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Abstract

The intersection of finance and technology, known as fintech, has resulted in the dramatic growth of innovations and has changed the entire financial landscape. While fintech has a critical role to play in democratizing credit access to the unbanked and thin-file consumers around the globe, those consumers who are currently well served also turn to fintech for faster services and greater transparency. Fintech, particularly the blockchain, has the potential to be disruptive to financial systems and intermediation. Our aim in this paper is to provide a comprehensive fintech literature survey with relevant research studies and policy discussion around the various aspects of fintech. The topics include marketplace and peer-to-peer lending, credit scoring, alternative data, distributed ledger technologies, blockchain, smart contracts, cryptocurrencies and initial coin offerings, central bank digital currency, robo-advising, quantitative investment and trading strategies, cybersecurity, identity theft, cloud computing, use of big data and artificial intelligence and machine learning, identity and fraud detection, anti-money laundering, Know Your Customers, natural language processing, regtech, insuretech, sandboxes, and fintech regulations.

Keywords: fintech, marketplace lending, P2P, alternative data, DLT, blockchain, robo advisor, regtech, insuretech, cryptocurrencies, ICOs, CBDC, cloud computing, AML, KYC, NLP, fintech regulations

JEL Classification: G21, G28, G18, L21

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1. Introduction

The rapid advance in financial technology (fintech) in recent years has played an important role in how financial products and services are produced, delivered, and consumed. Fintech has become one of the most popular discussion topics recently, primarily because of its potential disruption to the entire financial system. There has been a dramatic digital transformation in the financial landscape. The term *fintech* is, however, a broad term, and it tends to mean different things to different people. The goal of this paper is to describe the various aspects of fintech and its role in each segment of the financial market and the associated impact on consumers and the financial system overall.

A great deal of data have been collected in recent years. For example, as of 2016, IBM estimated that 90 percent of all the global data was collected in the past year. The amount of data collection accelerated even more between 2016 and 2020. There have been new opportunities for data to be monetized, such as through data aggregation. Big data (including data from nontraditional sources and trended data) have been collected and used widely, in conjunction with advances in artificial intelligence (AI) and machine learning (ML) for digital identity and fraud detection, sales and marketing, security trading strategies, risk pricing and credit decisions, and so forth. More than 2 billion consumers are currently excluded from financial systems around the globe (especially in less developed countries such as Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Pakistan) who could potentially benefit from the use of more data and complex algorithms to access credit. There also have been new questions related to data ownership and the ethical use of data, such as who should have control over the ability to aggregate, use, and share data to safeguard consumer privacy and to avoid systemic misuse of consumer data.

Cloud storage and cloud computing have also played increasing roles in payment systems, financial services, and the financial system overall. Financial data and payment data have been stored in the cloud, and cloud computing has made it possible for many fintech innovations, such as real-time payment and instantaneous credit evaluations/decisions. Firms no longer need to commit a large investment (usually unaffordable for smaller firms) to in-house technology, but they could outsource to the cloud computing service providers and share the cost with other firms. This leveled the playing field; size is no longer the most important determinant for success. Consumers' preferences have also adapted to prioritize faster services and greater convenience and transparency through online services and applications. There have been concerns among regulators about the impact on the safety and soundness and stability of the financial systems (e.g., the impact

on the payment system when a cloud service platform is rendered nonoperational, the exposure to a greater risk of cyberattack, and other similar events).

Blockchain and smart contracts are the buzzwords in the fintech community, partly because blockchain is the technology underlying bitcoin transactions. Blockchain and other digital ledger technologies (DLT) have also been used in creating various cryptocurrencies, initial coin offerings (ICOs), other payment applications, and smart contracts — thus, leading some to believe that blockchain has the potential to become the mainstream financial technology of the future. There has been some disappointing evidence on the role and potential of blockchain in that it may not be as disruptive as initially expected, and one of the main obstacles seems to be its scalability. For example, bitcoin transactions take about 10 minutes to clear, and it is expected to take longer as the block length gets longer over the years. While thousands of tech start-ups and other tech experts have been working to resolve the issue, permissioned blockchain platforms have benefited some segments of the economy through their use for identity detection, supply chain management, digital-asset-backed lending, and securitization.

Fintech activities have been progressing quickly, penetrating all areas of the financial system. Fintech has produced great benefits to a large number of consumers around the world and has made the financial system more efficient. The rapid growth of bank-like services provided by fintech firms has raised potential concerns among bank supervisors. There have also been legal challenges and concerns associated with fintech around consumer privacy and the potential fintech disruption to overall financial stability. While fintech could greatly improve credit access and enhance efficiencies (providing faster, better, or cheaper services) in the financial system, risk cannot be completely eliminated. In this paper, we provide a comprehensive summary of what research studies have found so far, what the experts (academic, industry, and regulators) are working on, and the potential evolving nature of fintech's impact on consumer privacy and well-being, the structure of the financial and payment systems, the role of financial intermediation, and the effectiveness of existing regulatory policies. The rest of the paper is organized as follows.

In Section 2, we discuss recent enhanced systems for credit scoring using AI/ML and alternative data, the roles of marketplace lending and peer-to-peer (P2P) lending, and digital banking and investment services. Section 3 discusses how fintech has played a big role in digital payment, such as e-wallet and allowing a large number of the unbanked population around the world to be included in financial systems for the first time. The roles of alternative data in financial inclusion, improving credit access, and more accurate risk pricing will also be discussed.

Section 4 describes the roles of blockchain, other distributed ledger technologies (DLTs), and smart contracts. As mentioned earlier, these have been the underlying technologies for cryptoassets and initial coin offerings (ICOs), which will be discussed in Section 5. There are frictions in the current payment system, especially cross-border payments. Consumers have come to expect faster or real-time payments with minimal fees. Digital currencies could potentially deliver these, and the payment processes have been involving rapidly toward a cash-lite (or potentially cashless) economy. Section 5 will also discuss the developments around the potential for central banks to issue fiat digital currencies, so-called central bank digital currency (CBDC). This idea of CBDC acknowledges that trust is the most important factor in payments, and private sectors may not be able to accomplish the goal of originating and supporting the value of the digital currencies it issues. There are also fears around CBDC: Several key considerations need to be incorporated into CBDC's design to avoid adverse impact on the financial system and the ability to conduct effective monetary policy.

Section 6 deals with fintech's roles in securities trading and markets, such as the high-frequency trading or program trading that uses big data and ML algorithms to deliver superior performance. Section 7 discusses the impact of fintech on cybersecurity, which has been one of the top concerns among corporate CEOs and senior management teams. While the advanced technology has delivered vast benefits, the technology has also allowed for more sophisticated cyberattacks. Given all these innovations and rapid digital transformation, the existing regulations need to adapt to keep up with the new financial landscape.

The increasing roles of BigTech and cloud computing in financial services, their potential impact on interconnectedness between financial institutions, and how these activities are likely to evolve in the near future are discussed in Section 8. There are just a handful of providers for all financial institutions, and these providers are currently not subject to supervision by bank regulators. There have been concerns about quality control, data security, and a possible conflict of interest that need to be addressed in the new fintech regulatory framework. Some of the technologies have also been used to assist regulators in regulatory compliance examination, such as the natural language processing (NLP) and the ML techniques used in RegTech, which will be discussed in Section 9, along with the various factors to be considered in designing fintech regulations to protect consumers and the financial systems while continuing to promote responsible fintech innovations.

Finally, Section 10 provides conclusions and policy implications, such as those related to open banking policy, ethical use of consumer data, and whether a cashless economy is expected in

the near future. Quantum computing has also been transitioning from theory into practice, with potential implications/disruptions in the financial services industry and the overall economy in the coming decade. It is debatable whether the future mainstream financial technology will be blockchain and DLTs, quantum computing, or something else — and how the industry and policymakers can best be prepared to keep pace with evolving technologies and the new adoption. We will also discuss potential directions for future fintech research.

2. Credit Scoring, Digital Banking, and Marketplace Lending

2.1 Credit Scoring Using AI/ML and Alternative Data

Credit scores, such as FICO scores (or Vantage Scores), have served as the primary factors in credit decisions, especially for credit card applications. Previous studies, such as Mester, Nakamura, and Renault (2007) and Norden and Weber (2010), have documented the importance of consumer credit history and other financial and accounting data in credit risk evaluation by lending institutions. However, about 26 million American consumers have thin credit files or do not have bank accounts (unbanked); thus, they do not have FICO scores because of an insufficient credit history. More recently, there has been a breakthrough in which consumers' default probability could be estimated not only from their official credit history or credit ratings but rather from more complex statistical methods using AI and ML techniques, along with (nontraditional) alternative data. These big data and complex algorithms have been rapidly adopted by fintech lenders to overcome the limitations of traditional models and data in evaluating borrowers' credit risk and their ability to pay back loans.

Fintech lending, which started in personal lending after the recent financial crisis, has expanded to cover small business lending and mortgage lending in recent years. Previous research studies that compare traditional default prediction models with more advanced techniques using AI/ML seem to suggest that there are significant lifts in predictive ability. Jagtiani and Lemieux (2019), Goldstein, Jagtiani, and Klein (2019), and Croux, Jagtiani, Korivi, and Vulcanovic (2020) have documented that the information asymmetry, which used to be one of the critical issues in evaluating borrower risks, could be overcome through AI/ML and alternative data, especially for borrowers with limited credit history and the unbanked population. Soft information about borrowers can be obtained without being in close proximity to the borrowers in peer-to-peer (P2P) lending. This includes information on friendship and social networks, online footprints, and text-based analysis; see Iyer, Khwaja, Luttmer, and Shue (2016); Hilderbrandt, Puri, and Rocholl (2017);

Lin, Prabhala, and Viswanathan (2013); Gao, Lin, and Sias (2017); Dorfleiter et al. (2016); and Berg, Burg, Gombovic, and Puri (2018).

In addition, Fuster, Goldsmith-Pinkham, Ramadorai, and Walther (2018) examine the mortgage market by comparing the traditional logit models with ML techniques in predicting borrowers' default probability. They find that using ML models would result in a slightly larger number of borrowers who would have access to credit, and ML models would also marginally reduce disparity in the acceptance ratios across racial and ethnic groups.¹ Overall, they find evidence of the higher out-of-sample predictive accuracy for default when using ML technology compared with simpler logistic models.

Similarly, Gao, Lin, and Sias (2018) use a natural language processing (NLP) technique, a form of AI, to analyze textual information from borrowers' writing on online lending platforms. This allows them to efficiently quantify the informational content of lengthy personal text descriptions, which were not previously possible. The authors use a combination of well-developed computational linguistics measures and advances in ML to examine the roles of linguistic style for borrowers on the Prosper (fintech lending) platform. They find that lenders tend to bid more aggressively, are more likely to grant credit, and charge lower interest rates to borrowers whose writing is more readable, more positive, and contains a lower level of deception cues. Again, the evidence supports an argument that advanced technology used in credit decision could expand credit access to more consumers based on nontraditional data. Lenders, however, are required to demonstrate that the use of alternative data does not result in biased credit decisions against certain segment of the borrowers, such as race and gender.

Likewise, Iyer, Khwaja, Luttmer and Shue (2016) use data from the same Prosper lending platform, and they find that nontraditional information tends to play an important role in credit risk evaluation and allow credit access for borrowers who are less creditworthy by traditional measures, such as those with credit scores below prime.² The authors cited the following basic proxies for soft information — whether the borrower posts a picture, the number of words used in the listing text descriptions, friend endorsements, etc. Their findings suggest that, while traditional information such as credit score, requested loan amount, and current delinquencies are important in credit decisions, lenders also use alternative data (nonstandard information about the borrowers),

¹ However, they also note that the cross-group disparity of equilibrium interest rates increases when using ML models. They attribute these changes primarily to greater flexibility.

² However, due to difficulties in coding, they do not fully quantify the large selection of soft information available in Prosper listings.

especially for less creditworthy and borrowers with thin files who have fewer alternate funding options.

Consistent with these findings, Berg, Burg, Gombovic, and Puri (2018) analyze the information content of borrowers' digital footprints, such as activities people do online. The proprietary data set is from an e-commerce company located in Germany. This includes a basic set of variables, such as whether their email contains their real name, whether they make purchases at night time, and the number of typing mistakes, all of which are found to be important. Their empirical investigations suggest that even the simple, easily accessible variables from the digital footprint could be valuable for consumers' default prediction. In fact, they find that these variables alone are as good as the Equifax Risk Score in predicting loan outcomes. In addition, using these online behavioral variables together with the Equifax Risk Score would increase the model's predictive power overall, suggesting that the digital footprint variables complement (rather than substitute) standard traditional information from consumer credit bureaus. Therefore, lenders could enhance their credit and risk pricing decisions by looking at both the traditional risk scores and alternative data.

More recently, fintech giants Alibaba and WeChat Pay Points Credit by Tencent in China have built their new credit scoring system based on alternative data they collect from nontraditional sources, including social media, online shopping, payment applications, cell phone accounts, and others. This type of scoring provides a more comprehensive view of consumers' financial lives, and it is meant to help fill the credit gap for people who cannot get a loan because of their lack of credit history.

