



Havven: a stablecoin system v0.4

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Abstract

There is currently no effective decentralised unit of account. Previous attempts to create stable tokens have either relied on significant centralisation or have been undermined by their complexity. We present Havven, a representative money system which seeks to achieve price stability with respect to an external asset. Havven is a dual-token solution, composed of a stabilised exchange token and the reserve token which backs it. Users are incentivised to maintain this distributed reserve, and to manage the stable token supply so that it is in proportion with the value of the collateral. Because the collateral is encapsulated entirely within the system and distributed among its users, we remove the need for a trusted central authority. Such a stable cryptocurrency, useful for everyday economic purposes, will accelerate the adoption of distributed ledger technology.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Money and Cryptocurrencies

Money has become almost invisible over the past few decades as payment technology has advanced. The technology of money has three key functions: to act as a unit of account, a medium of exchange and as a store of value. In addition, money should ideally exhibit durability, portability, divisibility, uniformity, limited supply, and acceptability. But it is often lost upon users of money that it is itself a technology that can be improved. Specifically, this means improving the performance of our six desirable properties.

Bitcoin is an impressive technological advancement on existing forms of money because it simultaneously improves durability, portability, and divisibility. Further, it does so without requiring centralised control or the enforcement of a nation state from which to derive its value. It is precisely its fixed monetary policy which has protected Bitcoin from debasement and devaluation, allowing it to outperform other forms of money as a store of value, and increased adoption has tended to drive the price up over time. Unfortunately, the fixed money supply has also created the potential for short-run volatility as there is no mechanism within Bitcoin that can dynamically adjust to changing demand.

Bitcoin has thus tended to be a poor medium of exchange and an even worse unit of account. In order for something to perform well as a medium of exchange or unit of account it must remain relatively stable against the price of goods and services.

1.2 Stablecoins

A stablecoin is a cryptocurrency designed for price stability, such that it can function both as a medium of exchange and unit of account. It should ideally be as effective for making payments as fiat currencies like the US Dollar, but still retain the desirable characteristics of Bitcoin, namely transaction immutability, censorship resistance and decentralisation.

Cryptocurrencies are in these ways a far better form of money but have been significantly hindered in their adoption by the volatility of the inflexible monetary policies of decentralised systems. Stability continues to be one of the most valuable and yet the most elusive characteristics for the technology. Clearly, the ability to create alternative and dynamic monetary policies within crypto-economic systems is still nascent, and significant research into stable monetary frameworks for cryptocurrencies is required.

1.3 Havven

The Havven stablecoin system is a novel form of representative money in which there is no requirement for a physical asset, thus removing problems of trust and custodianship. The asset used to back the stablecoin is a pool of reserve tokens that collectively represent the system itself; controlling these reserve tokens reflects participation in the Havven system, and are a proxy for its value. Havven generates fees from users who transact in the stablecoin and distributes them among the holders of the reserve token, compensating them for underpinning the system. Havven therefore rewards those who actively participate in maintaining the stability of the system and charges those who benefit from its utility. These rewards are proportionally applied in response to the active management of the supply of the exchange token such that its price mirrors that of the asset it tracks.

Because we have created a system that generates cash flow for participants, we now have an asset which can be used as the collateral to support the stablecoin with a well-defined market value. The key to this is that the value of the system is measured in USD. This allows the system to issue a stablecoin which can be presented and redeemed for a percentage of the collateral tokens valued at 1 USD. Backing a stablecoin in this way is beneficial because such a cryptoeconomic system does not require trust in a centralised party; each participant has full transparency over how many tokens have been issued against the available collateral at all times.

The two linked tokens and the complex of incentives are described below:

Havvens: The collateral token, whose supply is static. The capitalisation of the havvens in the market reflects both the system's aggregate value and the reserve which backs the stablecoin. Thus, users who hold havvens take on the role of maintaining stability. Following bitcoin, the Havven system will appear in upper case and singular; while the havven token will be lower case and may be plural.

