

Regimes of evidence in complexity sciences Fabrizio Li Vigni

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1 Regimes of evidence in complexity sciences

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22 Abstract

Since their inception in the 1980s, complexity sciences have been described as a revolutionary 23 new domain of research. By describing some of the practices and assumptions of its 24 representatives, the present article shows that this field is an association of subdisciplines 25 laying on existing disciplinary footholds. The general question guiding us here is: On what 26 basis do complexity scientists consider their inquiry methods and results as valuable? To 27 answer it, I describe five "epistemic argumentative regimes," namely the ways in which 28 complexity scientists argue the credibility of their research, and five "ontological views," that 29 is the ways in which they interpret the material and formal causes of their study objects and 30 models. Finally, the article proposes the term of "regime of evidence" to designate the 31 specific combination of one ontological view with one or more epistemic argumentative 32 33 regimes.

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35 Keywords

36 Complexity sciences, Santa Fe Institute, epistemic argumentative regimes, ontological views,
37 Science and Technology Studies, pragmatist approach

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39 **1. Introduction**

From 1982 to 1984, a group of senior physicists from the Los Alamos National Laboratory, the University of Illinois, Princeton, and Caltech gathered regularly in order to discuss about their common objective of founding an interdisciplinary research institution. In 1984 they decided to establish a private research center called the "Santa Fe Instite" (SFI) in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Li Vigni 2020c). At the same time, they launched the "science of complexity" conceived of as an overarching theory of all complex adaptive systems (Cowan et al. 1994).

While several researchers had already been talking about complexity and complex systems 46 both in Europe and the US since the 1970s (e.g. Nicolis and Prigogine 1989), the SFI has 47 played a fundamental role to institutionalize and publicize the field – which is more than a 48 sheer "catchy umbrella name"¹ and less than a discipline or subdiscipline. Complexity should 49 rather be described as an interdisciplinary and transnational association of subfields, whose 50 aim is to model natural and social "complex systems," namely ensembles of heterogeneous 51 elements whose interactions produce emergent properties (Waldrop 1992; Mitchell 2009; 52 Cowan 2010; Williams 2012; Li Vigni 2018). Their main tools are mathematical, physical and 53 computational - i.e. dynamical systems, statistical physics, agent-based models, network 54 55 simulations, cellular automata, genetic algorithms, spin glasses, Big Data statistics, etc. Like SFI founders, some observers of this field, both journalists and social scientists, have 56 qualified complexity as both a unitary and groundbreaking field. For example Waldrop (1992) 57 58 considered "complexity" as a "revolution in science as a whole" (p. 327). British sociologist John Urry has talked about a "complexity turn" in knowledge (Urry 2005) and claimed that 59 "complexity sciences seem to provide the means to overcome [the] divisions between nature 60 and society and between the natural/physical sciences and the social sciences" (Urry 2006, p. 61 115). Historians Schweber and Wächter (2000) have also written that, thanks to the computer, 62 sciences have underwent a "Ian Hacking revolution," which has transformed scientific 63 practices of several disciplines, created new scientific institutions and vehiculated a new feel 64 to the world. In their article, Schweber and Wächter have focused on one of the components 65 of such a revolution, what they call the "complex systems computer modelling and simulation 66 revolution." While computer simulation gives a "new perception of the notion of scientific 67 model" by allowing an interactive and visual character (p. 606), the SFI is, according to them, 68 "perhaps the paradigmatic institutional manifestation" of such a revolution (p. 588). 69

¹ As a reviewer of this article has suggested.

Today only very few complexity scientists believe in the actual or yet-to-come unity of a 70 science of complexity. They are generally scientific entrepreneurs who struggle for the 71 institutionalization of the field (e.g. Bourgine and Johnson 2006; Weisbuch 2007). But the 72 vast majority of complexity practitioners and observers do agree on its internal socio-73 epistemic heterogeneity. As for the novelty of complexity on the contrary, there seems to be 74 less discussion and critique. In the light of a careful analysis, observers' descriptions about the 75 revolutionary power of this domain seem to echo complexity founders' (often grandiloquent) 76 77 promises and claims according to which, because of its anti-reductionist, anti-deterministic, post-Newtonian and holistic approach (Mitchell 2009), complexity science (in the singular) 78 was going to be the "science of the XXI century" (SFI 2009; IXXI 2005). Nevertheless, if we 79 adopt a pragmatist and Science & Technology Studies (STS) approach based on the empirical 80 analysis of scientists' practices, we are soon brought to confirm the intrinsic heterogeneity 81 82 and looseness of complexity as well as to contest its radical novelty. Its representatives rather adopt a multiplicity of ways to accumulate scientific credibility in a plurality of subdisciplines 83 gathering together intermittently, in visiting institutes and conferences, under the generic term 84 of complex systems. Some of these subfields existed before the birth of the SFI, some others 85 have appeared afterwards but have mutualized epistemic tools, styles and frameworks from 86 established disciplines. 87

While several normative articles exist about complexity epistemology, works on what complexity scientists actually do are rarer (e.g. Varenne 2012, 2017). This article offers to fill the gap by proposing the concept of *regimes of evidence* as the articulation between one or more *epistemic argumentative regimes* with one *ontological view*. The first term refers to the ensemble of numerical, narrative, material and visual arguments that scientists mobilize in order to increase the credibility of their research, by claiming the solidity of their methods or by establishing an evidence. Five of these are described: the parsimony, the toy model, the 95 mathematical, the statistical and the proof of concept. The term of *ontological view* refers to 96 the conception of the essence that scientists have of their study objects, of the simulations 97 supposed to study them, and of the articulation between the two. Five of these are described: 98 the dualist, the agnostic, the homomorphic, the vitalist and the monist. Such categorizations 99 are the result of an inductive empirical and analytical work presented in the following pages. 100 The theoretical positions and the social groups of complexity scientists preexist the analysis, 101 while the analytical terms proposed to apprehend them come after it.

The general question of this article is epistemological: On what basis do complexity scientists 102 103 consider their inquiry methods and results as valuable? The method chosen to answer the question is sociological: Based on empirical material, I propose to describe what complexity 104 scientists actually do instead of prescribing them what they should do. In the following, some 105 106 extracts of interviews, scientific texts and archives are gathered in order to show the methodological practices of complexity scientists, and to deconstruct the claim of their 107 108 novelty. The second section presents the materials and methods, the third and the fourth are dedicated respectively to expound the five epistemic argumentative regimes and the five 109 ontological views that operate within the subdisciplines gathered around the label of 110 111 complexity. The fifth section briefly discusses the concept of regime of evidence and in particular the question of the possible postures that scientists can have in extra-academic 112 activities. Three configurations are thus described: the heuristic, the productive and the 113 consulting. The conclusion summarizes the main contributions of the article. 114

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116 **2. Materials and methods**

117 The materials which this article is based upon are composed by 115 interviews with 118 complexity scientists from the US and Europe and some dozens texts of two types: scientific 119 publications and institutional archives.

Interviews were semi-structured - partly open and individualized, and partly following a 120 121 general framework. Such framework contained a dozen questions about personal pathway, view of complexity sciences, main epistemological practices and methods, personal and 122 123 disciplinary ontological positions, definition of computer modeling and simulation, as well as relation with policy makers, NGOs and private actors. In order to bring the interviewees to 124 make their *epistemic argumentative regimes* explicit, the questions focused essentially on the 125 way they validate models and conceive error. Similarly to what linguists and sociologists of 126 127 argumentation do when they classify arguments into general categories (assertoric, apodictic, hypothetical, epistemic, normative, etc.), our take here is to propose some categories of the 128 129 ways in which complexity scientists defend their inquiry practices and results. In order to dig up their metaphysical assumptions and to describe their ontological views, the questions 130 convoked Aristotle's distinction between formal and material causes. If very few interviewees 131 132 were familiar with the Stagirite's terms, all of them had either one or another of the five postures described in section four. The categorizations proposed here were built along the 133 way of the fieldwork research, since the meetings with the scientists were dialogic 134 experiences in which to formulate and test hypotheses with the interviewees; the writing and 135 outreach phases have refined such categorizations. Now one may ask: What is the causal 136 relationship between the epistemological and the ontological levels? Science and Technology 137 Studies scholars show that epistemic, moral, material, technical and political questions always 138 imply ontological ones, and that holding an ontological view of an object always brings about 139 140 epistemic, moral, material, technical and political questions about it (e.g. Vermeulen et al. 2012). In other words, it is impossible to establish the priority of epistemology over ontology 141 or vice versa, for they are coevolutive and multifactorial constituents of the work of scientists. 142 Interviewed researchers were mostly confirmed ones, but roughly a third were either PhD or 143 postdoctoral. Among the scientists, about two thirds were men. The interviews lasted two 144

hours and a half on average (few were \leq one hour long and \geq four hours long), they were 145 always recorded and have been conducted most of the time in face-to-face settings within the 146 researcher's lab, more rarely elsewhere (classrooms, cafes or private houses), and in a dozen 147 cases by telephone or video-conference. The bulk of the interviews was determined by the 148 choice of the pivotal institutions taken as study objects - the SFI and the Parisian Complex 149 Systems Institute which depends from the French Centre National pour la Recherche 150 Scientifique (CNRS) - in order to explore the hub of the American and international 151 community on one side, and the hub of the French community (one of the largest in the 152 world) on the other side. The rest of the actors come from other laboratories inscribed in 153 154 complexity sciences: These institutions will be mentioned along with the disciplinary belonging of the people cited. Other interviewees were contacted at conferences, seminars and 155 through the snowball effect, in order to have the widest diversity of disciplines, countries, 156 157 career degrees and institutions.