In addition to using alternative data and AI/ML to potentially expand credit access, another important question is the price of credit. Jagtiani and Lemieux (2019) use loan-level data from the LendingClub personal lending platform, and they compare interest rates (APRs that account for all the origination fees) charged by LendingClub with the interest rate borrowers would have to pay by carrying a credit card balance (i.e., contractual interest rate from Y-14M stress test data reported by CCAR banks). They find that the use of alternative data by LendingClub has allowed some below-prime consumers to receive credit at much lower cost. The rating grades assigned by LendingClub (using information not related to FICO scores) also perform better in predicting loan outcomes. Related to this, Jagtiani, Hughes, and Moon (2019) find that LendingClub also became more efficient than other lenders in its peer group size as of 2016 (after more alternative data has been incorporated into credit scoring and pricing) compared with 2013.

2.2. Internet-Based Banking and Investment Services

Recent retail banking services innovations primarily rely on technological advances such as faster Internet access and improved payment process. The fast-growing Internet access since the late 1990s has spurred the adoption of online banking. In 1995, the Security First Network Bank was the first online-only bank created, and Wells Fargo was the first brick-and-mortar bank to launch online banking (checking account) websites around the same time (Hernandez-Murillo, Llobet, and Fuentes, 2010). By 2001, eight banks in the U.S. had more than 1 million online customers. Banks in other countries around the globe also started to develop software applications to allow customers to access their accounts online. Digital banking was being adopted along with some new regulatory frameworks to address the associated new risks (Arner, Barberis, and Buckley, 2016a).

The determinants of the adoption of Internet-based banking has been well documented by existing literature. Furst, Lang, and Nolle (2002) use a cross-section sample of banks in 1999 and show that important factors that determine a bank's decision to adopt new Internet technologies for online banking services are those that are more profitable, have a larger asset size, have presence in urban markets, and are a subsidiary of a bank holding company (BHC). Hernandez-Murillo, Llobet, and Fuentes (2010) use a more recent sample of U.S. banks and confirm that, in addition to bank characteristics (branching intensity, capital-to-asset ratio, nonperforming loan ratio, being subsidiary of a BHC), bank customers' demographic factors (household income, education, Internet access) are also important determinants of online banking adoption.

The adoption of online banking also affects bank performance. Previous studies have documented that, over time, Internet adoption reduces the bank's operating costs and improve its profitability. Interestingly, DeYoung, Lang, and Nolle (2007) and Hernando and Nieto (2007) find that Internet banking services would not replace bank branches because online banking seems to be complementary rather than a substitute for physical and personal banking services. Goddard, McKillop, and Wilson (2009) find that U.S. credit unions that do not provide Internet banking services to their members are more likely to fail or to be acquired by another institution that provides online banking.

More recently, advances in financial technology also improved digitization in payments — both retail and wholesale payments. Rysman and Schuh (2016) summarize recent developments in mobile payments and a faster payments system. Technology firms, rather than banking firms, have been leaders in providing mobile payments in the U.S., suggesting potential benefits from partnerships between banks and fintech firms. Several fintech firms have also been providing white-label technological services for their bank partners. Partnership alliance between banking

firms and technology companies would also help banks to digitalize their credit decision process and their risk management.³ Klus, Lohwasser, Hornuf, and Schwienbacher (2018) investigate the drivers and the extent to which banks interact with fintech start-ups, using detailed information on strategic alliance made by the 100 largest banks in Canada, France, Germany, and the UK. They find that larger banks are better able to integrate start-ups into their own business model and strategy than smaller banks. They also find significantly positive market reactions in response to announcements of alliance formation between digital banks and fintech firms.

Technological innovations in recent years have allowed for the rapid adoption of mobile payment and fast payment systems around the globe, especially in China. The adoption has been slower in the U.S.⁴ Crowe, Rysman, and Stavins (2010) find that standard concerns such as the cost of adoption and network effects could play a critical role in the speed of adoption. The cost of adoption may be higher in the U.S. because of the fragmented nature of the telecommunications system and the banking industry and the legacy payments system in the U.S. To implement a single national mobile payment mechanism would require an agreement between all the mobile carriers and the banks that issue cards to consumers. Greene, Rysman, Schuh, and Shy (2014) and Rysman and Schuh (2016) discuss the pros and cons of implementing a faster payments system in the U.S., suggesting that the net potential benefits could be large and could extend beyond faster speed. It would, however, be expensive to build a completely new payments system in the U.S. than in countries that did not have an established legacy payments system. There are also related questions about how such a new system should be managed and funded, the fee structure, and new regulatory regimes associated with the new payments systems.

2.3 Peer-to-Peer (P2P) Lending

Marketplace lending (MPL), commonly referred to as peer-to-peer (P2P) lending platforms, has emerged as an appealing new channel of financing for consumers and small businesses over the last decade. P2P lending platforms are designed to match lenders and borrowers and to eliminate the intermediary middleman. The platforms connect investors (funding supply) and borrowers (funding demand) directly to facilitate the transaction. The patterns showing that new traditional

³ For example, China Construction Bank (CCB), one of the Big-4 state-owned banks, announced a strategic pact with Alibaba in 2017, which allowed Alibaba to sell CCB's financial products through its Ant Financial platforms (<https://www.spglobal.com/marketintelligence/en/news-insights/trending/hsmye-hebytelrkvaqiqtg2>).

⁴ While consumers perceive debit and credit card payments fairly quickly as immediate, the settlement step often takes several business days. Payments through the automated clearing house (ACH) can also take several business days to complete.

bank loans are trending downward, while new P2P lending are trending upward, raise a natural question whether these two types of lenders complement or substitute each other in the credit market. Balyuk (2017) explores the effect of P2P lending on consumers' access to credit and finds that fintech lenders have improved credit access to consumers who cannot access credit from traditional banks — see also Chava and Paradkar (2018). Similarly, Jagtiani and Lemieux (2018) find that, using data from the LendingClub consumer platform, fintech lenders have penetrated areas that may be underserved by traditional banks, such as in highly concentrated markets and areas that have fewer bank branches per capita. Other studies, such as Tang (2018) and de Roure, Pellizon, and Thakor (2018), show that P2P lending could be a substitute for or complement bank lending, depending on the situation. If assuming banks face an exogenous regulatory shock, P2P lending could act as a substitute for bank lending for serving inframarginal borrowers; however, on small-scale loans, P2P lending would be more likely to complement bank lending.

There have also been questions whether the P2P lending platform could uncover the “correct” pricing for the transactions. There are two market mechanisms to pricing: through an auction or a more common approach through posted prices. An auction process typically relies on the relative strength of lenders and borrowers to determine the price; whereas, posted prices are predetermined by complex algorithms used by the lending platforms.⁵ Wei and Lin (2017) show that under posted prices, borrowers are more likely to obtain credit, but the default probability is also higher. Franks, Serrano-Velarde, and Sussman (2018) use a peer-to-business lending platform and find that a 1 percent increase in the interest rate corresponds to a less than a half percent increase in the default probability, implying that information efficiency was not reached in the pricing process. Participation of sophisticated investors can improve screening outcomes but also could create adverse selection among investors. Vallee and Zeng (2018) and Liskovich and Shaton (2017) find that sophisticated investors tend to outperform less experienced ones, especially when platforms provide more sufficient information to investors through websites or application programming interfaces (API).

Loan pricing seems to be affected by soft information about borrowers. Butler, Cornaggia, and Gurun (2017) and Crowe and Ramcharan (2012) show that in addition to standard financial variables (such as credit scores, employment history, homeownership), P2P platforms also provide nonstandard soft information about the borrowers that is useful for lenders to make credit decisions. Previous research shows that the borrowers' soft information, including personal

⁵ One of the lending platforms, Prosper, switched from the auctions approach to the posted prices approach in December 2010 (see Prosper.com).

characteristics such as race, age and beauty (Ravina, 2018), social capital (Lin and Pusianinen, 2018; Hasan, He, and Lu, 2019), characteristics of listing text (Iyer, Khwaja, Luttmer, and Shue, 2016), hometown (Lin and Viswanathan, 2016), social network (e.g., friend endorsements) (Lin, Prabhala, and Viswanathan, 2013; Feedman and Jim, 2014) affects lenders' decision in terms of ex-ante loan pricing and loan amount. These factors also improve the ex-post lending outcomes. Many of these factors, however, are prohibited in credit decisions, according to the fair lending and consumer privacy regulations. Jagtiani, Vermilyea, and Wall (2018) describe how big data and complex algorithms from AI/ML are being used appropriately by lenders and other market participants and how regulators are adapting their supervisory approach accordingly.

3. Fintech and Financial Inclusion

3.1 Digital Wallet and Credit Access for Unbanked Individuals

Financial inclusion, typically defined as the use of formal financial services, especially by the disadvantaged, has become a subject of growing interest. Indeed, the positive relationship between financial development and economic development, documented by literature on financial-growth nexus, is suggestive of a positive association between finance and poverty alleviation (Beck, Demirguc-Kunt, and Levine, 2007). A central question is how to promote financial inclusion for regions endowed with asymmetric information, weak institutions, and lack of basic infrastructure necessary for banking. According to the Global Finance database by the World Bank, 31 percent of adults do not have a bank account as of 2018, a decline from 38 percent in 2014 and 49 percent in 2011. The numbers also show that there are large disparities between males and females and between rich and poor.⁶ Kendall, Mylenko, and Ponce (2010) make a rough estimation of banked and unbanked individuals around the world using a new set of financial access indicators for 139 countries as of 2003. They estimate that people have on average 3.2 financial accounts per adult, and 81 percent of the adults have at least one bank account in developed countries. In contrast, people have on average less than one account (specifically only 0.9 account) in developing countries, and only 28 percent of the adults in developing countries have a bank account.

What are important factors that determine the level of financial access? Beck et al. (2007) show that the overall level of economic development, the quality of the institutional environment, the degree of credit information sharing, the level of initial endowments, and the development of

⁶ For more details, see the article "Financial Inclusion on the Rise, But Gaps Remain, Global Findex Database Shows" by the World Bank, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2018/04/19/financial-inclusion-on-the-rise-but-gaps-remain-global-findex-database-shows>.

physical infrastructure are positively associated with financial outreach and depth; whereas, the cost of enforcing contracts and the degree of government ownership of banks are negatively associated with the financial outreach and depth. Kendall, Mylenko, and Ponce (2010) also suggest a similar conclusion. In addition, legal origin and religion have a less consistent impact on financial inclusion. Allen et al. (2016) explore the factors underpinning financial inclusion; they show that policies to promote financial inclusion are especially effective among the most commonly excluded groups of individuals from access to finance: the poor, those living in rural areas, females, and young individuals.

Fintech can promote financial inclusion in different ways. Allen et al. (2019) examine bank branch penetration and financial access in Kenya, a country that has made significant strides in financial inclusion. The emergence of Equity Bank, a pioneering and private institution that devised a banking service targeting low-income and less-educated customers and underserved regions, has had a positive and significant impact on households' use of bank accounts and credit access in Kenya during 2006 to 2010. The number of deposit and loan accounts of Equity Bank represents around 50 percent and 30 percent of the total number of deposit and loan accounts in Kenya, respectively. Their finding suggests that the successful business model of Equity Bank in Kenya, provides a solution to the financial access problem that has hindered real growth in many African countries. Similarly, Hau et al. (2018), using a comprehensive loan data set from Alibaba, a lending online e-commerce platform, show that fintech credit promotes financial inclusion in China. Fintech helps to mitigate local credit supply frictions in the credit market and extend the "frontier" of credit availability to small businesses with low credit scores. In addition, these online e-commerce platforms have promoted a self-selection process in which more funding tends to be channeled to those online merchants that receive better rating by their customers; see Huang, Li, and Shan (2019).

3.2 The Roles of Alternative Data in Improving Credit Access and Risk Pricing

The recent rapid development in fintech and use of alternative data in evaluating credit risk have also raised questions about whether the use of alternative data and advanced algorithms has improved credit assessment and enhanced access for the underbanked. A related issue is whether these innovations carry a risk of disparate treatment and violate fair lending and consumer privacy regulations. Schweitzer and Barkley (2017) examine the characteristics of online small business borrowers using the Federal Reserve's 2015 Small Business Credit Survey data and find supportive results that businesses denied access to credit by banks turned to fintech lenders to arrange credit

for their business. Similarly, Jagtiani, Lambie-Hanson, and Lambie-Hanson (2019) explore the mortgage market and find evidence suggesting that more borrowers turned to mortgage fintech lenders in areas where there were higher denial rate by traditional lenders.