Nomins: The exchange token - the stablecoin - whose supply floats. Its price measured in fiat currency should be relatively stable. Other than price stability, the system should also encourage some adequate level of liquidity for nomins to act as a useful medium of exchange.

Each holder of havvens is granted the right to issue a value of nomins in proportion to the USD value of the havvens they hold and are willing to place into escrow. If the user wishes to release their escrowed havvens, they must present the system with nomins in order to free their havvens and trade them again. The holders of this token provide both collateral and liquidity, and in so doing assume some level of risk. To compensate this risk, such nomin-issuers will be rewarded with fees the system levies automatically as part of its normal operation.

1.4 Havven's Design

This issuance mechanism allows nomins to act as a form of representative money, where each nomin represents a share in the havven value held in reserve. Nomins derive value insofar as they provide a superior medium of exchange, and are effectively redeemable for a constant value of the denominating asset. In this paper, we use USD as this asset, but this could be any external and appropriately fungible asset, such as a commodity or a fiat currency.

In this manner, the system incentivises the issuance and destruction of nomins so that the value of the nomin pool expands and contracts in proportion with the total value of havvens backing them. If prices change exogenously, then the system is designed to provide incentives for actors to counteract that change.

The Havven system is relieved of the obligation to respond to major macroeconomic conditions, as it benefits from the stabilisation efforts of large institutions acting in fiat markets. In addition, as Havven has the freedom to significantly overcollateralise its pool of circulating currency, it insulates itself against dramatic corrections in the havven market. Havven therefore acts as a bridge between fiat currency and cryptocurrency as a hybrid of two technologies and possessing the advantages of both.

Finally, the design choice to back the system with a self-referential token was obvious; an asset-backed stablecoin with a cryptocurrency basket as reserve will always be inherently volatile, despite diversification, and will never be able to achieve the bespoke functionality of an asset which derives its value from stability.

Clearly, the introduction of a new cryptocurrency in isolation offers no additional value given the existing and established alternatives such as Bitcoin or Ethereum. Havven thus seeks to derive value from the addition of **stability** to its inherited properties as a modern cryptocurrency. It is designed to substantially improve the technology of money by providing a practical medium of exchange without compromising the benefits that decentralisation offers.

There are many applications which Bitcoin's inherently deflationary monetary policy and volatility presently make impossible. Achieving a cryptocurrency token which demonstrates the best utility characteristics from both fiat-based and cryptography-based money systems will prove to be extremely useful and significantly enhance global uptake of cryptoeconomic technology.

2 System Description

Havven is a dual-token system that, combined with a set of novel incentive mechanisms, stabilises the price of the nomin with respect to an external asset.

The havven token serves two functions:

- To provide the system with collateral.
- To allow actors to participate profitably in stabilising the nomin price.

Collateralisation Confidence in stability of the nomin begins with overcollateralisation, so that the value of escrowed havvens is greater than the value of nomins in circulation. The value of havvens is derived internally by the system as a function of the demand for nomins; this decouples the value of the collateral pool from market speculation.

As long as the ratio of total nomin value to total havven value remains favourable, there is sufficient backing in the underlying collateral pool to ensure that nomins can be redeemed for their face value. The redeemability of a nomin for the havvens against which it was issued strongly supports a stable price.

Incentives Havven rewards those that have issued nomins. These rewards are derived from transaction fees and are distributed in proportion with how well each issuer maintains the correct nomin supply. The system monitors the nomin price, and responds by adjusting its targeted global supply, which individual issuers are incentivised to move towards.

Where volatility persists, stronger stabilisation mechanisms may be applied such as interest rates or automated collateral recovery. Where a significant portion of nomins are being used for hedging, (and hence not generating transaction fees) time-based account fees can be added to ensure that the cost of utility for hedging is not being solely borne by transactions.

