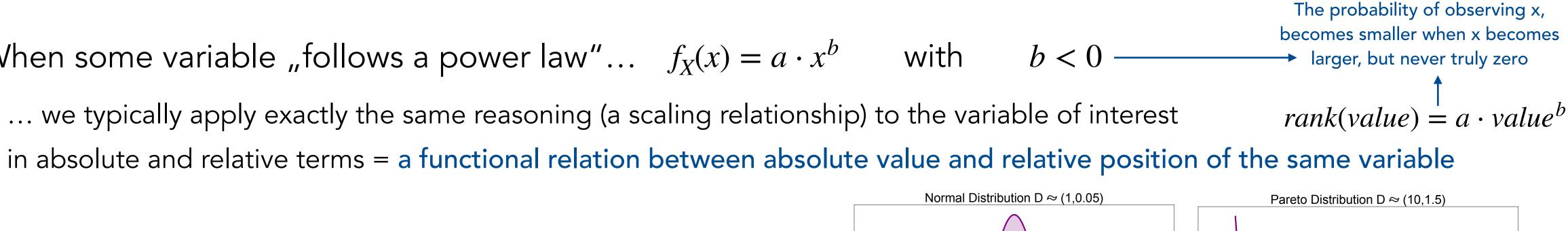


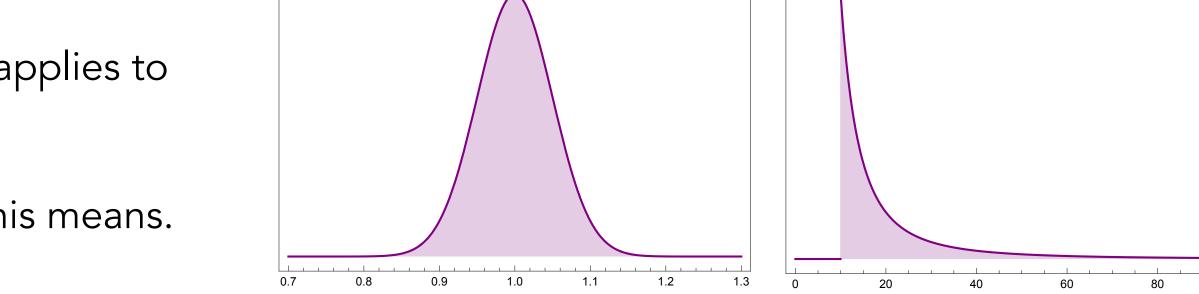
Defining power laws

Power laws as scaling relationships

- Basic functional form: $f(x) = a \cdot x^b$ with
 - When applied to two variables it expresses a scaling relationship (econ-speak: "homogenous of degree k").
 - Biology: "doubling the size of mammals will increase their weight 8-fold": weight(size) = $a \cdot size^3$
 - Mathematics: "doubling the length of square, will increase its area 4-fold": $area(length) = a \cdot length^2$
 - Economics: "doubling the number of inputs, will increase output k-fold": $output(inputs) = a \cdot inputs^k$
- When some variable "follows a power law" ... $f_X(x) = a \cdot x^b$
 - ... we typically apply exactly the same reasoning (a scaling relationship) to the variable of interest
 - Caveat: In most cases the power law distribution only applies to some upper segment of the data: $x_i > x_{min}$
 - Probability density functions (PDFs) to illustrate what this means.

$a, b \in \mathbb{R}$











- Basic functional form: $f(x) = a \cdot x^b$ with $a, b \in \mathbb{R}$

 - At the end day, of the all these can be reduced to the specification seen before: $f_X(x) = a \cdot x^b$
- The classic case in economics: The Pareto distribution

 - Typical assumption: power law distribution only applies to some upper segment of the data.
 - Canonical form (survival function):
 - Inverse is known as Zipf's law:

• Different discoveries in history of science: Pareto (1896, wealth), Auerbach (1913, city size), "Zipf's Law" (1932, word frequencies), "Benford's Law" (1938, leading digits in real datasets), "Price's Law" (1965, citation patterns) + more with b < 0

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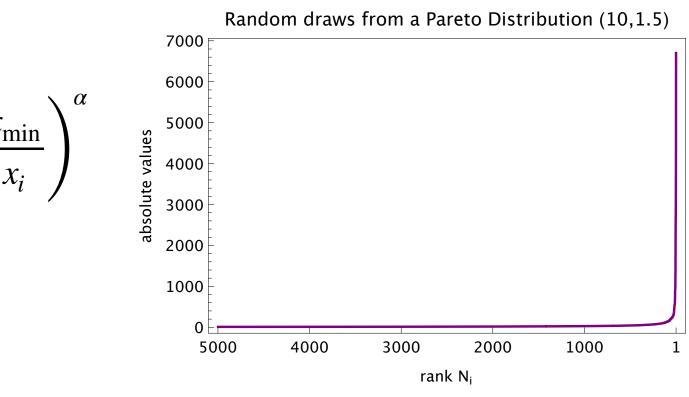
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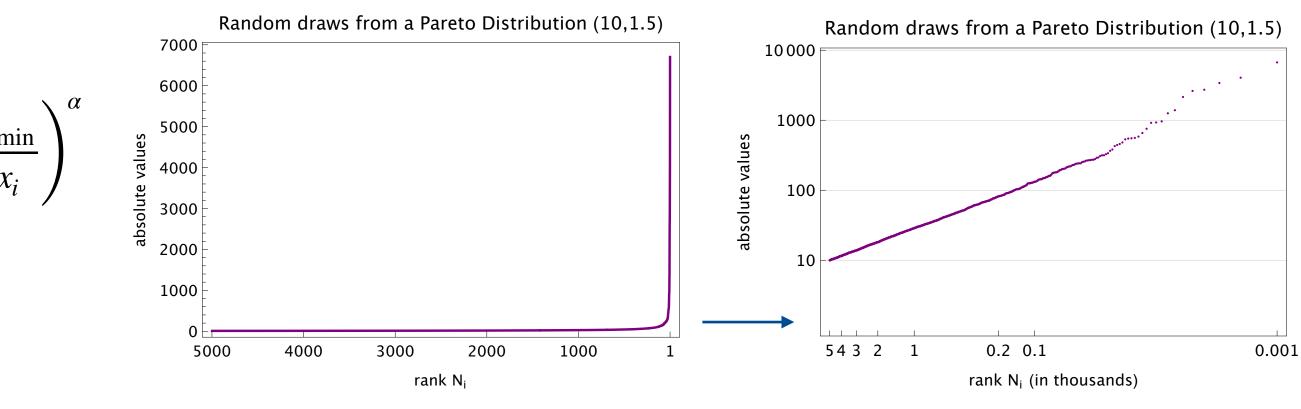
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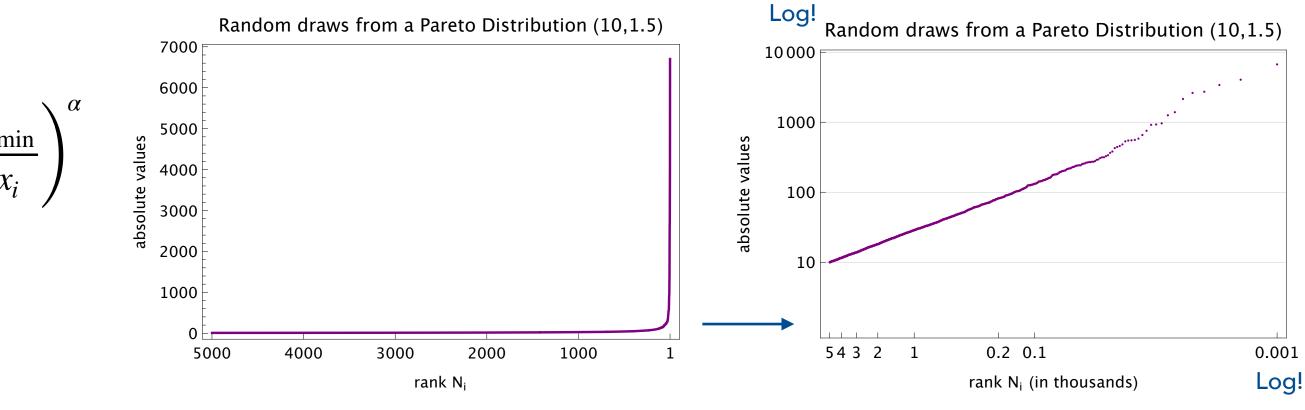


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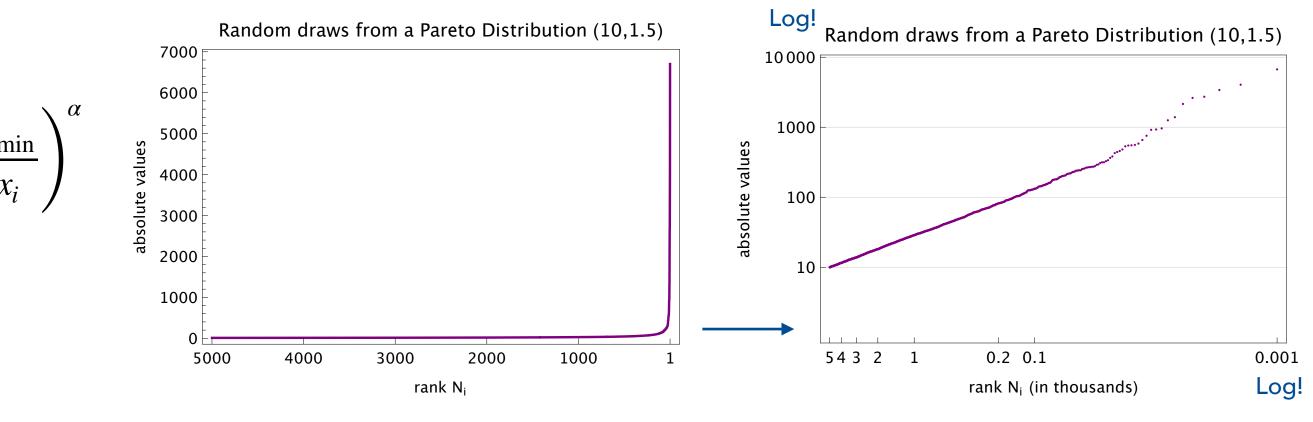
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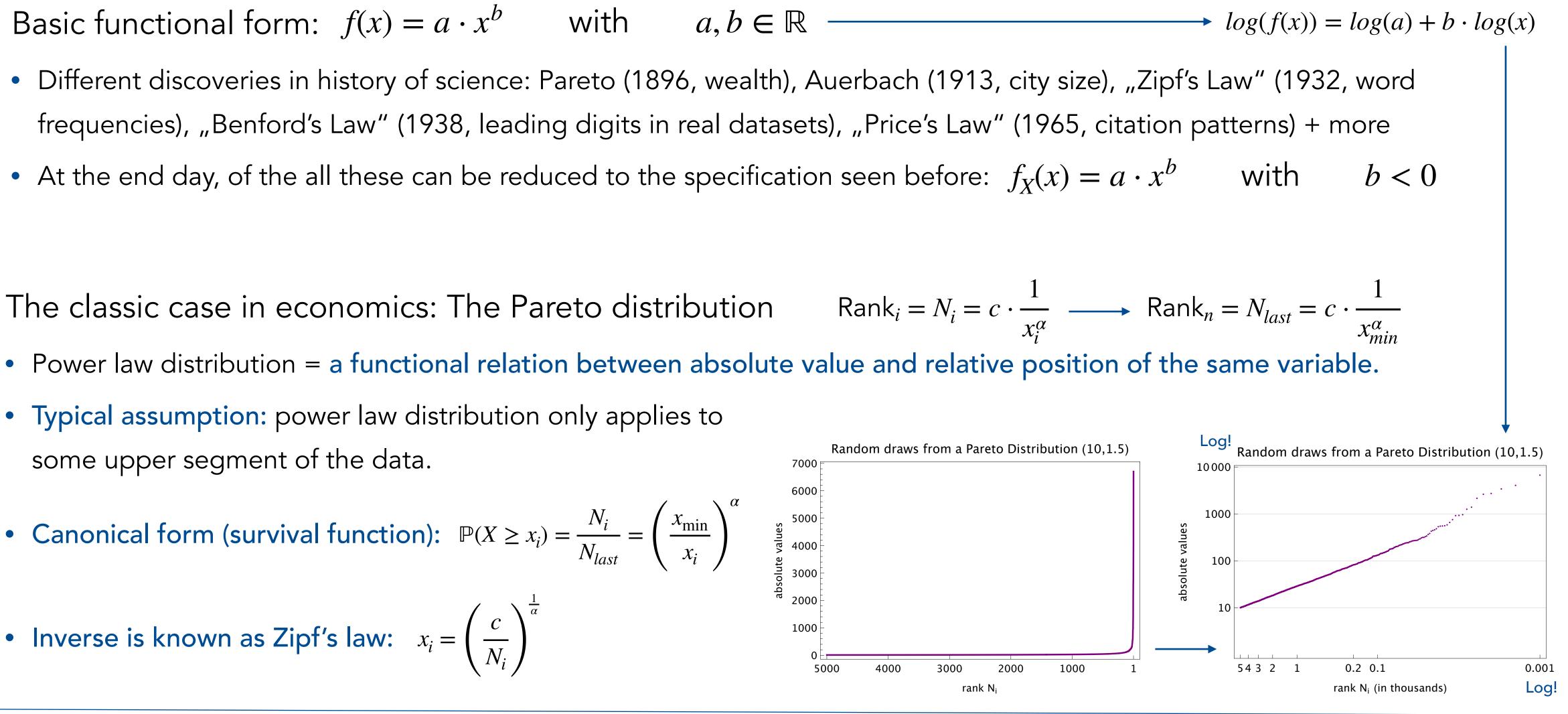
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Talking about power laws

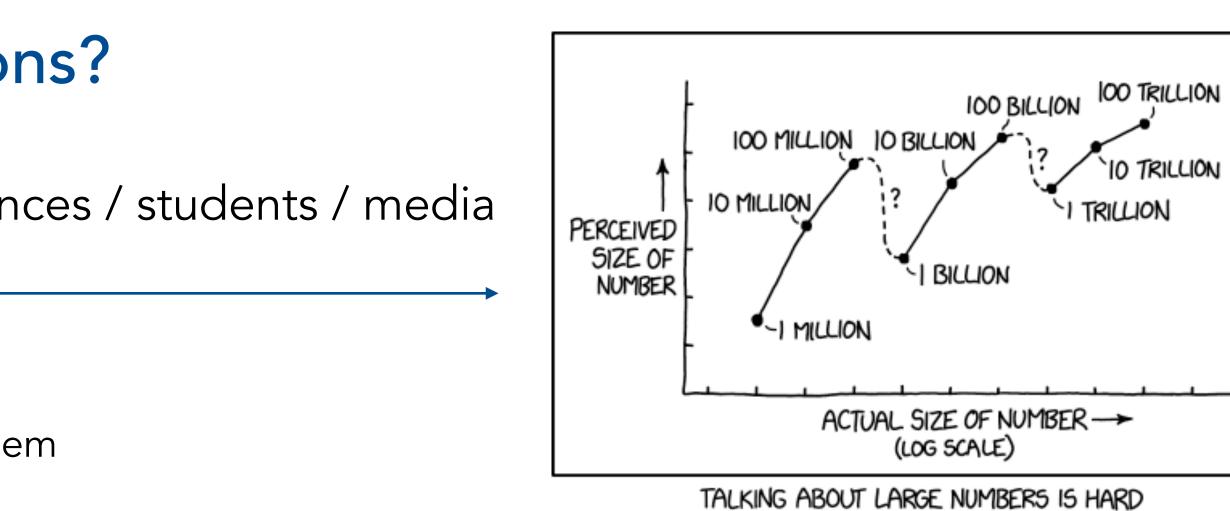
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 - The "what is a distribution?"-problem
 - The "fancy properties of power-law distribution"-problem

• Three main problems when talking to lay audiences / students / media about power law distributions





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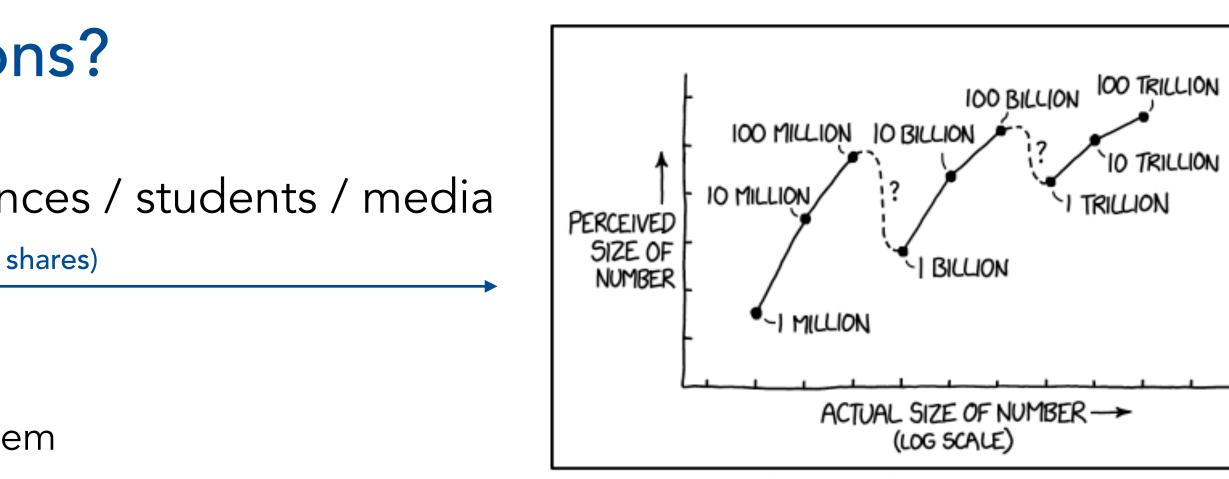








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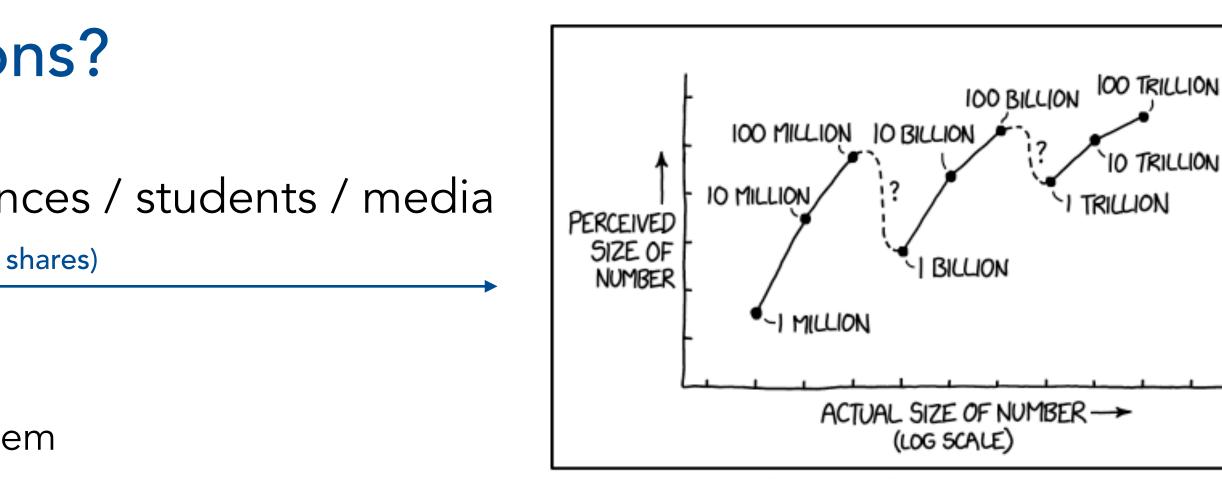
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 - What would *"I met a huge guy"* or *"I saw a huge tree"* mean, if these variables were power law distributed? Give numerics compare mean to max!



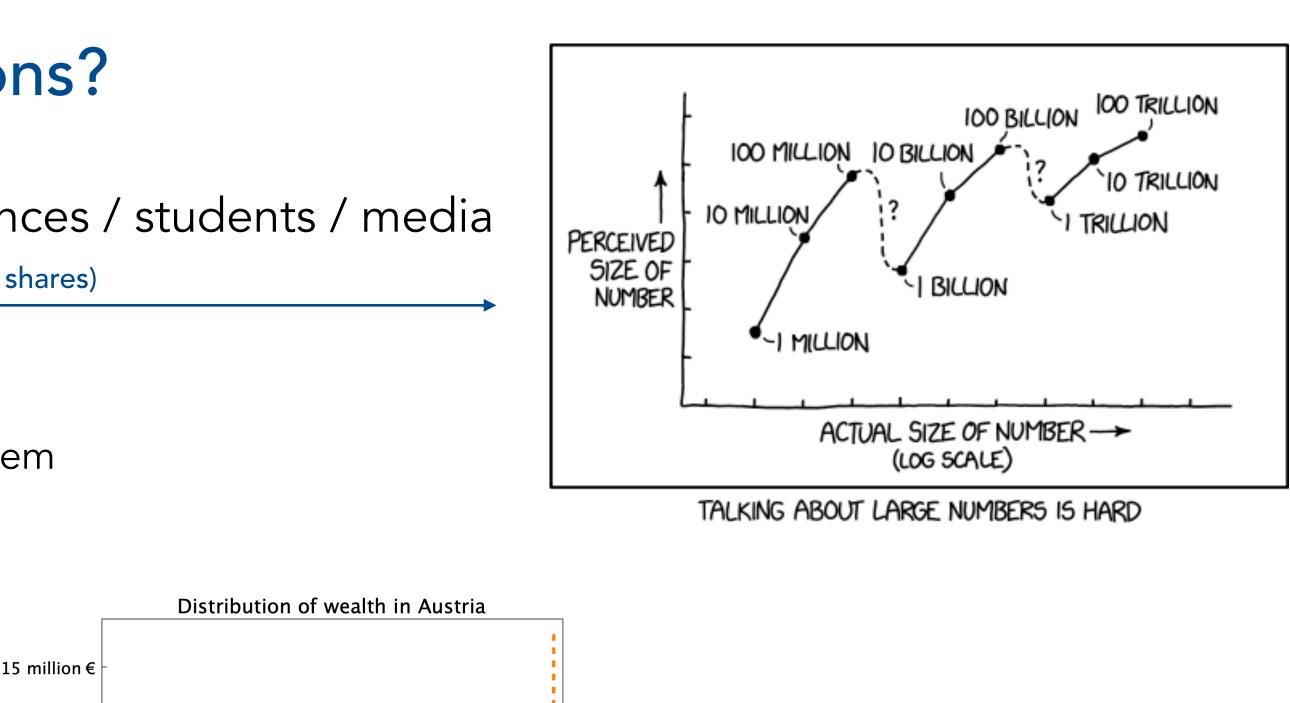
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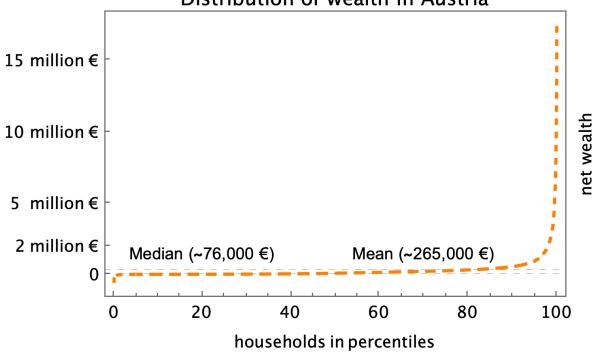






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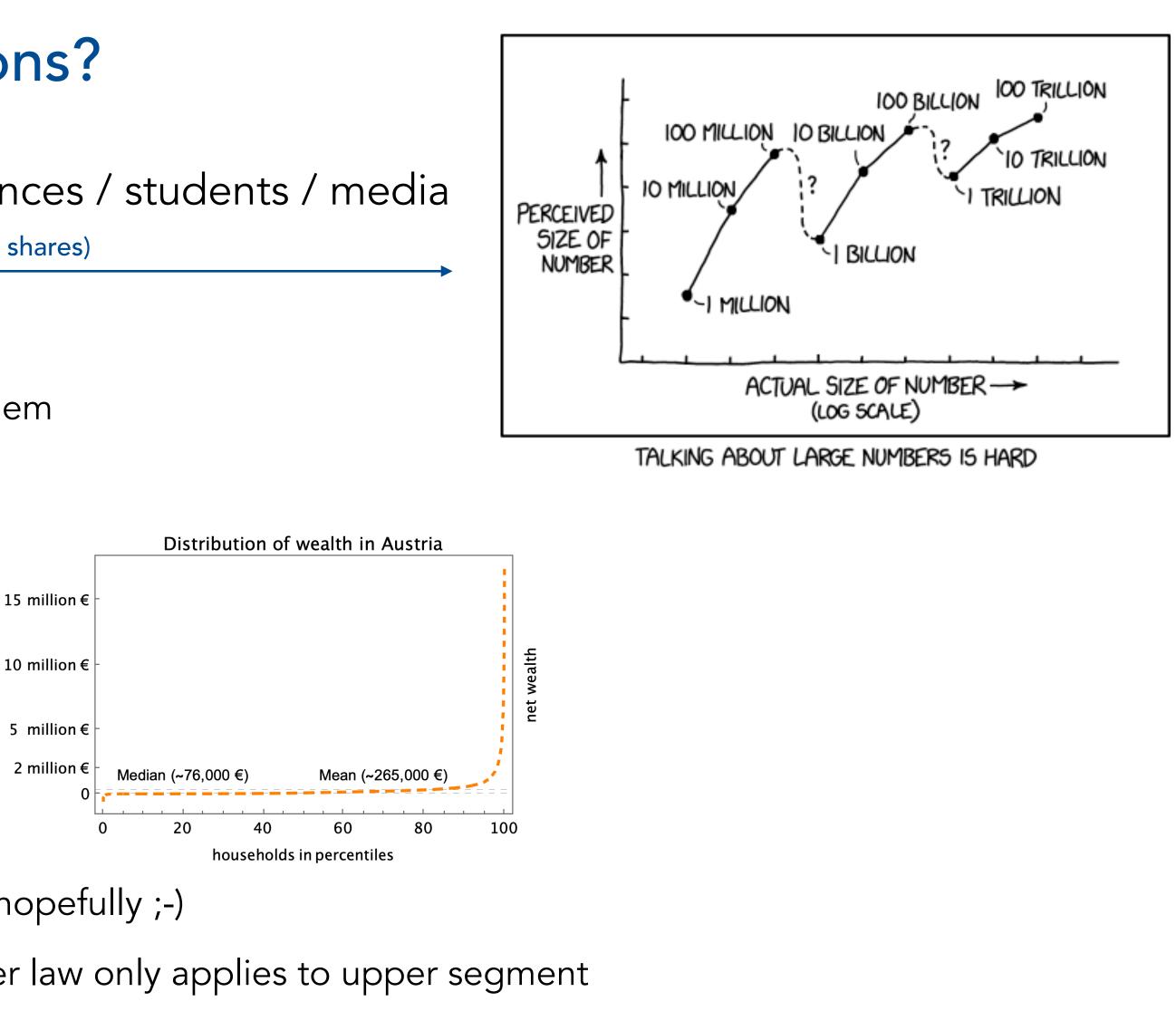








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- "few giants, many dwarfs"
 - People get a visual impression, they might remember (hopefully ;-)
 - It's vague enough to be precise: holds also, when power law only applies to upper segment
 - Can be applied to different contexts (pedagogical tool?, running gag?)