Consistent findings have been documented by other studies. Ahmed et al. (2016) find that borrowers would have been unable to secure external financing without the fintech online lending platform, despite being creditworthy. Jagtiani and Lemieux (2019), using account-level data from LendingClub and Y-14M bank stress test data, find that for the same risk of default, consumers pay smaller spreads on personal installment loans from a fintech platform than from (traditional) credit card borrowing. Berg, Burg, Gombovic, and Puri (2018) suggest that digital footprints can help boost financial inclusion, allowing unbanked consumers to have better access to finance. Similarly, Frost et al. (2019) show that fintech firms often start as payment platforms and later use consumer data to expand into some provisions of credit, insurance, and savings and investment products. These firms lend more in countries with less competitive banking systems and less stringent regulations. In the case of Argentina, fintech lenders have information advantages in credit assessment using alternative data and advanced algorithms.

The use of alternative data has also raised issues related to fair lending. As mentioned earlier, previous studies show that soft information such as applicants' look, relationship, and network has been widely used in evaluating credit availability and pricing. Fu, Huang, and Singh (2018) find that, despite the great benefits that big data and complex ML algorithms can bring, these predictions of creditworthiness could be subject to bias, and lenders may unknowingly make credit decisions based on factors that are related to protected class (such as race and gender), even though these sensitive attributes are not used as inputs to the model. Padhi (2017) show that the discrimination and competition in online alternative lending could result in a riskier pool of potential borrowers for banks and, thus, could impact safety and soundness in the banking system and threaten the financial stability overall. Jagtiani and John (2018) provide an overview of how alternative data and other fintech innovations have changed the entire financial landscape.

4. Distributed Ledger Technology (DLT), Blockchain, and Smart Contracts

Distributed ledger technology (DLT) is a term widely used to describe various record-keeping technologies, such as decentralized data architecture and cryptography, which allow the keeping and sharing records in a synchronized way while ensuring their integrity through the use of consensus-based validation protocols. Blockchain is a specific type of DLT, containing blocks of records that are linked using cryptography. Each block contains a cryptographic hash of the previous block, a timestamp, and transaction data. By design, a blockchain is intended to be

resistant to modification of the data; however, there have been concerns around cybersecurity related to blockchain.⁷ In general, blockchain is designed to be an open, distributed ledger that can record transactions between two parties efficiently and in a verifiable and permanent way. Blockchain has become a buzzword mainly because it is the main technology underlying bitcoin transactions. Since late 2015, blockchain in general (not bitcoin blockchain) attracted explosive interest from the industry as a new way to create, exchange, and track ownership of financial assets on P2P platforms. Blockchain technology has also facilitated the creation of smart contracts; these are computerized protocols allowing terms contingent on decentralized consensus that are tamper proof and self-enforcing via automated execution; see Szabo (1994) and Cong and He (2018).

The idea of blockchain was initially introduced by Haber and Stornetta (1991) to authenticate authorship of intellectual property. Much later in 2008, Nakamoto (2008) reintroduced it as a method of validating ownership of the cryptocurrency bitcoin. It is viewed as a potential mainstream financial technology of the future to eliminate a trusted third party in financial intermediation. Szabo (2005) proposes a similar idea to overcome the problem of the dependence on a trusted third party. The proposed “bit gold” was a protocol whereby costly bits could be created online with minimal dependence on trusted third parties and then securely stored, transferred, and assayed with similar minimal trust. The creation of such bit gold would be based on various functions including “client puzzle function,” “proof of work function,” or “secure benchmark function.”

There are three main types of blockchain. The first type, a private blockchain, comes originally from the chain proposed by Haber and Sornetta (1991). In this chain, there needs to be an entity with authority, identified as sponsor or gatekeeper, taking complete control over what is written on the ledger. Such sponsors or gatekeepers can restrict entry into a market, access monopolistic user fees, edit incoming data, or limit users’ access to market data. The second type, a permissioned blockchain, is one in which the write privilege is granted to a consortium of entities. These entities govern the policies of the blockchain and take control of propagating and verifying transactions. The third type is a public blockchain, in which the write privilege is completely unrestricted. Because the writers are allowed to be anonymous in the public blockchain, there needs to be an efficient, fair, and real-time mechanism to ensure that all participants agree on a consensus on the status of the ledger. Well-known types of consensus mechanism algorithms are:

⁷ Gervais et al. (2016) studies the security issues existing in blockchains, focusing on how to defend against “double-spend” attacks or other types of attacks that could be undertaken by an entity control over a large portion of the computing power of the network.

(1) proof of work (POW), which is used by major cryptocurrency networks such as Bitcoin and Litecoin; and (2) proof of stake (POS), which is used by Peercoin.⁸ Yermack (2017) and Abadi and Brunnermeier (2018) offer an introduction of the development and different types of blockchain.

Major central banks and stock exchanges have been exploring the usage of DLT in payments, clearing and settlements; see Mills et al. (2016) and Benos, Garratt, and Gurrola-Perez (2017). The driving force behind the efforts in deploying DLT in financial transactions and settlement is an expectation that this technology will reduce (or even eliminate) inefficiencies and related frictions that currently exist for storing, recording, transferring, and exchanging digital assets through financial markets. Decentralization, which is the core concept of the DLT, has both pros and cons. A growing literature discusses the advantages that a blockchain can offer compared with the traditional ledgers. The blockchain-based smart contract is encoded to assure one party that its counterparty will fulfill the promise with certainty; therefore, it can eliminate some contracting frictions like the need for costly verification or enforcement, in an automated and conflict-free way; see Cong and He (2018) and Harvey (2016). Meanwhile, through decentralized consensus, blockchain improves the ability to bootstrap and operate a marketplace without the need for a traditional intermediary, which further lowers the cost of networking and improves the competition. Overall, participants can make investments to support and operate a shared infrastructure without assigning market power to a platform authority; see, e.g., Catalini and Gans (2018) and Abadi and Brunnermeier (2018). More specifically, Yermack (2017) overviews the impact of blockchain on corporate governance and argues that, in addition to resulting in lower cost and more accurate record keeping, a blockchain can also bring greater liquidity and improve transparency of ownership. Similarly, Ma, Gans, and Tourky (2018) argue that regulation of bitcoin mining can reduce the overall costs of the system and improve welfare.

Despite these great benefits, there are also potential negative features around blockchain technology. For example, Cong and He (2018) argue that, through distributing all transaction information, business privacy can be an issue when pushing for real-world blockchain application. Similar findings are also documented in Malinova and Park (2017), as traders want to hide their

⁸ The proof of work (POW) requires a participant node to prove that it has accomplished a computationally difficult task before getting the rights to write on the ledger. Therefore, one disadvantage of POW is that it needs high-energy consumption and longer processing time. The proof of stake (POS) emerges and evolves as a low-cost and low-energy consuming alternative to POW algorithm, attributing mining power to the proportion of coins held by each miner. It is reported that one of the major networks, Ethereum, is transiting to adopt the POS blockchain instead of POW soon (see, e.g. <https://www.coindesk.com/testnet-gorli-ethereum-serenity>). Other types of consensus algorithms include proof of capacity (POC), allowing the sharing of memory space of the contributing nodes on the blockchain network.

identities to prevent front running. Lack of full transparency, the net aggregate welfare is believed to be weakly higher if investors are allowed to split their holdings among many identifiers. Abadi and Brunnermeier (2018) propose a Blockchain Trilemma, suggesting that no ledger can satisfy the three properties simultaneously: correctness, decentralization, and cost efficiency. Distributed ledgers promote competition but eliminate rents through “fork competition,” endangering instability, and miscoordination. Tinn (2018) documents that blockchain technology facilitates faster learning and more frequent effort decisions, which in turn changes the type of financing contracts that are the most efficient or could even make traditional debt and equity contracts more costly. Easley, O’Hara, and Basu (2019) theoretically analyze how equilibrium transaction fees evolve in the bitcoin blockchain, from a mining-based structure to a market-based ecology, and demonstrate that transaction fees are not welfare improving.

5. Cryptocurrencies, Initial Coin Offerings, and Central Bank Digital Currencies

In recent years, the initial coin offerings (ICOs) have exponentially grown as a new form of financing for start-ups. There are 4,136 cryptocurrencies in existence as of May 2020.⁹ This number does not include many that have failed. One of the most successful ICOs was from Ethereum in July 2014 that collected in total \$18.4 million USD in 42 days.¹⁰ The market capitalization of Ethereum reached more than \$30 billion in 2017.¹¹ These successes led to great excitement about cryptocurrencies as a new form of financing for innovations in the upcoming digital age but, in the meantime, created concerns about rampant speculation and financial instability.

Given the extreme volatility of cryptocurrencies,¹² stablecoins have been developed in the crypto world. The central feature of stablecoins is that they are pegged to another asset, like the U.S. dollar, national currencies, or commodities, and their issuers back up the value of coins through holding sufficient reserves to support the value of the stablecoins. In June 2019, Facebook announced its Libra 1.0, which would be built upon a “permissioned” blockchain platform: the Libra Association. Unlike some other types of stablecoins (e.g., Tether, True USD), Libra’s value would be

⁹ See website <https://www.coinlore.com/>.

¹⁰ Antonio Madeira, “How Does an ICO Work,” Cryptocompare, January 2018, <https://www.cryptocompare.com/coins/guides/how-does-an-ico-work/>.

¹¹ For developments in pricing information, market caps, and coin issuance, see Top 100 Cryptocurrencies by Market Capitalization, Coinmarketcap, <http://coinmarketcap.com/> (last accessed December 19, 2018). See also ICO Tracker, Coindesk, <https://www.coindesk.com/ico-tracker>.

¹² For example, bitcoin once dropped from nearly \$20,000 to around \$6,000 from December 2017 to March 2018.

backed 1:1 by a basket of fiat currency bank deposits, including the U.S. dollar, Euro, Pound Sterling, Japanese Yen, and government securities, rather than any single physical currency. There have been serious criticisms and concerns around Libra, and several of the initial 28 members of the Libra Association have withdrawn themselves, including PayPal, Visa, Mastercard, Stripe, and eBay. Major financial institutions such as JPMorgan Chase and Goldman Sachs have also announced they do not plan to join the Libra Association. On April 16, 2020, the Libra Association published a revised version of its 2019 white paper. The revisions attempt to address major concerns raised by the international regulatory community. The updated Libra 2.0 white paper makes several key changes, but financial regulators still have concerns.¹³ These are evidence of the importance of trust in the payment system; thus, there may be a role for the central banks, “trusted institutions,” to issue stable digital currencies.

5.1 Cryptocurrencies: Pricing, Impact on Central Banking and Regulations

As a new form of electronic money, cryptocurrency is part of the latest innovations in the financial system. However, the idea of virtual money is not new; electronic payment systems have been growing steadily for decades. Online fantasy games provided a platform for issuing virtual currencies in the 1980s, which have been regarded as predecessors for the current cryptocurrencies such as bitcoin. Later, the M-pesa, a currency denominated in mobile phone minutes, was introduced in Kenya by Safaricom in 2007 (Raskin and Yermack, 2016). M-pesa greatly facilitates money transfers between individuals and therefore increases the probability of being banked for the poor (Allen et al., 2019). Bitcoin, originally proposed by Nakamoto (2008), and introduced into circulation in 2009, is the most successful cryptocurrency so far in terms of volume but with high price volatility. The price peaked at about \$19,000 per bitcoin in late 2017 and then declined by 82 percent in 2018 (a 38 percent decline in November alone), to a price of around

¹³ The changes in Libra 2.0 include: 1) offering single-currency stablecoins in addition to the multicurrency coin (Libra Coins). Specifically, the design of the Libra payment system is envisioned to start with single-currency (USD, EUR, GBP, and SGD) coins in addition to the basket currency version; 2) enhancing the safety of the Libra payment system with a robust compliance framework. The association plans to develop strong Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism (AML/CFT) standards and establish a Financial Intelligence Function to help support and uphold operating standards for network participants; 3) forgoing the future transition to a permissionless system, while maintaining its key economic properties. Regulators have been concerned about the risk in such an open system of unknown participants taking control of the system and removing key compliance provisions. Instead, network participants (service providers) will be selected through a competitive process based on a set of published criteria; and 4) building strong protections into the design of the Libra Reserve. Libra will still be fully backed by reserves, of which 80 percent will be invested in liquid short-term government securities, and the remainder will be held in cash. In addition, with input from regulators, the association will develop a regulatory capital framework to ensure it maintains an appropriately sized, loss-absorbing capital buffer.

\$3,200 as of December 2018.¹⁴ The major difference between bitcoin and M-pesa is that bitcoin has been used all around the world and is circulated over an open Internet network, rather than tied to any traditional banking system. As of March 11, 2020, there are 5,183 cryptocurrencies in existence, with the total market capitalization of \$218.4 billion (USD).¹⁵

It has remained unclear what type of asset cryptocurrency is — whether it should be treated as a currency, a commodity, or a security. Another related concept is that of a token. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) classifies the tokens into three categories: cryptocurrency tokens, security tokens, and utility tokens.¹⁶ Cryptocurrency tokens (or coins) are a means of exchange and a store of value; security tokens, determined by the *Howey test*, represent a conventional security that is recorded and exchanged on a blockchain; and utility tokens give the holder the right to access a product or services on platforms.¹⁷ Proponents of cryptocurrencies highlight various potential benefits, which can improve overall welfare; critics note that those features may facilitate illicit financial activities.