158 As for the texts, the scientific publications mentioned in the rest of the paper have been chosen for their representativeness to illustrate the matter of each section. Secondary literature 159 can also be cited, when a specific subdiscipline or group of complexity specialists has already 160 been studied by other social scientists. Philosophical literature is mentioned to reinforce the 161 findings presented here, which can sometimes permit to interpret the former. As for the 162 archives, a support is particularly of help here: the SFI main outreach document. From 1986 163 to 2014, the American institute published 40 issues of its Bulletin. The articles it contained 164 were written by SFI staff members, resident scientists and freelance journalists. It was 165 addressed to the members of the Board of Trustees, the research officers, the SFI advisors, the 166 scientists, the donors (past and potential), as well as to university, industrial and governmental 167 directors. Its aim was to inform such a public about the scientific and administrative programs 168 of the institute. The Bulletin was published once to twice per year. Printed in 5000 copies, it 169

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was available for free upon request. Later, its publication became uniquely electronical and old issues were digitalized. In the mid-2010s, the bulletin was suppressed because it was considered too expensive and less efficient than other supports. The Bulletins are an excellent material in order to explore some of the main research projects, tools, frameworks and protagonists of the American (and in some part international) complexity community.

The approach followed here is mixed. With regard to the general question addressed, the 175 matter is clearly epistemological, for it deals with the conditions of validity of statements, 176 models and theories. In what concerns the data collection and interpretation, the method is 177 178 sociological. Each quote relates to scientists' declarations of intent and methodological practices or to their metaphysical views and assumptions. In both cases, citations have been 179 chosen in order to show the way complexity specialists defend the idea that their science is 180 181 heuristic and that it deserves credit. The answer to the epistemological questioning provided here is pragmatic and interpretive. Pragmatist and STS approaches in sociology, which are 182 183 historically deeply intertwined, refer to "following the actors," to "taking the actors seriously" and to "take the scientists as informers about whom to doubt" (Latour 1987, 1996; Boltanski, 184 1990). In France, American pragmatist philosophers (such as William James, John Dewey, 185 186 Charles Peirce and George Mead) have inspired an entire sociological family – alternative to the hegemonic Pierre Bourdieu's one – which, according to two of its representatives, follows 187 a series of maxims such as: The "primacy of experience;" the processual and gradual 188 "dynamics of arguments formation" through abduction, experience and controversy; the 189 "primacy of reasoning through consequences" (for example, it is today cogent to study 190 conspiracy theorists and followers not because their theories are true, but because they do 191 have tangible social effects); the "orientation toward action" instead of privileging intellectual 192 essentializations; and the theoretical and political "pluralism" (Chateauraynaud and Debaz 193 2017, pp. 604-606; see also Barthe et al. 2013 for another presentation of pragmatic 194

sociology). These maxims do not imply the withdrawal of philosophical, sociological, 195 political and ethical critiques, but they do bring the social scientist to privilege – at least in the 196 first place – more a comprehensive than a normative approach to the study object. While 197 philosophers of science aspire to be "hybrids" and to contribute to the endeavor, practice and 198 advancement of knowledge (Grüne-Yanoff 2014), here the posture is descriptive and 199 empirical. The aim is to explicit and categorize the often implicit or unconscious ways in 200 which scientists fabricate the credibility of their academic internal and public work, starting 201 202 by what they actually do and say. As Chateauraynaud has efficaciously synthetized, pragmatist sociology "consists in taking seriously the situations, devices and processes in 203 which people act and think, by taking a close look at their resources and constraints" (2003, p. 204 26, my translation). In this sense our approach here resembles to what some philosophers now 205 practice and call the "philosophy of science-in-practice," in which thinkers "use empirical 206 207 methods drawn from the historical or social sciences (such as archival research, ethnographies or interviews) to acquire insights into and evidence of scientists' research behaviour" 208 209 (Boumans and Leonelli 2013, p. 260). One of the drawbacks of such approaches is that they 210 often step aside from the epistemological debate about complexity (or any other subject), for they do not aim at adding another set of prescriptive tenets to the discussion. On the other 211 212 side, their advantages are to inform philosophers and social scientists about what scientists 213 think and practice on the ground and, by this very fact, to pave the way both to classical normative epistemological debates and to the "philosophy-of-science in practice" approach, 214 which consists of being "directly engaged with scientific research through interaction with 215 scientists about philosophical problems [...] which often result[s] in joint publications and the 216 organisation of joint events" (ibid., pp. 259-260). 217

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219 **3. Epistemic argumentative regimes**

Complexity sciences have been studied more by philosophers (Wimsatt 1994; Rescher 1998; 220 Cilliers and Spurrett 1999; Knyazeva 2005; Aziz-Alaoui and Bertelle 2009; Hooker 2011; 221 Fraisopi 2012; Taborsky 2014; Zuchowski 2018) than by social scientists (Helmreich 1998; 222 Williams 2012; Li Vigni 2020b). To establish the five regimes listed in this section, I have 223 gathered the verbal and written testimonies from complexity scientists about the way they 224 arrange and mobilize data, models, graphs, objects and discourses in order to defend the 225 solidity of a dataset, a technique or a result. *Epistemic argumentative regimes* are indeed both 226 227 discursive and practical. Discursive elements are illustrated by the scientists' reflexive and normative statements, while the practices by the examples they give of their methods of 228 validation. The regimes can cross and combine, some are operating more generally most of 229 the time, others operate specifically and intermittently. To put it in other words, the fact that 230 such regimes may overlap logically does not constitute a problem for the analysis, since this 231 232 one aims at establishing the presence, within the different subgroups of complexity sciences, of different hegemonic styles of epistemic argumentation: Some put the accent more on the 233 234 development of the simplest model, others on the mathematical elegance of their theories, 235 others yet on the cumulation of statistical results. These regimes can also characterize one subdiscipline more than another. It is in this sense that complexity is far from being a 236 scientific revolution, since it does not really propose a thoroughly new set of methodological 237 standards. These can be either very general principles in science like the *parsimony regime*, or 238 very old scientific practices such as the toy model and the mathematical regimes, or modern 239 practices linked to the statistical regime, which has at least three sub-regimes (the gold-240 standard, the Popperian corroboration and the backcasting), or engineering and industrial 241 tools like the *proof of concept*, which is also present in economics, design, and so forth. 242

The following list does not pretend to be exhaustive but to show the internal diversity of this interdisciplinary domain² and the preexisting nature of such frameworks and practices as they belong to well established disciplines.

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247 *3.1 The parsimony regime*

The Ockham razor – another name for parsimony – is admitted as a general principle of all 248 249 sciences, comes from medieval Christian philosophy and has been widely studied by 250 philosophers of science who have proposed different methodological criteria for a fruitful usage of it (Hoffmann et al. 1997; Huemer 2009; Sober 2015). This general epistemological 251 principle is found at the basis of all modeling activity and consists in explaining a 252 phenomenon by invoking the smallest possible number of causes. If it is implicitly and 253 explicitly mentioned in basically any kind of "scientific" text, it becomes a constant worry for 254 many complex systems modelers, who often ask how much complexity they are supposed to 255 insert into their models to make them at the same time reliable and manageable (e.g. Pumain 256 1997; Batty and Torrens 2001). Such principle is often convoked along with logical, esthetical 257 and pragmatical corollary arguments such as "simplicity," "elegance" and "efficacity" (e.g. 258 Holland 1996). 259

A computer scientist from the Parisian Complex Systems Institute illustrates the principle as follows: "with very few mechanisms, I have to explain something which seems very complex to apprehend. [...] the least mechanisms you have, the most you simplify the process, and the more – I think – you can understand it" (interview, 13.02.17). As a bio-informatician from the

 $^{^2}$ One of the most important contributions of STS is the deconstruction of the positivistic account of science as a unitary approach to knowledge. Science pluralism has been variously apprehended by STS scholars through concepts like "epistemic communities" (Haas 1989), "epistemic cultures" (Knorr-Cetina 1999), "ways of knowing" (Pickstone 2001), "styles of knowledge" (Kwa 2011) and "epistemic commitments" (Granjou and Arpin 2015). Fewer works exist about interdisciplinary fields and their internal diversity. This article can also be seen as a contribution to the exploration of diversity in interdisciplinary fields of study such as complexity sciences.