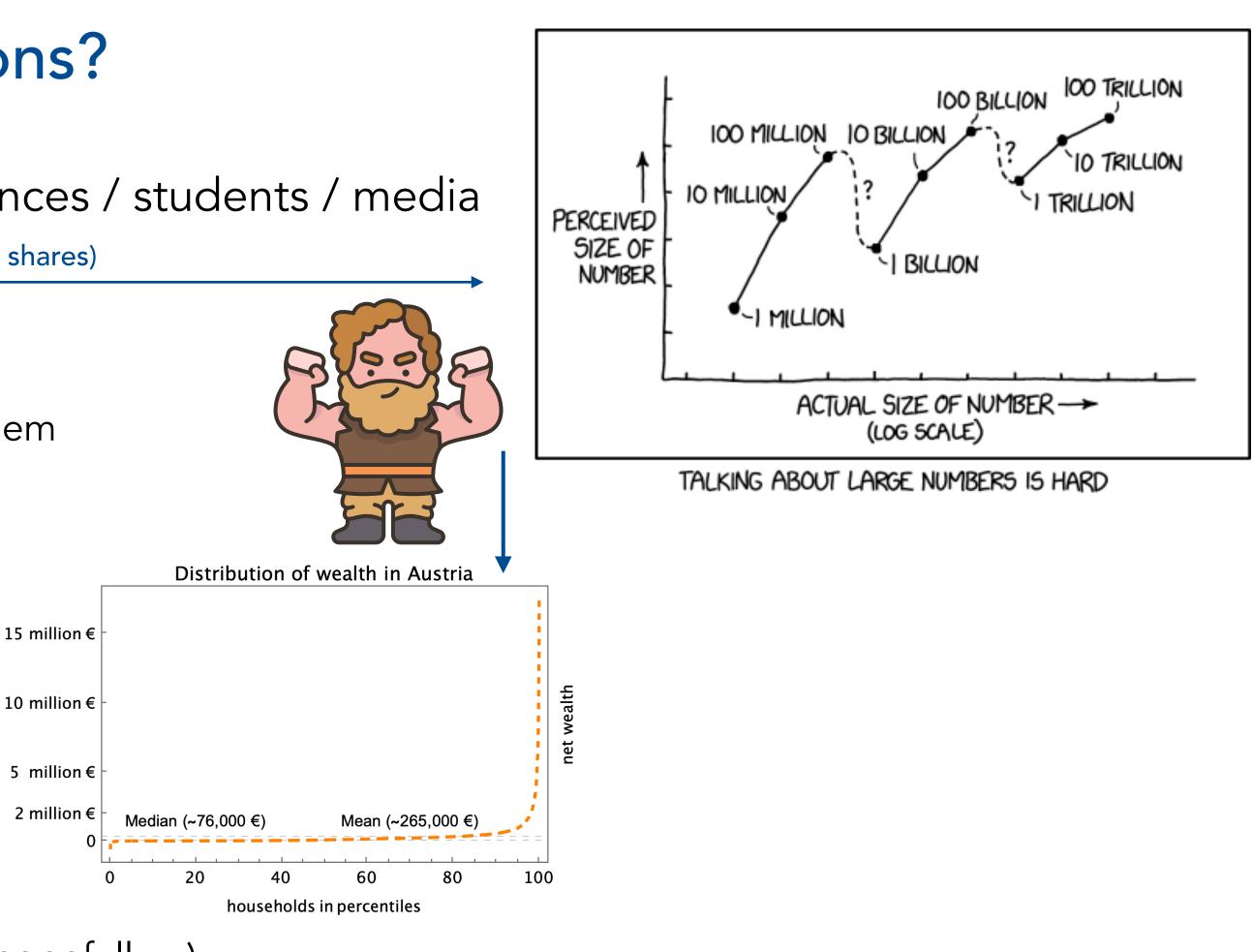




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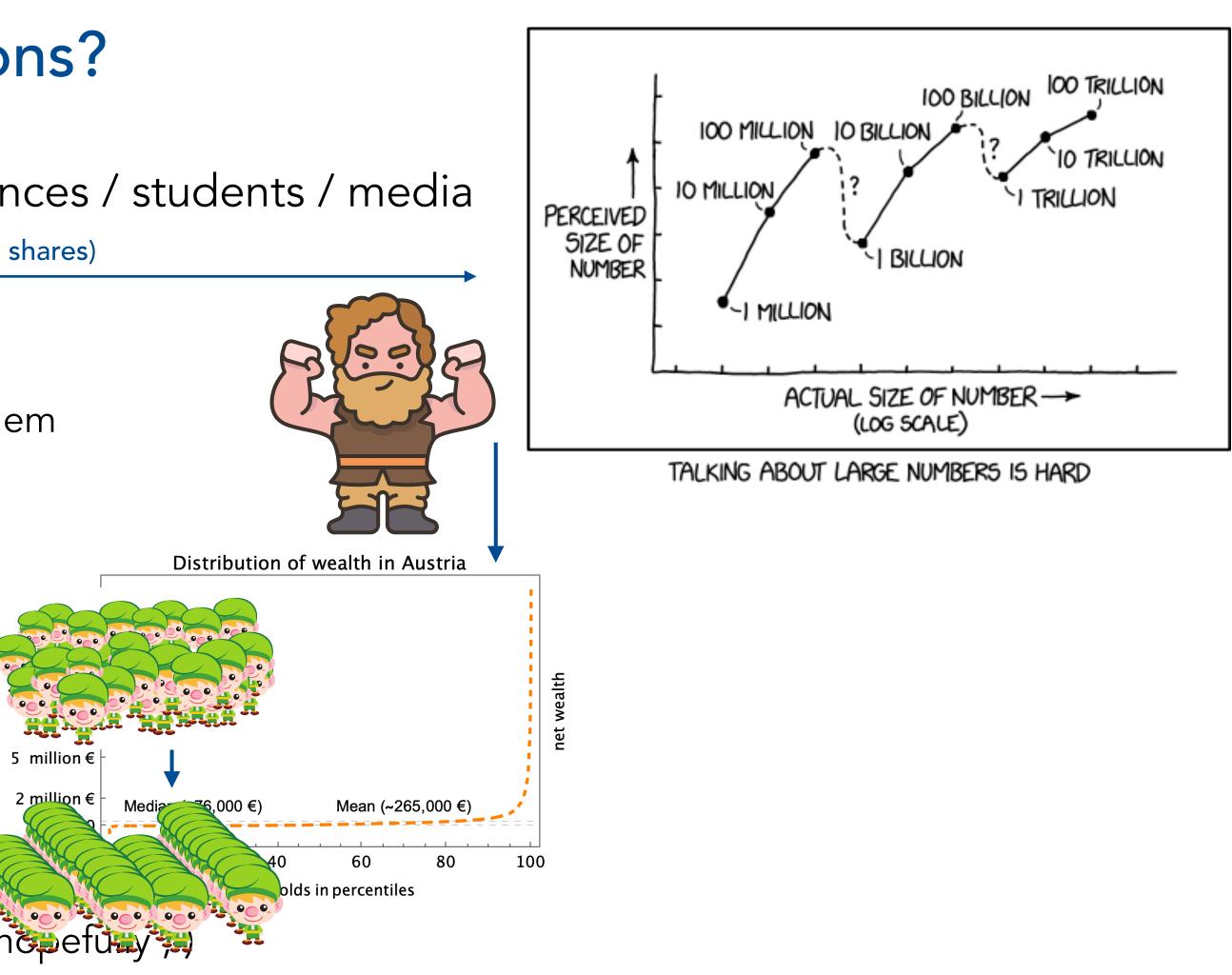
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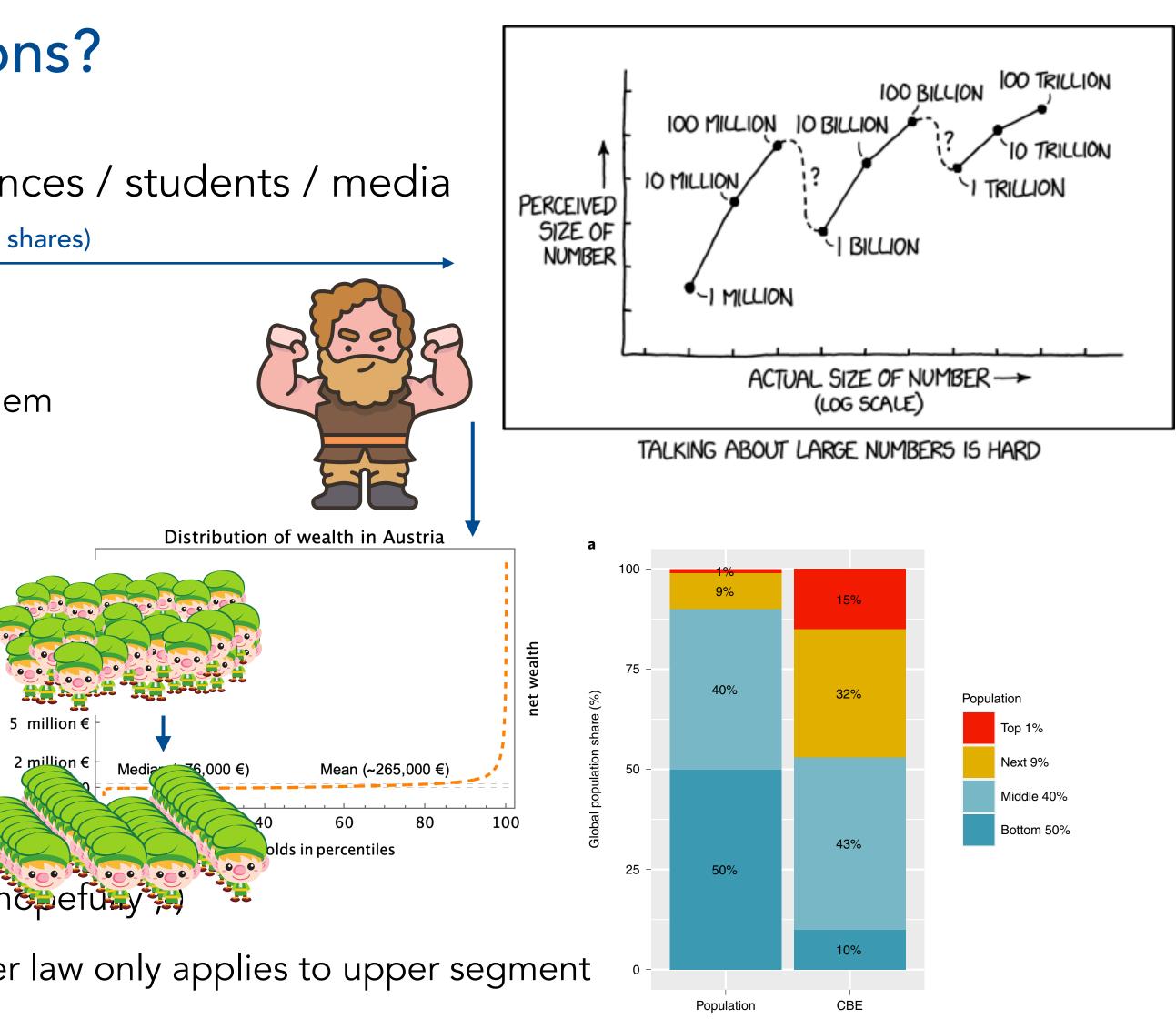
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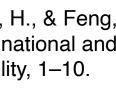


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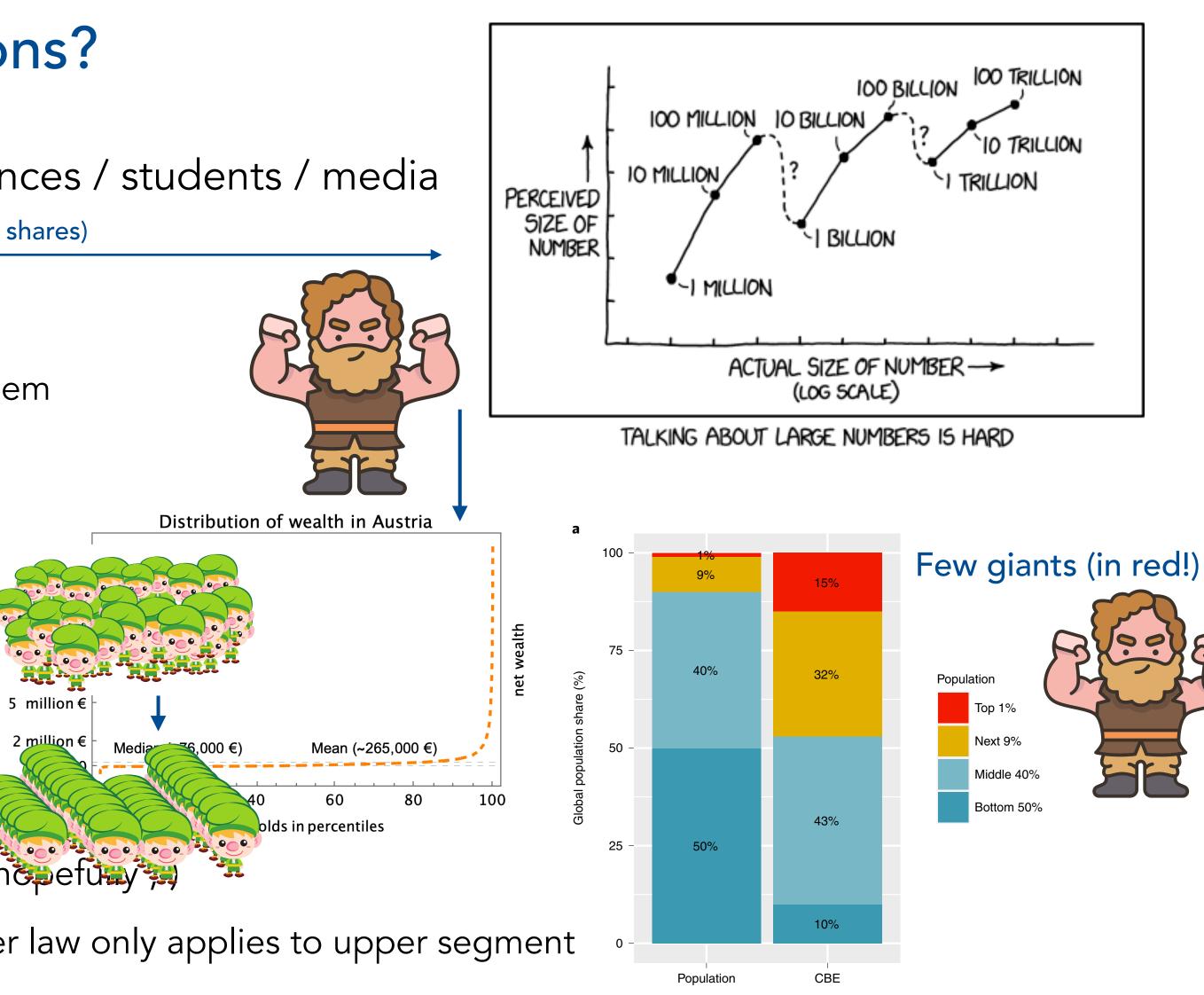
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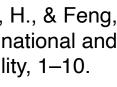


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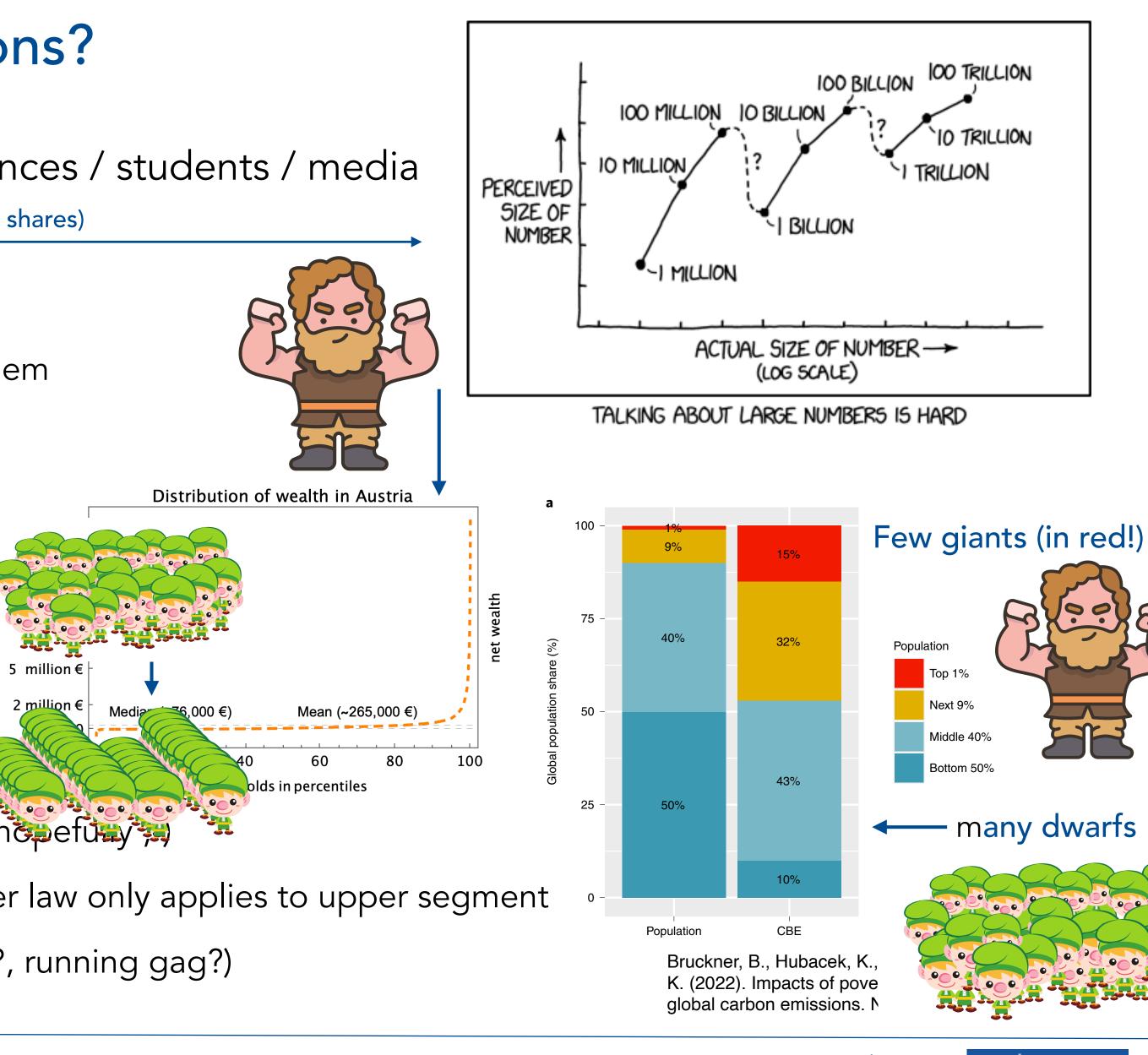
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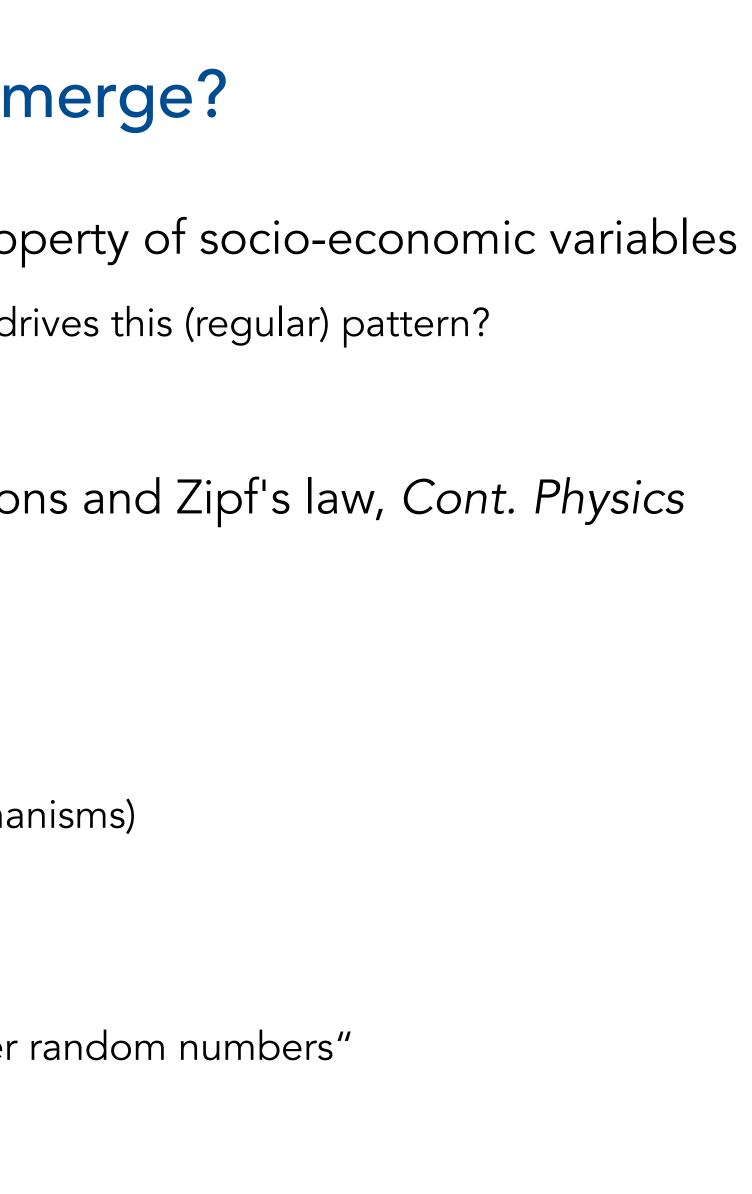