An important question raised by the recent literature on cryptocurrencies is what determines the fundamental value. In addition to being an alternative to traditional currency as a means of exchange, bitcoin and other digital currencies have also been treated as investment vehicles, and the price has been extremely volatile, further leading to potential risks in financial markets. Several recent studies provide theoretical pricing models of cryptocurrencies.

Schilling and Uhlig (2019) develop a pricing model of bitcoin in a simple endowment economy, in which they assume there are two types of monies for transactions: bitcoin and dollars. They show that in the “fundamental” cases, in which bitcoin is used in transactions, the price of bitcoin follows a martingale pattern, meaning that today’s price is the best forecast for tomorrow’s price; while in the “speculative” cases, in which the buyers hold bitcoin for speculative purposes, the dollar price of bitcoin is expected to rise, and the agents start hoarding bitcoin with the expectation of a price increase. In equilibrium, if the bitcoin prices and marginal utility of consumption are

¹⁴ See Coinbase website: <https://www.coinbase.com/>

¹⁵ For the up-to-date market capitalization of all types of cryptocurrencies, see <https://coinmarketcap.com/>.

¹⁶ See the SEC statement on cryptocurrencies and initial coin offerings by Chairman Jay Clayton at <https://www.sec.gov/news/public-statement/statement-clayton-2017-12-11>; see also a reported investigative report on the DAO (decentralized autonomous organization) hack at <https://www.sec.gov/litigation/investreport/34-81207.pdf>.

¹⁷ The SEC has jurisdiction over securities pursuant to the Securities Act and Exchange Act. A token is a “security” if it meets the definition of an investment contract as outlined in *SEC v. W.J. Howey Co.* Under the *Howey test*, an investment contract exists when it is: (1) an investment of money; (2) in a common enterprise; (3) with a reasonable expectation of profits; (4) from the managerial or entrepreneurial efforts of others. *Securities and Exchange Commission v. W.J. Howey Co.*, 328 U.S. 293, 301 (1946).

negatively correlated, then agents are willing to hold bitcoin with an expectation of bitcoin price appreciation.

Sockin and Xiong (2018) propose a pricing model for cryptocurrencies. In their model, a cryptocurrency serves two functions — one as membership in a platform with access to goods and services provided by the platform — and the other as the initial pricing for the platform. In their model, when the demand for the platform is publicly observable, there exists either two or no cutoff equilibria, suggesting that one may observe two entirely different dynamics of cryptocurrencies in practice. And the cryptocurrency price would be volatile in this case unless there is government intervention/regulations. On the other hand, when the transaction demand for the platform is unobservable, the trading price of the cryptocurrency would serve as an important channel for aggregating private information and serve to facilitate coordination between the two equilibria (the high- and low-price equilibria). As the high- and low-price equilibria are disparate, it would be difficult for outsiders to diagnose the health of the cryptocurrency simply based on its observed price.

Cong, Li, and Wang (2018) provide a dynamic asset pricing model for cryptocurrencies/tokens on blockchain platforms. Their model allows for both user-base externality and endogenous user adoption. The expected price appreciation makes tokens attractive to early users, allowing them to capitalize future prospect of the platform and hence accelerating adoption. They find a positive but nonlinear relationship among token price and platform productivity, users' heterogeneous transaction needs, and network size.

Pagnotta and Buraschi (2018) provide an equilibrium model of the bitcoin market in a decentralized network. They show that the overall production (capacity) and the price of bitcoin are jointly determined. Their calibration shows that the bitcoin price is very susceptible to the fundamental properties of its demand and supply. Tripling the current network size raises the equilibrium price of bitcoin from \$14,200 to \$77,627 (a 546 percent increase).

In addition to these theories, empirical studies also document the volatility of cryptocurrency prices. For example, Kroeger and Sarkar (2017) show that the price of bitcoin varies significantly in the various exchanges around the globe. For example, the maximum absolute price difference ranges between 17 percent for the Coinbase-BTC-e exchange pair and as high as 41 percent for the Bitstamp-BTC-e pair during the same time period of 2013–2016. They attribute such violation of the law of one price to two main reasons: One is the microstructure frictions such as bid-ask spread, order book depth, and volatility; the other is the use of bitcoin to avoid foreign exchange restrictions, money laundering, and so on. Makarov and Schoar (2018) construct an

arbitrage index and calculate the arbitrage profits from bitcoin trading across different exchanges and regions. They show that the arbitrage profits from December 2017 to February 2019 was more than \$1 billion. In addition, the recurrent arbitrage opportunities in cryptocurrency prices relative to fiat currencies are much larger across regions (the U.S., Japan, and Korea) than within the same region.

The sudden rise of cryptocurrencies may pose challenges to central banks at many levels. Fernández-Villaverde and Sanches (2016) analyze the impact of cryptocurrencies on monetary policy effectiveness. Their game theory model shows that there exists several equilibria, in which only one of the several equilibria would be stationary, such that the value of all privately issued cryptocurrencies would be stable over time, while other equilibria may be undesirable. Even the best equilibrium (stationary) cannot deliver the socially optimum amount of money supply. Therefore, if the cryptocurrencies become widespread, central banks would have difficulty finding appropriate intermediate targets for the monetary policy. Unless central banks could find ways to stabilize the supply of cryptocurrencies as individuals, corporations, and financial institutions increase their holdings of cryptocurrencies, the financial system might be less stable. As an option, central banks could consider creating their own central bank digital currencies (CBDCs) to control money supply. There has been wide discussion on this. We leave it for Section 5.3.

5.2 Initial Coin Offering: Structure, Valuation, and Regulation

Initial coin offerings (ICOs) are mechanisms to raise funds by selling coins or tokens, using blockchain technology, to support a product launch or a new virtual currency. ICOs are a conjunction of crowdfunding and blockchain. Tokens purchased in an ICO give the participant certain rights, most frequently the right to use the platform services that are being developed or ownership rights. The coins can also be exchanged for other cryptocurrencies (and even potentially fiat currencies) on secondary markets. They operate similarly to initial public offerings (IPOs) but typically skirt the usual regulations and restrictions on IPOs. While start-ups have traditionally relied on venture capital to raise funds and grow, ICOs present a more decentralized and democratic alternative. The total capital raised through ICOs was only \$16 million across two deals in 2014 and \$6.1 million (USD) across three deals in 2015, but spiked exponentially in the following two years.¹⁸ The biggest ICO until mid-2018 was priced by EOS and raised \$4.1 billion (USD).¹⁹

¹⁸ For more data, see the ICODATA website, <https://www.icodata.io/stats/2014>.

¹⁹ See the report from PwC at https://cryptovalley.swiss/wp-content/uploads/20180628_PwC-S-CVA-ICO-Report_EN.pdf.

Reaching a consensus on a formal and complete definition of ICOs is challenging, given a large number of different forms that current ICOs take. Through an ICO, an individual or group of founders can offer a stock of specialized crypto tokens for sale, usually promising that those tokens will operate as the only medium of exchange when assessing the venture's future products to avoid running afoul of securities laws. The structure of ICOs is based on the offer of digital tokens or coins that use blockchain technology. A typical ICO process starts with a white paper, similar to a prospectus, which describes the financing project and the rights given to the investors. Very often the white paper determines a minimum and a maximum amount of coins that need to be subscribed in order for the financing project to go live.

The startling growth of ICOs has raised concerns about irrational exuberance. Two central questions are related to how ICOs could be accurately evaluated and priced, and what would be appropriate regulatory responses. A growing literature studies the structure of ICOs. One consistent finding is that the ICO structure could help to solve the coordination problems among investors; see Li and Mann (2018); Cong, Li, and Wang (2018); Bakos and Halaburda (2018); and Catalini and Gans (2018). For example, Li and Mann (2018) present an economic mechanism through which token and ICO structures create values for both entrepreneurs and platform users. In their model, by transparently distributing tokens before the launch of the platform, an ICO can overcome coordination failures during platform operations, in which each user of the platform cares about the activities of his transaction counterparty on the other side. Put differently, in the typical structure of an ICO, when a user purchases a token, the volume of the subscription is publicly observable, given the transparency of the smart contract implementing the ICO. This allows platform users to communicate with other users and in turn motivate them to participate as well.

Sockin and Xiong (2018) document the dual roles of cryptocurrency in the platform: as a member for the transactions and as an initial financing for the platform, which makes ICOs different from traditional project financing mechanisms in the way that investors and business customers are not separated. The outcome is that the trading price and volume of the cryptocurrency not only provide financing of the cryptocurrency, but also directly impact the business operations of the platform. In addition, Bakos and Halaburda (2018) find that token issuance could serve as a low-cost alternative of financing when the platform faces credit constraints, as its cost of capital increases over time. In doing so, the platform trades off its future revenue for the present. On the other hand, an agency conflict might exist between entrepreneurs and investors, as documented in Chod and Lyandres (2018).

In terms of ICOs evaluation and pricing, there have been limited studies so far. The overall empirical evidence on the valuation of ICOs suggest that the success of ICOs is determined by an assortment of characteristics of the tokens, entrepreneurs, as well as the underlying projects. Initially, there is ex-ante information asymmetry between an entrepreneur and outside investors, resulting an adverse selection process that could potentially hamper a successful fundraising through ICOs. Howell, Niessner, and Yermack (2018) use a sample of 453 completed ICOs and find that liquidity and trading volume are higher for tokens that offer voluntary disclosure and provide a signal of quality and potential value of the project. The professional background of an entrepreneur is also strongly associated with ICO success. In addition to these determinants, Amsden and Schweizer (2018) document that the tradability of tokens or coins as well as the uncertainty and quality of venture (e.g., whether being on Github or Telegram, the length of white papers) also matter. Lee, Li, and Shin (2018) use a sample of 1,500 ICOs and find that the diverse opinions from a number of online analysts form an aggregate signal that predicts the quality of the underlying projects as well as the subsequent token sales. Other related studies on the returns and success of ICOs include Adhami, Giudici, and Martinazzi (2017); Hu, Parlour, and Rajan (2018); Momtaz (2018); and Benedetti and Kostovetsky (2018).

Given the nature of entrepreneurs financing through ICOs, particular risks of an ICO include potential fraud such as issuance of scam coins. Scam coins usually establish a Ponzi scheme and rob investors of their currencies.²⁰ Some smart contracts for ICOs are artifactual, which does not match with the description in the white papers. Cohny et al. (2019) compare smart contracts with the associated white papers for 50 ICOs and find that some popular ICOs have retained the power to modify their tokens' rights in the smart contract but failed to disclose this possibility in the white papers. More frequent risky events surrounding ICOs are cyberattacks. For instance, the DAO (decentralized autonomous organization) was hacked only one month after it was launched.²¹ The DAO, built on Ethereum, was an investment entity that aims to raise money through the DAO ICO to fund projects. The DAO was so popular that it raised over \$150 million and was the largest

²⁰ According to *The Economist*, in Vietnam, police are investigating two ICOs (Pincoin and Ifan), run by a firm named Modern tech, that are accused of duping investors out of \$660 million. See "Initial Coin Offerings Have Become Big Business," *The Economist*, <https://www.economist.com/technology-quarterly/2018/09/01/initial-coin-offerings-have-become-big-business>. See also Kai Sedgwick, "46% of Last Year's ICOs Have Failed Already," Bitcoin (February 23, 2018), <https://news.bitcoin.com/46-last-years-icos-failed-already/>; Nathaniel Popper, "SEC Issues Warning on Initial Coin Offerings," *New York Times* (July 25, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/25/business/sec-issues-warning-on-initial-coin-offerings.html>.

²¹ Shendra Kumar Sharma, "Details of the Dao Hacking in Ethereum in 2016," Blockchain Council (August 2017), <https://www.blockchain-council.org/blockchain/details-of-the-dao-hacking-in-ethereum-in-2016/>.

crowdfunding project in history.²² The holders of DAO tokens had the power to select which project to invest in by voting, which was administered by the DAO codes. However, one of the flaws is how the DAO acted as a factory for creating child “smart contracts” that split off from the main DAO to a “child-DAO.” Shortly after the DAO was launched, a hacker drained a total of 3.6 million Ether (worth around \$70 million) into a “child DAO” that was in the same structure as the “parent DAO” in a few hours by exploiting the codes repeatedly. Other potential risks of ICOs are associated with the institutional and legal environment in different countries where the ICOs are launched as well as the potential systemic risks (e.g., Zetsche et al., 2019).

In the U.S., the SEC has classified nearly all ICOs as securities, within their competency and authority.²³ Although the SEC has carved out the “utility token” from the security category, certain definitions and requirements for utility tokens remain vague and need clarification. Zetsche et al. (2019) give a review of financial law and regulation on ICOs and crowdfunding in different jurisdictions and explore an appropriate approach to regulate the ICOs. In other jurisdictions, China and Korea have both banned ICOs outright, while Switzerland has provided an ICO-friendly model. Singapore, Hong Kong, the UK, and Australia have proposed regulatory warning for ICOs.