Complex Systems Institute of Lyon explained, "what is important in a model is not what you 264 put inside. It's what you leave out" (interview, 15.08.15). The approach of these researchers 265 consists in eliminating any non-indispensable hypothesis for the production of a pattern or 266 267 behavior that resembles the patterns and behaviors of the target system. Some researchers from the same institute develop a platform or meta-model which, of specific models, "in the 268 end says: this parameter is useless. Or it's useful, but only between this and this value" 269 (interview with a computer scientist, 13.02.17). What fascinates complexity specialists as for 270 271 the practical effects of such principle is its explicative power: "the phantasy we have is to be able to say [...] that, if we leave out that parameter, it is compensated by other explicative 272 parameters which lead to the same dynamics" (ibid.). In other words, simplicity is both a 273 method and an end on the way toward efficient and reliable models. 274

275 Nevertheless, the frequency with which the Ockham razor is cited by researchers depends on the situation. A group of computational epidemiologists from Paris based at the French 276 277 national health institute (INSERM) qualify parsimony as a contextual choice (Ajelli et al. 2010). Depending on the aims of a given research and on the data available, scientists choose 278 to apply a simulation approach instead of another. For example, agent-based modeling (ABM) 279 280 is very precise, for it can model a territory street by street, building by building and agent by agent. But since such information is not always available everywhere and since to compute 281 such details for the entire globe is computationally prohibitive, ABM is (for now) applicable 282 only to a national or continental basis. It is generally privileged when the aim is to provide 283 Northern countries policy makers with accurate prescriptions, say, about which schools to 284 close where and when in order to avoid the spread of a contagious disease. But since network 285 meta-population models are applicable to the entire world (for they are less coarse-grained, 286 computationally affordable and less dependent on informational gaps), this kind of simulation 287 288 is privileged when researchers wish to predict the general dynamics of a pandemics country by country (and not neighborhood by neighborhood). Interviewees generally agree on the fact that the choice of model complexification is a matter of gradations, but a fixed point remains even when the Ockham razor is not explicitly mobilized: A model which is not parsimonious is simply not considered as a functional one because, if too many mechanisms are represented into it, the scientist may become unable to distinguish which ones are the really important ones in the understanding of the target system.

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3.2 The toy model regime

According to one of the most prominent members of the SFI, computer scientist Melanie Mitchell, there are four ways of doing science. Consider the following exert from one of the SFI Bulletins where the researcher is interviewed:

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Mitchell [...] explained that there are four approaches to science – theory, laboratory experiments, Gedanken experiments (thought experiments), and computer experiments. Computer experiments, she contends, allow the scientist to incorporate theory and thought in a sort of digital laboratory. (SFI 1995, p. 4)

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The thought experiment or, in German, the *Gedanken-Experiment* has an old tradition. Using intuition, it considers a hypothesis, theory or principle for the purpose of thinking through its consequences, without the need, or in the absence of the possibility, to back it up with an empirical experiment. Historically, complexity sciences appeared when the computational power of PCs was not as performant as today. Between the beginning of the 1980s and the end of the 1990s, complex systems specialists used to work almost only on "toy models," a

sort of computational instantiation of the Galilean-like thought experiment³. Lenhard (2018) 312 313 distinguishes the thought experiment stricto sensu from the simulation on the basis of two criteria. Both explore hypothetical worlds, but while the first is "epistemically transparent" 314 because it takes place in cognition, the second is "epistemically opaque" because it makes use 315 of algorithmic procedures whose calculations are not always accessible to the modeler 316 (Lenhard on this point bases himself on Humphreys 2004): "Simulations are not opaque 317 because it would be unclear how one step follows from its predecessors. On the contrary, it is 318 the multitude of interrelated steps that can render the overall process opaque" (Lenhard 2018, 319 p. 489). Also, they lay upon two different kinds of iteration, the "convergence" and the "atlas" 320 type: the first "is involved in cases like exploring a new pathway that eventually becomes 321 your routine way. At the beginning, there is much uncertainty and back-and-forth, but after a 322 couple of repetitions the pathway begins to stabilize" (ibid.); the second "works rather by 323 324 exhausting the possibilities and thereby creating a compendium, or atlas. [...] Iteration here is used for exploring a set of options under controlled variations, gathering the results and thus 325 326 obtaining an overview" (p. 490). According to Lenhard, "Thought experiments are tied to the convergence type of iteration. When you perform a thought experiment, repeated execution 327 eliminates initial intransparency or ambiguity. Simulation experiments, on the other hand, 328 329 involve the atlas type of iteration. Repeated, and slightly varied, model runs do not eliminate opacity, but rather explore the space of possible model behavior" (ibid.). 330

Nevertheless, in this text Lenhard treats simulation experiments as an indistinguished whole. The "toy model" – an expression that comes from physics, definitely the dominant discipline within complexity sciences (Deffuant et al. 2015; Grauwin et al. 2012; Li Vigni 2020c) – is a specific kind of model which aims at exploring the causal reasons at work in a given

³ This is due to at least two socio-technical reasons. On the one hand, the lack of computer power and of theoretical knowledge for parallel computing; on the other, the lack of captors, efficient archival methods and statistical tools to analyze big data.

phenomenon in a very simplified and abstract way (Axelrod 1997). It is built starting from the 335 elements which appear to be essential to the working mechanism at the basis of a given 336 system. Moreover, this type of models is fabricated regardless of "real world" data, and 337 sometimes does not even have a concrete target, but only a "hypothetical" one (Weisberg 338 2013, p. 121). By means of this simplified procedure, scientists try to show that it is possible 339 to seize the general principles of a given phenomenon, reason why no realistic description or 340 prediction is ever pretended by researchers working on toy models. In the light of the 341 typology of explanations proposed by Grüne-Yanoff and Weirich (2010), toy models serve to 342 propose "partial explanations" which describe "the operation of some factors behind a 343 phenomenon's occurrence" by isolating such factors (p. 38) and "potential explanations" 344 which make "more precise the possible worlds in which [a given] conjecture holds" (p. 43). 345 Ylikoski and Aydinonat (2014) go further in the analysis of this kind of models. They write 346 347 that while the "common objection is that [toy model] is too abstract to be explanatory," they defend it for it is "a device for thinking about theoretical possibilities" (p. 21-22). The 348 349 important thing for them is to consider such tools in the context of "a family of related models, not as isolated representations" and "in the context of competing theories" (p. 23-24) 350 so to permit them to complement and correct each other. Their value would lay in the fact 351 they allow to formulate "possible causal scenarios" which can help "narrow the space of 352 possibilities, that is, to eliminate as many of the competing scenarios as possible" (p. 25-26), 353 as well as "causal mechanism schemes" which can constitute the "building blocks of causal 354 scenarios" (p. 28). 355

Among the first and most active epistemic communities present within complexity sciences in the 1980-90s, one can mention complexity economics (Palmer et al. 1994), the physics of materials (Stein 1989; Solomon and Shir 2003), computational social sciences (Epstein and Axtell 1996; Dean et al. 1999), computational theoretical biology (Kauffman 1993; Holland

1996), as well as Artificial Life (Langton 1997). Despite the theoretical and methodological 360 differences between all these researchers, they share the fact they have worked, and 361 sometimes still work, with toy models. To illustrate the philosophy behind this practice, let us 362 363 consider an example from a complexity economist. The following interview extract is from an American researcher who was among the first post-doctoral students at the SFI back in the 364 1990s. The fragment is interesting inasmuch as the interviewee contextualizes the toy model 365 366 into the larger spectrum of simulation styles in economics and compares it to the thought experiment: 367

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369 *Question: Is simulation a kind of experiment?*

370 Answer: Yes. Or really isn't it an extension of theory? It's a theoretical model. One of the reasons why ABM got troubles in economics is that when you turn it on a computer, 371 simulation is the attempt to get really close to reality. Lots of people try to build realistic 372 models. In Washington there's people doing very detailed models on tax system. In these 373 complex models you're never going to understand what's the key detail. On the other side 374 you got these computer experiments, much simpler, toy models, not intending to be all the 375 376 reality. They try to understand the basic components. The problem with economists is they believe that models should fit very well with reality to be good. And I don't think that's 377 378 right. ABMs should be treated as other pencil and paper economics models, which are sort of thought experiments. (Interview, 14.09.16) 379

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In other words, for some complexity scientists the toy model is the best way to push forward the understanding of systems. Now, toy model users often mention the parsimony argument in their texts and interviews. But to think that the two regimes are always and only present together would be wrong. For example, the quantitative geographers and the computational
epidemiologists encountered in France and the US aim at complexifying their models as much
as possible, but they also constantly mention the need to remain parsimonious.

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388 *3.3 The mathematical regime*

Within complexity sciences, the mathematical formalization is a very important tool of 389 inquiry and, for some, an objective in itself as for the power it bears in attributing credibility 390 391 to research. In one of the bulletins published by the SFI, one could read that the first president George "Cowan's vision [was] to apply the quantitative tools of the physical sciences, such as 392 mathematics, to the social sciences" (SFI 1994, p. 3). The motivation of such mission of 393 394 naturalization of social sciences lays on a positivistic conviction, condensed in Ernest Rutherford's famous sentence that Cowan cites, according to which "All science is either 395 physics or stamp collecting" (Birks 1963). At the beginning of the 2000s, Cowan led a project 396 of formalization of cognitive sciences (SFI 2002), while Murray Gell-Mann associated to two 397 linguists in order to quantitatively study the genealogical tree of human tongues (SFI 2004). 398 In SFI's view indeed, non-mathematical social sciences are "pre-scientific," so that only 399 numerical formalization can make of them "real science." But humanities are not the only 400 target of this positivist project. The same attention has been given to life sciences, as it is 401 402 testified by the workshops organized to transfer numerical tools to biologists (e.g. SFI 2001), as well as by the approach followed by certain complexity specialists seeking for general 403 theories. Take the study conducted by two ecologists and one physicist about the allometric 404 405 scaling of animal metabolic ratios: "They propose that the origin of this distinctive biological scaling arises from the fact that cardiovascular systems, respiratory systems, plant vascular 406 systems, and insect tracheal tubes all exhibit the same fractal-like branching structure" (SFI 407 1997, p. 7). For certain complexity scientists, mathesis is definitely universalis. The 408

mathematical regime refers to all those who believe that numbers and equations are not only 409 working tools, but also the very structure of the cosmos, the altar of scientific evidence and at 410 the same time the only meaningful language to tackle their study object. In other words they 411 412 believe that scientists should mainly or only produce simple mathematical theories to describe systems behavior. These researchers – often physicists, mathematicians and other disciplines 413 representatives with a strong training in numbers – use mathematics to argue the dignity of 414 their research, and sometimes the superiority of it compared to more discursive or 415 computational approaches. 416