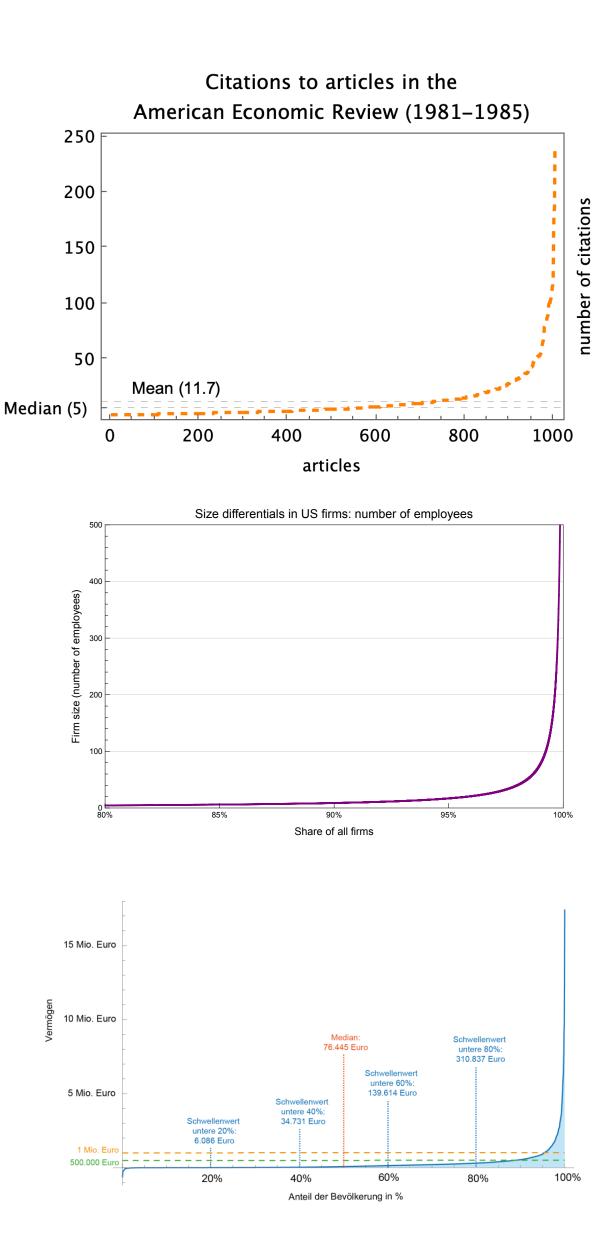




Generative mechanisms

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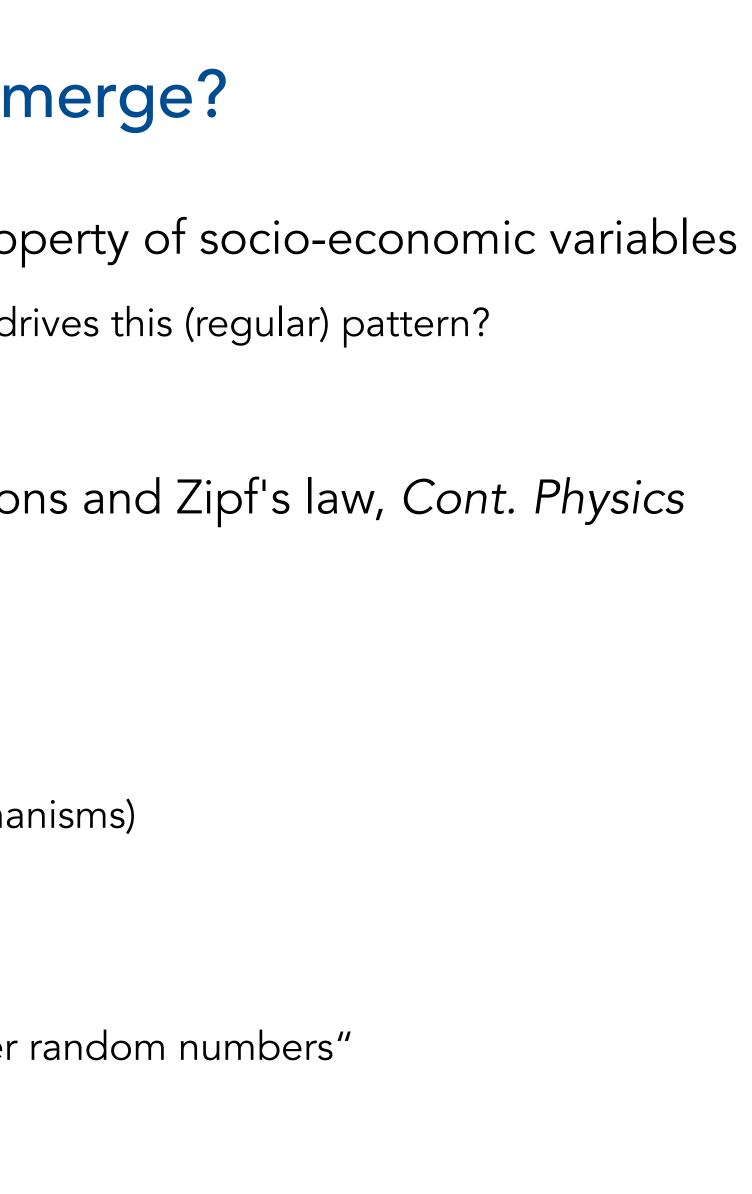


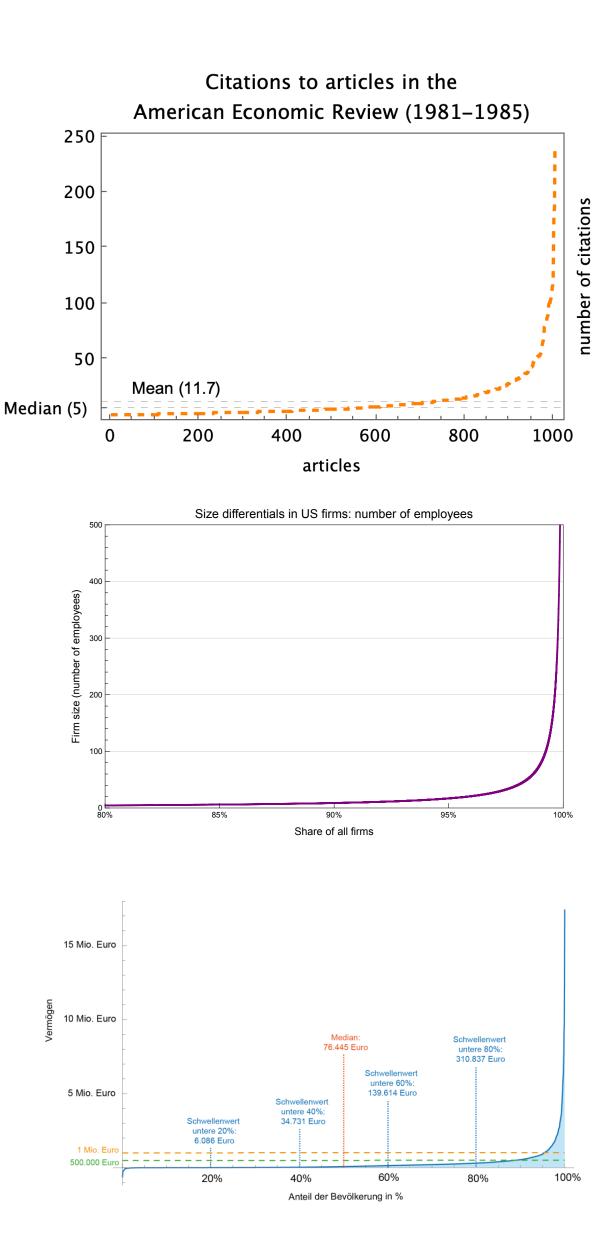






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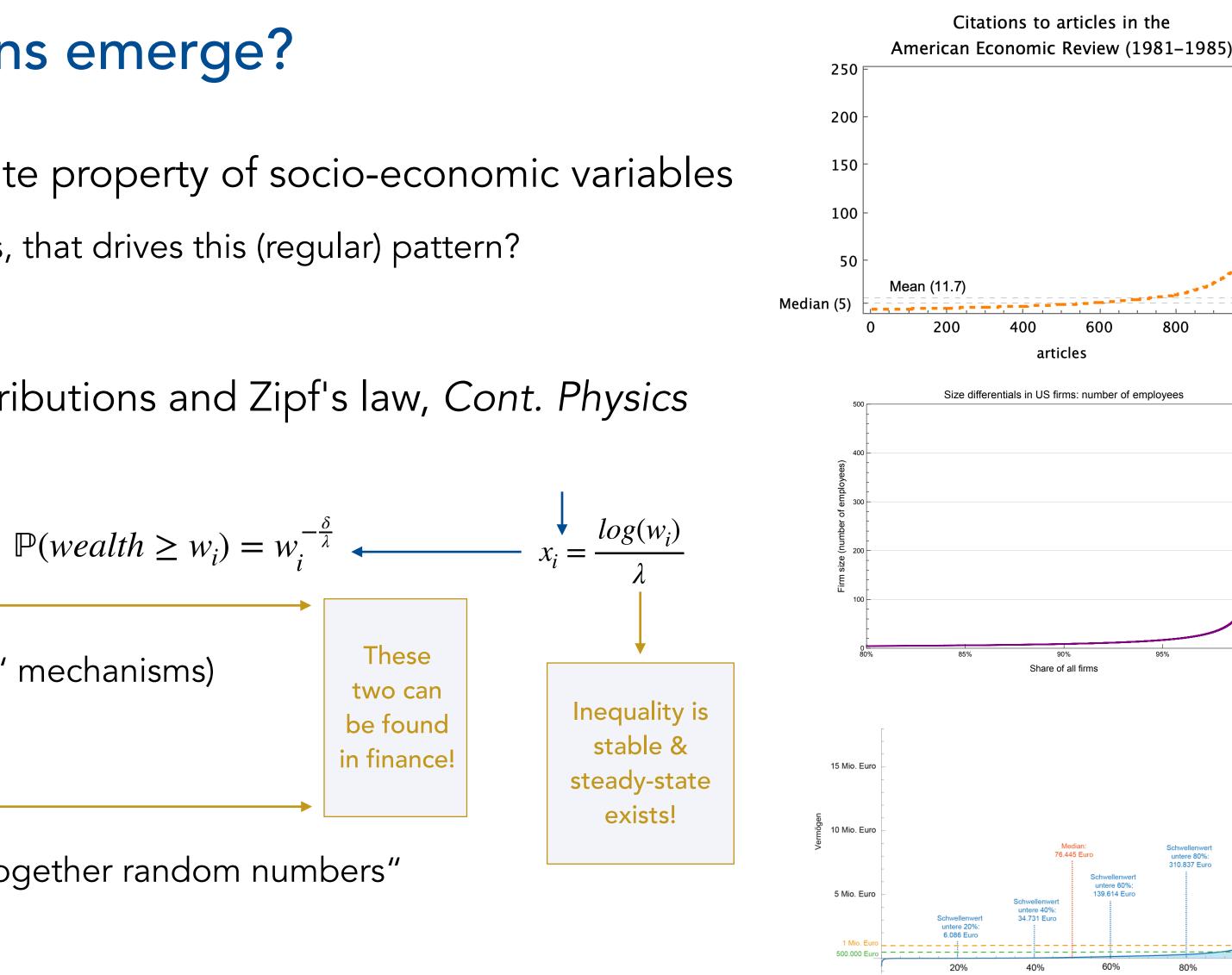








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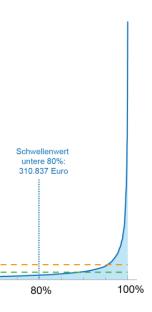




Anteil der Bevölkerung in %



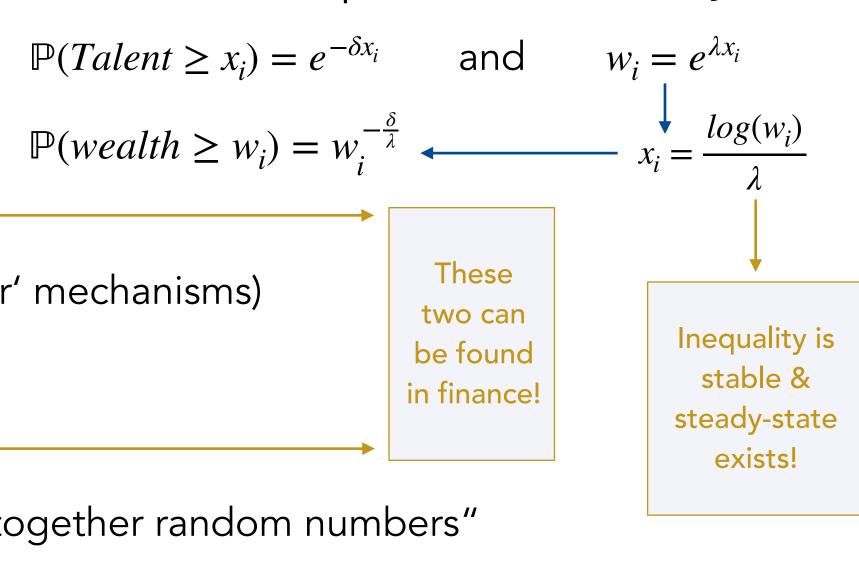


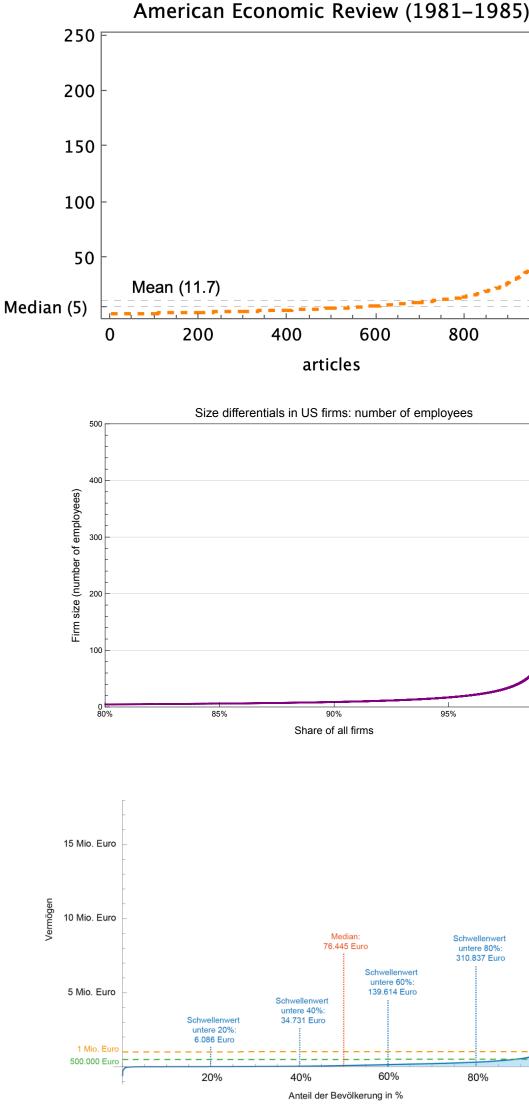




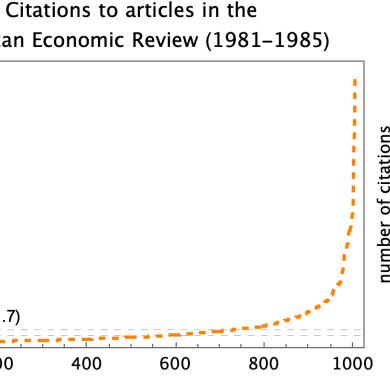
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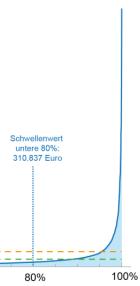






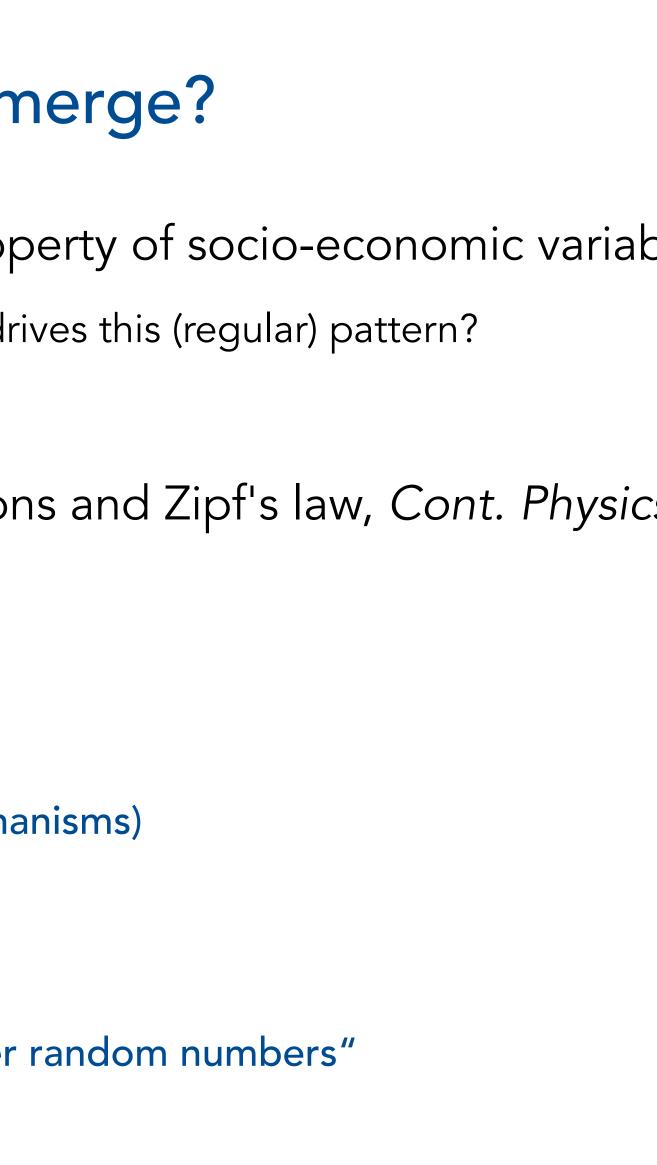


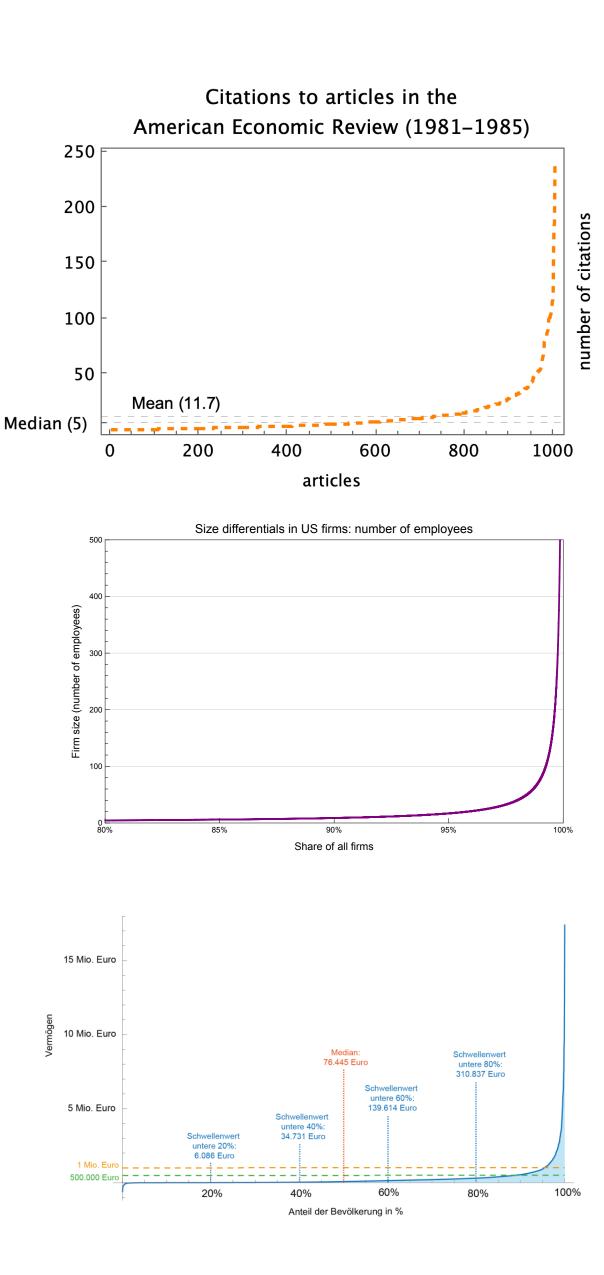






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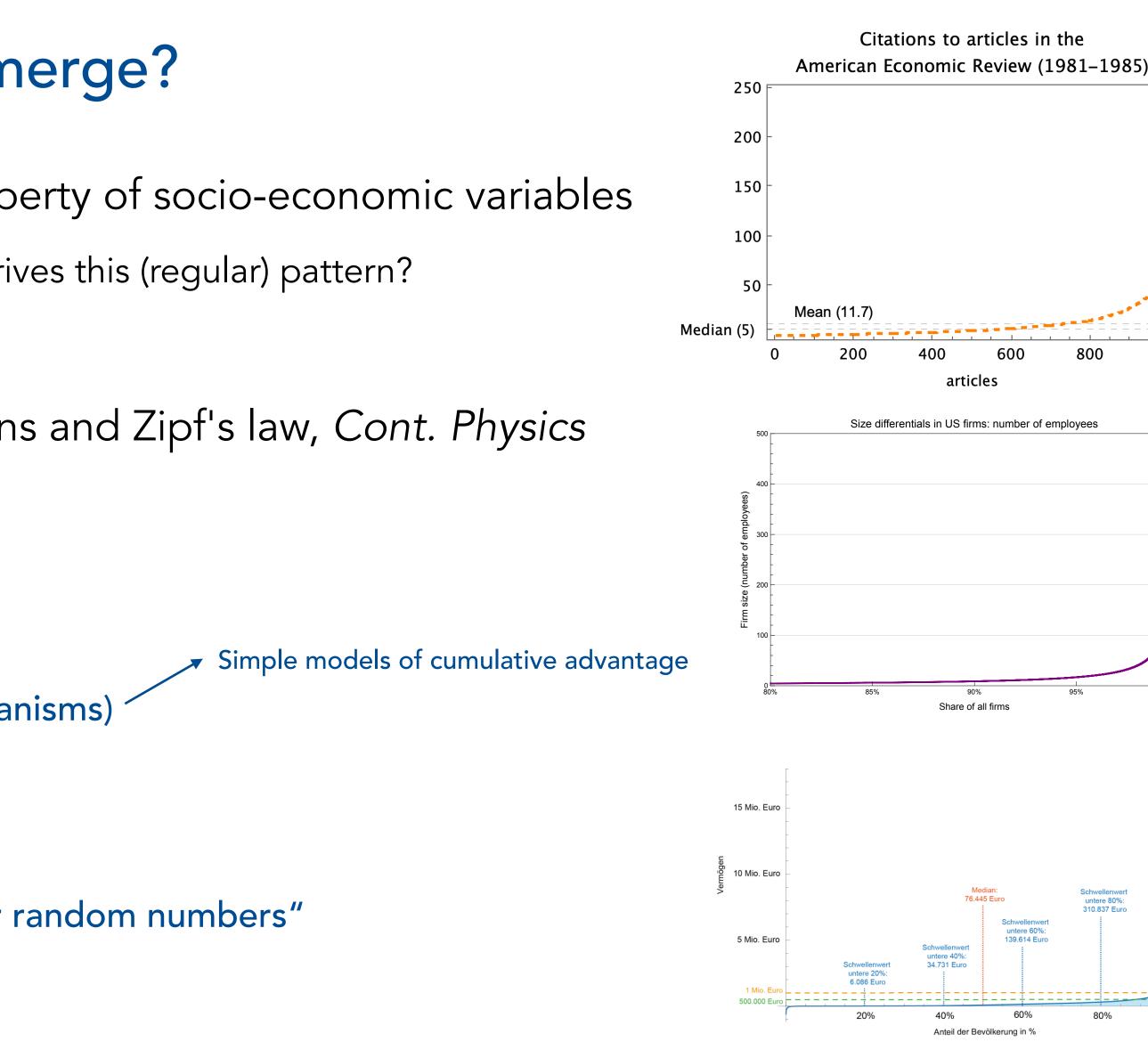








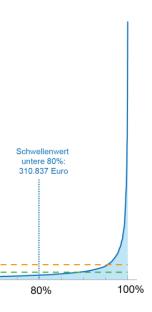
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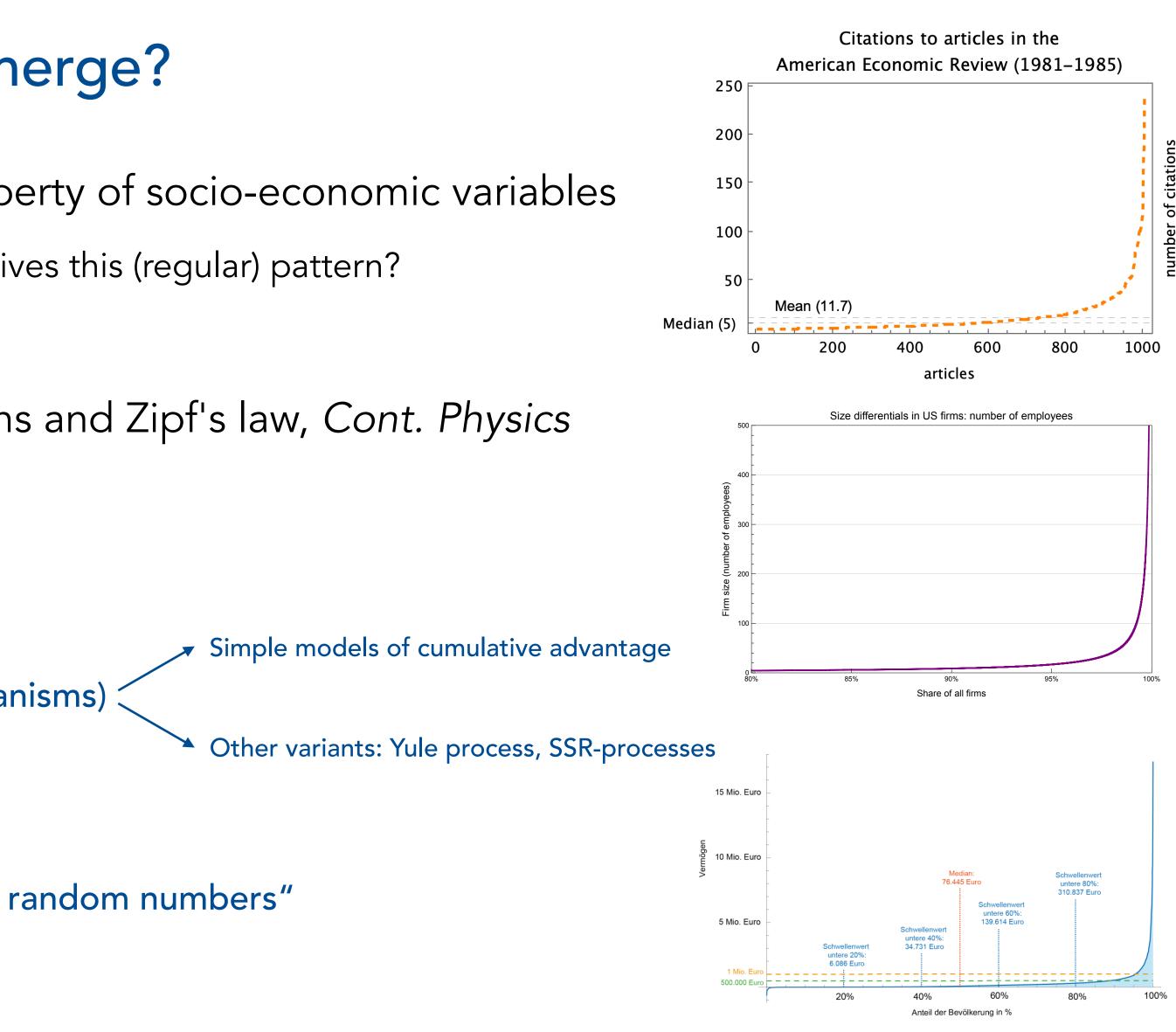