2.1 Definitions

We first introduce the core system variables:

$$\begin{array}{ll} H := \text{havven quantity} & N := \text{nomin quantity} \\ P_h := \text{havven price} & P_n := \text{nomin price} \end{array}$$

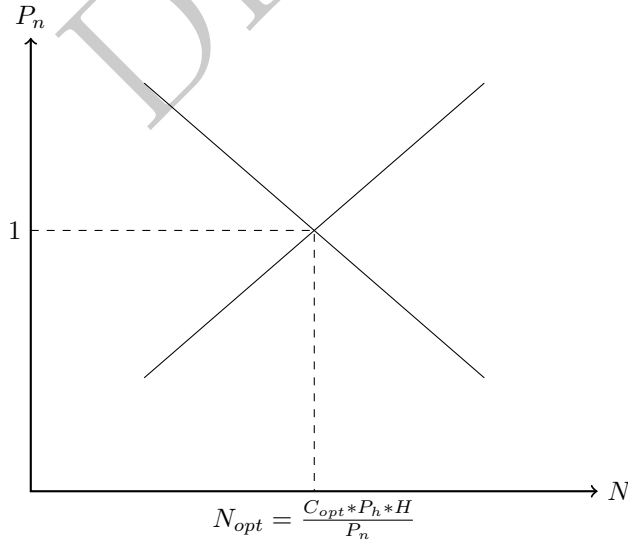
All havven tokens are created in the initial system state, so H is constant. The quantity of nomins, N , floats in response to the actions of havven holders. The Havven system needs to incentivise havven holders to maintain N such that the nomin price, P_n , is stable at \$1.

In Havven, the collateralisation ratio measures the value of nomins against the value of havvens:

$$C = \frac{P_n * N}{P_h * H}$$

2.2 Nomin Equilibrium Price

The law of supply and demand states that there exists some supply of nomins, N_{opt} , where the related level of demand yields an equilibrium price of \$1. This quantity is associated with an optimal collateralisation ratio, C_{opt} . We visualise this situation below.



The system is unable to influence the demand for nomins. We assume that some level of demand exists given the utility of nomins as a stable cryptocurrency. Although demand cannot be manipulated, the supply of nomins is controlled by havven holders, whose issuance incentives are in turn controlled by the system. It follows that as we require a fixed price $P_n = \$1$ and are unable to control either P_h or H , we must manipulate C_{opt} such that $N = N_{opt}$ in order to satisfy our requirement.

2.3 Issuance and Collateralisation

Havven’s goal is to remain overcollateralised. In order to do so, the system defines a collateralisation target:

$$0 < C_{opt} < 1$$

It is necessary at this point to distinguish between the nomins in a wallet N_i (equity) and the nomins that have been issued by that wallet \check{N}_i (debt). Note that globally, the $\sum_i N_i = \sum_i \check{N}_i$, as all circulating nomins were issued by some wallet. However, a given wallet may have a balance different from its issuance debt.

Hence we can define the collateralisation ratio for an individual wallet i in terms of its issuance debt:

$$C_i = \frac{P_n \cdot \check{N}_i}{P_h \cdot H_i}$$

The system provides incentives for individual issuers to bring their C_i closer to C_{opt} while maintaining C_{opt} itself at a level that stabilises the price.

Nomin Issuance The nomin issuance mechanism allows Havven to reach its collateralisation target. Issuing nomins escrows some quantity of havvens, which cannot be moved until they are unescrowed. The quantity of havvens \check{H}_i locked in generating \check{N}_i nomins is:

$$\check{H}_i = \frac{P_n \cdot \check{N}_i}{P_h \cdot C_{opt}}$$

Under equilibrium conditions, this implies that $C_i = C_{opt}$ is attained for a wallet exactly when all havvens have been escrowed, at $H_i = \check{H}_i$. As a result, the issuer cannot take actions that would bring C_i above C_{opt} and undercollateralise their position. Instead, C_i can only exceed C_{opt} with price fluctuations.

After generating the nomins, the system places a **limit sell** order with a price of \$1 on a decentralised exchange. This means that the nomins will be sold at the current market price, down to a minimum price of \$1 USD. If we assume implementation on Ethereum, then the nomins are sold for ETH, with the proceeds of the sale remitted to the issuer.