Theoretical ecology and quantitative geography, today well represented at the SFI, inscribe in 417 such regime. According to the tenants of these fields, mathematics are important in the 418 context of theory. Such an aspiration comes from the physicist culture that, at one of the 419 founding meetings of the SFI, Gell-Mann famously synthesized as follows: "Surface 420 complexity arising out of deep simplicity" (Pines 1988, p. 3). Such way of thinking has been 421 422 shared by most complexity scientists, and the international members of the Network for Ecological Theory Integration (NETI) – a group of ecologists from the US, Europe, Australia 423 and Chile – are no exception. In their view – explicitly turned toward physics –, science has to 424 425 produce not only hypotheses and local models, but also general theories, where theory is defined "as a hierarchical framework that contains clearly formulated postulates, based on a 426 minimal set of assumptions, from which a set of predictions logically follows" (Marquet et al. 427 2014, p. 701). According to these SFI affiliates, 1) theories "should be built on first 428 principles," the "bedrock of science," in order to be "efficient;" 2) they should also "entail as 429 few assumptions and free parameters as possible" (see the parsimony regime); and, above all, 430 3) they should be written in mathematical language: 431

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Mathematically formulated theories are generally preferable, because the logic is more
transparent, less subject to alternative interpretations, and more amenable to rigorous
empirical testing. Increasing the number of imprecise, qualitative terms and meanings will
do little to advance ecology, but using mathematics to reduce ambiguity will. (Ibid., p.
703)

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The NETI common research efforts, embodied in several international workshops and some collective publications, aim at an integration of several mathematical theories available in ecology – such as the Fisher's sex ratio theory, the optimal foraging theory, the metabolic theory, the maximum entropy theory, and the neutral theory of biodiversity. All these bodies of concepts condense in relatively simple equations the complex dynamics of ecosystems or of parts of them. The challenge of the NETI group is to combine and unify them in an overarching general theory of ecosystems.

Quantitative geography – our second example – is a "nomothetic" kind of geography, seeking 446 to detect general laws of urban development that transcend regional particularisms (Varenne 447 2017, p. 30). Once again, within this community physics plays a role model (Bettencourt and 448 West 2010). Some quantitative geographers are indeed ex-physicists that propose to do a 449 science of cities with the tools they learned in their precedent career, many others are trained 450 451 geographers with a strong inclination for quantitative tools who aim at making their discipline "more scientific" by the yardstick of formalization (Cuyala 2014). SFI researchers apply 452 power laws to world city databases and argue macroscopic general properties of urban centers 453 independently of the continent, such as the fact that social phenomena increase at the same 454 path as the demographic expansion (Bettencourt et al. 2007; Bettencourt et al. 2010). 455 According to them, GDP, wages, art and patents follow the same scalar rhythm as the number 456 457 of crimes. On the other side, these scientists remark that basic needs like housing, electricity or water usage stay proportionally the same – no matter the size and location of the city.
Thirdly, they highlight the fact that infrastructures increase proportionally less than the
increase of population, because of economies of scale which allow more people to use the
same infrastructures.

Some philosophical works have commented the intrinsic, often concealed, contradictions of
the complexity sciences epistemic project – officially anti-reductionist and anti-determinist,
but actually as reductionist and determinist as the "classical science" they say they wish to
counter (Israel 2005; Morin 2007; Li Vigni 2020a). In particular Israel (2005, p. 505) wrote:

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there is no doubt that the mathematical-formal approach remains the heart of the theoretical elaborations of the science of complexity. And this is precisely where the ambiguity lies: since, in this way, the science of complexity runs the risk of becoming an updated version of reductionism, that is, of the attempt to subordinate every aspect of reality to the same interpretative key.

472

473 Exceptions must be noticed however. For example some researchers who inscribe in
474 complexity sciences write books about the impossibility of "putting society into equations"
475 (Jensen 2018) or criticize "the considerable influence exerted by physics in the domain of
476 complex systems modeling" (Banos 2016, p. 45).

477

478 *3.4 The statistical regime*

The toy model is opposed to what we can call the *simplified realistic model*, which is theoretically more complex but still stylized and metaphorical (Edmonds and Moss 2005). Its relative realistic significance concerns the material with which it is nourished – empirical

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data. Yet, this type of model does not reach the morphological accuracy and the ambition of 482 483 exhaustivity that some recent simulations possess. In computational epidemiology for example, complexity specialists propose accurate agent-based simulations of the entire United 484 States in order to predict the epidemic peaks region by region. In such a case we can talk 485 about complex realistic models, which are validated through more complicated 486 epistemological procedures making use of statistics. Graebner (2018) distinguishes between 487 verification, that is testing the internal consistency of a model, and validation in the strict 488 sense, which aims at testing whether the model reasonably represents the target system. 489 Statistics are important in both operations, because they are used to verify the model by doing 490 491 data sensitivity analysis, compensating the absence of data or exploring the possible variations of each parameter taken alone and in interaction with other parameters, namely during 492 "sequential modeling" (building the model block by block in the perspective of an increasing 493 494 complexification); but statistics are also used to validate the model by fixing the free 495 parameters of a simulation starting from available data or by launching several runs of the 496 model in order to obtain a faithful representation of the target system. Today statistical operations on simulations are run up to million times thanks to international (public and 497 private) grid computing. In general, complexity scientists using complex realistic models and 498 statistics aspire at predicting and providing "full explanations," which entail to illustrate "why 499 500 a certain fact occurred at a certain time in a certain way, either by providing its causal history or by identifying the causal relations that produced it" (Grüne-Yanoff and Weirich 2010, p. 501 502 37).

At least three sub-regimes can be identified within the *statistical regime*. Firstly, the *goldstandard data sub-regime* (an expression that comes from medicine and statistics) concerns the reliability of data: In order to establish their validity, scientists take as a comparison the best available reference test, which is thus constantly updated and amended over time. In a 507 French laboratory of microscopic and computational embryology using ABM to simulate *in* 508 *silico* embryos, there are two sub-teams. One is focused on the biological part (caring for the 509 animals, leading the experiments, analyzing the data) and the other is focused on engineering 510 (developing mathematical tools, writing code, managing the microscopes). In this context, the 511 biological data used to feed the computer simulations must be validated upon gold-standard 512 data which, as the director of the laboratory explained,

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is the perfect data set which is going to serve as a milestone, so that you can later compare
the efficacity of your algorithms. Other people call it the "ground truth." This expression is
in use in computer science. It's funny, because [in biology] we consider that what we can
do best is with our eyes, the expert's eye. Yet, if you charge different people for building
the same gold-standard, they won't agree on the result. (Interview with a biochemist from
BioEmergences lab at CNRS, 24.04.15)

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Even if this researcher explains that in the biological community "it is customary to say that the gold-standard must be validated by two independent experts," she admits that "this is very difficult to realize for material reasons and temporal constraints" (ibid.). The manual and visual validation of a dataset indeed presupposes a long perceptual work that is extremely energy and time consuming, for embryological datasets imply, during a 24 hours' time lapse, the displacement of thousands of cells that the researchers have to track down one by one.

A second sub-regime can be called the *Popperian corroboration*. It is well exemplified by two computer scientists from the Paris Complex Systems Institute and one quantitative geographer from Géographie-Cités (CNRS-Sorbonne, Paris), who have developed an algorithm to fortify specific models written with different programming languages. Starting from the epistemological assessment according to which the simple corroboration of models is not sufficient to validate them (also known as *equifinality* [Oreskes and Belitz 2001; Beven 2019]), the authors appeal to an algorithmic technique to explore the space of parameters in order to falsify models following Popper's prescriptions (Chérel et al. 2015). According to these researchers, an algorithm that can produce unexpected patterns provides a method to falsify a model and at the same time to generate predictions through it. The unexpected patterns are sought by the algorithm

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through the stochastic perturbation of the parameter values and through the pursuit, among
all possible parameters, of the different behaviors that I can have as an outcome. And if,
among these different behaviors, there are some I wasn't expecting, I can say they are
going to be either counter-examples, which allows us to bring down the model, or
predictions of the model which I can later empirically test or compare to some database.
(Interview with a computer scientist, 06.07.16)

545

The process is seen as iterative. Once a model is ready, scientists can explore the space of 546 parameters, then they can search for unexpected patterns in order to re-adjust the model, and 547 finally the process can start over again until they get to a model considered satisfactory. 548 549 Through their genetic algorithm, conceived to produce innovation, the three researchers 550 generate an indefinite variation of patterns in order to reinforce models by challenging them. French sociologist of statistics Alain Desrosières used to describe statistical techniques as 551 "things that hold" (Desrosières 1998, p. 9). Inversely, the genetic algorithm of these 552 553 complexity specialists is conceived to explore the "things that do not hold" into the models.