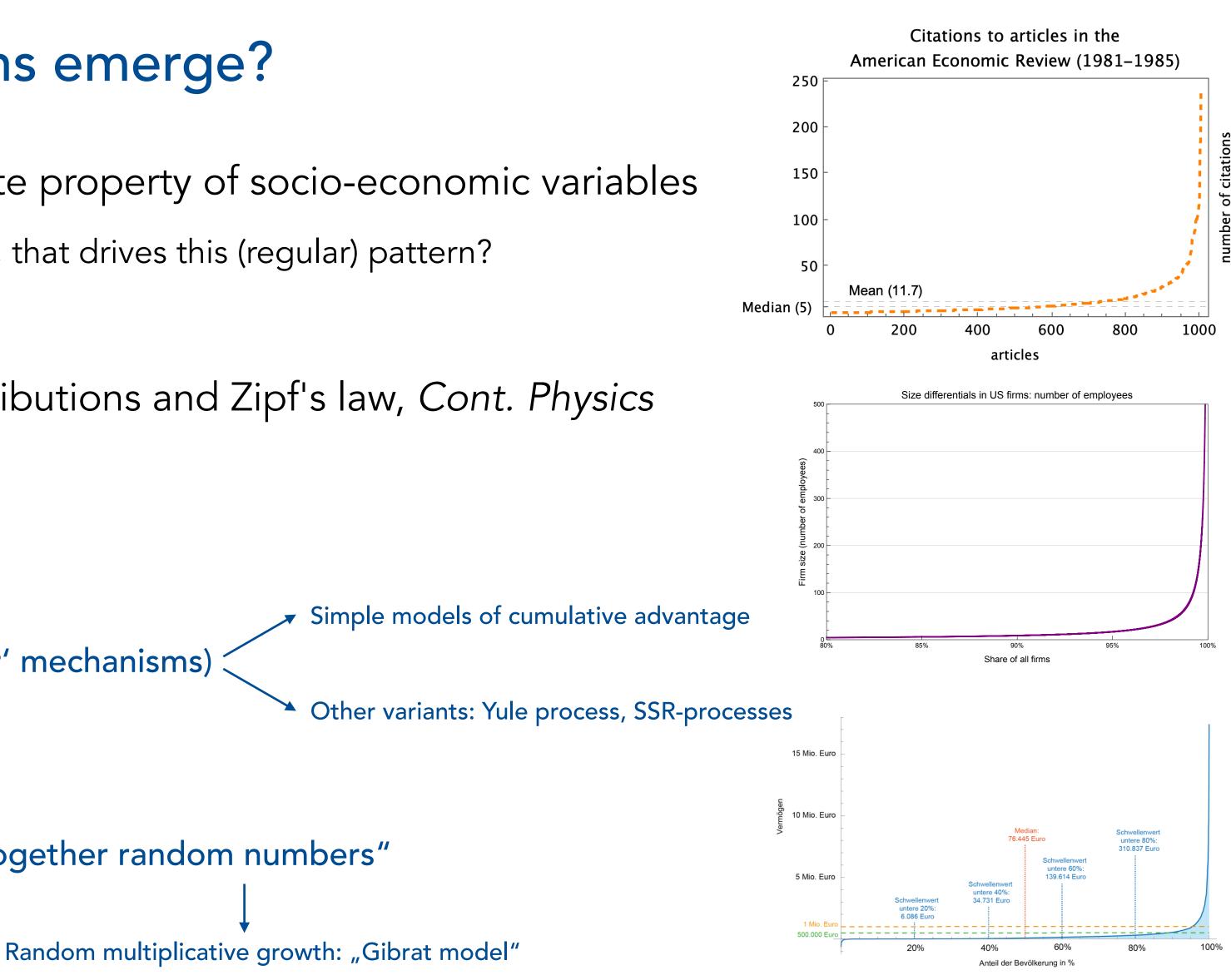
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Cumulative advantage (aka "Matthew effects")

Cumulative advantage and Matthew effects

- Cumulative advantage as a plausible candidate mechanism for many empirically observed power law distributions
 - Cumulative advantage = "rich-get-richer" dynamics = Matthew effects
 - Classic sources: talent (mainstream), differential saving rates (Kaldor, Marx), differential rates of return (Piketty, Shaikh, Veblen)
- There exists many models that follow such an intuition will generate power law distributions (under some conditions)...
 - Replicator dynamics (e.g. Stan Metcalfe)
 - Preferential attachment (e.g. Barabasi-Albert)
 - Technology adoption models with positive feedback (e.g. Brian Arthur)
 - Piketty's first law of capitalism in conjunction with r > g and $s_{\pi} > s_{w} \dots$

Newman (2005): Power Laws, Pareto Distributions and Zipf's Law.

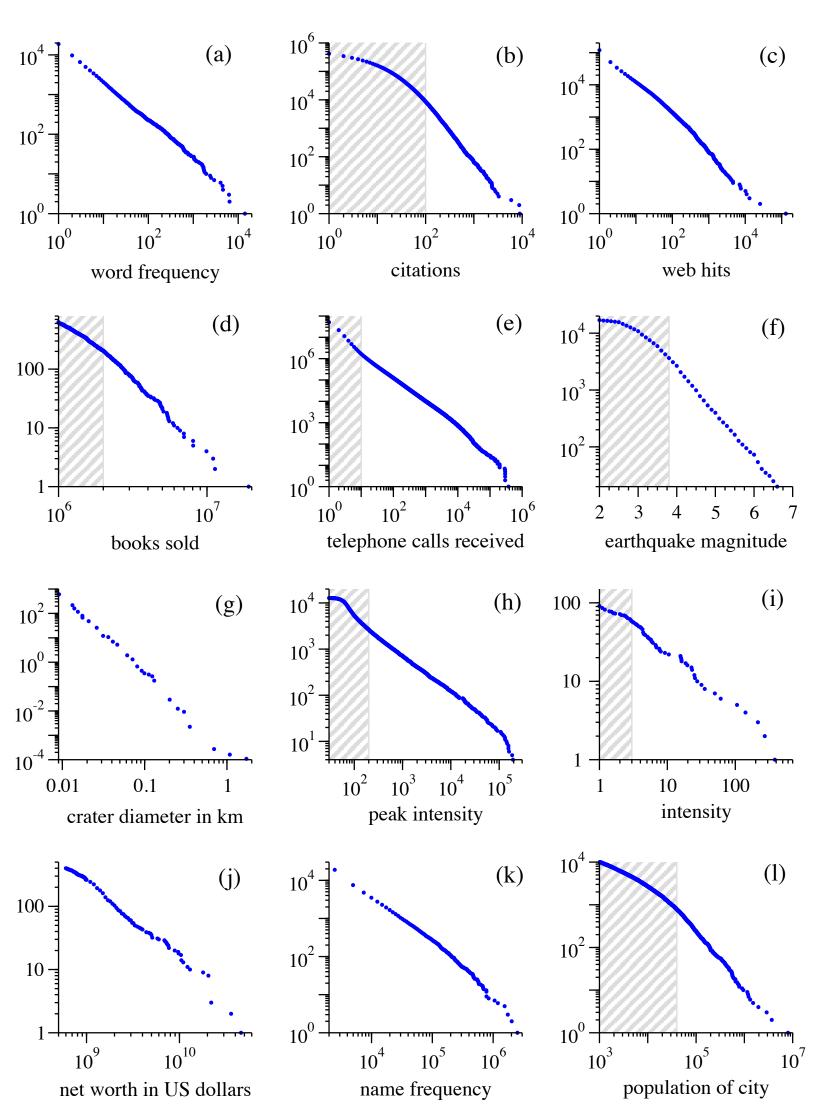






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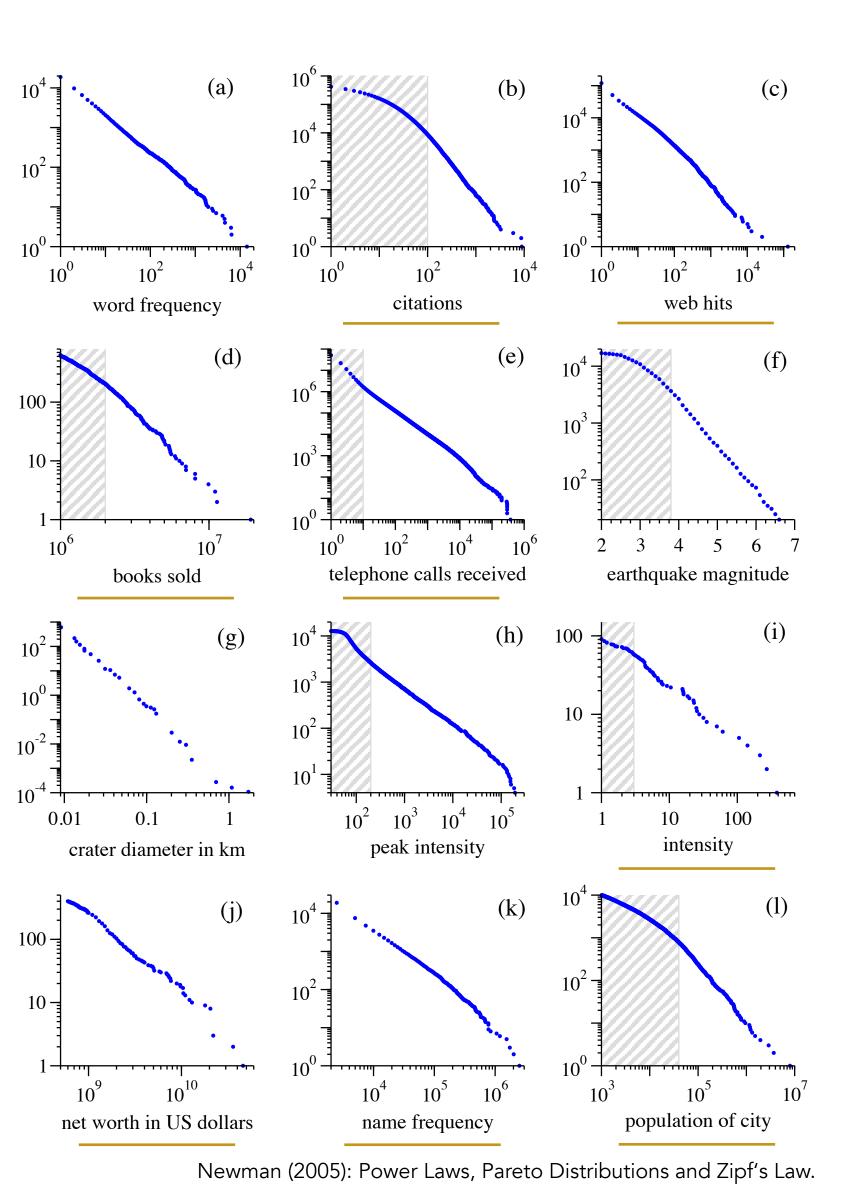
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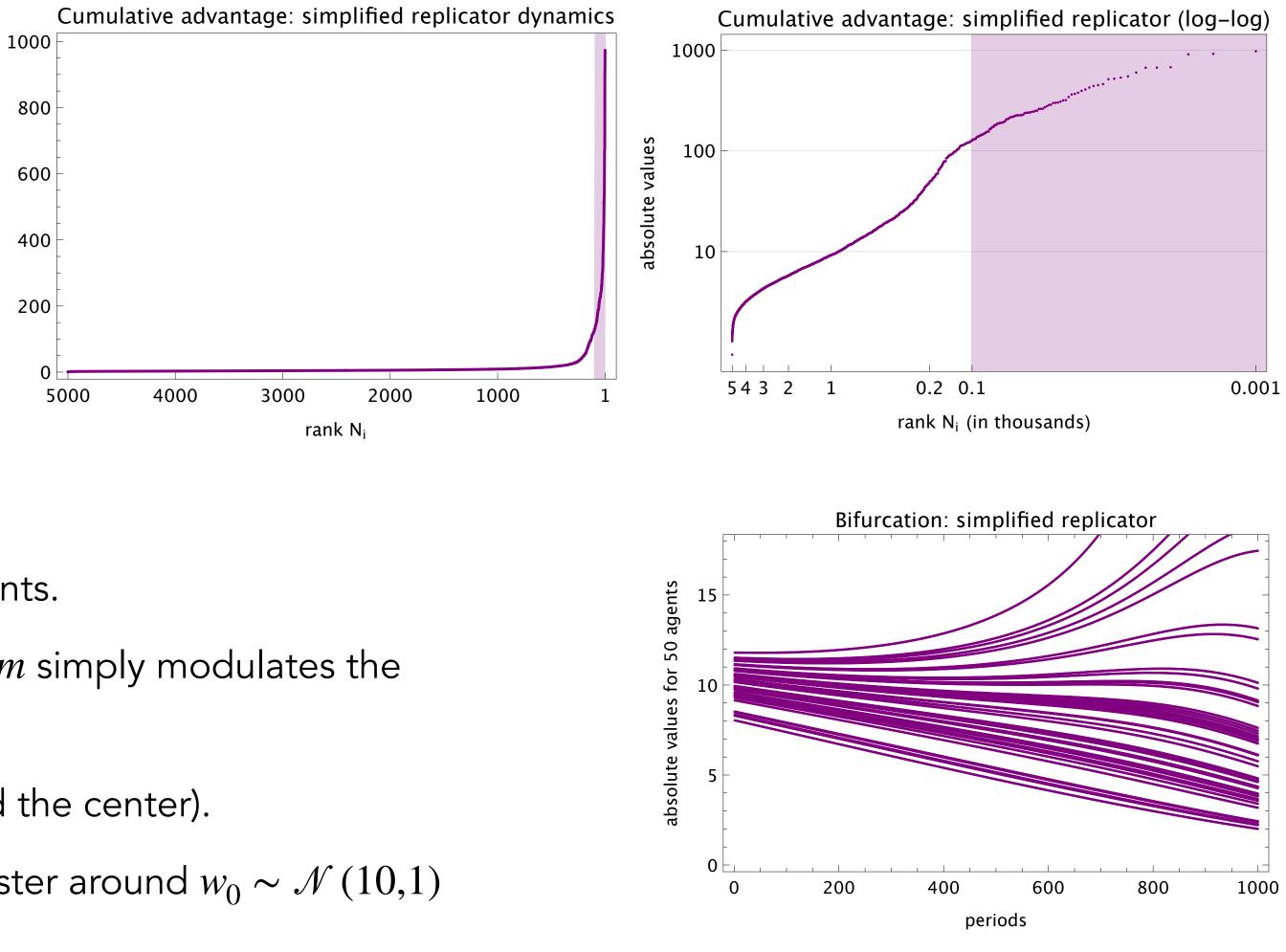




• Simplified replicator dynamics

 $w_{i,t} = (1 + r_{i,t}) \cdot w_{i,(t-1)}$ with $r_{i,t} = (\frac{w_{i,t}}{k \cdot \bar{w}} - 1)/m$

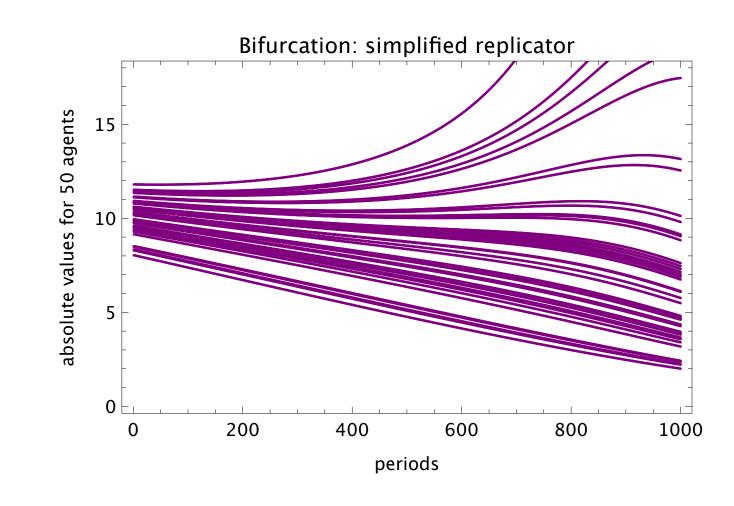
- Wealth dynamics with saving rate s = 1 and r that depends on ,fitness', which depends on wealth vs. benchmark.
- This leads to a **bifurcation** between rich and poor agents.
- k can be used to regulate the bifurcation point, while m simply modulates the speed of the process (tractability).
- Generates a power law at the top (and in parts around the center).
- Needs some (initial) heterogeneity: starting values cluster around $w_0 \sim \mathcal{N}(10,1)$







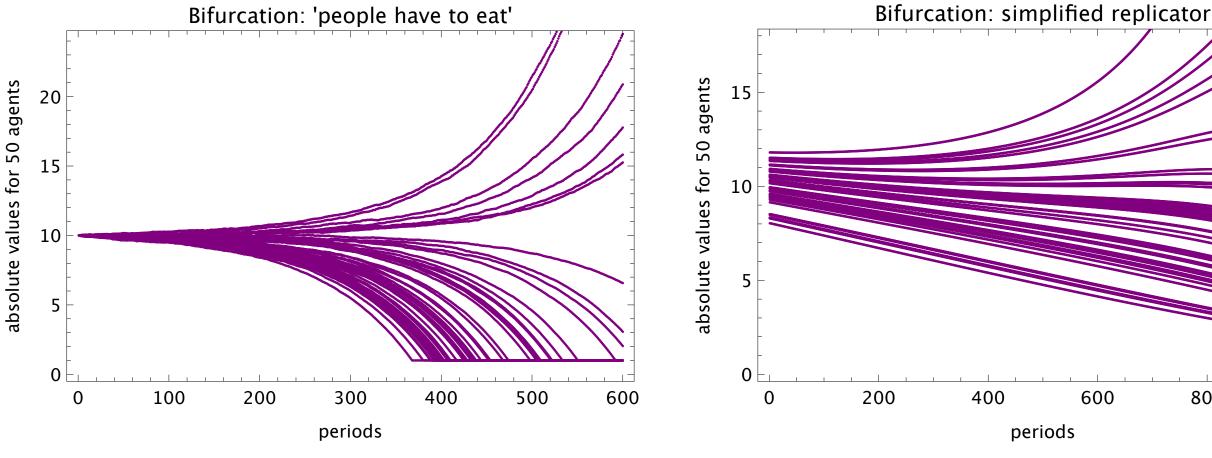
- ,People have to eat' model $w_{i,t} = (1 + r_{i,t}) \cdot w_{i,(t-1)} - c$ with $r_t \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma)$
 - Intuition: additive anchor point should create similar bifurcation as wealth vs. benchmark.
 - But: additive component is fully exogenous, while individual fitness was not.





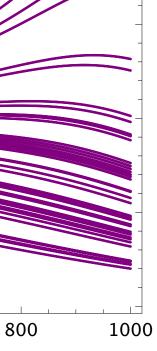


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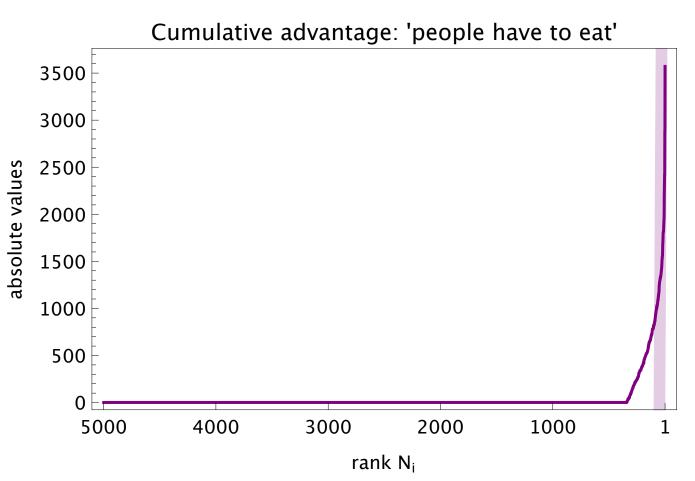


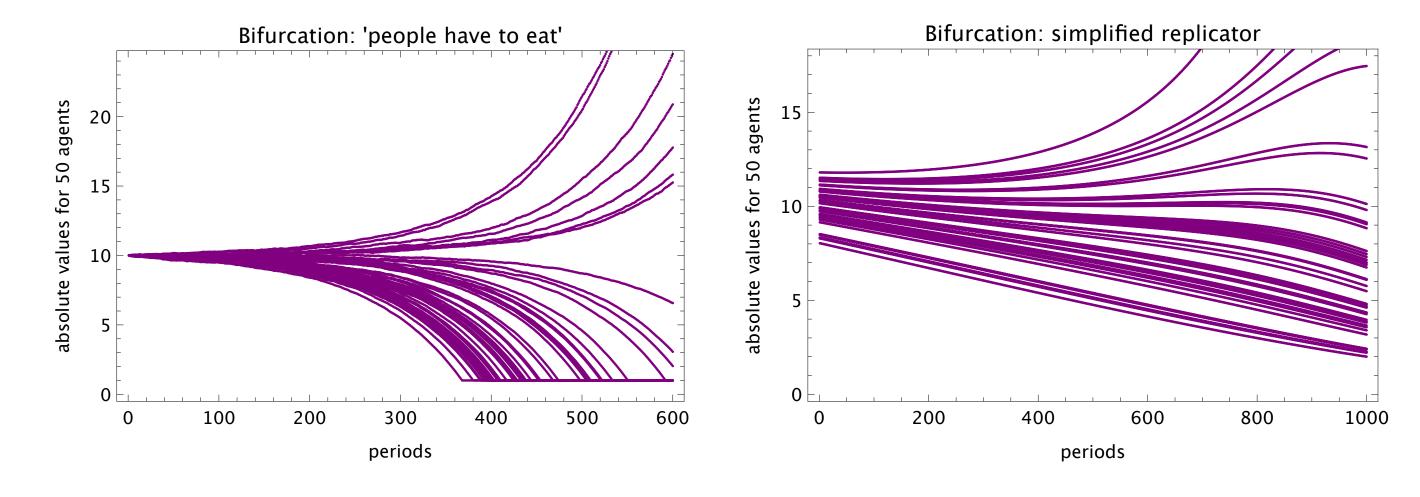






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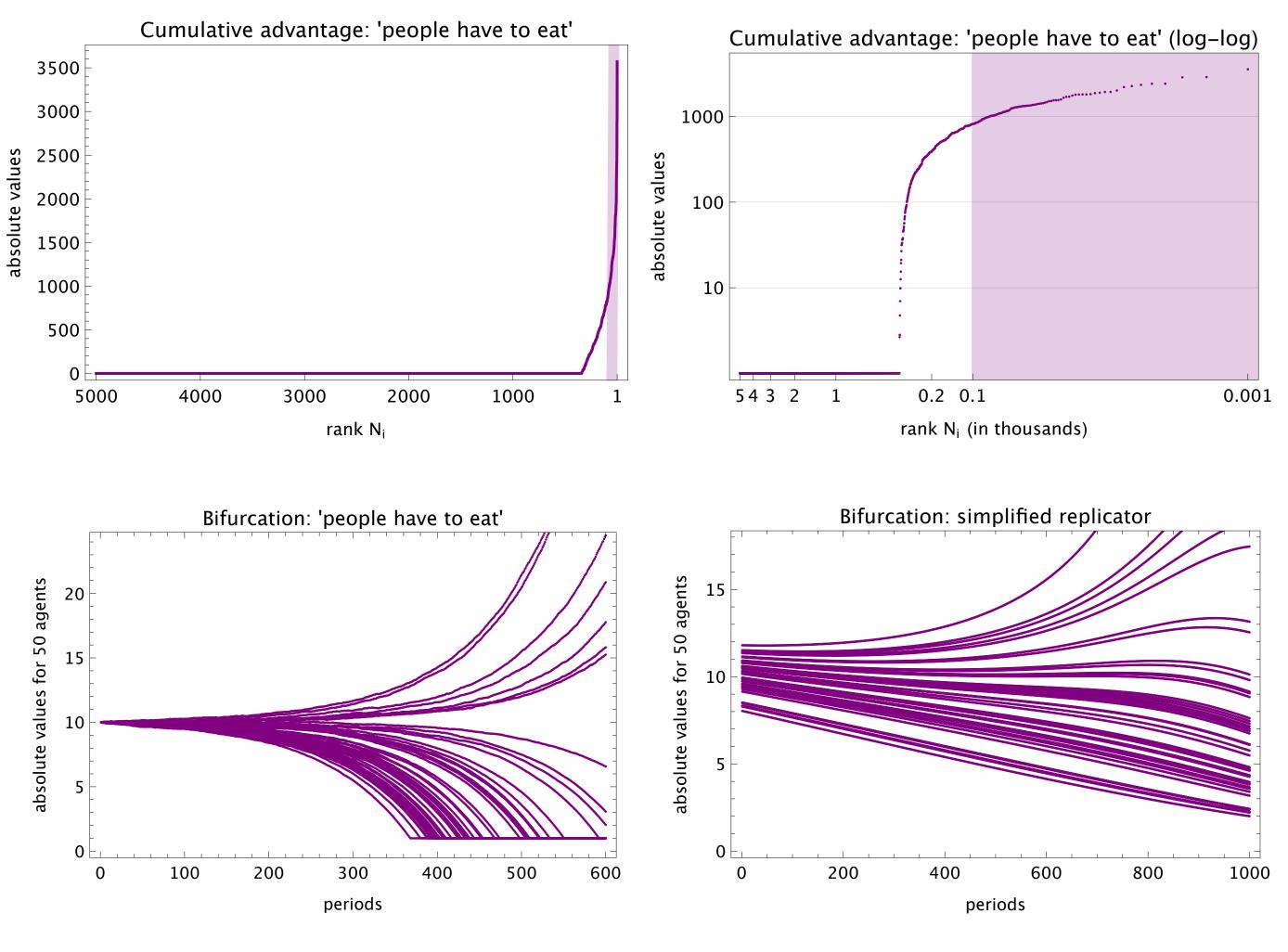