The overall results from the literature (theoretical studies) are consistent with an argument that, while it may be necessary for ICO activities to be regulated, it would not be desirable to completely ban all ICO activities (an approach adopted in China and Korea). Regulators and academics have been working to design the appropriate regulatory framework for ICOs — to curtail ICO scams while continue to encourage fintech innovations. One possible approach to reducing ICO scams is to follow a protocol similar to the Rule 144A restrictions on private placements — ensuring that only qualified investors can participate in ICOs.

5.3 Central Bank Digital Currency (CBDC)

The recent advances in cryptographic and DLTs, along with extreme volatility in private digital currencies, have led to a discussion around the possibility of central banks issuing their own central bank digital currencies (CBDCs); see Mancini-Griffoli et al. (2018); Jagtiani et al. (2020); Engert and Fung (2017); Bordo and Levin (2017); Ali et al. (2014); and Agur, Ari, and Dell’Ariccia (2019). The threats to financial stability by private cryptocurrencies have led to intensive debates among

²² See DAO White Paper, <https://daostack.io/wp/DAOstack-White-Paper-en.pdf>.

²³ The key documents that provide guidance on how the SEC will likely classify any ICO are “The DAO Investigative Report,” released in July 2017 (DAO Report) and “Cease and the Desist Order Against Munchee,” issued on December 11, 2017, (Munchee Order).

policymakers and monetary economists about whether and how central banks play a role in CBDCs — whether to issue the CBDC or play a supporting role in issuing CBDCs. Based on a BIS survey of central banks, with 63 central bank respondents representing jurisdictions covering close to 80 percent of the world population, Barontini and Holden (2019) show that many central banks are progressing from conceptual work on CBDCs into experimentation and proofs-of-concept, including cooperating with other central banks. Jagtiani, Papaioannou, and Tsetsekos (2019) and Jagtiani et al. (2020) provide a review of CBDCs and highlight several important country experiences with CBDCs.

One of the concerns among central banks in issuing CBDCs is the impact on the banking sector (the risk of a bank run as people would prefer an account with a central bank) and the stability of the financial systems overall. Andolfatto (2018) develops models in which the introduction of CBDCs would lead to an expansion of bank deposits if CBDCs compel banks to raise their deposit rates. They find that interest-bearing CBDCs generally promote financial inclusion as they diminish the demand for cash. Brunnermeier and Niepelt (2019) model the relationship between bank panics and CBDCs and suggest that whether CBDCs would undermine financial stability depends on the monetary policy accompanying the issuance of CBDCs and on the strength of a central bank's commitment to serve as a lender of last resort. They show that with a strong commitment, the issuance of CBDCs, which are equivalent to a transfer of funds from deposit to CBDC accounts, would give rise to an automatic substitution of deposits by central bank funding (the “pass-through” mechanism). Furthermore, in this case, the issuance of CBDCs would not undermine but rather strengthen financial stability, because a depositor run into CBDCs would trigger a pass-through funding automatically and turn the central bank into a large depositor. Similarly, Keister and Sanches (2019) find that issuing CBDCs would enhance efficiency in exchange at the expense of crowding out deposits.

Raskin and Yermack (2016) explore the impact of digital currency on the future of central banking and argue that a sovereign digital currency could narrow the relationship between citizens and central banks and remove the need for the public to keep deposits in fractional reserve at commercial banks. According to Fernández-Villaverde, Sanches, Schilling, and Uhlig (2020), assuming that competition among commercial banks is allowed and that depositors do not panic, account-based CBDCs would allow central banks to engage in large-scale intermediation with private financial institutions for deposits, and this would give consumers the possibility of holding a bank account with the central bank directly. Brunnermeier, James, and Landau (2019) review the ongoing digital revolution as well as its impact on the traditional model of monetary exchange. They

suggest that in a digital economy in which most activities are conducted through networks with their own monetary instruments, CBDCs would open up a direct channel by which monetary policy could be transmitted to the public and permit the central bank's unit of account to remain relevant in a fast-changing digital economy. Overall, CBDC proponents highlight that CBDCs would improve the safety and efficiency of the financial and payment systems as well as increase central banks' controlling power over monetary policy. Critics, however, raise concerns about the significant risks that digital currencies might bring to the rest of the financial system.

6. Fintech, Trading, and Algorithmic Investment Strategies

6.1 High-Frequency Trading

Over the last decade, the forces of technology have increasingly shaped the market structure and trading behavior. One type of computerized trading that attracted the most attention is high-frequency trading, which was largely absent in 2001 but participated in about 50 percent of the trading activities by 2010 (SEC, 2010). In the meanwhile, liquidity has improved, and the transaction cost of end users has declined substantially in this period. The bid-ask spread that investors paid on the market order, which is a measure of the trading cost for retail investors, was reduced. And the implementation shortfall, which is a measure of the transaction cost for large institutional investors was also largely reduced from 2001 to 2011; see Menkveld (2016), Jones (2013), and Linton and Mahmoodzadeh (2018).

While there is no formal definition for high-frequency trading (HFT), the SEC (2010) identifies some features that often are attributed to high-frequency trading (i.e., the use of extraordinarily high-speed and sophisticated algorithms, the use of co-location services and individual data feeds, the very small and short-lived positions in margin accounts, and the submission of numerous orders and cancelling shortly). HFT represents a large subset but not all of algorithmic trading, which is generally defined as the use of computer programming to make decisions about order submissions and cancellations.²⁴ Menkveld (2016), Jones (2013), O'Hara (2015), and Kirilenko and Lo (2013) give a review of the types of high-frequency traders and trading strategies.

²⁴ In SEC (2010) and SEC (2014), algorithmic trading (AT) encompasses a broad range of activity that includes particularly the large-order execution algorithms often used by or on behalf of institutional investors. These algorithms slide the large orders into many small pieces that are fed into the marketplace over time. This type of algorithmic trading is not classified as HFT as the time horizon of trading is far beyond the short time frame of HFT.

O'Hara (2015) makes a point about the complexity of information in a high-frequency age. In a high-speed and co-located world, information is not just asset related but also order related. Being informed is multidimensional, meaning that it can be seeing and acting on market prices faster than competitors or knowing more about the assets or the markets. A key question is whether HFT can benefit market quality or hurt it. Theories seem to suggest that if HFT is a faster acting agent as it can trade on new information instantly before it becomes available to others, adverse selection is more severe and market quality decreases (Biais, Fousault, and Moinas, 2015; Foucant, Hombert, and Rosu, 2016; Du and Zhu, 2014); however, if HFT is a better informed agent, then liquidity improves (e.g., Ait-Sahalia and Saglam, 2013; Goettler, Parlour, and Rajan, 2009). A tradeoff is documented in Jovanovic and Menkveld (2016) that, if HFT is both an informed and fast agent, it can update limit orders quickly based on new information as it has both information and speed; therefore, HFT can avoid some adverse selection and further provide some benefit to uninformed traders who need to trade. An implication is that we need to be careful when interpreting lower bid-ask spreads as better market quality because this may be driven by other traders who are not being able to earn the spread through posting limit orders.

On the empirical side, a number of existing studies provides evidence on the effects of HFT. Some papers use specific market structure changes to identify the causal and positive effects of HFT on market quality. For example, Hendershott, Jones, and Menkveld (2011) employ the implementation of an automated quote at the New York Stock Exchange in 2003 and show that at least for large-cap stocks in that period, an increase in algorithmic trading causes an improvement in stock market liquidity. Menkveld (2013) examines the entry of high-frequency market-makers into the trading of Dutch stocks in July 2007 and find that because of the higher degree of competition, compared with untreated Belgian stocks, the bid-ask spreads of Dutch stocks are about 15 percent narrower, and adverse selection is also less. Gai, Yao, and Ye (2014) use data from two Nasdaq technology upgrades in 2010 and find that there is little change in bid-ask spreads and market depths, suggesting that there could be diminishing liquidity benefits.

One of the most salient trends in securities markets has been the fragmentation in the trading system (Menkveld, 2016). Without a central market, traders need to search for liquidity across different venues, which the high-frequency traders are specialized in. Existing studies find that an increase in trading fragmentation is associated with lower costs and faster execution speeds in a given asset class (Foucault and Menkveld, 2008; O'Hara and Ye, 2011; Degryse, De Jong, and van Kervel, 2015). Pagnotta and Philippon (2018) find that competition among venues increase investor participation, trading volumes, and allocative efficiency; but in the meantime, there could

be excessive fragmentation and inefficient execution speed, suggesting that the welfare consequences depend critically on the ability to impact entry decisions and that sound regulations would be important.

Overall, evidence strongly indicates that HFT is good for average market quality. However, its impact on market quality in stressed conditions is of particular concern to regulators and investors. On May 6, 2010, in the course of 33 minutes, starting from 2:32 p.m. EST, the U.S. stock market experienced one of the most turbulent periods in the history, known as the Flash Crash. Kirilenko, Kyle, Samadi, and Tuzun (2011) analyze the Flash Crash using the audit trail data for all 15,000 accounts that traded the E-mini that day. They find that HFT did not trigger the Flash Crash, but their responses to the extreme selling pressure exacerbated the price decline. Basically what HFTs did was buy contracts from fundamental sellers in the E-mini during the price decline and then proceeded to sell contracts and compete for liquidity with fundamental sellers. However, the SEC (2014) points out that Kirilenko, Kyle, Samadi, and Tuzun (2017) did not capture more than one-third of total HFT activity in the E-mini during the Flash Crash. Easley, Lopez de Prado, and O'Hara (2011, 2012) use intraday data and find that order imbalance was severe in the minutes just before the Flash Crash, confirming that HFT and other trading intermediaries were overwhelmed by selling pressure. Another recent market glitch associated with HFT is trading errors by Knight Capital, one of the largest market-makers for U.S. equities, on August 1, 2012. A new trading algorithm introduced by this HFT firm rushed into service without sufficient testing and caused a large accumulation of stock positions over about 45 minutes at the start of the trading day. Knight Capital lost \$456.7 million from liquidating the positions in the end, wiping out its capital.

These types of trading errors and extreme events call for more HFT regulations. The benefits of automation and other new technology in financial markets are indisputable, but they have to be evaluated and tested sufficiently. Several initiatives have been proposed by regulators and academics, including a real-time consolidated order-level audit trail (Jones, 2013), a required minimum time-in-force for orders (SEC, 2010), a small securities transaction taxes; see Mehta (2013) and Kirilenko and Lo (2013). Kirilenko and Lo (2013) further propose some principles for an advanced financial regulatory framework in the Digital Age that they refer to as Financial Regulation 2.0. We will discuss the regulatory issues further in Section 8.

6.2 Quantitative Investment Strategies

In recent years, there has been considerable hype concerning the use of sophisticated computer-based and AI/ML techniques for quantitative investment strategies. Many have argued that this

would be the future of investment management. We have been here before. For example, Allen and Karjalainen (1999) use a genetic ML algorithm to learn technical trading rules for the S&P 500 index using daily prices from 1928 to 1995, and they confirm that the stock markets are efficient in the sense that it is not possible to make money after transaction costs when using technical AI/ML trading rules. The rules are able to identify periods to be in the market when returns are high and volatility is low and out of the market when the reverse is true, consistent with Brock, Lakonishok, and LeBaron (1992).

Empirical evidence suggests that quantitative strategies can work well in stable environments but often work very poorly when there is a crisis or some other unexpected events. An example is the Quant Meltdown in the week of August 6, 2007 (e.g., Khandani and Lo, 2007; Kirilenko and Lo, 2013), when some of the most successful hedge funds suffered unprecedented losses. It appeared that the loss was concentrated among “quantitative equity market neutral” or “statistical arbitrage” hedge funds (Khandani and Lo, 2011). More recently, the investment field has been leveled in computer resources, data, and statistical tools such as the AI/ML algorithms. However, as with most quantitative applications in finance, there is a dark side of these powerful techniques. When misapplied, these techniques can lead to false discovery and disappointment. For example, Arnott, Harvey, and Markowitz (2019) point out that, unlike in physical and biological sciences, data are much more limited in scope in investment finance, which might be far too small for most AI/ML applications and impossibly small for advanced deep learning approaches. Lopez de Prado (2018) raises 10 pitfalls and proposes solutions to the application of AI/ML in investment and finance.

An interesting question regarding the application of computer and advanced technologies in investment is why quantitative investment strategies produce alpha, a measure of excess returns. One of the most important aspects of such investment strategies for both buyers and sellers of the products is to understand whether and how they produce excess returns. Are they simply reallocating returns across states so they look good most of the time but melt down occasionally? Are there missing risk factors that are not modelled properly so it seems there is an excess return but in fact there is not? Financial crises, which have low probability but high impact, are another possible form of risk of this type. Risks can also be endogenous if a new strategy appears promising and is simultaneously adopted by a large number of investment firms so that the environment changes and new types of risk arise. When they all try to exit together, prices change in unexpected ways. Are there market imperfections that the strategy is helping to get around so the excess returns come from the increased efficiency? Quantitative investment strategies using AI/ML could

help to overcome market imperfections through reduced transaction costs and improved diversification or carry trades.