A third sub-regime has a pattern-based validation and corresponds to what Graebner (2018) 554 calls the *descriptive output validation*, which consists of asking "to what extent the output of 555 the model can replicate existing data." In the case of realistic models indeed, the exploration 556 557 of parameters is mostly done in comparison with the target-system data. The backcasting subregime consists in considering a simulation as valid as soon as its output patterns resemble the 558 patterns that have been established through the analysis of "real world" databases. While 559 forecasting aims at predicting the future by means of the analysis of present data, backcasting 560 implies to test model hypotheses over a past event of which initial and final data are available, 561 in order to test both the "dynamical sufficiency" and the "mechanistic adequacy" of the model 562 - that is, respectively, the "model's capacity to reproduce patterns observed in the target" and 563 "its capacity to represent the mechanistic structure of the target" (Graebner 2018). As 564 Augusiak et al. (2014) wrote, "Mechanistic modelling simplifies real-world processes to 565 566 understand driving mechanisms well enough so that forecasts of a system's response to certain conditions become feasible" (p. 118). For the scientists who work on explanatory or 567 predictive realistic modeling, this sub-regime is fundamental. 568

The term of backcasting appeared in the 1980s in the field of future studies, sustainable 569 570 development and planning in a normative fashion (Robinson 1982; Dreborg 1996; Holmberg and Robert 2000). It is now used within complexity sciences by quantitative geographers and 571 computational epidemiologists, among others, in order to validate their models (Cottineau 572 573 2014; Van den Broeck et al. 2011). An ex-PhD candidate in quantitative geography from Sorbonne in Paris efficaciously explained that "The meaning of backcasting is to verify 574 whether, starting from all the data we possess, we achieve to put together and reconstruct a 575 system of cities which is coherent from a holistic viewpoint" (interview, 13.07.15). A 576 computational epidemiologist based at INSERM of Paris illustrates this regime with an 577 578 example of model validation in epidemiological predictions:

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We have done what-if tests, for example by simulating that the network is homogeneous, 580 and we have seen that the consequences would indeed be very different. We have validated 581 the model on the SARS epidemics in a historical manner. We have adjusted the model only 582 583 with data concerning Hong Kong epidemics. With this fit we have seen whether the model was capable of reproducing the propagation at a spatial level. And it did, with a good 584 agreement relatively to our data. It is an easy technique that we put in place with post-hoc 585 586 studies, and by using already collected, confirmed, updated and validated data. (Interview, 587 24.07.15)

588

The match of the outcomes is not only numerical (statistical). It is also visual (graphical). 589 Philosopher Julie Jebeile has studied the way scientists draw on visual representations to 590 explain with simulations and gave three reasons for this: 1) the synoptic view allows to have 591 access to complex phenomena at a single glance; 2) images have a revealing power insofar 592 593 that they highlight the relation between variables which the opacity of models generally 594 conceal; 3) and they permit to single out relevant information out of lots of non-pertinent data (Jebeile 2018). Besides the synoptic, revealing and selective functions, there is a fourth one 595 596 which can be called *pattern identification function*. As a computer scientist from the Parisian Complex Systems Institute explained, to ensure that his colleagues from quantitative 597 geography validate a model it is necessary for them to see the "right plot" at the end of a 598 simulation run (interview, 31.01.17). According to the same researcher, his geographer 599 600 colleagues aim at "finding the rules which reproduce the paths they observe [in available 601 databases]; [for them] the knowledge is in the model and not in its specific outputs" (ibid.). In 602 both these subdisciplines, backcasting serves to validate the model, but while computational

epidemiologists wish to anticipate actual disease diffusions, quantitative geographers onlywish to "tell a history" based on a "theoretical foundation" (ibid.).

605 Nota bene: While scientists using the statistical regime employ mathematics of course, they do not try to condense the entire behavioral complexity of a system into one simple equation 606 or set of equations. Mathematical formula are embedded into the several mechanisms 607 included into the simulation, but in this regime what is convoked to prove the validity of a 608 model is the statistical outputs of the simulation, not the mathematical equations producing 609 them. It is no coincidence if in the eyes of mathematical regime tenants simulations are 610 devalued. For example, the NETI group wrote that they see ABM "only as a stage in the 611 process of understanding that may lead to the identification of first principles and, eventually, 612 to the development of efficient theories" (Marquet et al. 2014, p. 707). On the other side, 613 614 complexity scientists' use of simulation can be intended to overcome the impossibility of formally mathematizing certain systems. In most cases, simulation tools are meant to bypass 615 616 the linearity and stationarity of equations in order to capture the non-linearity and the dynamism of complex systems. For example, in one of his books, Artificial Life founder 617 Christopher Langton explained the interest of simulating life by agent-based models precisely 618 619 because coding allows to study systems that escape the mathematical harnessing: "it would take tens to hundreds of lines of equations to express even a simple model of an organism's 620 behavior [...] and there are simply no mathematical tools for dealing with equational systems 621 of that complexity" (Langton 1997, p. 5). In a position paper, a computational social scientist 622 from the SFI explains that ABM can be a way to solve unsolvable equations or to replace 623 equations at all: "there are important classes of problems for which writing down equations is 624 not a useful activity. In such circumstances, resort to agent-based computational models may 625 be the only way available to explore such processes systematically" (Axtell 2000). 626

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628 *3.5 The proof of concept regime*

The "proof of concept" – or the equivalent formula of "proof of principle" – designates the practical realization of an idea, a method or a process in view of demonstrating its feasibility; it "describes research in the beginning stages, at the cutting edge of new applications or technologies, and is a buzzword used to mark out scientific research as potentially extendable and/or scalable" (Kendig 2016, p. 737). Proof of concept is a common approach in industrial production, engineering and design, and is used for its relative inexpensiveness with the aim of gaining confidence in the practical potential of a hypothetical scheme.

Interestingly, while most complexity scientists are driven by theoretical research questions, 636 637 some are (or collaborate with) engineers and industrials in view of the fabrication of artefacts. 638 In this case, they convoke the industrial or robotic feasibility of their models as an argument for their validity more than mathematics or other criteria. Let us take the example of a 639 640 chemical engineer from the Center for Complex Systems and Dynamics, at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago. According to his account, he could never obtain the trust 641 of his collaborators if he considered his simulations as something more than a simple 642 exploration of potential "regions of interest:" 643

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I collaborate with people who do experiments. I just try conditions in simulation to show how blood vessels are being formed and, based on those results, they sometimes say, "We didn't think that that could have been something of interest" and they start thinking about it. [...] The only way I could convince others to collaborate with me is when I tell them that I respect the real experiments being the final judge. (Interview, 16.09.16)

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The *proof of concept regime* is an empirical argumentative regime, where simulations are seen as useful forerunners, but nothing reliable in and by themselves: "if the simulation was as good as reality, many things that have been simulated and worked fine but fell apart when tried in real life shouldn't have fallen apart" (ibid.). This is a very different argumentative regime compared to the precedent ones, where mathematics or simulations are considered as having the last word: What constitutes a proof here is the material concretization of a computational model.

In the swarm robotics stream of Artificial Life, the proof of concept is a necessary step before 658 659 realizing bigger developmental projects (Bonabeau et al. 1999). Artificial lifers promise a variety of "applications" of their expertise to technology, management, production and even 660 art (Bonabeau and Théraulaz 1994). Today, the most advanced and spread implementations 661 662 are to be found in machine learning algorithms, as they are employed for problem solving and decision making. If several representatives of this field patented some algorithms of this kind, 663 664 few have founded a company to develop personalized consulting services for other companies with the aim of optimizing industrial production and business management. "Icosystem" -665 founded in 2000 by French physicist Eric Bonabeau in Cambridge (MA) - is one of these. Its 666 667 domains of application are corporate diversity, product design, marketing, operational strategy and network analysis. The company has worked for corporations from different sectors 668 (telecommunication, pharmacy) and for governmental agencies (defense, healthcare). In an 669 670 article entitled "A More Rational Approach to New-Product Development" (Bonabeau et al. 2008), Bonabeau and his coauthors highlighted the limits of the classical new-product 671 development that they qualify as a "monolithic process." Alternatively, they propose to split 672 the process "into two distinct stages: a truth-seeking early stage, focused on evaluating novel 673 products' prospects and eliminating bad bets, and a success-seeking late stage, focused on 674 675 maximizing the value of products that have been cleared for development" (Bonabeau et al.

2008). In the rest of their article, the authors tell the story of a device called Chorus – a unit of 676 677 R&D using a computer software provided by Icosystem -, which has been used by the pharmaceutical company Eli Lilly with the objective of finding the best candidates for drugs 678 679 late-stage development, "in an environment where development costs and failure rates are extremely high" and where less expensive and more traditional approaches cannot work. The 680 Chorus genetic algorithm is conceived to create a portfolio of molecules and test their 681 feasibility in silico. The evidence is first made with a "proof of mechanism" supposed to 682 provide "an acceptable therapeutic index, a practical dose regimen and a manageable degree 683 of [pharmacokinetic/pharmacodynamic] variability" (Owens et al. 2015, p. 19). Before the 684 phase III, which is dedicated to industrial development, the phase II has to provide the proof 685 of concept evidence: "Chorus defines 'early stage' as the work of determining proof of 686 concept (POC) for a drug candidate. Researchers must show [...] that the drug is likely to be 687 688 effective and not to have obvious serious side effects" (Bonabeau et al. 2008). As sociologist Benjamin Raimbault (2018) summarizes, "The proof of concept is not uniquely the final 689 690 material realization of a project [...] but a way to reason and to experiment halfway between science and industry, in which feasibility is the decisive criterion" (p. 280). Table 1 sums up 691 the five epistemic argumentative regimes and the hegemonic disciplines/subdisciplines in 692 each of them. 693

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695 4. Ontological views

Philosophers of science have much debated about the relation between the world of the model and the world of the target system (Gelfert 2017). The question they ask is, "How does working with [models] tell us anything about the world?" (Morgan 2012). While some scholars have defended the superiority of laboratory experiments over computer simulations (Grüne-Yanoff 2009; Roush 2018; Symons and Alvarado 2019) and/or have defined the simulation as an "argument" (Beisbart 2012), others have argued the equal epistemic dignity of digital modeling (Humphreys 2004; Elsenbroich 2011) and either compared computer simulations to "mind experiments" (Farge 1986) or to "simulated experiments" with the same value as that of laboratory ones (Winsberg 2003). What about the onto-epistemological assumptions of the scientists themselves? The pragmatist approach adopted here leads us to examine their reflexivity about their scientific practices and metaphysical views. Similarly to the first section, philosophers positions will be mentioned next to complexity scientists' ones.