Nomins Destruction In order to access the original havvens that have been escrowed, the issuer must return the same quantity of nomins to the system to be burned. Nomins can be purchased in the open market.

2.3.1 Issuance Example

1. Bob purchases 10 havvens at \$10 each, total value \$100.
2. Bob decides to escrow 5 of his havvens to issue nomins. The optimal collateralisation ratio C_{opt} is 0.5 and P_n is 1. Recall the number of nomins issued is:

$$\check{H}_i = \frac{P_n \cdot \check{N}_i}{P_h \cdot C_{opt}}$$

$$5 = \frac{1 \cdot \check{N}_i}{10 \cdot 0.5}$$

$$\check{N}_i = 25$$

3. The system generates and sells 25 nomins in the market, transferring the funds in Eth to Bob's wallet.
4. Since Bob only escrowed half of his havvens, his individual collateralisation ratio is:

$$C_i = \frac{P_n \cdot \check{N}_i}{P_h \cdot \check{H}_i}$$

$$C_i = \frac{1 \cdot 25}{10 \cdot 10}$$

$$C_i = 0.25$$

5. The havven price drops to \$8. The value of his havvens has decreased to \$80 which means his C_i has increased to 0.31 but is still below C_{opt} . The system needs to escrow more of Bob's havvens to maintain the level of collateral.

$$\check{H}_i = \frac{1 \cdot 25}{8 \cdot 0.5}$$

$$\check{H}_i = 6.25$$

6. The system has locked an extra 1.25 of Bob's havvens. Bob now has 6.25 escrowed havvens.
7. The havven price then increases back to \$10. The value of his havvens has increased to \$100 and his C_i has decreased back to 0.25. The system releases 1.25 havvens back to Bob but his original 5 are still escrowed.

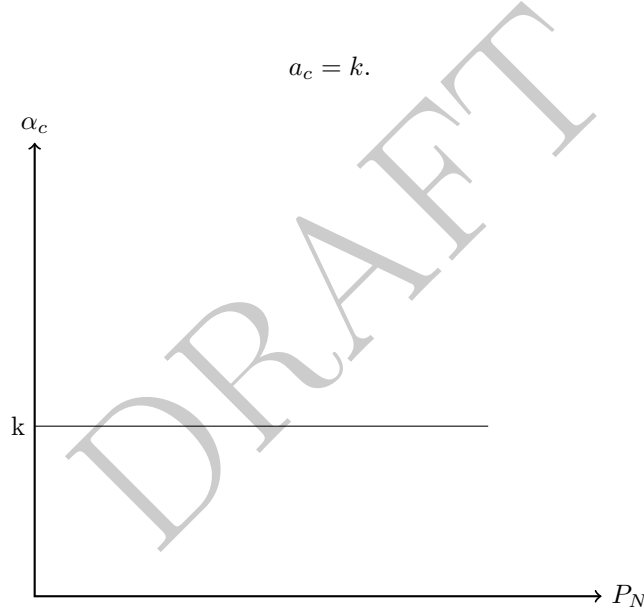
2.4 Transaction Fees

Havven needs a direct incentive mechanism that can react to changes in C due to a change in either P_h or P_n .

2.4.1 Nomin transaction fees

Every time a nomin transaction occurs, the Havven system charges a small transaction fee. Transaction fees allow the system to generate revenue, which it can distribute to havven holders as an incentive to maintain nomin supply at C_{opt} .

The fee rate charged on nomin transactions is α_c . It is constant and will be sufficiently small that it provides little to no friction for the user.