6.3 Investment Advisors, Wealth Management, and InsurTech

Online wealth management platforms providing investment advice driven by algorithms (more commonly called *robo-advisors*) have emerged to replace or complement traditional (human) investment advisors. Robo-advisors leverage data provided by investors to construct and manage a tailored appropriate investment portfolio for them. Since the first major service launched by Betterment in 2010, this market has grown rapidly, accumulating nearly \$45 billion in assets under management (AUM).²⁵ Later, witnessing the success of independent robo-advisors, traditional money managers have also started launching such services that work in tandem with the products that they conventionally offer.²⁶ A typical robo-advisor platform consists of three phases: (1) the initial investor screening, (2) investment strategy implementation, and (3) monitoring and rebalancing the strategy.

For the initial client intake and screening, robo-advisors provide automated in-app or online questionnaires, including general questions about clients' financial preferences and goals, upon which the robo-advisors could build a profile of the client's financial goals, investment strategies, and risk tolerance. Then, robo-advisors will select targeted assets and curate a personalized portfolio based on the client profile. Currently, most robo-advisors implement passive investment strategies, including strategies using ETFs as baseline investments.²⁷ Finally, robo-advisors would monitor and rebalance a client's investment portfolio, to ensure the portfolio risk does not exceed clients' preferences while simultaneously taking advantage of price changes in the

²⁵ Since launched, Betterman has raised over \$200 million in equity funding and has over \$9 billion in AUM. The second largest independent robo-advisor to date, Wealthfront, has raised about \$130 million in equity and has over \$6 billion in AUM. It is widely expected that the robo-advice market will continue to skyrocket. A particularly aggressive projection predicts that robo-advisors will have \$5.0 trillion to \$7.0 trillion in AUM by the year 2025 (<https://hbr.org/2018/01/robo-advisors-are-coming-to-consulting-and-corporate-strategy>).

²⁶ For example, Charles Schwab and Vanguard were the two pioneers in providing robo-advising services in line with their other advising products (see, e.g., <https://smartasset.com/retirement/the-top-10-robo-advisors>).

²⁷ It is reported that active management robo-advising strategies (typically hybrid solutions) have a growing presence in the marketplace (see, e.g., <https://money.usnews.com/investing/investing-101/articles/2018-10-17/should-i-use-an-actively-managed-robo-advisor>).

market. Compared with the traditional human financial advising, the key promise of robo-advising is evident: delivering convenient and unbiased financial advice at significantly lower cost.²⁸

Based on an automated portfolio optimizer introduced by a brokerage firm to its clients in India, D'Acunto, Prabhala, and Rossi (2019) examine the determinants of using robo-advising and the effects. While users and nonusers are indistinguishable along several demographic characteristics, including gender, age, and trading experience, users are generally more sophisticated and usually have a larger amount of investment funds than nonusers. In addition, undiversified investors could benefit more from robo-advising, and their market-adjusted investment performance could improve significantly. Robo-advisors can reduce pervasive behavioral bias and cognitive litigations that traditional human financial advisors might have (Linnainmaa, Melzer, and Previtro, 2017), such as the disposition effect, trend chasing, and the rank effect. Hodge, Mendoza, and Sinha (2018) examine the investment judgment of humanizing robo-advisors and find that investors are more likely to follow the advice of a robo-advisor when the advisor exhibits fewer human features. Moreover, investors are more likely to follow the advice of a named human advisor compared with an unnamed human advisor; while investors are less likely to follow the advice of a named robo-advisor compared to an unnamed robo-advisor. Overall, advisors' credibility will mediate how likely investors are to follow their recommendations.

Robo-advising makes access to financial advice available at lower cost, mitigates underdiversification, and improves investment performance; however, it might be subject to conflict of interests and other potential risks. Baker and Dellaert (2018) argue that because humans design and implement robo-advisors, we cannot always expect an ideal robo-advisor in terms of honesty, competence, and suitability. Despite the difference between robo-advisors and human advisors, they are currently regulated under the same statutory framework — under the Investment Advisers Act of 1940 (in the U.S.) and the Market in Financial Instruments Directive (MiFID) framework (for the EU). A narrative, driven by academia and lawyers, argues that robo-advisors are inherently incapable of meeting the Investment Advisers Act standards; i.e., the fiduciary duty (duty of care and duty of loyalty obligations).²⁹ For example, some critics argue that

²⁸ According to Ringe and Ruof (2019), because of making use of the economies of scale, robo-advisors charge average fees of between 0.4 percent (mainly in the U.S.) and 0.8 percent (mainly in Europe), whereas the fee for human financial advice usually amounts to 1 percent to 2 percent.

²⁹ The fiduciary duty required by the Investment Advisers Act of 1940, means that advisors must (1) take the reasonably necessary steps to avoid misleading clients, (2) provide full and fair disclosure to their clients and prospective clients of all material information, and (3) eliminate, or at least disclose all conflicts. See <https://www.sec.gov/investment/im-guidance-2017-02.pdf>.

using an electronic questionnaire to gather information from clients without further confirming the accuracy are far from enough to satisfy the investment advisor duty of care (e.g., Fein, 2015). Others criticize that robo-advisors lack human perceptions and are not equipped to address market failures (Fein, 2015).³⁰

Ji (2018) argues that the conflicts of interest concerns associated with robo-advising could be quite severe because of bias in the algorithms that reflects a firm's existing conflicts of interest. However, traditional human advisors may also be influenced by individual outside incentives. Recently, both the SEC and the Financial Industry Regulatory Authority (FINRA) have directly addressed some of the ambiguity, with respect to how robo-advisors fit in the current regulatory structure, through a series of guidelines. For example, the SEC recommends that robo-advisors provide a concise explanation of their business model because of the unique nature of their business as well as fully disclose all fees and other charges.³¹ It remains unclear whether the current rules are effective in dealing with the risks and challenges of robo-advising. Ringe and Ruof (2019) and Financial Conduct Authority (2017) propose a regulatory sandbox, an experimentation space, which would allow market participants to test robo-advising services in the real market, with real consumers, but under close scrutiny of the supervisor. Such a sandbox can allow for mutual learning for both the firms and regulators and reduce regulatory uncertainty for all the market participants.³²

Insurance technology, manifested as InsurTech, is a subset of fintech dedicated to the insurance industry. The insurance industry has access to a large amount of data, which would be critical for the application of complex algorithms like AI/ML methods. With big data and advanced techniques, more precise measurements of underlying insurance risk can be estimated. Insurers could have better protections against operational risks, such as preventing insurance fraud or money laundering. Customers can also have a wider range of better tailored products and services. Massive investment funding in the form of mergers and acquisitions, venture capital, and private equities, have flowed into the InsurTech industry. Over \$35 billion was raised by InsurTech

³⁰ See also, Samantha Sharf, "Can Robo-Advisors Survive a Bear Market?" available at <https://www.forbes.com/sites/samanthasharf/2015/01/28/can-robot-advisors-survive-a-bear-market/#243f981ce7ec>; Michael Wursthorn and Anne Tergesen, "Robo Advisor Betterment Suspended Trading During 'Brexit' Market Turmoil," available at <https://www.wsj.com/articles/robo-adviser-betterment-suspended-trading-during-brexit-market-turmoil-1466811073>.

³¹ SEC, *Investment Management Guidance: Guidance Update*, No. 2017-02 (Feb. 2017) <https://www.sec.gov/investment/im-guidance-2017-02.pdf>

³² See Section 8 for more about the regulatory sandbox.

companies from 2016 to 2019, through 852 deals.³³ Geographically, the InsurTech industry has been dominated by the U.S. since 2012. China, Germany, the UK, and France are the other top InsurTech markets.³⁴

Lin and Chen (2019) examine the potential risks associated with the application of InsurTech, as well as the possible regulatory solutions. The risks come from the general use of technology, such as cybersecurity, data protection, consumer privacy issues, and other special features related to the insurance industry. Addressing fraud risk is key to online business models for InsurTech providers. They propose a “meta-regulation” approach: regulated firms write a set of rules tailored to the firms themselves, and these rules are subject to further scrutiny and approval by a regulatory agency. Thakor (2019) briefly discusses the development in InsurTech. Through applying the new methods, overall, InsurTech firms are believed to be able to provide better calibrated risk assessment and pricing, with less pooling across customers with heterogeneous but ex-ante indistinguishable risk profiles.

7. Cybersecurity

Cyber-risk has become one of the most important sources of risks for corporations. Recent surveys by PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) from 2017 to 2019 show that more than half of the CEOs expect cybersecurity and data breach incidents to threaten stakeholder trust in their industries in the near future.³⁵ On top of that, the financial industry has witnessed the most incidents with data losses.³⁶ As documented in previous sections, while the advanced financial technology brings efficiency gains for financial institutions and improves financial inclusion, it has also increased the sophistication of the attack, making it harder and more complex to prevent. The increased cyber-risks because of the advanced financial technology can take multiple forms, including cyber-risks related to the data-sharing process such as data aggregation through an open API. This allows third-party vendors to access consumer data directly from their bank account. There has been increased vulnerability, especially when the interfaces between the two systems are not compatible (e.g., not

³³ Willis Towers Watson, 2020, Quarterly InsurTech Briefing Q4 2019, <https://www.willistowerswatson.com/en-GB/Insights/2020/01/quarterly-insurtech-briefing-q4-2019>.

³⁴ In the third quarter of 2019, China contributed 13 percent of the total InsurTech deal activity, driven by an increase of interest in start-ups contributing to the growth of China’s health insurance industry. See Willis Towers Watson, 2019, Quarterly InsurTech Briefing Q3 2019, October, <https://www.willistowerswatson.com/en-US/Insights/2019/10/quarterly-insurtech-briefing-q3-2019>

³⁵ For more details, please see “Risk in Review Study” by PwC from 2017 to 2019.

³⁶ Verizon, 2019, *Data Breach Investigations Report 2019*, Verizon, <https://enterprise.verizon.com/resources/reports/dbir/>.

designed around the same time period by different developers and often because of limitations of banks' legacy technology. It is increasingly difficult to thoroughly identify all potential sources of vulnerability in the systems as the processes are usually more time-consuming and expensive.

The various financial applications that allow consumers to transfer funds and make payments through voice or facial recognition also increase cyber-risk; for example, Amazon Alexa and CapOne, Bank of America's ERICA app. There have been several incidences of successful cyberattacks, including an incident in February 2016, when hackers stole \$81 million from the Central Bank of Bangladesh, through transfer fraud via compromised SWIFT servers.³⁷ The SEC's EDGAR system was also hacked by a Ukrainian hacker using deceptive hacking techniques in 2016. The extracted EDGAR files that contain nonpublic earnings information was passed to individuals who used it to trade in the narrow window before the companies released to the public, resulting in at least \$4.1 million of illegal profits.³⁸

Another well-known cyberincident is the Equifax hack in September 2017, in which the hackers exploited a vulnerability in the software that Equifax uses to build its websites to steal customer names, Social Security numbers, birthdates, and addresses, affecting 147.7 million Americans. Later in July 2019, the Amazon Alexa and CapOne data breach exposed credit card application data for those who applied between 2005 and 2019, affecting roughly 100 million individuals in the U.S., and 6 million customers in Canada. Many cryptocurrency exchanges have also been shut down because hackers were able to steal assets from the exchange systems. Finally, cloud computing, which is an enabler of the fintech ecosystem (payment gateways, digital wallets, secured online payments rely on cloud-computing services) also resulted in new types of risk, especially cyber-risks.

While the direct costs related to cyberincidents (such as the cost of forensic investigation, legal assistance, customer notification and post-breach customer protection, and other measures) can be relatively well understood, the indirect costs (such as the reputation risks of brand names, negative shock to existing customer relationships, or depreciation of intellectual property value), on the other hand, are far less visible, more long term and more difficult to be quantified. Therefore, there can be significant uncertainty surrounding the potential impact of cyberincidents, as documented in Kopp, Kaffenberger, and Wilson (2017).

³⁷ For more details, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh_Bank_robbery and <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/cyber-heist-federal/>.

³⁸ In January 2019, the SEC charged the nine defendants in the EDGAR hacking case, a Ukrainian hacker, six individual traders in California, Ukraine, and Russia and two entities. For more details, see <https://www.sec.gov/news/press-release/2019-1>.

Who are more likely to be the targets of cyberattacks? Using the data breach events caused by cyberattacks reported to the Privacy Rights Clearinghouse (PRC) over the period 2005 to 2017, Kamiya et al. (2018) find that firms are more likely to be attacked when they are larger, less financially constrained, more highly valued, have more intangible assets, and in less competitive industries. Firm-level corporate governance characteristics, such as features of the board, are not found to predict the likelihood of cyberattacks.