Since the beginning, STS scholars have struggled to show the complexity of the 708 709 sociotechnical world, the mixing up of nature and culture, science and technology, humans 710 and non-humans, theoretical and material practices, as well as the indissolubility of epistemological, ontological and axiological spheres and dimensions (Hackett et al. 2008; 711 712 Law 2010; Woolgar and Lezaun 2013). This does not mean that, in the STS view, social scientists have to explicitly analyze all spheres together all the time. If the epistemological 713 714 and the ontological questions are often separated by philosophers, here to talk about ontology permits to better understand the different epistemological postures at presence in complexity 715 sciences. During the fieldwork research, it became clear to me that scientists could share the 716 717 same epistemic argumentative regimes, but still behave very differently as for the extraacademic applications of their models and results. The codified and the "spontaneous 718 epistemologies" (Althusser 1974) of complexity specialists were not enough to explain the 719 720 observed differences in what concerns their attitudes about the scientific and sociopolitical use of their simulations. This is because epistemological postures are deeply related to 721 ontological ones. For some interviewees, the computer runs in another dimension compared to 722 723 the "real world," and the digital simulation can never be a proof of anything occurring in the analogical realm. For others, the world of the computer and the world of the target system 724 725 share important similarities, or are seen as ontologically coincidental.

As the whole panoply of evidence production techniques that complex systems specialists put 726 in place comes from existing disciplines and consolidated epistemic practices, in the same 727 way complexity sciences ontological views come from existing disciplines, except one: The 728 729 vitalist view (section 4.3) in vigor within the community of Artificial Life (Helmreich 1998). How many ontological postures are there? Hacking (2002) has highlighted the plurality of 730 ontologies at work in sciences, as well as their historicity. In an article published on Social 731 732 Studies of Science, Sismondo (2015) has added that the ontologies at work in sciences are not individual and contextual perspectives, but world visions shared by entire communities that 733 are the result of material and sociotechnical practices coevolution. Such an anti-platonic 734 735 movement implies that the number of extant ontologies is not infinite, as Sismondo himself explains: "a focus on interwoven practices that can be described on the pages of journals like 736 this one means that there will always be at most a handful of ontologies at issue" (ibid., p. 5). 737 738 The field of complexity scientists confirm such claims.

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740 *4.1 The dualist view*

For the dualists, the digital simulation can only suggest possible lines of inquiry and help 741 pinpoint questions to ask and questions to discard. Within this framework, simulation is 742 purely heuristic – it does not prove anything. An anthropologist from the SFI illustrates this 743 744 ontology as follows: "I think [simulations a]re used in most of the cases, certainly in social sciences that I'm aware of [...], to show the likelihood. And so they don't prove something 745 but they show that a more abstract hypothesis is at least feasible on the ground" (interview, 746 747 23.09.16). The metaphysical reasoning here is based on the fact that physical, biological and social realms are very different from that of ideas and computer simulations. The sphere of 748 symbols – which simulations are an instantiation of – runs on a parallel and separated rail 749 compared to that of the target system. The epistemological position that is linked to this 750

751 *ontological view* is prudential. If the two worlds never touch or cross each other, the computer 752 cannot say anything "true" about the system under investigation. In this sense, simulation 753 serves to test hypotheses, but more like a game than like a "synthetic laboratory," since such 754 hypotheses have to be confronted with *in vivo* experiments.

Often, those who share this view come from life and social sciences, and use toy models. An evolutionary biologist affiliated to the SFI told me he always reproaches his students when they qualify their computer simulations as "experiments:"

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I have a bunch of computer scientists in my group [...] [At] one of our group meetings [somebody said] something like, "Last week I did this experiment." And the first thing I told him is, "Never call something you did on a computer an experiment." An experiment is something you do in the lab or in the field or in the real world. [...] the reason I say this is because I want them to have the distinction between whatever they do in a computer and what they do in the lab or in the field. Because if you go talk to biology audiences and say, "This is an experiment," they'll just laugh you out of the room. (Interview, 07.10.16)

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767 Similarly, a quantitative geographer from Sorbonne in Paris claims the following:

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I think of [simulation] as a sort of heuristics, or in some cases even as a maieutic, for it
helps you give birth to new ideas. After that, you have to throw the model away [...] and
you have to step to a further level. [...] For me, we must avoid a reification of the models,
you see? A model is simply an intermediary step toward something else. (Interview,
25.04.17)

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The *dualist view* can also concern new entrants in the field of computational sciences – for 775 they lack of confidence in the digital models -, or complex systems specialists at the 776 beginning of the history of the field – when simulations were not as accurate as today's. For 777 the latter case we can think of the many artificial lifers, computational archeologists, 778 sociologists and economists that used to play with toy models back in the 1980s and 1990s. 779 Yet it would be a mistake to think that all toy model users are necessarily dualists. Some 780 781 scientists sharing other views use very simplified models in the await for more complex and 782 realistic ones.

783 Some philosophers have similar conceptions of computer models (e.g. Longo 2013; Opitz 2017). According to Oreskes et al. (1994, p. 641), "Models can only be evaluated in relative 784 terms, and their predictive value is always open to question. The primary value of models is 785 786 heuristic." According to Morgan (2012) – who is probably the most explicit in such matter – "by experimenting with the model, economists can gain understanding and provide 787 788 explanations of how the economic world in the model works and use these in an informal way to reflect on the workings of the real economy that the model is taken to represent" (pp. 36-789 37). According to her view, in the case of laboratory experiments in biology for example, the 790 791 deductive leap between the model species and the target species is lesser, since both share the same material ontology. Even more clearly, she affirms that "The model world is at most a 792 parallel world. [...] economic models are only representations of things in the economy, not 793 794 the things themselves" (Morgan 2012, pp. 286-287).

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796 *4.2 The agnostic view*

797 The scientists that hold this position have a pragmatic argument about the essence of the 798 target and of the simulated systems. Such an argument consists in claiming that simulations sometimes "work," and for this very reason it is useful to employ them in different situations,no matter *why* they work.

801 Two researchers from the Los Alamos National Laboratory collaborating with computational epidemiologists show such suspension of judgement about ontological issues. One is a 802 statistician and says that statistical results are more or less "defendable" depending on some 803 collectively established criteria (interview, 29.09.16). He is indeed conscious of the social 804 codes he needs to respect in order to "validate" a model in the eyes of the scientific 805 community: "Basically the way you judge disease models is whether their assumptions seem 806 807 reasonable, that's one, and then two, do they fit the data" (ibid.). Yet, what is interesting for him is to see whether the model allows the modeler to learn something: "is error sufficiently 808 small that you can still learn something from the model? [...] So if you have a specific 809 810 epidemic outbreak, can you reproduce that outbreak in your simulation?"

Analogously, his colleague from computer science thinks that the question of the "truthfulness" of models does not even make sense. If the model reproduces the expected pattern, this allows to continue to reflect upon the underpinning hypotheses, without asking if there is an *adequatio rei intellecti* between theory and target systems:

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816 *Question: Yours is then a pragmatic approach: You just ask "does it work or not?"*

Answer: Right, exactly. So whether the model is true... I don't know if that question is
even meaningful" (interview, 29.09.16).

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In philosophy of science, such a position is known as "pragmatist" and claims that the "predictive power [of simulations is the] mark of success" (Symons and Alvarado 2018). Yet, compared to the laconic interviewees cited before, who strongly avoid the "truth" question, some philosophers propose a "pragmatic theory of truth and error in computer simulation,"
whose argumentative foundation is very loquacious and complex (Hubig and Kaminski 2017).
Both in complexity sciences and in philosophy, the agnostic/pragmatist position remains rare.

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827 *4.3 The homomorphic view*

For the representatives of this view, the world of simulation and the world of target systems do not share the same material cause, but do share the same formal one. In this view, the ontological homology between the formal arrangement of the target system and the one of the simulated system allows researchers to go way further than dualists and agnostic in the kind of performative power they attribute to computer simulations. These are not seen just as an heuristic, for they are taken as sound proofs of what goes on in the "real" world.