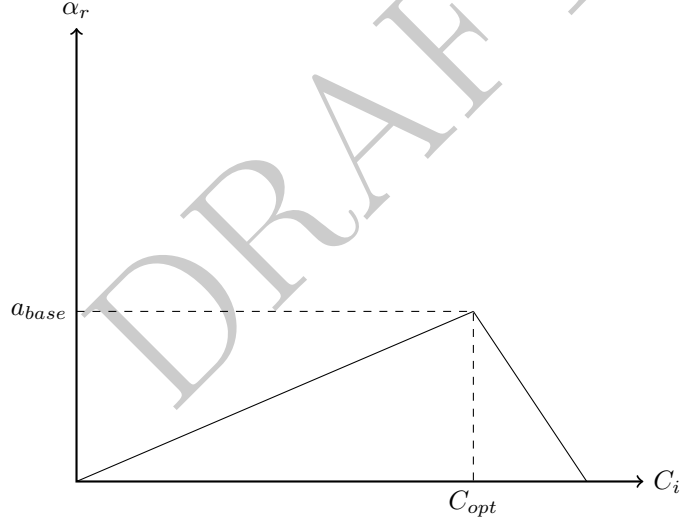


2.4.2 Fees received by Haven Holders

The fee rate paid to a haven holder that has escrowed is α_r . This rate changes with respect to the individual's unique collateralisation ratio, C_i . It increases linearly to a maximum at the optimal collateralisation ratio C_{opt} , before quickly diminishing as C_i approaches C_{max} . Beyond the maximum collateralisation ratio α_r is 0. Note, α_r is applied to the pool of collected fees which is determined by α_c .

$$\alpha_{R,t,i} = \alpha_{base,t} * f_{i,t}(C_{i,t}, C_{opt}, C_{max,t}),$$

$$f_{i,t}(C_{i,t}, C_{opt}, C_{max,t}) = \begin{cases} \frac{C_{i,t}}{C_{opt,t}} & \text{when } C_i \leq C_{opt}, \\ \frac{C_{max,t} - C_{i,t}}{C_{max,t} - C_{opt,t}} & \text{when } C_{opt} \leq C_i \leq C_{max}, \\ 0 & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$



This fee distribution curve encourages haven holders who have escrowed to maintain their U_i at U_{opt} .

2.4.3 Deriving the base fee rate

The total amount of fees collected from users has to be equal to the total amount of fees paid to the havven holders. We define the total amount of fees collected, $A_{c,t}$ below:

$$A_{c,t} = \alpha_{c,t} * v_{n,t} * \sum_I N_{I,t},$$

$v_{n,t}$ the velocity of nomins at t,

$\sum_I N_{I,t}$ the total issued nomins.

Next we define the total fees paid to havven holders $A_{R,t}$:

$$A_{R,t} = \sum_I \alpha_{R,t,I}.$$

Havven requires that:

$$A_{R,T} = A_{c,t}.$$

Substituting our earlier definition of $\alpha_{R,t,I}$:

$$\alpha_{base,t} * \sum_I f_{i,t}(C_{i,t}, C_{opt}, C_{max,t}) = \alpha_{c,t} * v_{n,t} * \sum_I N_{I,t}.$$

Solving for $\alpha_{base,t}$:

$$\alpha_{base,t} = \frac{\alpha_{c,t} * v_{n,t} * \sum_I N_{I,t}}{\sum_I f_{i,t}(C_{i,t}, C_{opt}, C_{max,t})}.$$

We have now defined the maximum fee rate, α_{base} , in terms of the fees collected, $A_{c,t}$. This rate should be achieved when an individuals U_i is at U_{opt} .

The definition of C_{opt} must therefore provide the following incentive. If $P_n > 1$ then the system must encourage more nomin to be issued. If $P_n < 1$, the system must encourage nomin to be burned.