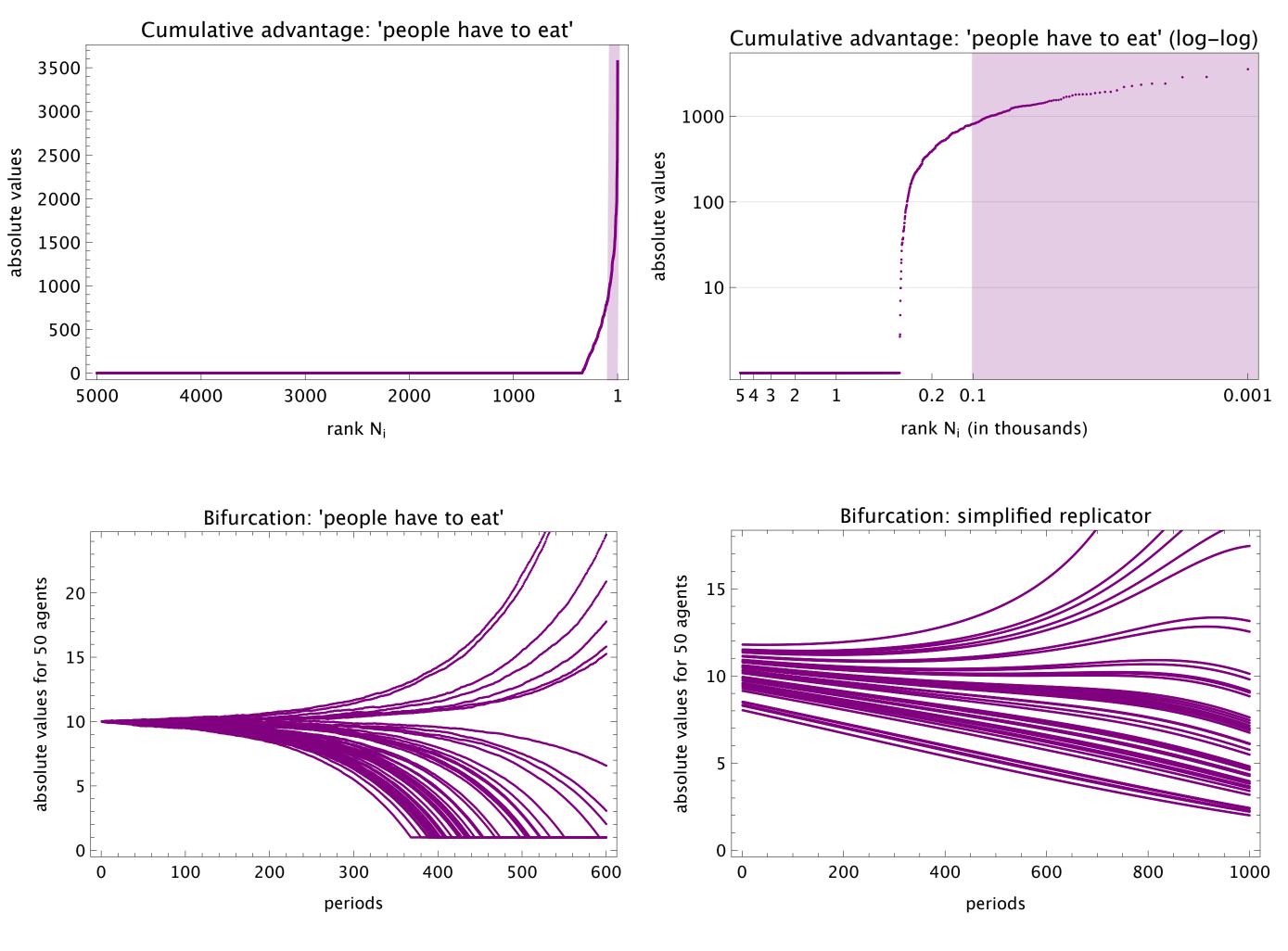
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 - By defining $c = \mu \cdot w_0 + k$, we can again use k to regulate the bifurcation point.
 - Generates a power law at the top (and ",saddle" in the center).
 - Also needs some heterogeneity (here: minor random element in growth rates)

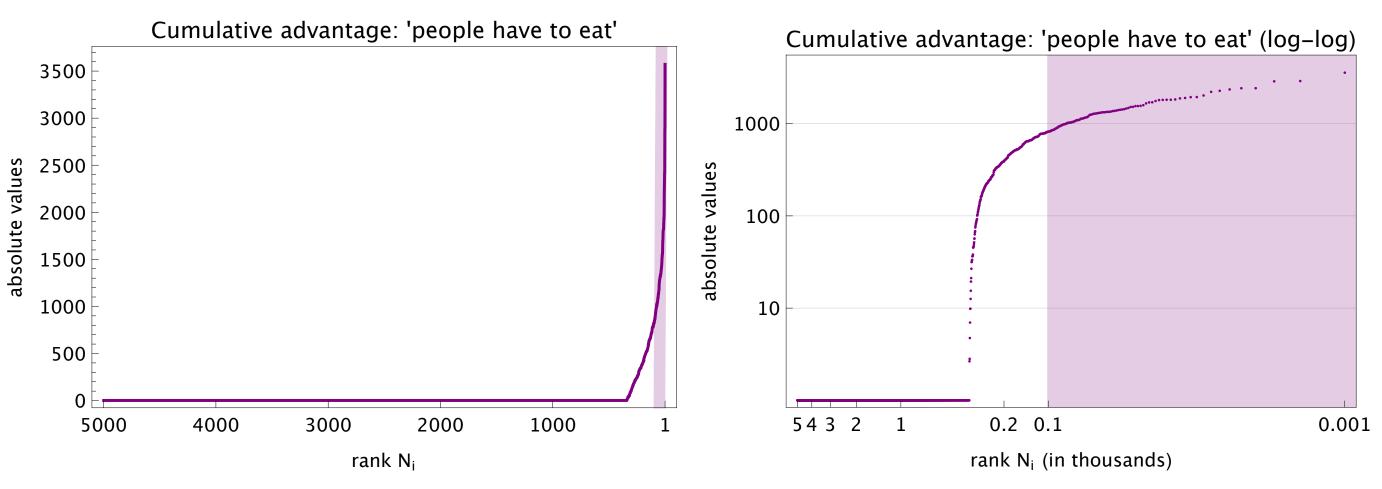






Very simple models of cumulative advantage (and the welfare state)

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 - Minimalist assumption: public infrastructures / basic welfare state institutions makes it less likely to be overwhelmed by daily needs.
 - This would amount to a downward shift in k.

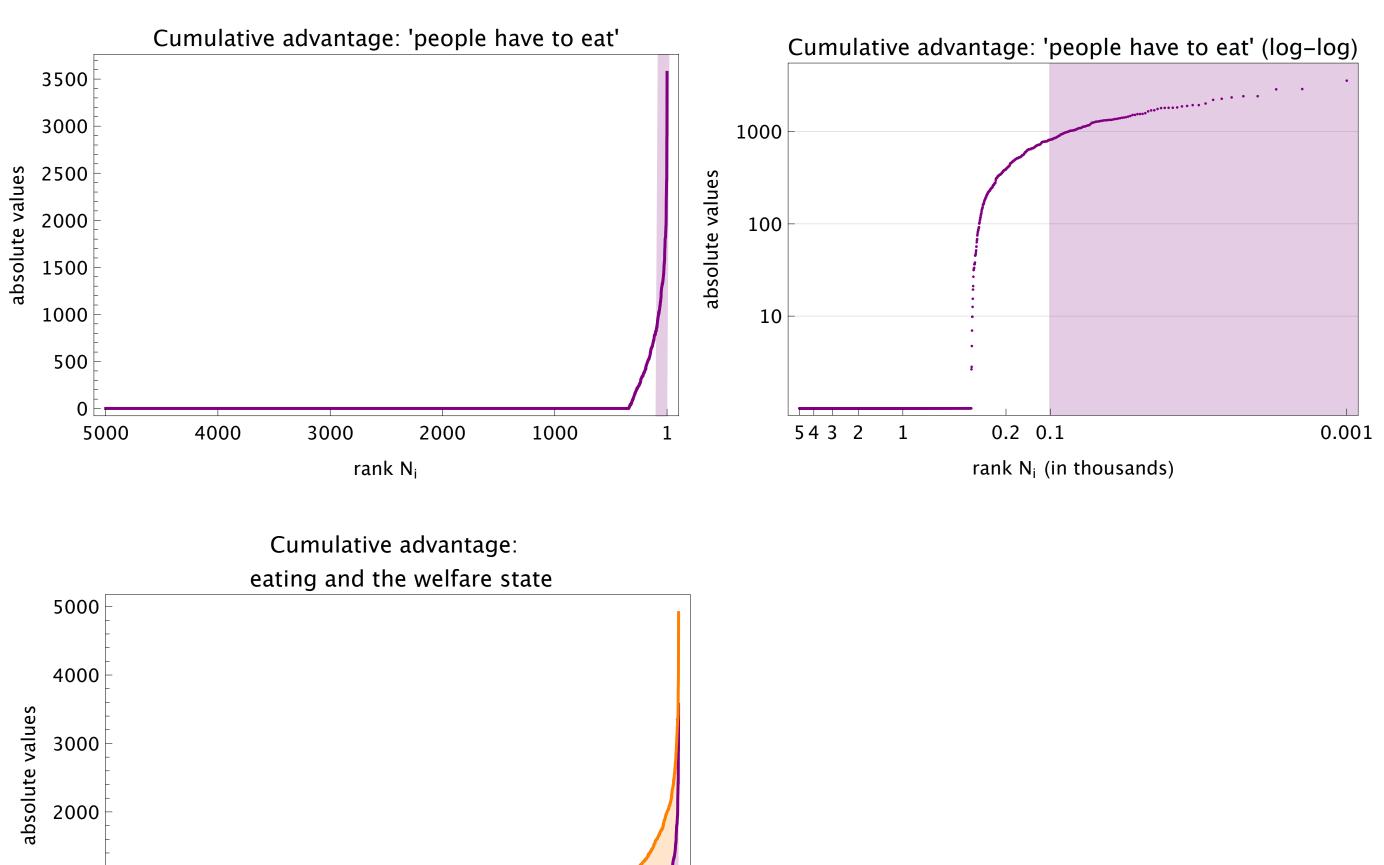






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Jakob Kapeller

1000

0

5000

3000

rank N_i

4000

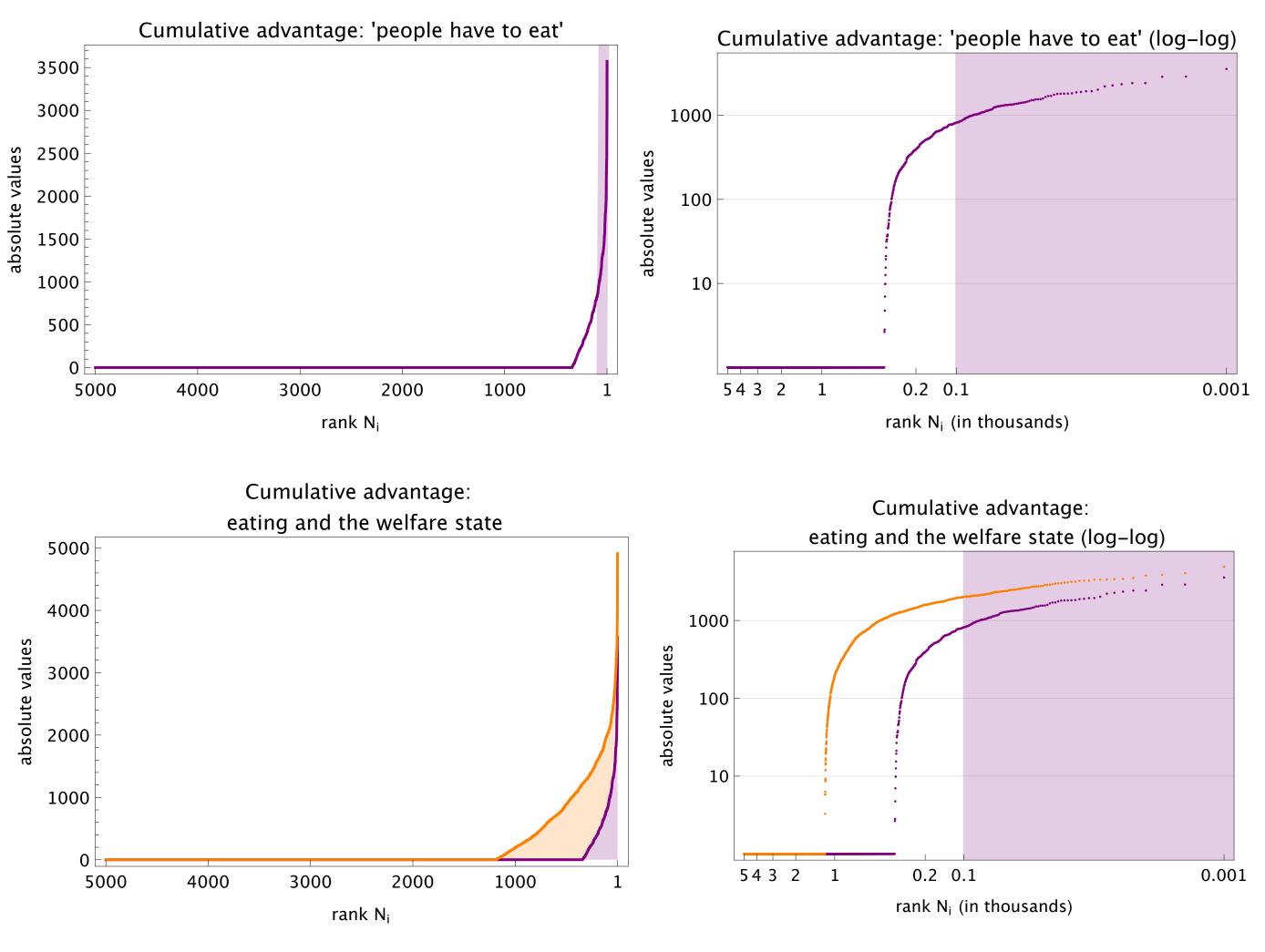
2000

1000



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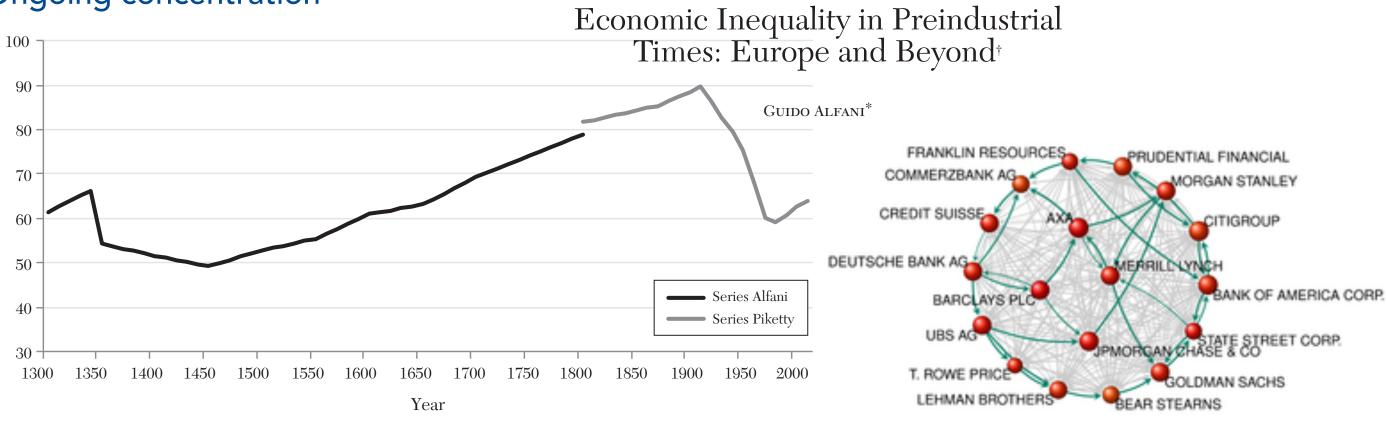












Journal of Economic Literature 2021, 59(1), 3-44

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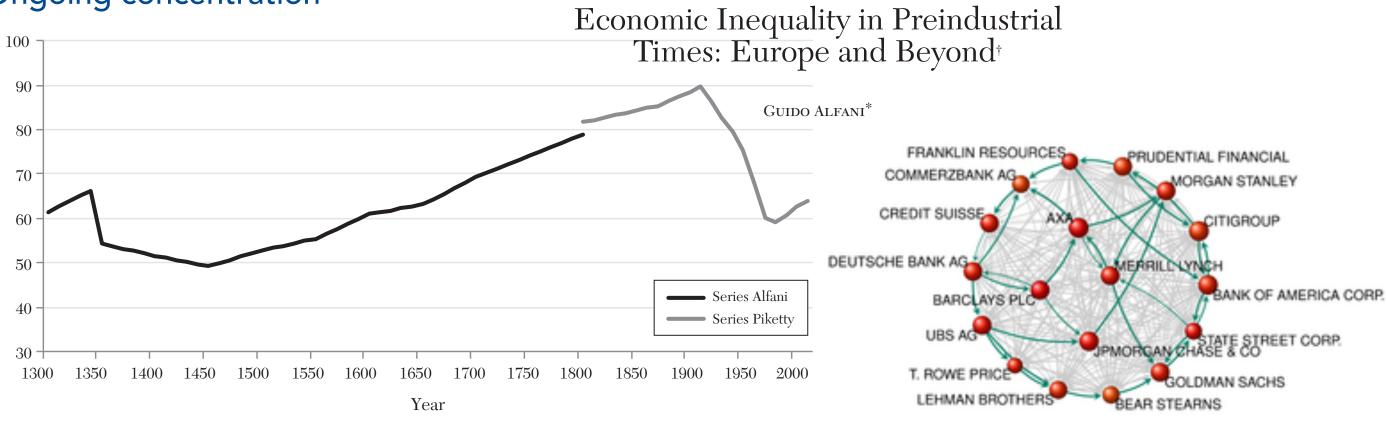
Ongoing concentration

Figure 8. The Share of Wealth of the Top 10 Percent Rich in Europe, 1300–2010

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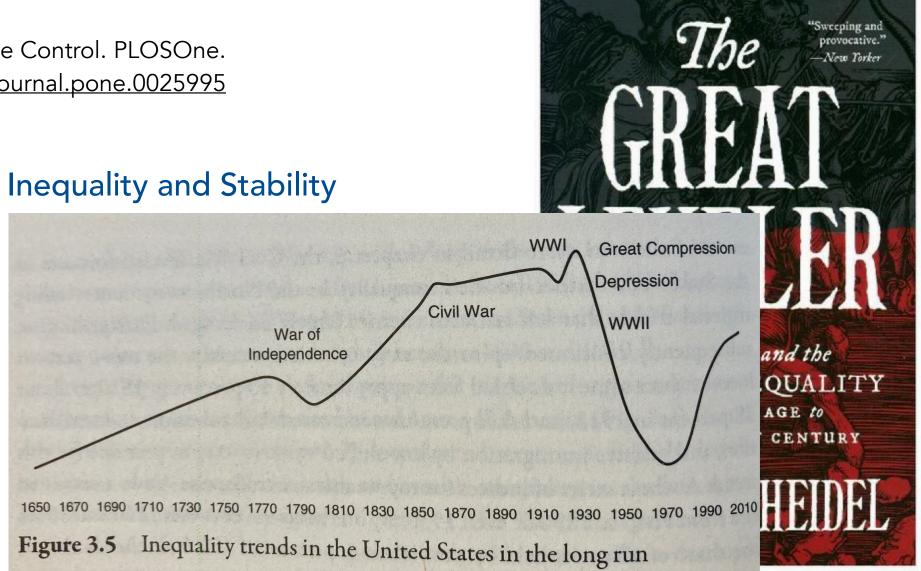
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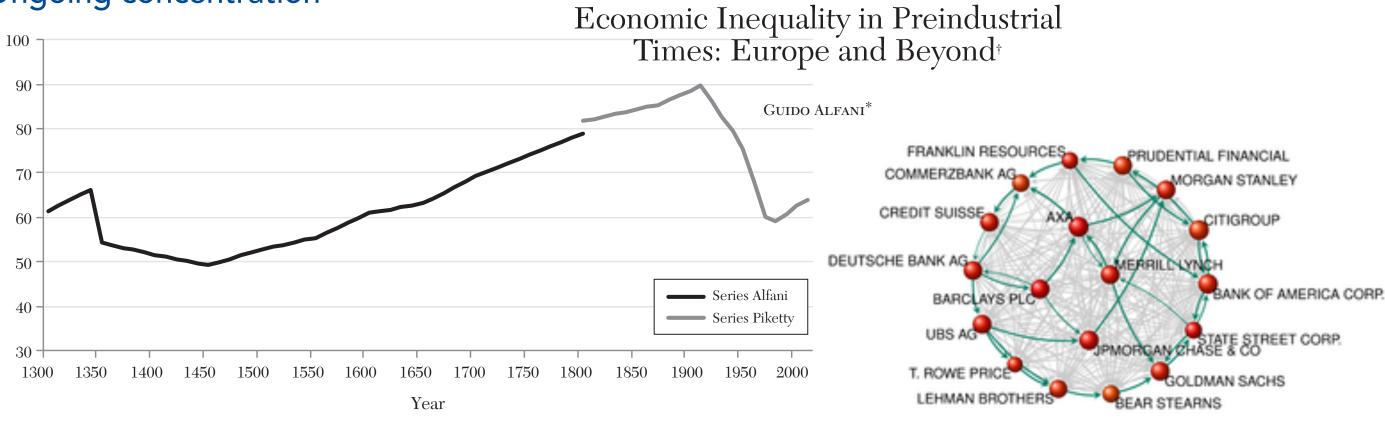
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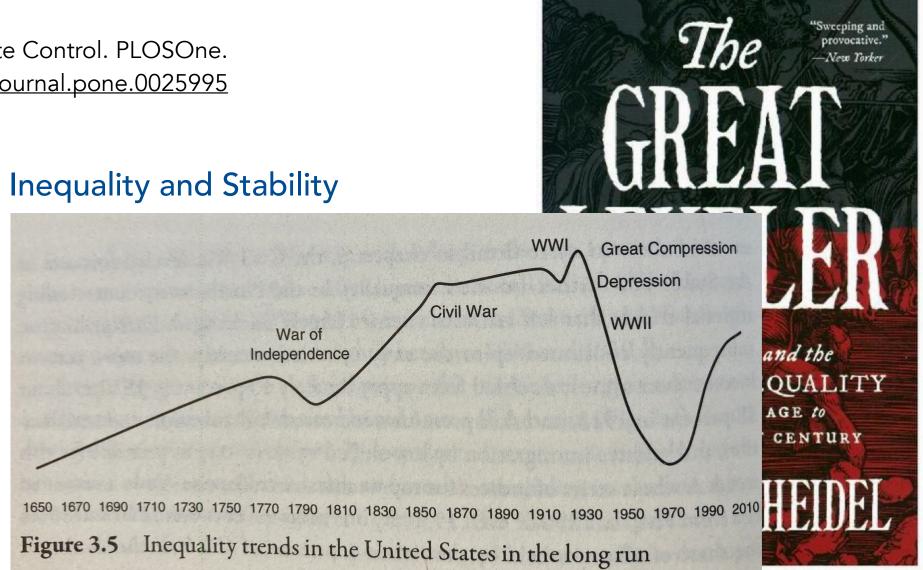
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Persistence:

Table 2. Persistence in families' socioeconomic status

Florence 1427 vs. 2011

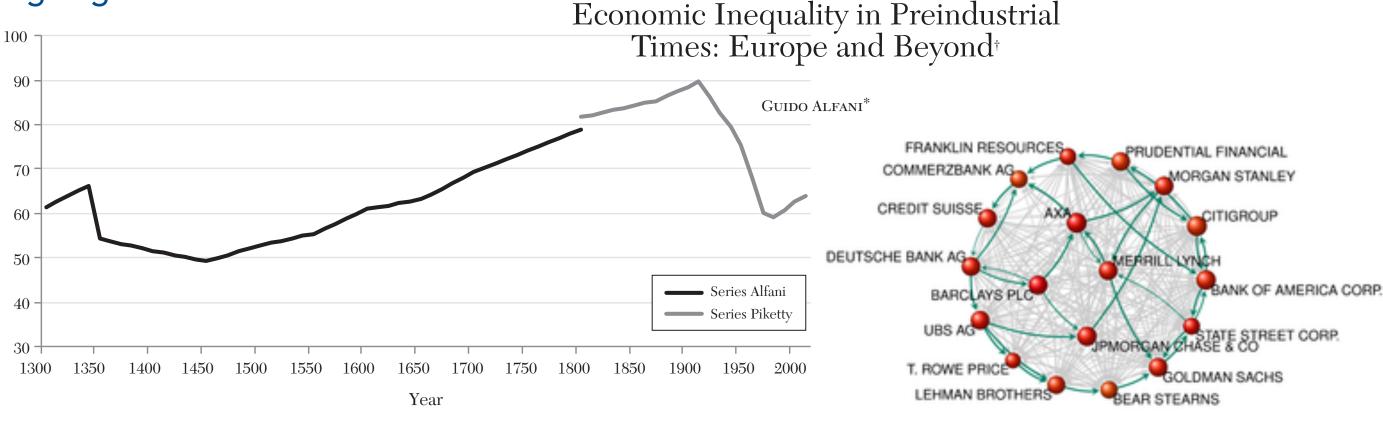
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С	95,881	Member of wool guild (manufacturer or merchant)	69%	65%
D	85,862	Messer (lawyer)	94%	93%
Е	81,339	Brick layer, sculptor, stone worker	38%	45%
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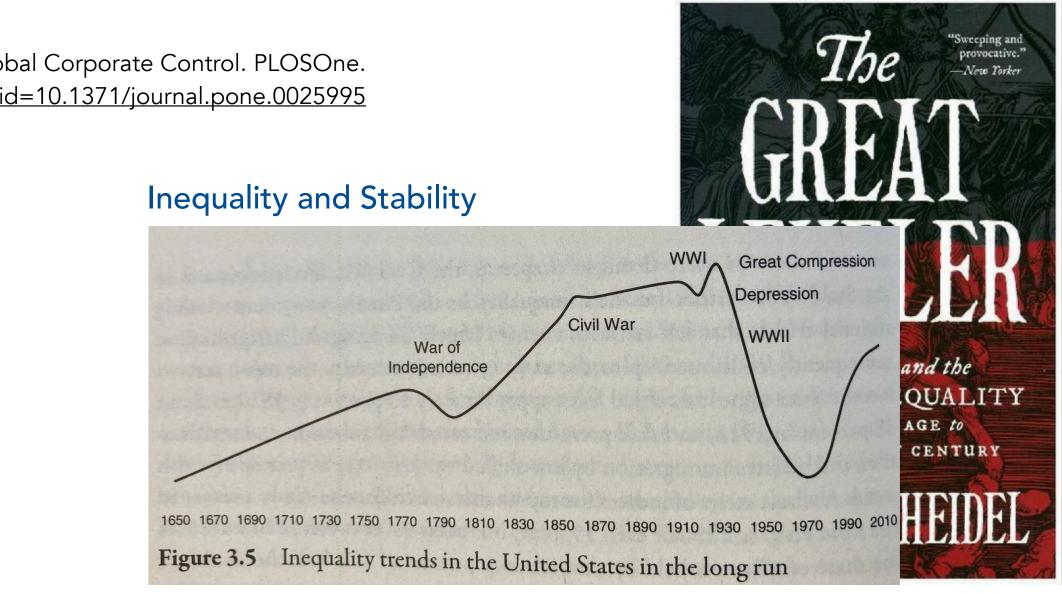
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WHY DO PEOPLE STAY POOR?*

CLARE BALBONI **O**RIANA **B**ANDIERA ROBIN BURGESS Persistent poverty effects: MAITREESH GHATAK ANTON HEIL Another consequence of positive feedback

> There are two broad views as to why people stay poor. One emphasizes differences in fundamentals, such as ability, talent, or motivation. The poverty traps view emphasizes differences in opportunities that stem from access to wealth. To test these views, we exploit a large-scale, randomized asset transfer and an 11-year panel of 6,000 households who begin in extreme poverty. The setting is rural Bangladesh, and the assets are cows. The data support the poverty traps view-we identify a threshold level of initial assets above which households accumulate assets, take on better occupations (from casual labor in agriculture or domestic services to running small livestock businesses), and grow out of poverty. The reverse happens for those below the threshold. Structural estimation of an occupational choice model reveals that almost all beneficiaries are misallocated in the work they do at baseline and that the gains arising from eliminating misallocation would far exceed the program costs. Our findings imply that large transfers, which create better jobs for the poor, are an effective means of getting people out of poverty traps and reducing global poverty. JEL Codes: I32, J22, J24, O12.









Random multiplicative dynamics (aka "Gibrat models")

• The classic "Gibrat model" looks like…

$$w_{i,t} = (1 + r_{i,t}) \cdot w_{i,(t-1)}$$
 with $r_{i,t} \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma_G)$

- Simpler formulation, same **explosive** properties...
- Starting from perfect equality: $w_{i,0} = 10 \forall i$
- A main difference is that $0.05 = \sigma_G \gg \sigma = 0.001 \sigma_G$ random walk more pronounced.
- Similar overall pattern, different dynamics.

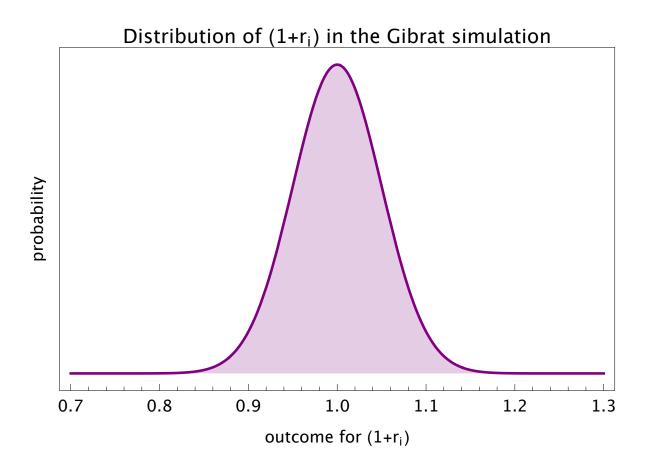




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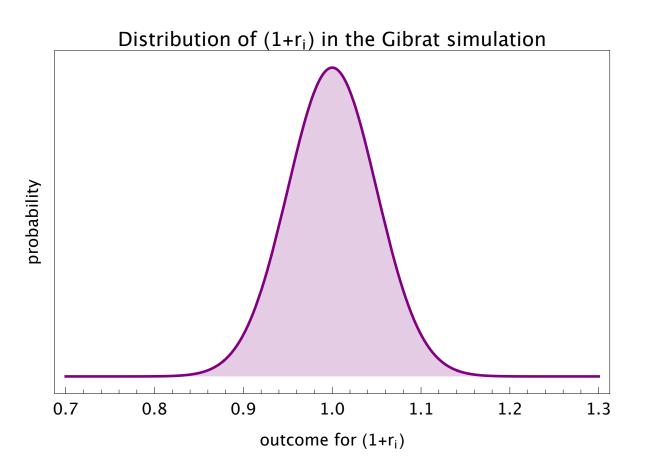


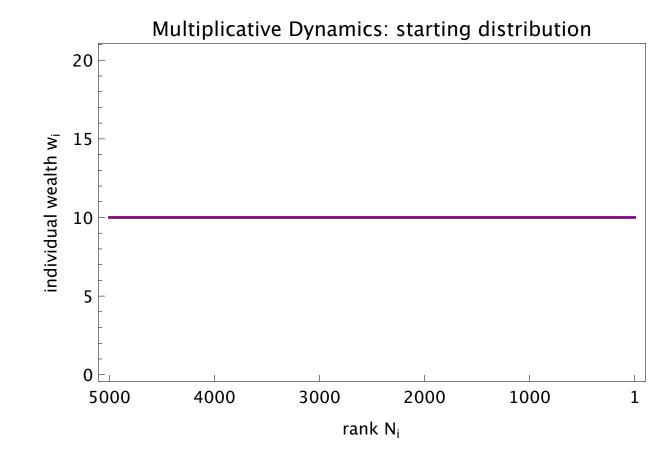


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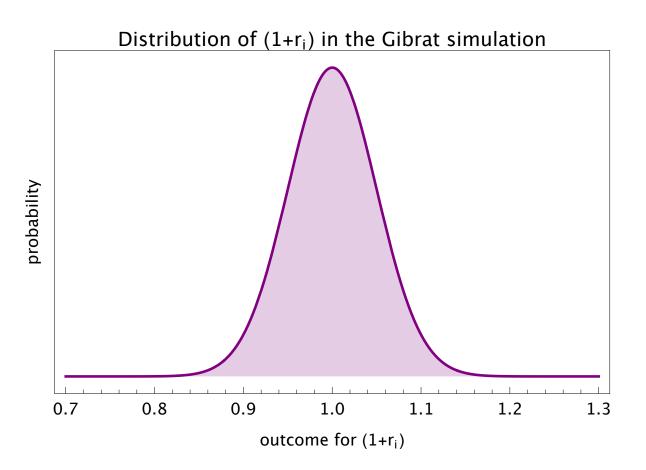


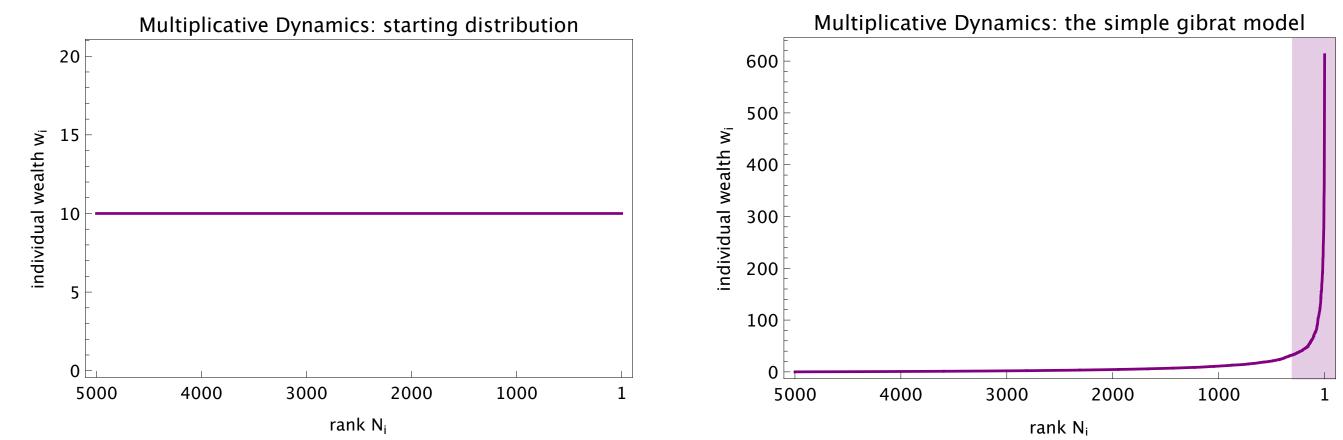


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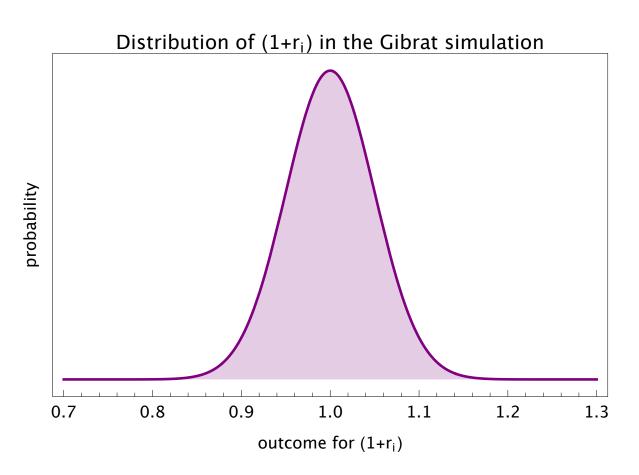


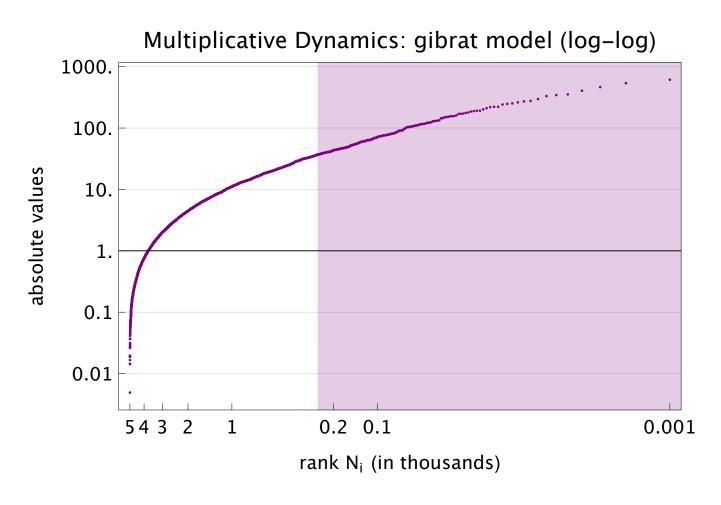


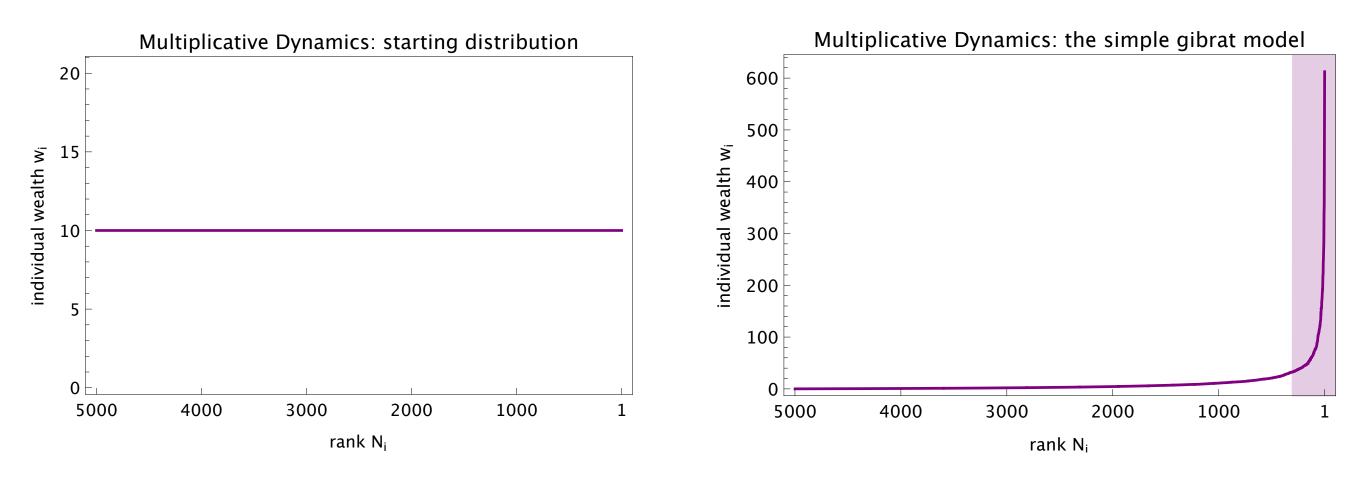
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 with $r_{i,t} \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma_G)$

- Simpler formulation, same **explosive** properties...
- Starting from perfect equality: $w_{i,0} = 10 \forall i$
- A main difference is that $0.05 = \sigma_G \gg \sigma = 0.001 \sigma_G$ random walk more pronounced.
- Similar overall pattern, different dynamics.











A simple model of random multiplicative growth: path dependency

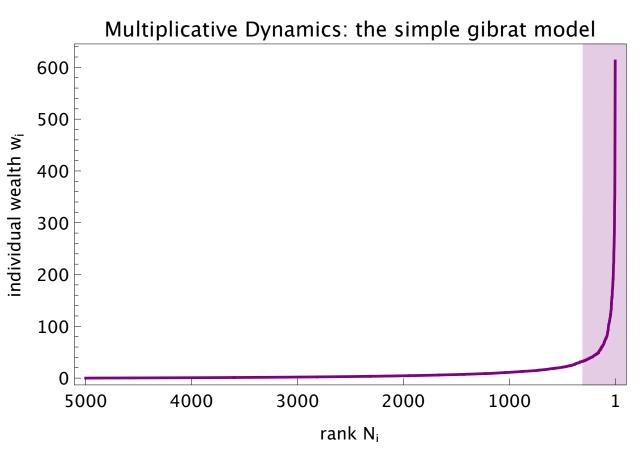
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- In cumulative advantage models: hard path-dependencies (only one ,eternal' change in direction) \rightarrow non-ergodic dynamics (averages between elements do not inform about trajectories over time)
- Here we have a multiplicative random walk: in eternity, everybody will rise & fall.
- But think about time-scales! If a participant is born in round 800 and lives for 60 periods, the world will be super-path-dependent \rightarrow quasi-non-ergodic dynamics







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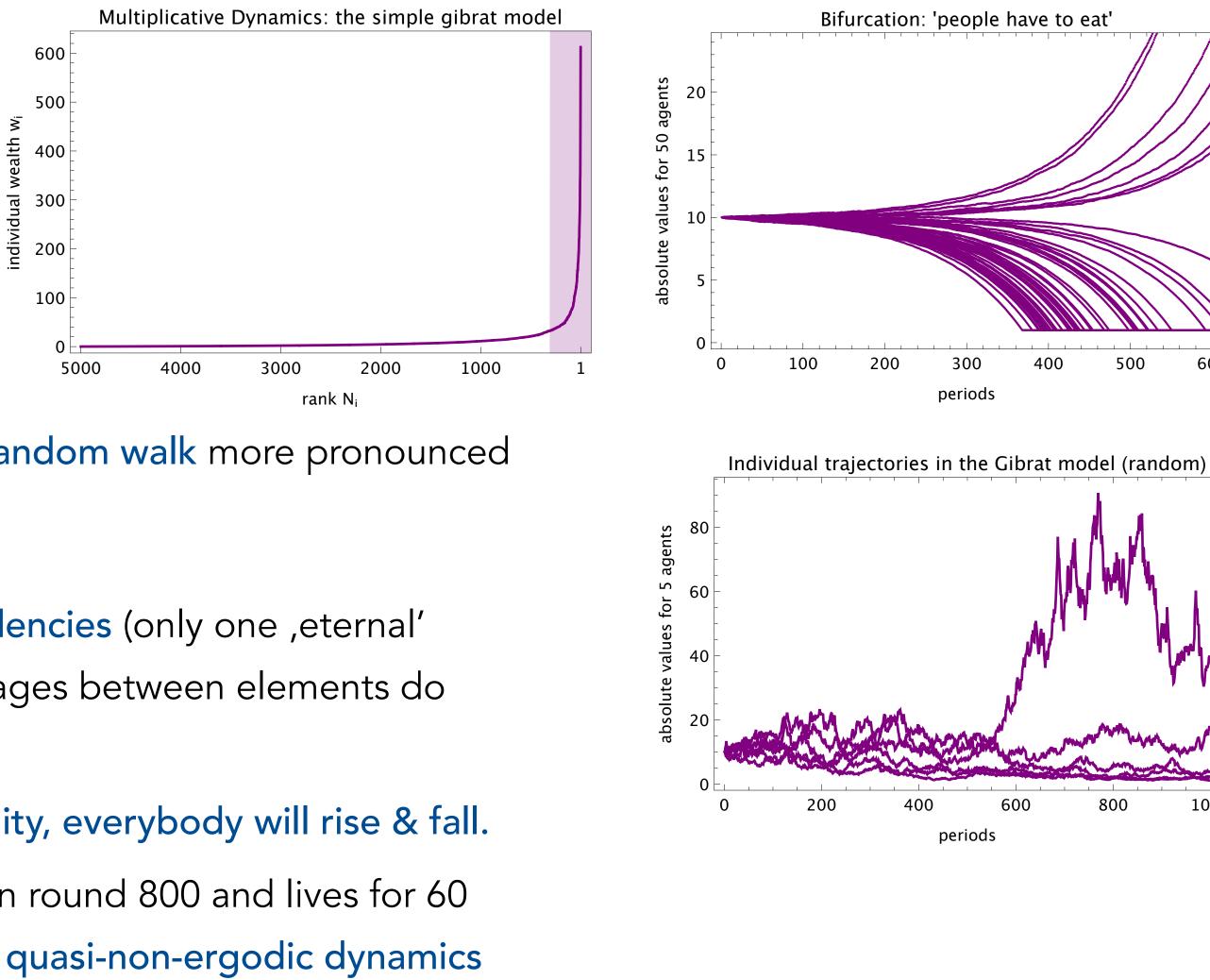
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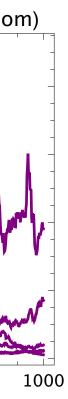
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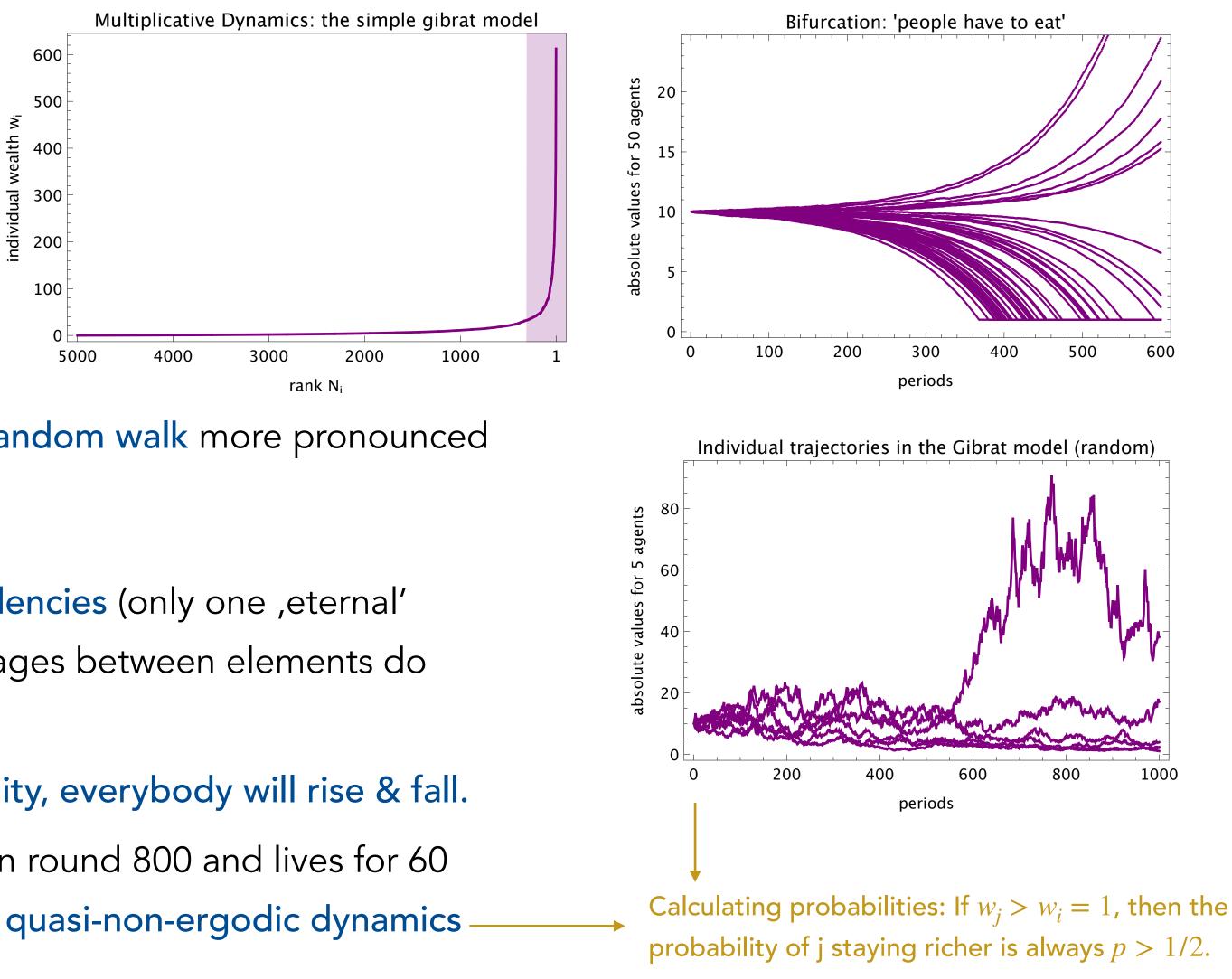
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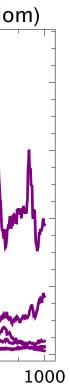
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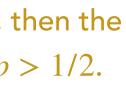
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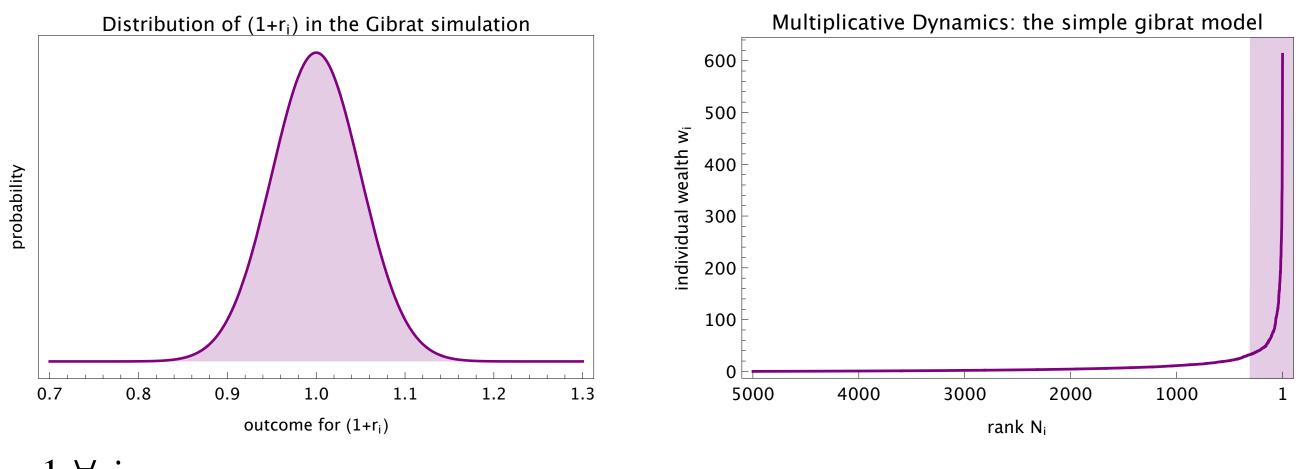