A computer scientist from the Parisian Complex Systems Institute claimed that, since the target system and the simulation model share the same structure, "to work on the model means working on the real system" (interview, 03.02.17). But the clearest illustration of the *homomorphic view* comes from a computational epidemiologist based at the INSERM:

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[The simulation] is an abstraction of the form. If a real form exists, the form of the simulation is an abstraction of the real form. [...] [In the modeling process you have to] lose some details [...] some mechanisms [...] that you don't consider as indispensable in the process [...] What I capture with [my model] is the set of ingredients I believe have an important role within the epidemic propagation phenomenon, and they are *real* ingredients [...] we write [mobility, gravity, diffusion] laws [...] and the starting hypothesis is that these laws [...] are a precise and reliable description of what's going on in reality. [...] 846

When [the simulation] works, it means that the phenomena I have captured within it are the real ones. (Interview, 09.05.17)

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As Israel (2005, p. 504) noticed, "The success of physics is due to the fact of having chosen as 849 its guiding principle the Galilean approach of 'pruning the impediments' [...] that is the belief 850 in the fact that there is a mathematical order underlying nature which is simpler than it 851 appears, and that represents the essence of phenomena." It is no coincidence if most of the 852 homomorphic representatives, as well as the one just cited, are mainly physicists by training, 853 no matter the subdiscipline to which they contribute in the second part of their career. This 854 855 category has a considerable amount of expressive nuances - sometimes the accent is on the 856 "structure," sometimes on the "underpinning hypotheses," some others on the "formal organization." Yet, they all share the same belief about the power of the models: These can 857 definitely explain and predict "real" systems evolution. Admittedly, homomorphic researchers 858 trust their simulations because these "work," but they also explain why they work: In their 859 view, the rules inscribed into the computer code "capture" the very rationales of the target 860 systems. 861

Some philosophers share the same *ontological view* as these interviewees. Computational 862 models are described as representing "analogues" of "real" phenomena (Sismondo 1999), or 863 864 as having a "mimetic quality" relatively to the target systems (Winsberg 2003), or as being more or less "isomorphic" compared to them (Suppes 2002; Da Costa and French 2003). 865 Galison (1997) has also distinguished between a "homologous" tradition in physics, which 866 867 "make[s] statistical arguments for the existence of a particle or effect," and a "homomorphic" tradition, which "has had as its goal the representation of natural processes in all their fullness 868 869 and complexity – the production of images of such clarity that a single picture can serve as evidence for a new entity or effect. These images are presented, and defended, as mimetic" (p. 870

19). Similarly, Norton and Suppe (2000) assimilate (climate) computer simulations to experiences, since algorithms mimic "real" physical systems. While other examples could be given (Elsenbroich 2011; Winsberg 2009; Peschard 2013), one of the clearest endorsements to this view comes from Humphreys (2004), who talks about the possibility that "the computational model used by S correctly represents the structure of the real system R" (p. 110).

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878 *4.4 The vitalist view*

At first sight, the *vitalist view* seems to be a subcategory of the *homomorphic*, for both views 879 880 share the same idea according to which the formal structure of simulation can be the same as 881 the formal structure of the target system. But the accent that vitalists put on the very essence of their simulations distinguish them neatly from the homomorphic. Vitalists indeed push to 882 the extreme the symmetry between the world and the model, by claiming that their 883 simulations live in the literal meaning of the word. For vitalists, models are detached from any 884 sake of realism and are subject to the sake of plausibility. But as soon as a digital agent is 885 capable of feeding, defending and reproducing, we are facing a concrete instantiation of 886 Darwinian evolution. Thus for them, simulations can be studied as real biological systems. 887

This view is present in Artificial Life. This domain parallels Artificial Intelligence in that the 888 distinction between hardware (matter) and software (form) is sharp and hierarchical, since the 889 890 identity of an artificial being is given by its organization, not by the specific body in which it is incarnated nor by the specific combination of the two. As the founder of this field 891 Christopher Langton once wrote, "[Artificial Life] is an attempt to abstract the principles of 892 893 life from its material organization, and recreate them in other materials" (SFI 1990, p. 17). In this perspective, matter is indifferent, almost causally transparent: "The objective [of 894 Artificial Life] is not so much to explain in particular natural phenomenon as to claim that a 895

certain kind of phenomenon will be robustly exhibited by a broad variety of systems having a 896 certain abstract or formal structure" (SFI 1997, p. 20). The form is the only criterion to 897 establish life identity: "[life] is a property of the *organization* of matter, rather than a property 898 of matter itself" (Langton 1988, p. 74). The conviction of artificial lifers is that, if they 899 manage to capture the rules of life organization into computer code, the software which 900 results out of it will not only be an imitation of living beings, but will be a *silico* living being. 901 902 In their view, simulations are alive for they have an autonomous existence, not in the sense 903 that they self-program their code, but in the sense that their evolutive stages are unpredictable to the programmer. 904

905 The social scientist who has the best described artificial lifers' perspective is MIT anthropologist Stefan Helmreich (1998, 2004). One of the many things that he highlighted in 906 907 his work is that, since the inception of the field, its representatives started claiming that computers are parallel worlds compared to the physical one in which we live: "Computers are 908 909 candidates for being worlds, not just describing them" (Helmreich 1998, p. 103). As one of Helmreich's interviewees once told him: "After a while, the analogy between self-replicating 910 programs and living organisms becomes so perfect that it becomes perverse to call it merely 911 an analogy. It becomes simpler just to redefine the word *organism* to apply to both chemical 912 and software creatures" (ibid., p. 123). 913

Some philosophers have worked with artificial lifers on the philosophical foundations of their field (Bedau 1992, 2007; Boden 1996). Among the subjects they have dealt with, they essentially focused on the theory of evolution, on the definition of life, on the relationship between life and mind, as well as on the ontological status of the simulated living beings.

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919 *4.5 The monist view*

The conviction according to which a "key property of complex adaptive systems is their ability to process information – to compute – in order to adapt and thrive in an environment" (SFI 2014, p. 18) is widely shared by homomorphic and vitalists. The monists differ from all the others insofar as the entire universe is seen by them as a computer or as a computational process. The term "monism" refers to the fact that the parallel rails of "real" world and simulation make one and the same thing, the material rail being completely determined by the formal one.

For one of the tenants of this view – physicist and entrepreneur Stephen Wolfram – all natural 927 928 and social phenomena can perfectly be reproduced and explained by a processor. If the 929 universe is a computing process, then the simulation contained in a PC has a thorough ontological continuity with the former. Simulation hence becomes a real system or a universe 930 931 into the universe, since their essence is the same. Also influenced by his personal interest for cosmology, Wolfram has come up to produce an original cosmogony: "And could it even be 932 933 that underneath all the complex phenomena we see in physics there lies some simple program which, if run for long enough, would reproduce our universe in every detail?" (Wolfram 2002, 934 p. 465). According to him, the fundamental physical laws are not that fundamental, since they 935 936 are actually an emergent phenomenon of a single and simpler computational law which expresses the entire universe and all it contains. In particular, he rejects to qualify the universe 937 as a computer, for he prefers to define it as the result of a computational process: 938

939

What I would say is we have a thing that is computational, just like we can have a thing that is mathematical and, as we could say the Universe is mathematical, the Universe is computational. That means there is a computational process which is equivalent to the Universe, which reproduces the Universe. (Interview with Stephen Wolfram, 13.09.16)

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945 His position does not imply to reject the importance of matter: "if you're trying to study 946 snowflakes and you don't believe in matter, you are doing something stupid. Because 947 snowflakes are made of ice [...] there is not really a conflict or difficulty there" (ibid.). Still, 948 computation is in this perspective the most important principle of the cosmos:

949

if we are living in the world and we've got tables and chairs, then matter is important. But
if we are trying to find a broader theory of the world, then probably mathematics is more
important than the specifics of this crystalline solid or something. So similarly it is with
computation, it's more important, it's a broader category of mathematics. (Ibid.)

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Another monist is MIT quantum physicist Seth Lloyd, who advocates for a cosmology and a 955 956 cosmogony which are similar to Wolfram's, that he knows and cites. In his book entitled Programming the Universe, he starts the narration with a Biblical-like citation: "In the 957 beginning was the bit" (Lloyd 2006, p. IX). According to Lloyd, information is the basic 958 959 principle of the cosmos next to matter and energy, for he claims that the universe "computes," "is governed by the laws of quantum mechanics" and thus is "a quantum computer" that has 960 "compute[d] itself" (ibid., p. 3) since the "Bit Bang" (ibid., p. 46). According to Lloyd, 961 "Energy makes physical systems do things. Information tells them what to do" (ibid., p. 40). 962 963 His monist position is even more straightforward than Wolfram's: "the universe and a 964 quantum computer have the same information-processing power: they are essentially 965 identical" (ibid., p. 149). The question does not focus on whether simulations can say something about the target system. The point is that if the cosmos is a computational process, 966 967 then the computer simulation have all the important characteristics of the world.

Table 2 summarizes the five *ontological views*, the disciplines hegemonic in each of them, as well as their view of the relation model-world under the material and formal causes framework. As the table shows, the views locate over a continuum going from dualists to monists, passing through agnostic, homomorphic and vitalists.