2.5 Collateralisation Ratio

2.5.1 Optimal collateralisation Ratio

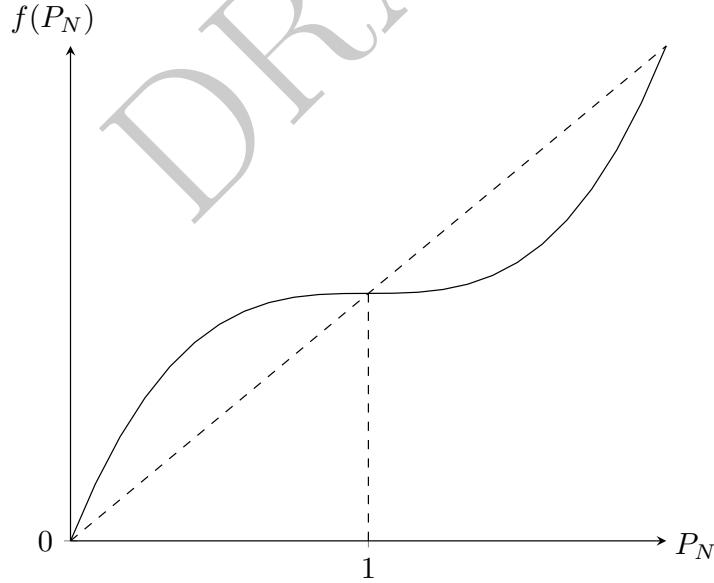
The optimal collateralisation ratio C_{opt} is a target for haven holders to reach in order to maximise the amount of fees they receive. C_{opt} is defined in terms of P_n such that haven holders can influence the price of nomin through directly controlling the supply of nomin (a haven holder can change their individual collateralisation ratio by buying or issuing more nomins).

The function for C_{opt} given below provides our dynamic target for haven holders based on the price of nomin. The curve shows that the when P_n is close to \$1, $f'(P_n)$ is small. However, the further P_n diverges from \$1, the larger the derivative becomes, providing an increasing incentive (via fees) for a haven holder to move toward C_{opt} .

$$C_{opt} = f(P_n) * C,$$

$$f(P_N) = \max(\sigma * (x - 1)^\phi + 1, 0),$$

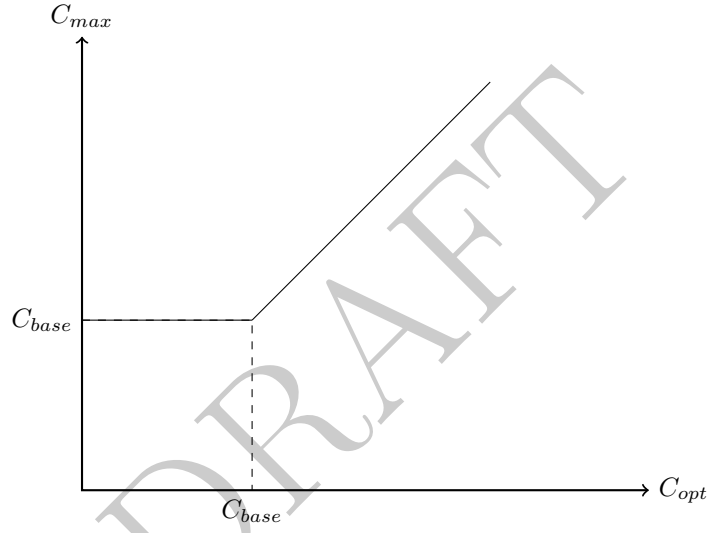
where $0 \leq \sigma$, the price sensitivity parameter,
 $\phi \geq 1$, the flattening parameter.



2.5.2 Maximum collateralisation Ratio

Havven seeks to maintain $C \leq C_{opt} < C_{max} < 1$, in order to remain sufficiently overcollateralised. It might seem intuitive that C_{max} should be a static value. However, since C_{opt} changes linearly with P_n and inversely with P_h , there are several situations where C_{max} may need to change. Below we define C_{max} .

$$U_{max} = \begin{cases} C_{base} & \text{when } C_{opt} \leq C_{base}, \\ a * C_{opt} & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$



2.6 Intrinsic Havven Price

With the havven token being ERC20 compliant, it will have a market price on both decentralised and centralised exchanges.