Conventional wisdom suggests that hacking events would have some negative and sticky influence on firms' reputations and henceforth on growth prospects. Recent studies confirm this prediction and find that a firm's stock price drops upon the announcement of a serious cybersecurity breach. For example, Lin, Sapp, Rees-Ulmer, and Parsa (2018) show that there is an abnormal return of -1.44 percent in the five-day window surrounding the public announcement of a data breach, and such price decline does not reverse over the following month. Amir, Levi, and Livne (2018) document that firms may underreport the cyberattacks and investors cannot discover most attacks independently. For the withheld attacks, the negative abnormal return in the stock market (3.6 percent) in the month when the attack is discovered is higher than that of the disclosed attacks (0.7 percent). Bianchi and Tosun (2019) find that upon corporate announcements on cybersecurity breach, daily excess returns drop and trading volume increases in the short run. Kamiya et al. (2018) document a significant mean cumulative abnormal return of -0.84 percent during the three-day window around cyberattack announcements, which can be translated into an average value loss of \$495 million per attack. Lin, Sapp, Rees-Ulmer, and Parsa (2018) find significant evidence of opportunistic insider trading in the three months prior to cybersecurity breach announcements.

In a relative long-run scenario, existing studies find that firms adjust their investment and financial policies in response to cyberattacks. Kamiya et al. (2018) document that attacks in which personal financial information is appropriated are associated with a decrease in sales growth for large firms and retail firms, with an increase in leverage and debt maturity, but with a weak deterioration in financial deficit and capital expenditure. Firms also further respond by reducing CEO risk-taking incentives and strengthening their risk management. Consistently, Bianchi and Tosun (2019) also find weak evidence of negative impact on cash flows and operating performance upon cybersecurity incidents.

The true costs of cybersecurity breach could be huge, yet the market could fail to provide a social optimal level of security because of information asymmetries, externalities, coordination failures, and barriers to entry (Kopp, Kaffenberger, and Wilson, 2017). It remains unclear what the

best policy response to cyber-risk should be, including how to design ex-ante regulation and assign ex-post liability. Moreover, cyberattacks raise issues about jurisdiction as warfare in cyberspace pays little regard to national boundaries. So far, there remains neither clear nor meaningful international consensus on the sovereignty and jurisdiction issues relating to cyberattacks and nor on the governance of cyberattacks (Lin, 2016).³⁹

8. Cloud Computing and the Roles of BigTech

A key driver behind the recent explosion of data is the concomitant growth of computing power as well as cloud servicing. Cloud storage and cloud computing have allowed large volumes of information to be stored cheaply on external, third-party, Internet-based servers. By using cloud services, incumbent systems are increasingly open and operate on a shared rather than closed basis. The Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) in the UK issued guidance on financial institutions' use of cloud storage facilities in 2016.⁴⁰ The UK challenger bank, OakNorth, became the first bank in the UK to transfer its core systems into the cloud by using Amazon's Web Services (AWS) in 2016.⁴¹

Fintech was previously defined by the Financial Stability Board as "technologically enabled financial innovation that could result in new business models, applications, processes, or products with an associated material effect on financial markets and institutions and the provision of financial services."⁴² After 2008, a new era of fintech has been marked by the arrival of wave of the new fintech start-ups, including LendingClub, Prosper, Paypal, Venmo, Square, Plaid, Credit Karma. A new term, *BigTech*, created later, refers to large existing firms with the primary business in providing digital services rather than mainly in financial services (Frost et al., 2019). In other words, fintech companies operate primarily in the financial sector, while BigTech firms offer financial products only as a subsector of their main businesses. Amazon, Google, Microsoft, Uber, Tencent, and Alibaba are examples of BigTech firms that offer various forms of payment, lending, or other financial services. The activities of BigTech firms in credit provision are so far the most

³⁹ For example, the U.S. generally prefers a multiple stakeholder model of cyber governance in which states, international organizations, and private actors all play a role in governance, while China and Russia generally prefer a sovereign-oriented model that gives individual states most of the power.

⁴⁰ Financial Conduct Authority (FCA), *Finalized Guidance for Firms Outsourcing to the "Cloud" and Other Third-Party in IT Services*, July 2016, <file:///C:/Users/c1jai01/AppData/Local/Microsoft/Windows/Temporary%20Internet%20Files/IE/9U2E1YMD/fg16-5.pdf>

⁴¹ E. Dunkley, "OakNorth Takes UK Banking into the Cloud," *Financial Times*, May 26, 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/36c4eba2-2280-11e6-9d4d-c11776a5124d>

⁴² See Financial Stability Board, 2017. *Financial Stability Implications from FinTech*, <https://www.fsb.org/wp-content/uploads/R270617.pdf>.

pronounced in China and have been growing in other jurisdictions as well, though on a smaller scale. Frost et al. (2019) show that BigTech firms usually start with payments, and then expand into credit provision, insurance, and savings and investment products.

Stulz (2019) reviews the recent development in finTech and BigTech and compare them with traditional banks. He defines fintech as the use of digital technologies and big data to enhance existing financial services. Given this definition, fintech firms compete with banks for specific financial services; fintech firms are relatively lightly regulated, not part of inflexible organizations, and not saddled with legacy IT systems. BigTech firms are technology companies whose business model is focused on exploiting digital technologies. They have potential big advantages compared with banks and fintech firms; they not only have all the technical knowhow and up-to-date systems that fintech companies aspire to, but also the scale that large banks have. Other than these benefits, they also have access to a wide range of data that banks and fintech firms do not have access to, but they do not the legacy or the organizational issues. All these advantages might allow BigTech firms to replace traditional banks (see also Frost et al., 2019).

Other than competing with incumbent financial institutions, there are also other forms of interactions between BigTechs and traditional banks. In many cases, BigTech firms are important third-party service providers to financial institutions. Amazon AWS, Microsoft, and Google are all large providers of cloud services to many financial institutions. Ali Cloud, an affiliated firm of Ant Financial, is a dominant player in the Asian market. There has been evidence that BigTech firms have helped to promote financial inclusion. For example, using the proprietary (alternative) data on small businesses' credit and payment activities through BigTech firms (BigTech Credit) in Argentina and China, Frost et al. (2019) find that firms that have access to credit through BigTech firms were able to expand their product offering resulting in significant growth. There have been, however, concerns around the impact on financial stability as a large number of financial institutions start to rely more and more on a few large cloud service providers. Efforts have been devoted into building infrastructure in a more coordinated fashion (for compatible systems) allowing firms to switch instantaneously from one cloud service provider to another provider without major interruption to the financial and payment systems. However, the future remains uncertain regarding the overall impact — much depending on the regulatory design to protect financial stability and consumers while also promoting efficiency through fintech innovations.

9. Regulation of Fintech

Prior to the global financial crisis in 2008, financial innovation was viewed very positively, resulting in a laissez-faire and deregulatory approach to financial regulations. After the crisis, fintech and data-driven financial services providers profoundly challenge the current regulatory paradigm. Financial regulators are seeking to balance the competing objectives of promoting innovations, financial stability, and consumer protection. In this section, we review recent development in regulating fintech, especially how technology is playing an ever-increasing role in financial regulation itself.

9.1 RegTech

RegTech, a contracted term of *regulatory* and *technology*, describes the use of technology in the context of regulatory monitoring, reporting, and compliance (e.g., Zetsche et al., 2017; Arner, Barberis, and Buckley, 2016b). A defining feature of RegTech is that it shifts from supervision by humans to supervision by machines and analysis of data. After the 2008 global financial crisis, the cost of regulatory obligations has dramatically increased, providing a strong economic incentive for more efficient reporting and compliance systems to better control risks and reduce compliance costs. For example, in 2009, the SEC created the division of Economic and Risk Analysis, to use data insights for better regulation. The Bank of England highlighted some specific technologies currently used in financial regulations, such as pattern analysis, which can be used to identify unusual patterns of activity such as “spoofing,” front running, and wash trades; big data analysis, which typically uses a far larger number of inputs than standard surveillance techniques; predictive coding, which looks to identify patterns of activity; or digitalization of voice communications, which could be more effective than written communications.⁴³

Looking forward, the next stage of the development of RegTech is likely to be driven by regulators’ effort to increase their supervisory capacity, using techniques such as AI/ML and deep learning (Arner, Barberis, and Buckley, 2016b). For instance, a close to real-time surveillance system is proposed by the Bank of England when discussing the future of regulation.⁴⁴ Auer (2019) proposes a new concept, Regulation Automata (RA), and shows that distributed ledger technologies (DLT) could be used to ensure high-quality and low-cost compliance. The RA would allow

⁴³ C. Roxburgh, M. Shafik, and M. Wheatley, 2015. *Fair and Effective Market Review: Final Report*, Bank of England, June 10, 2015, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/report/2015/fair-and-effective-markets-review--final-report>.

⁴⁴ A. Haldane, 2014. *Managing Global Finance as a System*, Bank of England, October 29, 2014, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/-/media/boe/files/speech/2014/managing-global-finance-as-a-system.pdf?la=en&hash=93BF6D650AAE5D055618D2D2DBC5870DC0580FA7>.

supervisors to verify compliance with regulatory goals by reading the market's distributed ledger without the need for businesses to actively collect, verify, and deliver the data, therefore, reducing the costs of regulations. In the DLT-based market, data credibility is assured by economic incentives, whereas in today's compliance process, trustworthiness is guaranteed by relevant authorities and the threat of legal penalties.

RegTech has also been developed within major financial institutions and fintech firms. Recent leading examples include compliance requirements in the financial industry such as anti-money laundering (AML) and know your customers (KYC). AML regulations are a legislative attempt to prevent the practice of generating income through illegal actions or to conceal criminal origin and true ownership. Back to the historical legislation, while not mentioning money laundering specifically, the Bank Secrecy Act of 1970 essentially laid the groundwork for what would become the "anti-money laundering complex" that governs a substantial portion of financial law enforcement today. For example, for insured banks and financial institutions, the act imposed a duty to maintain records of "the identity of each person having an account in the U.S. with the bank and of each individual authorized to sign checks, make withdrawals, or otherwise act with respect to any such account." The decades afterward saw the Money Laundering Control Act of 1986, Annunzio-Wylie Anti-Money Laundering Act of 1992, the Money Laundering and Financial Crimes Strategy Act of 1998, and the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001. Internationally, an intergovernmental organization called the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) on Money Laundering was launched in 1989, establishing international soft law standards that address money laundering and terrorist financing.⁴⁵ The FATF rules were implemented by financial institutions in most jurisdictions as well as infrastructure providers such as SWIFT and CLS.

From a standpoint of compliance, AML requires that every client or potential client of a financial institution must be reviewed under the central elements, usually known as KYC due diligence. Hence, KYC is an intensive process that requires documentation of clients' identity, income, and sources of funds at a deeper than surface level. Identity today can be analogue (paper documents), digitized (e.g., scan of an ID document), or digital (e.g., online footprint). Identity verification, both on the acceptance of a new customer (onboarding) and on an ongoing basis, is essential to protect against fraud and crime, and henceforth is fundamental to market integrity as

⁴⁵ The 40 Recommendations of the FAFT, originally drawn up in 1990, revised in 1996, and again reviewed and updated in 2003, are universally recognized as the international standards for AML.

well. At the same time, identification and KYC rules can be major barriers to accessing financial services for millions of individuals and small businesses.

Arner, Zetsche, Buckley, and Barneris (2018) argue that technology can present an opportunity to solve this challenge and ensure the objectives of financial inclusion and market integrity through the development of digital identity infrastructure and electronic KYC (e-KYC) infrastructure, but not at the cost of financial stability. A good example is India Stack, a collection of open application programming interfaces (APIs) that provides a paperless e-KYC service to instantly establish the identify of prospective banking customers in India.⁴⁶ An estimation by the Ministry of Finance of India shows that moving from paper-based KYC to e-KYC in India reduced the average cost of verifying customers from roughly \$15 to \$0.50, and Indian banks that make the shift can shorten the time spent on verifying customers from more than five days to seconds.⁴⁷

In the age of cryptocurrency and blockchain, while financial institutions gradually developed tools to combat money laundering over the last decades, AML and KYC have become more intricate and complex because of the difficulty to verify identity and IP addresses, as well as the growing theft of cryptocurrencies.⁴⁸ Lawmakers around the world in 2018 added a broader scope to AML, such as the adoption of the European Union's Fifth Anti-Money Laundering Directive (AMLD5) that includes cryptocurrency exchanges. In February 2019, the FATF published a draft of an Interpretive Note to Recommendation 15, which was formally adopted as part of the FATF Standards in June 2019, to guide regulatory authorities in member countries when identifying risk, sharing information, and monitoring virtual asset service providers. Virtual asset service providers will need to be registered or licensed and monitored by authorities.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ India Stack is an idea originated by a group of Indian IT entrepreneurs and supported by the government and the Reserve Bank of India. The e-KYC service allows customers to electronically provide their demographic and personal information, including proof of identity, address, date of birth and gender, to financial providers, who can verify it in real time. More introduction of India Stack, <https://indiastack.org/about/>.

⁴⁷ For more details, see <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/overcoming-know-your-customer-hurdle-e-kyc>.