A simple model of random multiplicative growth: a complication

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- Simpler formulation, same **explosive** properties...
- Long-term outcomes: $w_T = \prod_{t=1}^T (1+r_t)$ for $w_{i,0} = 1 \forall i$
- This is equivalent to: $\log(w_T) = \sum_{t=1}^{I} \log(1 + r_t)$







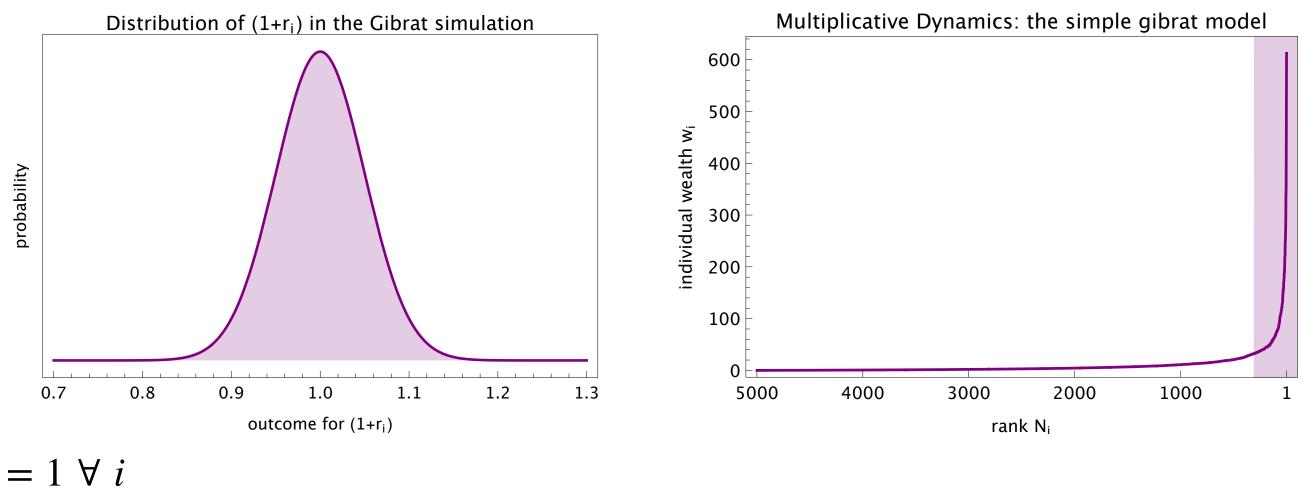
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Just a sum of random numbers

Central Limit Theorem







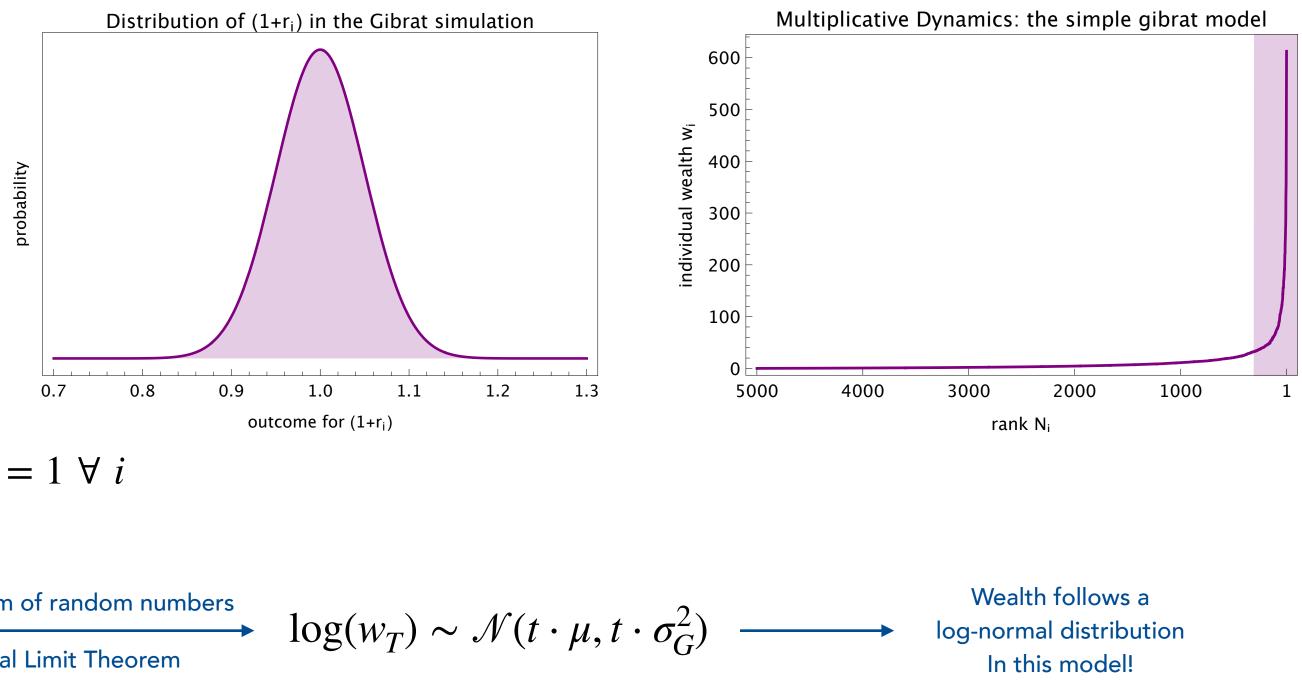
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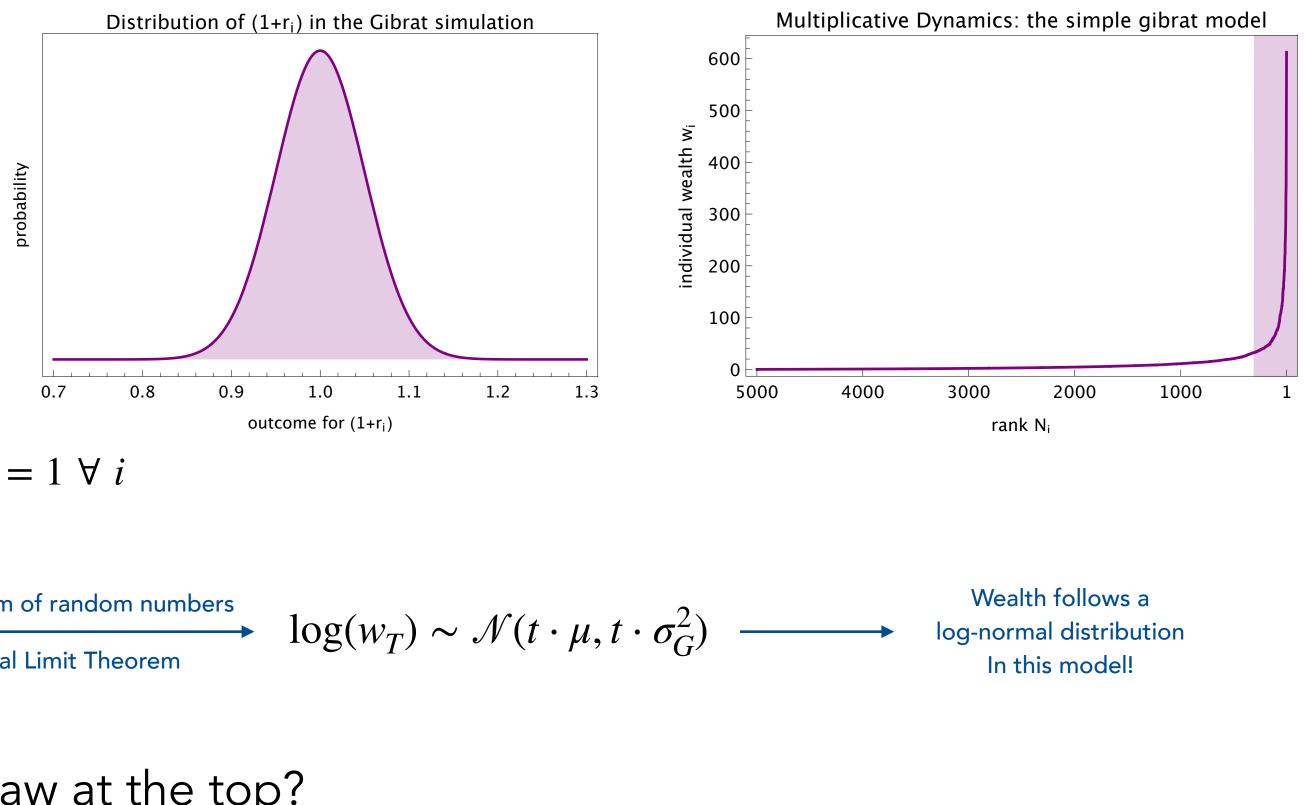
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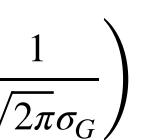
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So why this it (so very often) look like a power law at the top?

• Formal:
$$\log(p_{\mu,\sigma_G}) = -\frac{1}{2\sigma_G^2}(\log x - \mu)^2 - \log(x) - \log\left(-\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}\right)$$

Intuition: quadratic function in x can be linearly approximated – especially when $\sigma_G \Uparrow$









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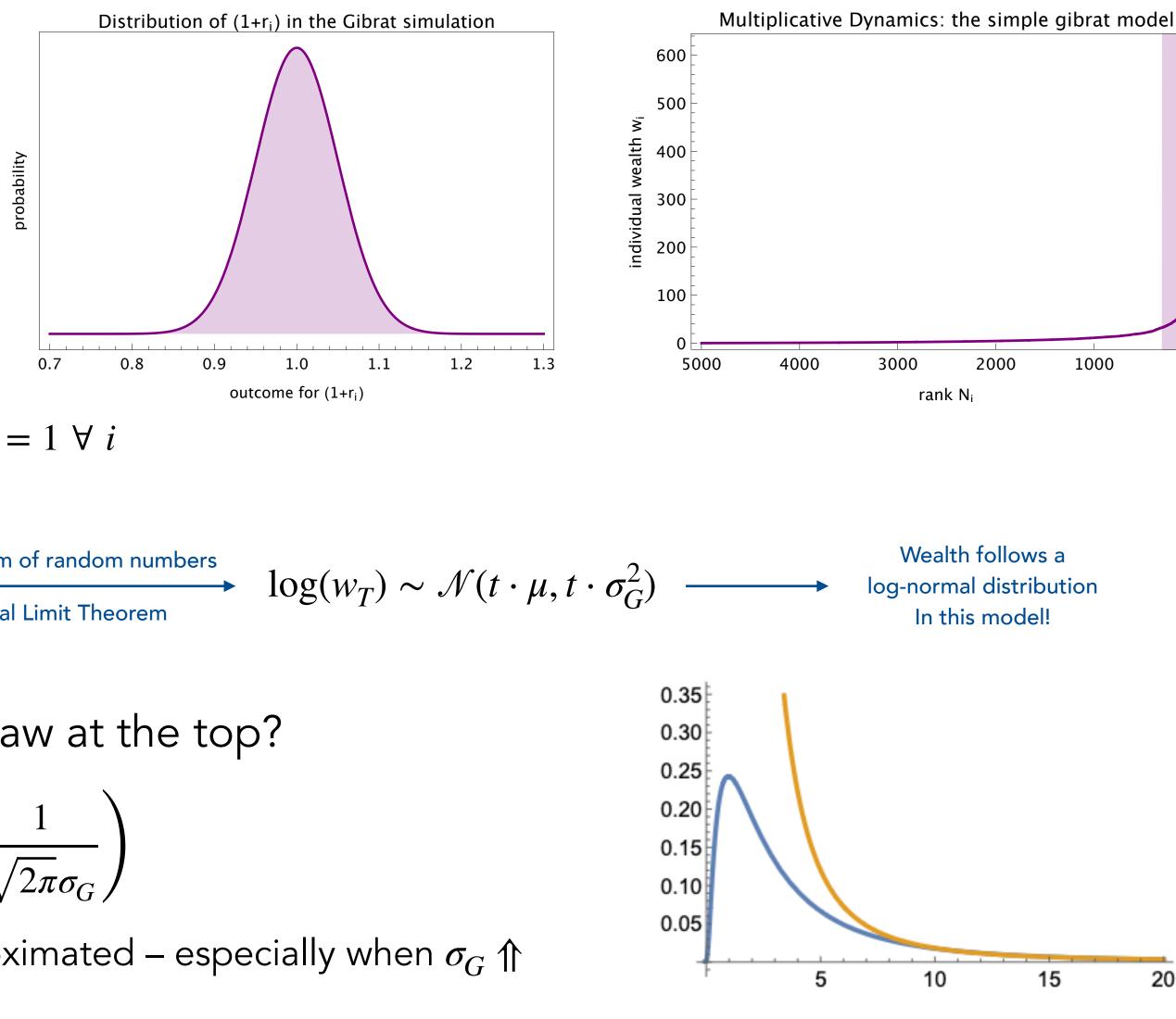
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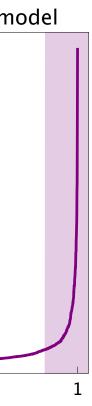
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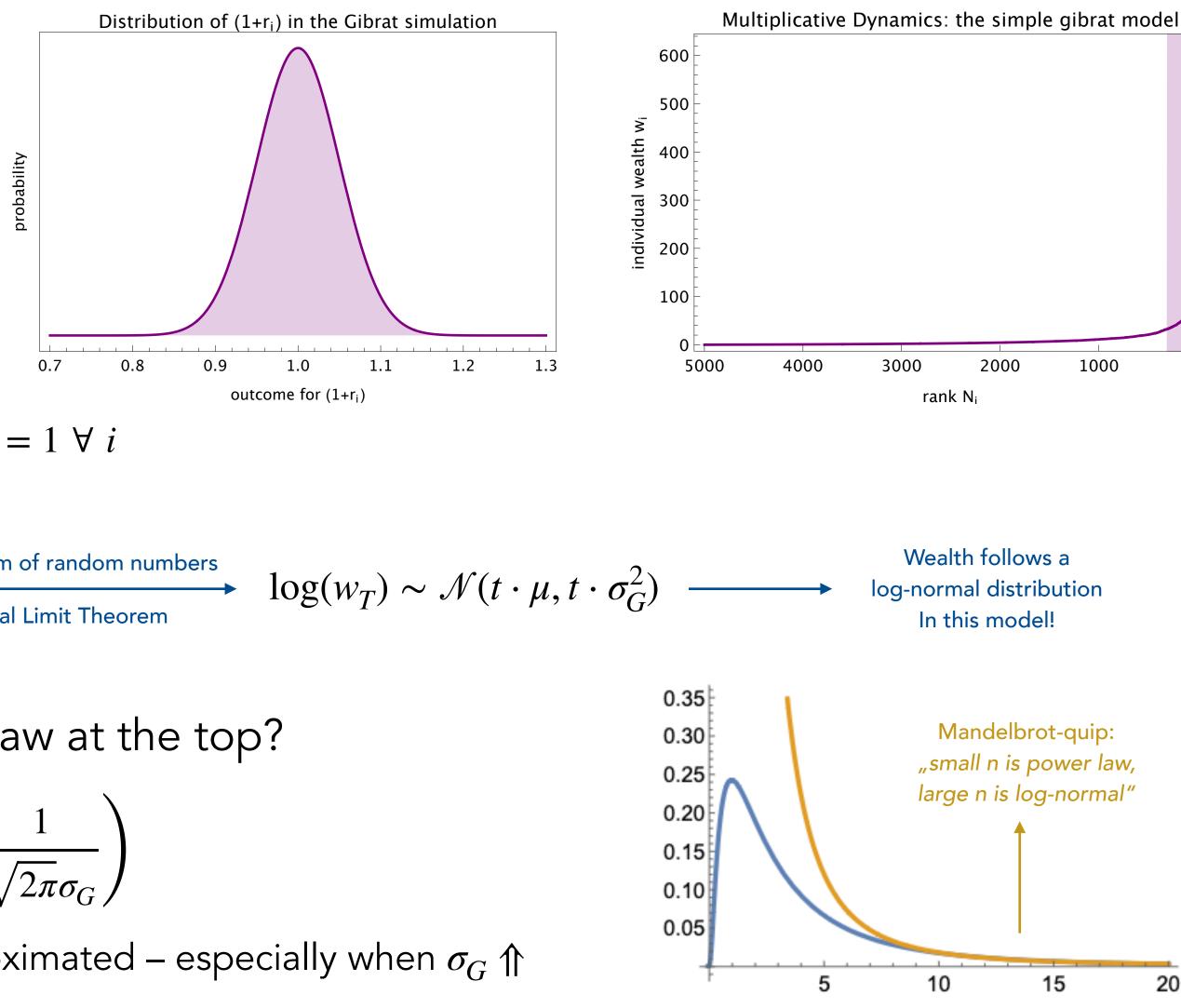
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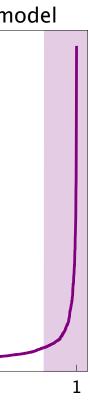
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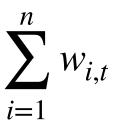
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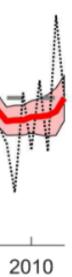
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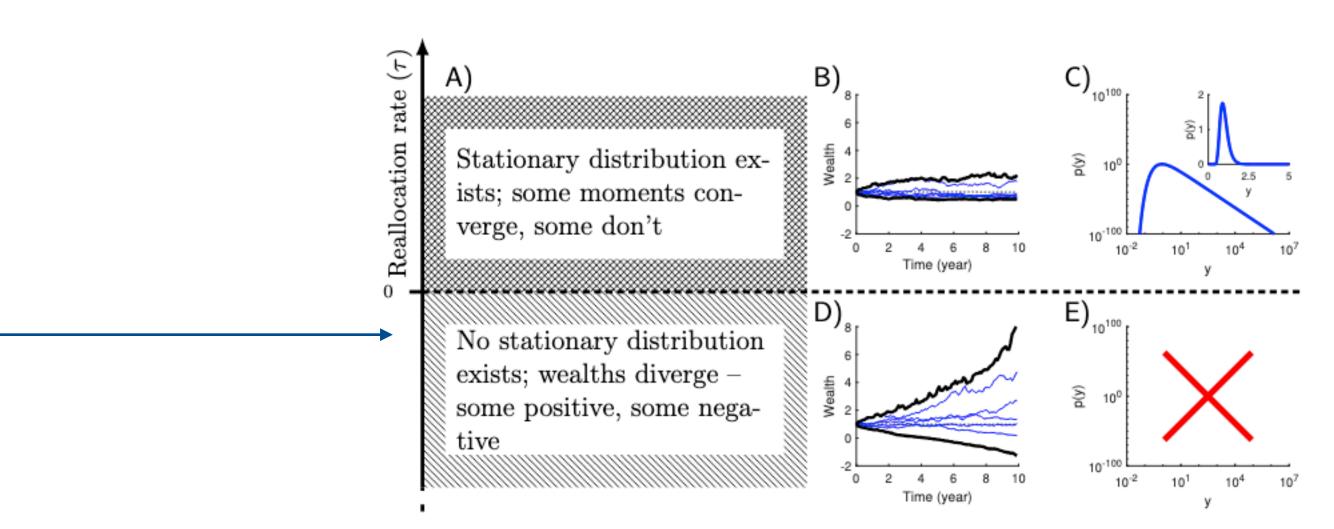
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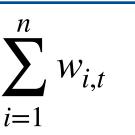
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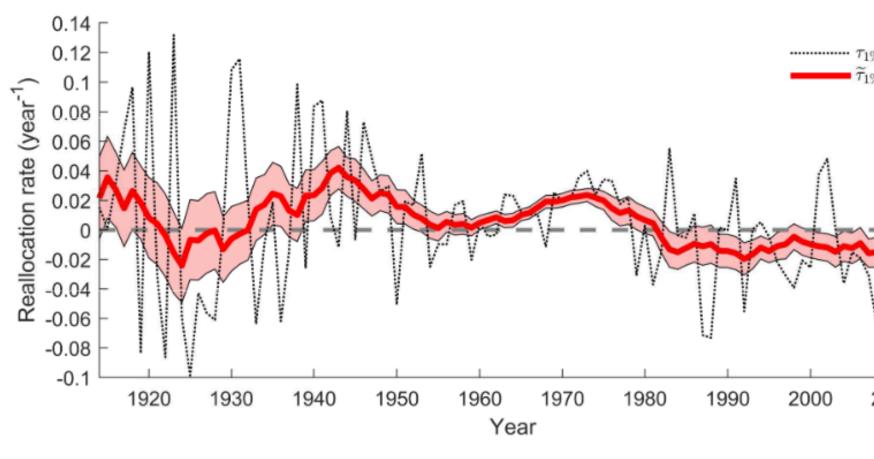
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2010