While the Havven system will access the current market price via a price oracle, it is beneficial to define a P_h that can be determined internally to avoiding the influence of speculation. Ignoring speculative demand, P_h can be expressed as a function of the transaction fees that the system charges. Below we define an initial iteration of the intrinsic P_h .

$$P_{h,t} = \frac{1}{H} * \sum_{t=1}^{\infty} \frac{d_{n,t} * v_{n,t} * \alpha_{R,t}}{(1 + R)^t} \approx \frac{d_{n,t} * v_{n,t} * \alpha_{R,t}}{R * H},$$

$P_{h,t}$ is the price of one havven at time t ,

H is the number of havvens,

$d_{n,t}$ is the demand for nomins at t ,

$v_{n,t}$ is the velocity of nomins at t ,

$\alpha_{R,t}$ is the fee from trade with nomins,

R is the interest rate / rate of return of havvens.

3 Quantitative System Analysis

Although we have strong confidence in it already, the more Havven’s stabilisation mechanism stands up to attack, the more confident we can be of its ultimate validity. Therefore we take the view that falsification is important in validating our proposals.

Ultimately this must be done empirically, but it is important to stress test Havven extensively in our preliminary examination of its dynamics. Therefore in our quantitative analysis we seek above all to identify its failure modes, and also to characterise not just *whether* Havven stabilises nomin prices, but also by *how much*.

Our present confidence in Havven stems from the three distinct approaches we take in modelling it:

Analytical

Expressing our system in the language of game theory we seek to gain insight into price equilibria and perverse incentives with pen, paper, and decades of microeconomic theory.

Simulationist

We implement a broad range of strategies as AI agents, and examine how the market responds under different initial conditions, with different constituent populations, and in response to external shocks.

Empirical

Initial releases of Havven will be invaluable in checking our assumptions. Observation of real market behaviour will allow us to understand much better how it responds in different situations, and therefore how to choose good values for system variables.

3.1 Game-theoretic modelling

3.1.1 Actor Definitions

Havven Holder *An investor who owns HAV tokens.*

In order to purchase HAV the expected return has to be greater than that of alternative investments (opportunity cost). The expected return of HAV comes from:

1. The fees received on escrowed HAV.
2. An increase in P_h .
3. Seigniorage (i.e., an increment in P_h implies that the investor can issue more NOM, which may eventually have a larger value than his original investment.

At any moment in time, the investor must decide:

1. Whether or not to issue new NOM (assuming $U_i < U_{max}$), or to burn some of them. All NOM are issued/burnt at the prevailing market exchange rate, denominated in ETH.
2. Whether to sell some quantity of HAV in the market at price $P_{h,t}^M$. Only HAV which haven't been escrowed can be sold. Otherwise they must burn NOM to release them.

Nomin User *A person who uses the NOM token.*

In order to purchase NOM, it must provide the user more utility than USD, since both have the same consumption value in the market. This utility may come from the properties of crypto.

At any time, they must decide:

1. Whether to buy or to sell NOM at P_n .

Agent-based modelling It has been observed that analytic methods are often difficult to apply in the complex and dynamic setting of a market. One suggested solution to this problem is *agent-based modelling*. Under this paradigm, we proceed by first defining rational agent behaviour and then simulating the interplay of those strategies over time. We seek to develop a more effective method of characterising market behaviour and equilibrium prices than pure analytic reasoning.¹

Such simulations also provide an immediate means of measuring quantities of interest. Simply by observing the model, we can discover how varying input parameters affect system outputs in an experimental fashion. One important corollary is that this is a way of extracting reasonable settings for system parameters (such as fee levels) that might be difficult to reason about *a priori*. These systems, reactive as they are, also provide a method for testing proposed remedies for any identified failure modes.

In sum, then, the modelling seeks to answer the following, among other questions:

- Does the system stabilise its nomin price?
- Under what conditions can stability fail?
- What are reasonable initial settings for fees and other parameters?
- What effect does the utilisation ratio have on haven/nomin price ratio?
- What is an effective utilisation ratio?
- What is the effect of a direct redemption regime?

- What are the expected returns for haven-holders?

Please visit research.havven.io for a pre-alpha version of our model.