⁴⁸ In virtual money laundering, the first step of the cleaning process is called *layering*; the criminals move money into the cryptocurrency system and move it around by using mixers, tumblers, and chain hopping. The pseudo-anonymous nature of virtual currencies makes it exponentially difficult to trace funds as compared with cash. The second step is burst-out integration; criminals can obtain fiat currency through withdrawing a basic currency to a connected bank account or transferring to real estate (see, KPMG report, *Anti-Money Laundering in Times of Cryptocurrencies*, June 2018, <https://assets.kpmg/content/dam/kpmg/ch/pdf/anti-money-laundering-in-times-of-cryptocurrency.pdf>).

⁴⁹ FATF, *Public Statement: Mitigating Risks from Virtual Assets*, February 22, 2019, <http://www.fatf-gafi.org/publications/fatfrecommendations/documents/regulation-virtual-assets-interpretive-note.html>.

In the U.S., to identify and address the risk of identity theft, the SEC and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) jointly issued rules (SEC's Regulation S-ID and CFTC's Subpart C) requiring certain regulated entities that qualify as either financial institutions or creditors to adopt, implement, and update periodically a written program on identity safety known as the Red Flag Rules in 2013. In September 2018, the SEC brought its first enforcement action under the Identity Theft Red Flag Rules against a registrant, Voya Financial Advisor, because it failed to adequately protect customer information following a six-day cyberattack in 2016.⁵⁰

9.2 Regulation of Fintech

The goals in fintech regulation has been to design a policy framework that would encourage and support disruptive innovation to enhance financial inclusion and economic growth while at the same time provide protection to the safety and soundness of the banking system and financial stability overall. Brummer and Yadav (2019) summarize market integrity, rules simplicity, and financial innovations as the three-legged foundation to accomplish these goals. They point out the tradeoffs and the potential interplay that could interfere with one another. In designing fintech regulations, regulators seek to provide clear rules, maintain market integrity, and encourage fintech innovations, but they are likely to achieve only two of the three objectives. For example, if regulators prioritize market safety, financial stability, and simple and transparent rulemaking, the rules would likely impose broad prohibitions, which can largely inhibit fintech innovations. Alternatively, if regulators wish to prioritize encouraging fintech innovations and provide clarity of rules, they might have to use a simple and low-intensity regulatory framework that may not ensure safety, soundness, and stability in the financial system. Finally, if regulators look to enable innovations and promote market integrity, they would likely impose a set of more complex rules (and with specific cases of exemptions), which are less transparent and not easy to understand.

With the use of big data and AI/ML, the current wave of fintech has created informational and regulatory gaps and loopholes that need to be closed. Rapid advance in the technologies have also increased the uncertainties and difficulty in evaluating the impact of new technologies on consumers, the market, and financial systems overall. Jagtiani and John (2018) provide an overview of fintech innovations and regulatory considerations, especially discussion around consumer protection in response to fintech growth. Brummer and Yadav (2019) propose several regulatory strategies in dealing with the potential risks posed by fintech, including informal guidance, no-

⁵⁰ SEC, Advisers Act Rel. 5048 (September 26, 2018), <https://www.sec.gov/litigation/admin/2018/34-84288.pdf>.

action letters, regulatory sandboxes, and other pilot programs, licensing versus chartering forms of organization.⁵¹

A fintech regulatory sandbox is a regulatory innovative method in fintech, based on informal guidance. Specifically, it is a mechanism for firms to conduct tests of new fintech products and services in a live environment, with regulatory oversight and subject to certain conditions and safeguards. The innovators would be provided with an environment within which they could experiment and try out their new ideas — under a more relaxed regulatory environment but would cause no harm to the general population or the financial system. For example, Ringe and Ruof (2019) propose a regulatory sandbox for robo-advice, with which market participants test robo-advice services in the real market, with real consumers, but under close scrutiny of the supervisor.

The first fintech regulatory sandbox was proposed and implemented by the UK's Financial Conduct Authority (FCA) in November 2015. The concept was then followed by other countries such as Canada, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia.⁵² The FCA accepted applications for its first three cohorts in June and December 2016 and June 2017. For the three cohorts, the FCA received a total of 146 applications and admitted 68 of them. Nine companies, which had been accepted into the first two cohorts, were unable to test their solutions for a variety of reasons.⁵³

The benefits of regulatory sandboxes include not only signaling a friendly general regulatory approach to fintech innovations but also reducing fintech regulatory uncertainty and increasing regulatory and supervisory capacity.⁵⁴ Jagtiani and John (2018) point out how the lack of clarity around which alternative data variables could be used in credit risk modeling has created regulatory uncertainty. The fintech industry seems to be more concerned about fintech regulatory uncertainties and the lack of clarity than regulation itself, as they set their strategies and business model. Fintech firms are willing to be regulated in a level playing field with traditional lenders, for example, as evident in several recent applications by a fintech lender to become a bank: LendingClub acquiring Radius Bank in February 2020, and Square applied and received approved

⁵¹ Regulators can also design or oversee tests involving new innovations or techniques, observe outcomes, and then tailor rulemaking to its most efficient and effective form. In other words, pilots provide regulators with a way to generate information on the likely effects of particular products or services. As an example, China has been using frequent pilots when making new rules tied to liberalizing financial markets.

⁵² The UK's sandbox is one of five initiatives carried out under the umbrella of the FCA's Project Innovate, which include regulatory sandbox, innovative hub, advice unit, RegTech initiative, and engagement initiative.

⁵³ FCA, *Regulatory Sandbox Lessons Learned Report*, October 2017, <https://www.fca.org.uk/publication/research-and-data/regulatory-sandbox-lessons-learned-report.pdf>.

⁵⁴ J. Crane, L. Meyer, and E. Fife, 2018. *Thinking Inside The Sandbox: An Analysis of Regulatory Efforts to Facilitate Financial Innovation*, RegTech Lab, <https://www.regtechlab.io/report-thinking-inside-the-sandbox>.

to become an Industrial Loan Corporation (a depository institution that is insured by the FDIC) in March 2020.

The U.S. regulatory authorities, including the SEC, CFPB, OCC, and the FDIC, have also implemented some pilot programs to further understand the various aspects of fintech to consumers and the financial systems.⁵⁵ Zetzsche, Buckley, Arner, and Barberis (2017b) summarize the current regulatory approaches: doing nothing (being permissive to highly restrictive), case-by-case approach (such as no-action letters in the U.S.), and structured experimentalism (such as sandboxes, testing, and piloting). They propose a new smart regulation approach, which comprises regulatory design and implementation in stages as follows: testing and piloting environment, conducting a regulatory sandbox, issuing a restricted licensing or a special charter scheme, and finally when size and income permits, moving to operating under a full license. From each stage to the next, regulatory complexity and costs increase, as does the scope of fintech innovations.

While traditional firms are increasing investments in technology to keep up with the new consumer preferences and to sustain in the new tech landscape, tech start-ups and BigTech firms are rapidly getting involved in payments and providing other financial services. In the long run, traditional financial institutions, fintechs and BigTechs in financial services may converge, as large international banks may buy big data sets from various sources and compile these with their own proprietary data. In addition, some BigTechs may ultimately apply for full financial services licenses and become global financial conglomerates, as evident in the Chinese financial system with Alibaba BigTech and its Ant Financial that owns the largest mutual fund in the world.

The opportunities that BigTechs can provide are obvious in reducing transaction costs, as well as improving risk management and financial inclusion. From the regulatory point of view, both BigTechs and fintechs seek to minimize regulatory constraints and costs. However, they are still different in terms of clients' trust and potential systemic risks. First, BigTechs create trust in a world unrelated to financial services (such as trust in the payment platforms operated by Amazon and PayPal) and leverage clients' trust in the financial sphere (such as Amazon and PayPal using data from their own payment platforms to make loans to small businesses). Second, BigTechs are often significant firms prior to stepping into the financial sector, while fintech firms usually start small as problem-driven firms. Hence, a central regulatory issue is the tradeoff between improving innovation/financial inclusions and reducing systemic risks. One possible way to respond,

⁵⁵ The OCC launched an innovation pilot program in April 2019, <https://www.occ.gov/news-issuances/news-releases/2019/nr-occ-2019-42.html>

proposed in Zetzsche, Buckley, Arner, and Barberis (2017a), is requiring authorization for data gathering and analytics when used for financial services, if the size exceeds certain thresholds.

10. Concluding Remarks

Fintech has the potential for disruption to the entire financial system, and it has played an important role in rapid digital transformation and how financial products and services are produced, delivered, and consumed in recent years. The current COVID-19 pandemic may also expedite us toward fully digital lifestyle and cashless economy, as digital banks are seeing increased traffic while people embrace digital and contactless technologies. In this paper, our aim is to provide a comprehensive review of research studies and policy discussion around fintech, covering the various aspects of fintech and its role in each segment of the financial market and the associated impact on consumers, other market participants, and the financial system overall.

So much data has been collected and monetized in recent years, leading to an interesting fintech mantra: “Data is the new currency.” The vast amount of data and the fast and complex computing algorithms have become key factors that drive innovations in recent years, and billions of consumers around the globe have benefited from these changes. The new generation of consumers are less tolerant to a mediocre quality of services and opaque fine prints in their financial relationship, while BigTech firms are exploring opportunities to serve. Many believe that firms relying on the fine print, such as the various hidden fees (like credit card fees), will not survive the new landscape. It is important to recognize that these advanced technologies that improve our lives also come with new set of risks, such as consumer privacy risk and greater cybersecurity risk.

Fintech activities have been progressing quickly and penetrating all areas of the financial system. Under the new landscape where financial firms use cloud storage and cloud computing to achieve high speed and efficiency, it is no longer true that larger firms are more efficient, and it is no longer true that larger firms beat smaller firms (but faster one beat those that are slower). In other words, large firms that do not fully use the technology could potentially fall behind. Cloud computing may also introduce new exposure to cyber-risks that did not exist before, while it has greatly benefited traditional financial institutions in terms of efficiency, resiliency, and flexibility. BigTech firms are playing increasing roles in financial services and real-time payments and providing cloud computing services to large and small financial institutions.

It remains unclear, however, how loans originated by fintech firms will perform relative to traditional loans in an extreme environment, and they are going through a real test now under the COVID-19 crisis. It is also unclear how the complex algorithms with alternative data, which worked

well earlier, would continue to perform in the new landscape after the COVID-19 crisis. The AI models may need to be retrained with new data to reflect the “new normal.” In the meantime, fintech lenders have a role to play in the background (white label services) to assist small banks in screening and processing a large number of loan applications under the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act (CARES Act) to support small businesses.

Blockchain technology and smart contracts have attracted a lot of interest, with thousands of fintech start-ups around the globe working on resolving blockchain scalability, with the potential of allowing consumers to have control over their own information and less reliance on third-party intermediation. Blockchain technology has also made possible for real-time payment and settlement, eliminating frictions in the current payment system, especially for cross-border payments. The success of stablecoin could potentially contribute to more widespread use of blockchain technology. Central banks around the globe are considering whether to issue central bank digital currency (CBDC) to stabilize the value of digital assets or to take a supporting role for the public sector to operate in the new *cash-lite economy*. The Chinese government is also experimenting with blockchain technology, introducing the Blockchain-based Services Network (BSN) in April 2020, intended to serve as the backbone infrastructure technology for massive interconnectivity throughout the mainland China.

How should fintech firms be regulated? Many tech firms, especially the payment platforms, have access to unique data about their customers, and they have comparative advantage in making small business loans. These nonbank lenders are providing similar financial products and services outside the banking regulatory framework. There have been discussions around activity-focused regulations so that all lenders (banks and nonbanks) would be subject to the same regulations. It is debatable whether the future mainstream financial technology would be blockchain and DLTs, quantum computing, or something else — and how the industry and policymakers could be best prepared to keep pace with the evolving technologies and the new adoption. While the advanced technology has delivered vast benefits, it has also allowed for more sophisticated cyberattacks. In addition, third-party vendor risk management has become more important than ever as loans that were approved on fintech platforms could end up on banks’ balance sheet. Banks also increasingly rely on cloud computing services provided by nonbank BigTech firms. Given all these innovations and rapid digital transformation, the existing regulations need to adapt to keep up with the new financial landscape — to protect consumers and financial systems while continuing to promote responsible fintech innovations.

Going forward, it's uncertain how fintech as the mainstream technology for the financial services industry would evolve. Economists have been trying to predict what would happen to fintech when the next recession comes. As we are finalizing this draft, the entire fintech industry is facing a real test for the first time under the current COVID-19 crisis. It has been evident that collaboration among fintech firms and traditional lenders have been critical in pushing the funding relief to those targeted recipients (mainly small businesses) in a timely fashion. There may be evidence of potential complementarity leading to a wave of mergers among financial firms and tech firms, thus further reducing the distinction between fintech firms and traditional firms. Once again, this is an opportune time for researchers to further explore the impact of fintech on consumers and the overall financial systems and stability and to design appropriate financial regulations for the new landscape.

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