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973 5. Regimes of evidence and extra-academic activities

With the term of regime of evidence, I refer to the combination of an ontological view with 974 975 one or more epistemic argumentative regimes. Such combinations are not endless. Complexity sciences are composed by a finite number of epistemic cultures and – despite the 976 977 existence of some "dialectal" variations, transient postures and exceptions within each one of 978 them - every epistemic culture has its own prevalent regime of evidence. For this very reason, regimes of evidence can be seen as one of the components of Karin Knorr-Cetina's epistemic 979 cultures - which are defined as "amalgams of arrangements and mechanisms" or as the set of 980 theoretical, practical, technical, institutional and normative practices which "make up how we 981 know what we know" (Knorr-Cetina 1999, p. 1). 982

One question remains to be addressed in this last section: What are the effects of the different 983 regimes of evidence on the way complexity scientists interface with policy makers and civil 984 society? The degree of conviction with which researchers use their science as an expertise 985 with practical effects for enterprises, NGOs and administrations can vary a lot (Li Vigni 986 987 2020b). Their attitudes can indeed go from a prudent approach, which considers their tools and results as a sheer heuristic way to explore theoretical questions, up to a remarkable self-988 confidence with the explanatory and predictive power of their models. As for the pragmatic 989 consequences of this, while some complexity specialists never adventure to address private 990 and public actors to offer them expert consulting services, others do not hesitate to do so. 991 Many reasons can of course be adduced -a gap in scientific confidence in one's models, the 992

993 lack of culture of decision making support within a given subdiscipline, as well as the specific 994 institutional conjuncture of a scientific community in a given country at a given historical 995 moment. But if we focus on the specific articulations between the *epistemic argumentative* 996 *regimes* and the *ontological views*, at least three different positions emerge from the material 997 presented here:

1) A merely *heuristic regime of evidence*, where scientists refuse to support any decision 998 making process for the lack of confidence in their tools. It is often the case of those 999 aligning to the *dualist view* and the toy model regime. In their case, models can aid 1000 1001 research but not more, for these can neither prove a theory nor predict a given phenomenon. The dominant epistemic cultures here are life and social sciences, two 1002 1003 domains in which researchers tend to be cautious in terms of prediction because of the 1004 remarkable complexity of their study objects. Accustomed to trial-and-error and to other qualitative inquiry techniques, biologists and social scientists who affiliate to the 1005 1006 complexity field certainly have a strong interest in regularities detection and formalization, but tend to bring in their scientific culture traditionally suspicious of a 1007 mathesis universalis; 1008

1009 2) A productive regime of evidence, where scientists aligning with the vitalist and the monist views and exploiting the proof of concept regime offer to produce software and 1010 robots in view of a practical, often entrepreneurial application of their tools and 1011 models. Mostly engineers and entrepreneurs (or physicists with a strong interest in 1012 engineering and entrepreneurship), the tenants of this regime are by training turned to 1013 the material realization of artefacts. When they do not build something tridimensional, 1014 1015 they work on simulations that they tend to consider as autonomous beings. Theory for them is not an end in itself, but a step toward something useful and/or capitalizable for 1016 society; 1017

3) And, finally, a consulting regime of evidence, where scientists carrying a 1018 homomorphic view and laying upon the mathematical or the statistical regime – and 1019 particularly on the *backcasting sub-regime* – do not hesitate to offer their services to 1020 1021 enterprises and governmental policy makers. Mostly physicists by training, the tenants of this regime practice interdisciplinarity and, often through complexity institutional 1022 1023 spaces and networks, turn toward other disciplines and domains where they feel they 1024 can bring some theoretical and practical contribution. They may indeed predict an epidemic peak or anticipate the effect of an infrastructure implantation over an urban 1025 system in view of planning. In either case, their conviction in a mathesis universalis 1026 1027 or, said otherwise, in the formal equivalence between the target and the simulated systems, give them the necessary confidence to use the computer modeling to claim 1028 something about "reality." 1029

These are non-exhaustive generalizations and the analysist should avoid the charm of easy, 1030 1031 logical correspondences between the different argumentative regimes and the different ontological views. Notable exceptions exist indeed which are explainable by taking into 1032 account, besides pure logic, also contextual and cultural facts. For example, some researchers 1033 1034 from ecology, computer science and social sciences, who are dualists using toy models, propose to communities and administrations sophisticated devices of action research, based 1035 on serious games, debates and ABM among other tools, in order to pacify conflictual 1036 situations in the management of public natural goods (Collectif ComMod 2005; Étienne 1037 2012). In this case, simulations are simplified and yet expected to reproduce the interrelations 1038 linking stakeholders between them and with their environment. The reason why a toy model 1039 1040 is, according to them, capable of modifying a sociopolitical status quo resides in the scope of these complex systems specialists, which is not predictive, but pedagogical and political. For 1041

them, the simulation plays the role of a serious game through which the different stakeholdersin conflict can discuss and rethink their interactions and impact on natural resources.

1044

1045 Conclusion

Back in the 1980-90s, the SFI and some of its epigones in Europe launched the project of a 1046 1047 new, unitary and revolutionary discipline with the aim of "defin[ing] the principles of a general science of complexity" (SFI Arch. #1, p. 3), but decided to abandon it after journalist 1048 1049 John Horgan criticized, on the pages of the Scientific American, complexity science for being "flaky" and the SFI for being "fact-free" (Horgan 1995). Nevertheless, along the lines of the 1050 1051 founders of this domain, some observers have argued its unity and radical novelty. But by 1052 describing complexity scientists' epistemic argumentative regimes and ontological views, this text has disconfirmed the alleged unity of complexity and minimized the claim of its radical 1053 novelty. Indeed, the five epistemic argumentative regimes - parsimony, toy model, 1054 1055 mathematical, statistical and proof of concept - and the five ontological views - dualist, agnostic, homomorphic, vitalist and monist - draw from physics, statistics, mathematics, life 1056 sciences, as well as design and engineering. The last section has shown that the different 1057 articulations between the regimes and the views produce different postures in relation to 1058 extra-academic actors. Whether scientists show a prudential approach about their results or 1059 1060 propose their consulting to companies, NGOs and policy makers, it depends, among other things, on their different views of the world and the kind of knowledge they think they can 1061 produce. An heuristic, a productive and a consulting regimes of evidence have thus been 1062 1063 identified.

Interestingly, the socio-epistemic space that complexity founders have contributed to open up
has produced new subdisciplines instead of a singular overarching discipline – econophysics,
Artificial Life, complex networks and computational epidemiology all stemmed from this

space. Whereas Waldrop (1992) insisted in employing the singular "complexity science," the 1067 1068 interlocutors featured in his book always used the plural. What is more, if until the mid-1990s some of the founders were engaged in the project of a general theory of all natural and social 1069 1070 complex systems (Cowan et al. 1994; Holland 1996), other illustrious protagonists of the beginnings rather emphasized the onto-epistemic difference of the layers which physical and 1071 social nature is made of (Anderson 1972). Today very few representatives of the field believe 1072 1073 that a science of complex systems exists or may someday exist (in my corpus, only four over 1074 the 115 interviewees and three of them have been active in the institutionalization of the field). 1075

1076 A remark on the limits of the present article and about its possible openings deserve to be done before concluding. Since my primary objective was to qualitatively clearing brush 1077 within the famous but poorly understood domain of complexity, the quantitative backup of the 1078 theses defended here has been left out of the picture. The fact that the agnostic and the monist 1079 1080 *views* are very rare in my corpus (each being < 2%) is indicative of their probable rarity in the entire complexity community. It is also possible to claim that the homomorphic view is more 1081 common than the *dualist* one (respectively 83 and 9% of my corpus). But the *vitalist* is 1082 1083 underrepresented (<4%) because, since Artificial Life has already been studied by anthropologists and philosophers, I decided to neglect it, and this bias - along with the 1084 snowball method - does not permit to establish the exact ratio between homomorphic, dualists 1085 and vitalists in the complexity community. It is however easy to conceive of a short 1086 questionnaire with both closed and open questions to send to as many complexity scientists as 1087 possible in different countries, so to confirm/amend the different regimes and views identified 1088 1089 here and to quantify them more precisely. The number of interviewees from the different 1090 epistemic cultures at presence should follow a representative logic. Lastly, the reader who 1091 may be willing to conduct such an inquiry could definitely find useful the few, but

1092 comprehensive scientometric studies that have been conducted on complexity
1093 subcommunities by some of their own representatives (Cointet and Chavalarias 2008;
1094 Grauwin et al. 2012).

1095

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- 1396
- 1397 Table 1. The *epistemic argmentative regimes* within the subdisciplines gathered under the
- 1398 label of complexity sciences

| Epistemic argumentative | Hegemonic epistemic cultures | |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| regimes | | |
| Parsimony | All sciences, but especially life, social and computer sciences working on com realistic models and validating them through statistics | |
| Toy model | Physics, computer science, Artificial Life, economics and other social sciences | |
| Mathematical | Physics, mathematics, chemistry, theoretical ecology, quantitative geography and computational epidemiology | |
| Statistical | Physics, statistics, computational life and social sciences | |

| Proof of concept | Engineering, design, robotics, computer science and Artificial Life |
|------------------|---|
| | |

1399

1400 Table 2. The *ontological views* within the subdisciplines gathered under the label of

1401 complexity sciences

| Ontological | Hegemonic epistemic | Material cause in the real | Formal cause in the real |
|-------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| views | cultures within each view | system and the | system and the simulation |
| | | simulation | |
| Dualists | Life sciences, social sciences, | Different | Different |
| | engineering | | |
| Agnostic | Statistical sciences | Whatever works | Whatever works |
| Homomorphic | Physics, computer science, quantitative geographers, computational epidemiologists | Different | Coincidental |
| Vitalists | Artificial Life (physics, computer science, theoretical biology) | Different | Coincidental & lifelike |
| Monists | Physics, computer science | Coincidental | Coincidental |