3.2 Fee/velocity/return computations

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4 Qualitative System Analysis

This section provides a qualitative treatment of the reaction of the Havven system in response to various scenarios listed below:

4.1 Incentives

Why would anyone use nomins?

- Versus havvens?
- Versus alternatives?

Why would anyone issue nomins?

- Fees
- Because they thought the peg would break in the positive direction.

4.2 Scenarios

4.2.1 Havvens appreciate against nomins.

- Havven-holders can issue more nomins.
This might be scary because we either want the nomin supply to fall, or nomin demand to increase. This is fine if the nomin price fell, because then nomin demand should increase. However, if it was simply that the havven price increased, then this might encourage oversupply of nomins as issuers compete for shares of the fee pool.
- Cheaper exit
Anyone who has previously issued havvens but who wants to exit can buy nomins for cheaper than they issued them at, so egress with a profit. Alternatively, if the havven price doubles, then only half of their stake is required to back the nomins they have issued. They can use these proceeds to completely liquidate their position.
- Each nomin locks fewer havvens.

4.2.2 Havvens depreciate against nomins.

- Havven-holders can issue fewer nomins.
Perhaps they may even be under-staked.
- Each nomin locks more havvens.
- A player can issue a quantity of nomins and sell them for havvens.
They would do this on the assumption that, once the nomin price decreases as a result of the increased supply, they will be able to buy back the same quantity of nomins to free up their havvens more cheaply.

4.2.3 Nomin/havven liquidity dries up

- Low nomin supply

Nomins should appreciate against the havven. See §4.2.2. Fee takings will decrease, hurting havven-holders in the long run, which should incentivise them to inject nomins into the ecosystem.

- Low havven supply

If system backers are sitting on a pile of havvens, then the havven should appreciate. See sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.4.

4.2.4 Long-run havven price appreciation

In this instance, over the long run, the price of havvens could appreciate quite substantially, which will lead to an increase in nomin issuance rights (and so probably actual nomins in circulation). There are at least two reasons that havvens could appreciate:

- Increased nomin velocity/demand, leading to greater fees; This is fine: in this case, nomin issuance rights increase in proportion with demand for the currency.
- Speculation This is not so fine: in this case, the nomin supply can be expanded without any accompanying expansion in its demand, which will depress the nomin price.

4.2.5 Long-run havven price depreciation

4.2.6 Radical shifts in usage

4.3 Expected Market Players

- Havven Holders

A havven-holder provides the collateral and liquidity for the system. It is assumed that havven holders seek fee revenues, and escrow most of their havvens at any point in time. While this fee incentive holds if havvens are relatively stable in the long term, Havven also provide incentives for stabilising nomin price in the short term.

- Nomin Users

Merchants, consumers, service providers, cryptocurrency market actors and so on: people who use the stable coin as a medium of exchange or as a means to hedge other forms of value. Nomin users provide a base demand for nomins, which is necessary for fees to exist. These users may be disincentivised from using the system in high fee situations or with excessive volatility in the price of nomins.

- Arbitrageurs, Market Makers

The arbitrage force allows us to assume that the havven/nomin, havven/fiat, nomin/fiat prices are properly in alignment or will soon become aligned. Market-making activities allow us to neglect the bid/ask spread, and situations where there is insufficient liquidity for players to transact.

- Speculators

Speculators may tend to magnify price corrections, and are a significant vector by which to introduce exogenous shocks to the system. In modelling this we induce volatility through simulating modes such as large capital flows in response to breaking news.

- Central Banker

While the system is designed to work without intervention, the Havven foundation will have capital reserves with which to intervene in the market to stabilise nomin prices in extreme situations. The advantage of such a market participant is, given that a very large market entity is willing to underwrite the stability of the coin, profit strategies predicated upon the stability of the token become less risky and so more feasible. The Havven foundation in this capacity takes on the role of providing confidence.

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- ¹ Tomaso Poggio, Andrew W Lo, Blake LeBaron, and Nicholas T Chan. Agent-based models of financial markets: A comparison with experimental markets. 2001.

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