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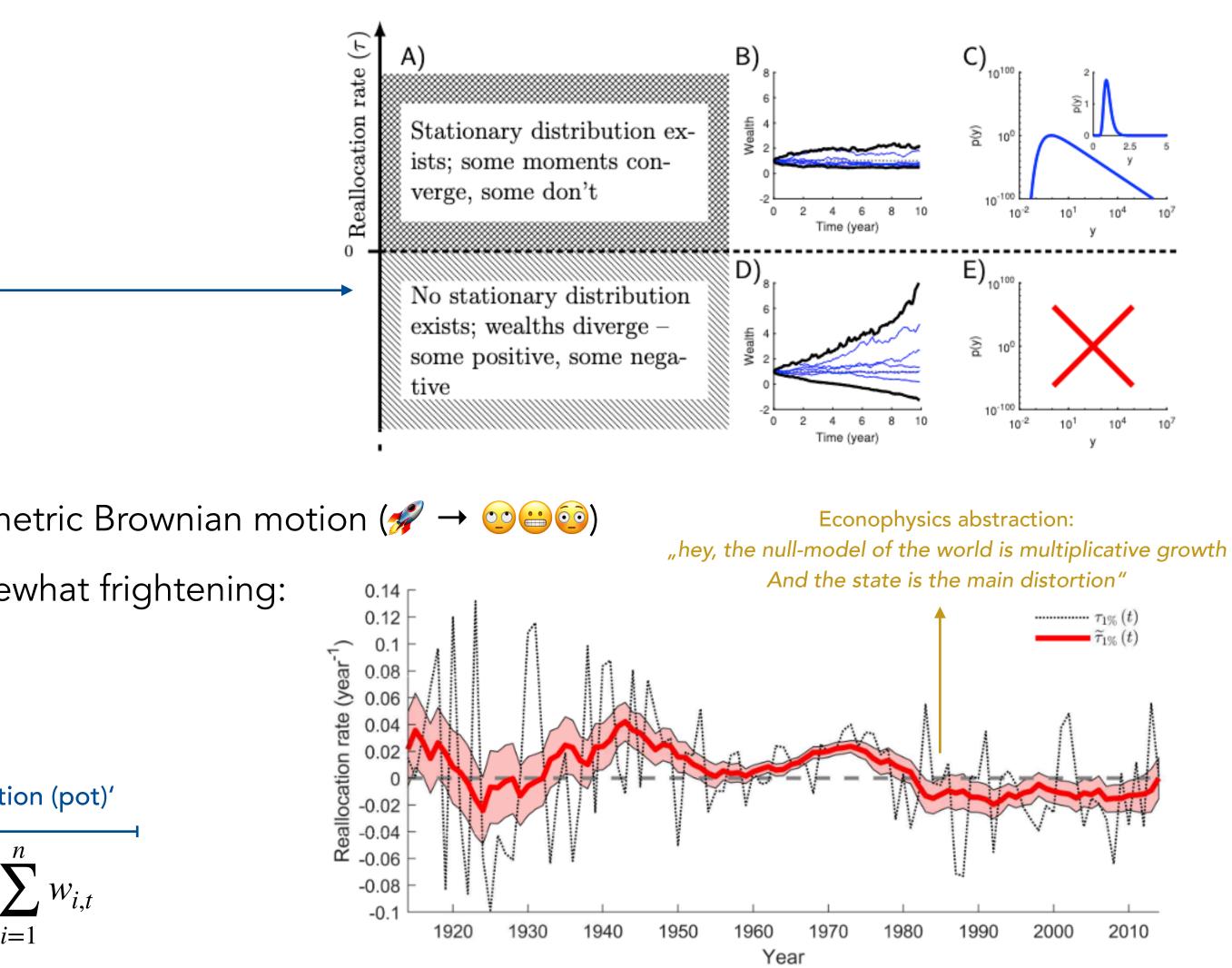
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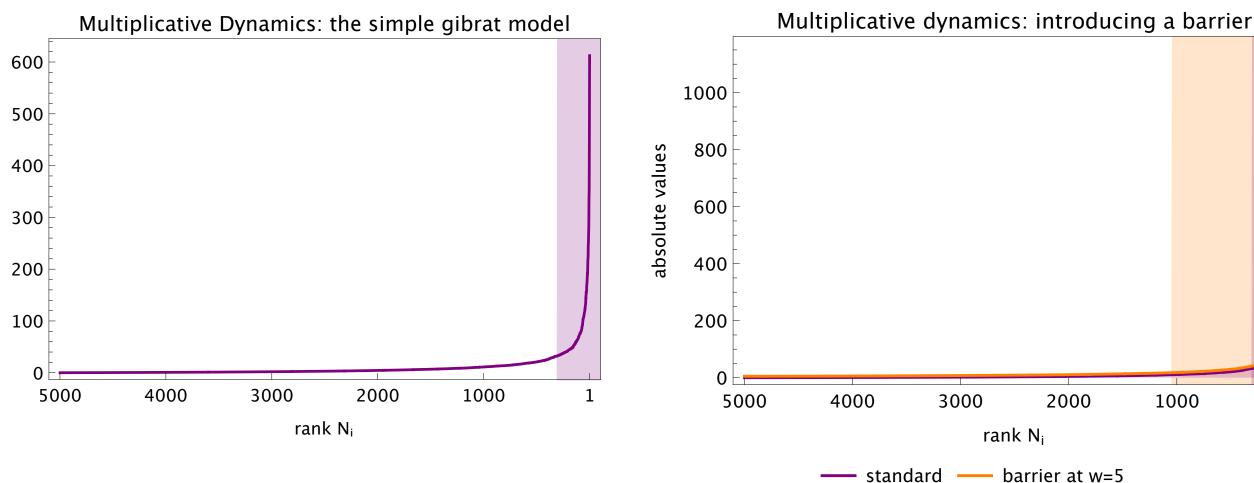


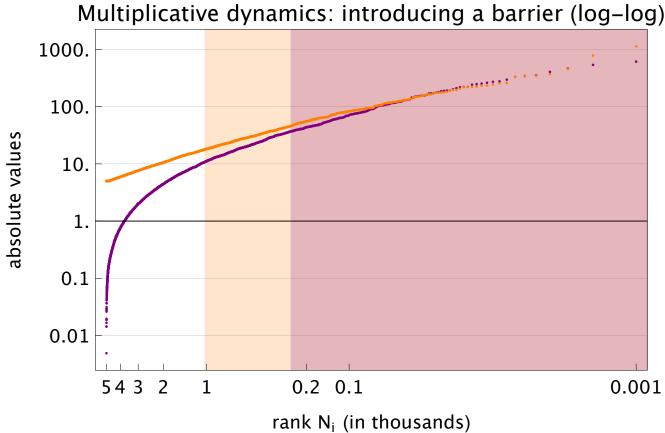


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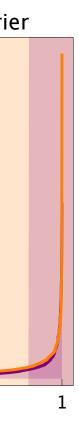
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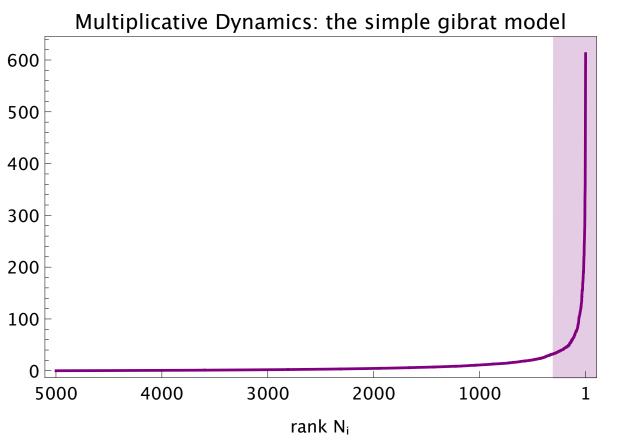
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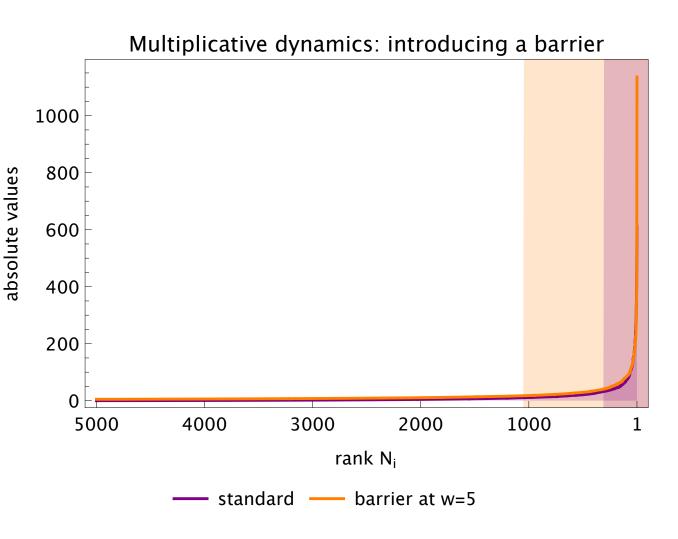
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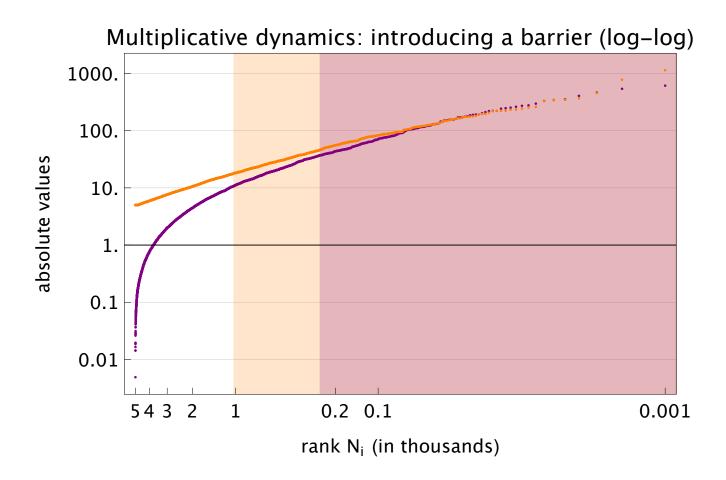
- Š 005 wealth individual v 300 500
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Another preliminary approach to modeling the welfare state

- Simply assume a basic safety net people cannot fall below some wealth w_{min}
- This works, resulting system is more equal.
- However, agents do not drop out of multiplicative regime drives system towards a power law distribution more strongly; even more explosive (in one direction).
- With this come, e.g., higher maximal values on average in repeated applications which would change, if we apply some tax to finance preserving the minima.











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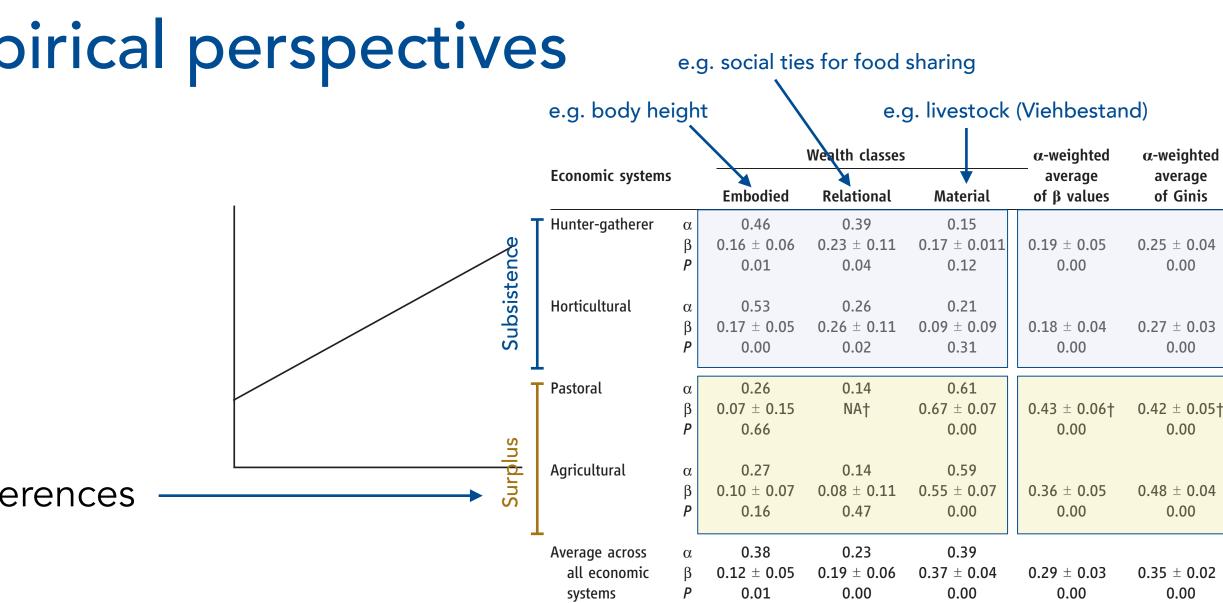




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The β and Gini for Kipsigis cattle partners (see Table 1 and table S4) are used in the pastoral/relational cell for the calculation of the α -weighted average across wealth classes.

Borgerhoff-Mulder et al. (2009): Intergenerational Wealth Transmission and the Dynamics of Inequality in Small-Scale Societies. Science 326, 682-688.



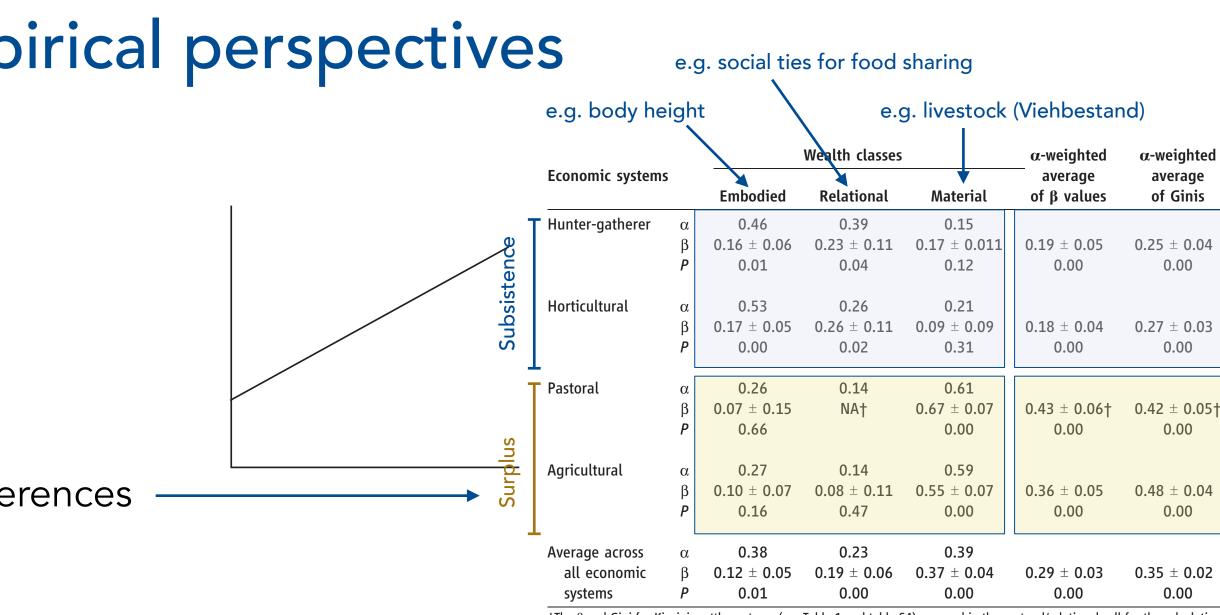




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 - Brings in new notions, like quasi-ergodicity or observer time-scales stability as a grand theme in economic history and current crises-debates.

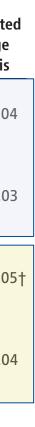


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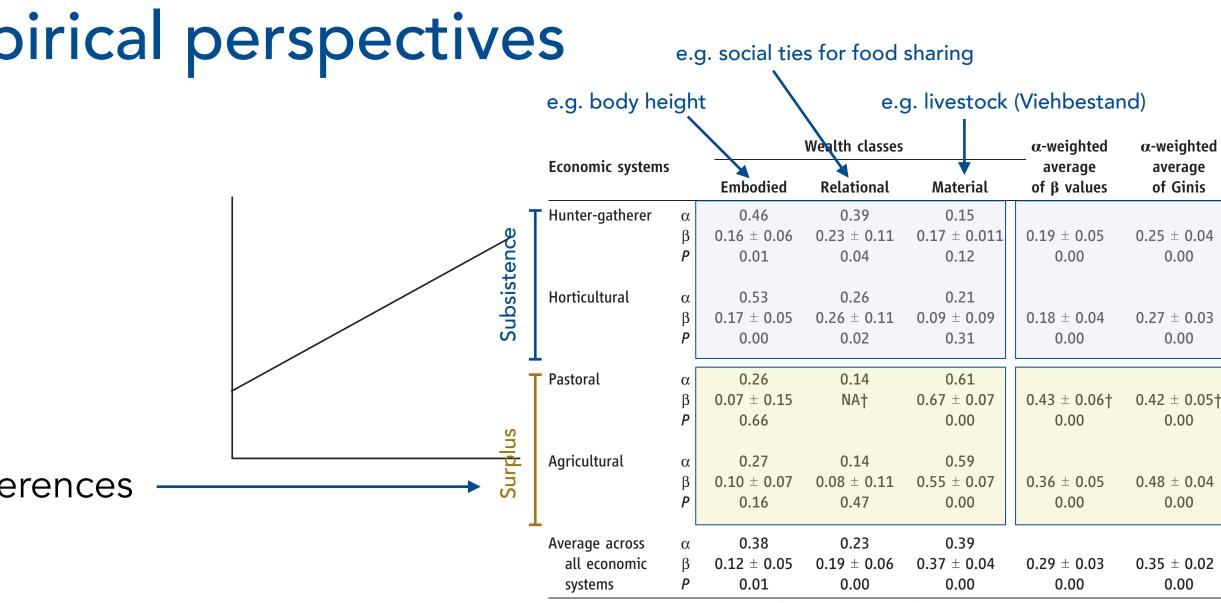




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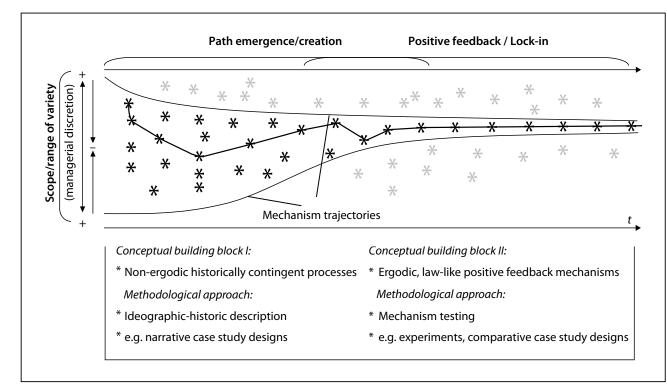


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Figure 2: Conceptual Building Blocks and Methodological Approaches to Path Dependence Research

Dynamics of Inequality in Small-Scale Societies. Science 326, 682-688.



Note: inspired by Sydow et al. (2009).



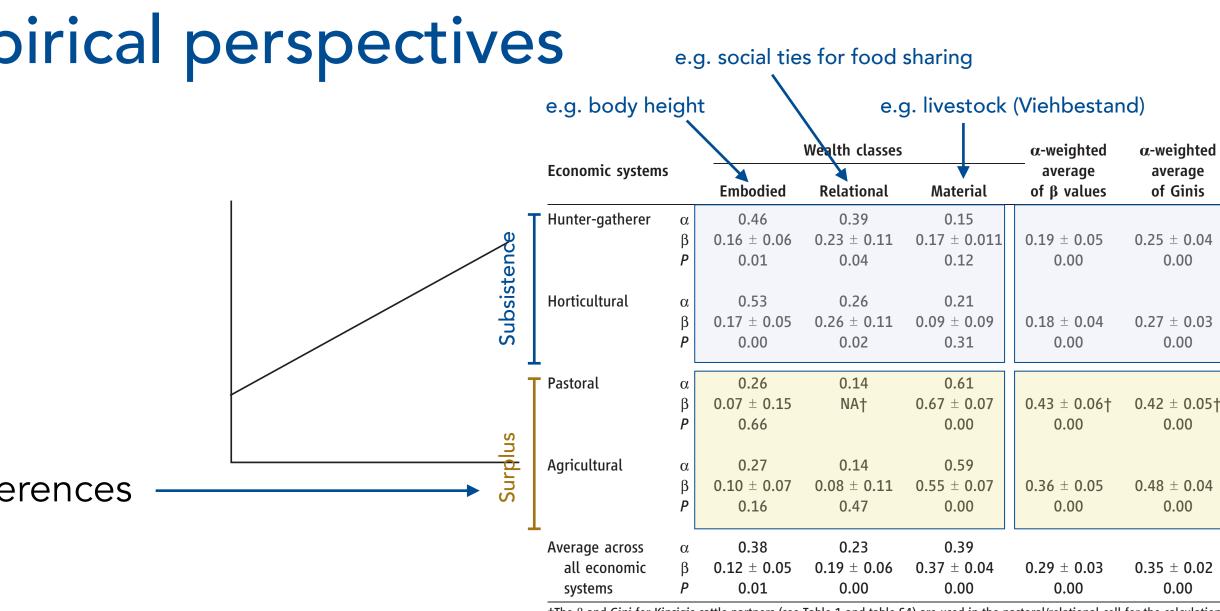




• The classic "Gibrat model" looks like…

 $w_{i,t} = (1 + r_{i,t}) \cdot w_{i,(t-1)}$ with $r_{i,t} \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma_G)$

- Simpler formulation, same explosive properties Emergence of inequalities even without significant differences endowments – cumulative advantage can kick in later.
- Has implication for the study of path-dependency
 - Brings in new notions, like quasi-ergodicity or observer time-scales stability as a grand theme in economic history and current crises-debates.
- Is a useful **null model**...
 - e.g. for empirically checking stability properties of distributions in economic history
 - Archetypical model for how complex patterns may emerge out of a simple setup.

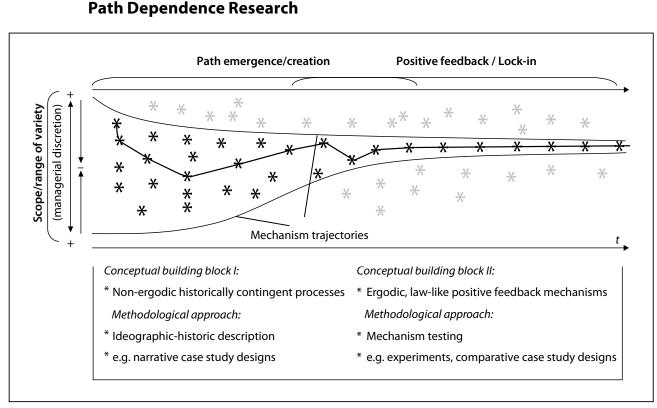


The β and Gini for Kipsigis cattle partners (see Table 1 and table S4) are used in the pastoral/relational cell for the calculatior of the α -weighted average across wealth classes

Borgerhoff-Mulder et al. (2009): Intergenerational Wealth Transmission and the

Figure 2: Conceptual Building Blocks and Methodological Approaches to

Dynamics of Inequality in Small-Scale Societies. Science 326, 682-688.



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Other interesting candidates

- Many very smart people say a Yule process is actually the same as the other cumulative advantage stuff
 - Models a birth process: several populations start with n = 1 and everybody can reproduce with some p early mover advantage creates path-dependency – brings forth a Yule-Simon distribution, which is close to power law (under some...)
 - Somewhat in-between: driven by randomness, but cumulative advantage kicks in endogenously
 - The notion of a self-reinforcing birth process could be used to model the emergence of hierarchies (among people or firms) → Herbert Simon, Polya-urn



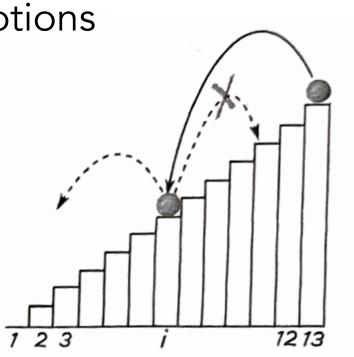


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 - Here, future successes of some, limit the current options of others (industrialization, fossile energy)





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Thurnher/Hanel/Klimek (2018): Introduction the theory of complex system. OUP.

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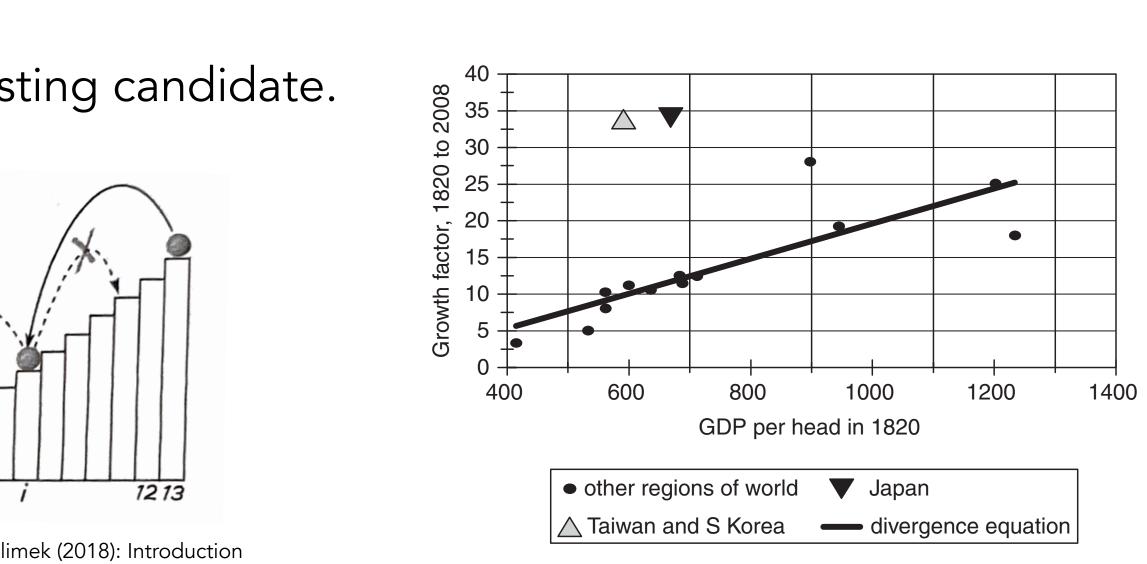


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Allen, Robert C. (2017): The Industrial Revolution. OUP.





Conclusion

- Power laws are somewhat ubiquitous in economics
 - Power laws appear often in empirical data unclear, whether / to extent this is driven by one or various mechanisms • Power laws resonate with key interests of heterodox economists / political economists: distribution, emergence, power,
 - stratification, (in)stability etc.
 - Power laws are understudied (or at least they are understudied from a pol econ perspective?).
- Simple models for generating power laws can be fun ;-)
 - Are nice to represent core intuitions, but should be taken with two grains of salt, at least.
 - Nonetheless, we found that more complicated models (like RGBM) can be traced back to these simpler ones.
 - Helpful also for checking, which intuitions hold formally and in what way (e.g. log-normal vs. power law).





Many thanks for your attention!



Some explanations / proofs

2. Universality

For large values of n, the model has a behavior that is independent of X: indeed, for any fixed X we can determine the numbers

$$\mu = \mathbb{E} \log (1 + X)$$
 and $\sigma^2 = \mathbb{V} \log (1 + X)$

and can replace X by the Gaussian $\mathcal{N}(\mu, \sigma^2)$ to get the same qualitative behavior.

Proof. We can write

$$\begin{split} x_n &= x_0 \prod_{k=0}^{n-1} \left(1 + X_k \right) = x_0 \exp\left(\log\left(\prod_{k=0}^{n-1} \left(1 + X_k \right) \right) \right) \\ &= x_0 \exp\left(\sum_{k=0}^{n-1} \log\left(1 + X_k \right) \right) \end{split}$$

and for this inner sum we have the law of large numbers telling us that

$$\sum_{k=0}^{n-1} \log\left(1+X_k\right) \sim \mathcal{N}(n\mu, n\sigma^2)$$

which is independent of X and depends only on mean and variance of $\log (1 + X)$.



