

Executive summary

Central banks should be able to create a **new** system with deeper capital markets and more

Maria Demertzis (maria.demertzis@bruegel.org) is the Deputy Director of Bruegel

Silvia Merler (silvia.merler@bruegel.org) is an Affiliate Fellow at Bruegel

Guntram Wolfrum (FF) (guntram.wolfrum@bruegel.org) is the Director of Bruegel

The authors are grateful to André Sapir and Nicolas Véron for comments on an earlier draft. Inês Gonçalves Raposo provided excellent research assistance. The paper was prepared for and presented at the informal ECOFIN in Tallinn, Estonia, on 15 September 2017.



Capital markets union (CMU) is a flagship EU initiative to strengthen capital markets in the EU. The expression was first used by European Commission president-elect Jean-Claude Juncker when outlining his policy agenda in mid-2014 (Juncker, 2014). A recent mid-term review of the CMU project called for reinforced action, including accelerated action by EU member states (European Commission, 2017).

Complementing Europe's bank-based system with both deeper capital markets and more cross-border financial integration promises benefits¹. Deeper capital markets that diversify the financial system and reduce its reliance on banks are empirically less prone to financial crises, and can also be associated with higher growth (Langfield and Pagano, 2016). Greater cross-border integration has the benefit of increasing the size of markets, enabling more liquidity and efficiency. Integration can also increase cross-border risk-sharing, in particular if cross-border equity ownership increases. Empirical studies show that deep and integrated capital markets can play a significant role in absorbing shocks (Harjoto et al., 2016).

Despite long-standing debate, the financial intermediation landscape in Europe is changing slowly and remains dominated by traditional banking. The 'Lamfalussy' report in 2001, for example, highlighted that the EU could gain from constructing integrated financial markets; some of the challenges are:



Source: Bruegel.

In the EU context, the important question is whether fintech can disrupt Europe’s financial system in a way that promotes CMU, helps integrate the financial system across borders and increases its stability and efficiency. European financial ecosystems have grown over centuries within national and even regional borders. As the fintech sector disrupts this system, the question will be whether it does so at the EU level or whether the disruption will again follow national patterns. In other words, will fintech companies immediately harness the benefits of the entire European single market in capital markets and also banking, or will their activi



capital markets (Figure 3). In the US, where the capital market is the largest and most mature, the capital market expanded by only 1 percent in 2015, compared to a 248 percent growth in

In the EU, each country has a different market size. If we exclude the UK, the total volume of alternative finance in the EU was \$1 billion in 2015, and compared to 2014 the growth rate was less than 100 percent (Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance, 2016). Within Europe, France and Germany are leading (Figure 4). Volumes are very low in central and eastern European countries and other countries, although growing fast.

Figure 4: Alternative finance in the EU, 2014-2015

Source: Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance (2016). Notes: 1. Fintech as expressed here encompasses all lending and crowdfunding activities reported by the Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance. For a taxonomy of included categories, see Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance (2016) 2. EU excluding the UK includes the following non-EU countries – Albania, Armenia, Belarus, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, Ukraine, Iceland, Russia, Norway and Turkey. The distinction of EU from non-EU countries is not possible given data availability restrictions. However, the size of the outside of the EU countries is deemed to be low given the small number of surveyed platforms in these countries.

Robo-advice can expand access to financial services to previously under-served clients, and can improve on human advice. It is still small-scale in Europe and consumer protection needs to be taken into account in future developments. Robo-advice encompasses algorithm-based online services ranging from financial advice, portfolio management or contract brokering across the securities, banking and insurance sectors¹⁶. The Financial Stability Board (2017) highlights the main benefits of robo-advising as improved access and convenience of financial services, reduced information asymmetries, more stock market participation by private households and more competition for incumbents resulting in reduced costs.

While promising, robo-advising is still at a development stage, particularly in Europe. Assets under management (AuM) in Europe amount to only 5-6 percent of those in the United States (Kaya, 2017). In Europe, there is evidence of very high growth rates but of a small magnitude relative to traditional players¹⁷. The scope for growth might be limited given consumer preferences: approximately two in five (36 percent) of European respondents to an ING Groep International Survey on Mobile Banking rejected outright the possible use of automated financial activities and 26 percent were willing to use this type of platform to make(ur) 156.9 (m (Tel)1 (y t)-1e



Fintech can profoundly change financial intermediation in its current form, by lowering the cost of financial intermediation. In general, fintech promises to provide financial intermediation at a lower cost and to a greater number of customers, who might currently not be included. A substantial body of work has shown that the cost of financial intermediation has hardly changed and remains quite high, suggesting that significant cost-saving

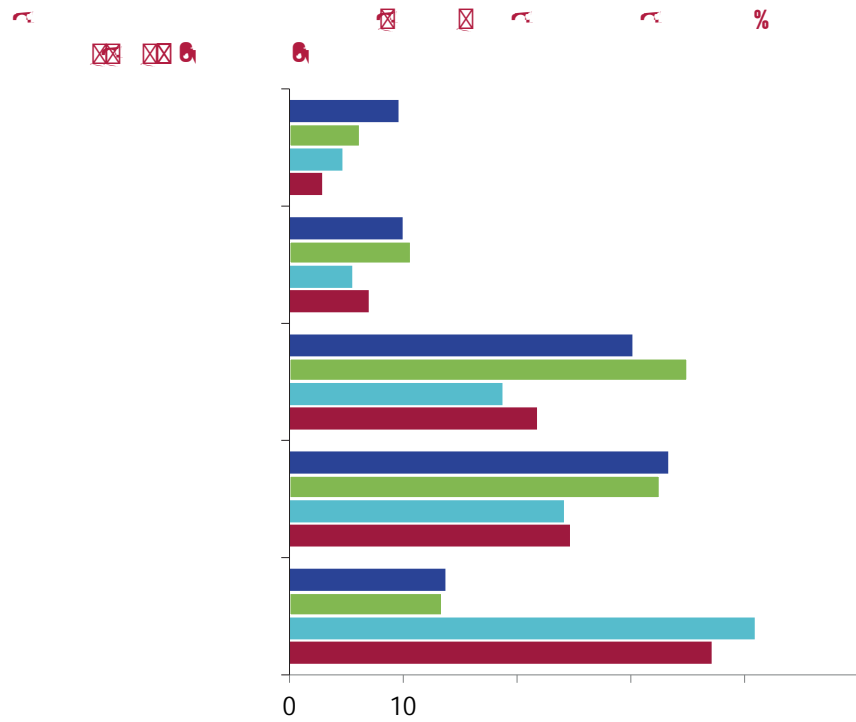


The second important issue deserving discussion is what regulatory approach should be taken. Early decisions could shape European fintech and financial intermediation for a long period. Experience suggests that regulatory decisions can have long-lasting impact on an industry when it is young, and are difficult to reverse³⁰. It is thus important to identify the right regulatory framework early in order to allow the industry to grow and enjoy consumer trust.

Much of the current regulatory discussion is on the question of the level playing field. For example, the European Parliament calls for the “*same service, same rules, same supervision*”. This call sounds good in theory but it is unclear what it means in practice. Much bank regulation or capital markets regulation is centred on institutions and not on services. But fintech is often an industry that offers new services or existing services with a different institutional set-up, for which the existing regulatory framework may be ill-suited. The current solution to this problem is to offer regulatory ‘sandboxes’ to allow supervisors and fintech actors to experiment and learn without having to apply the full set of regulation used for larger players³¹. While this may be a short-term solution, it is not a strategy for developing a stable and long-term regulatory vision, especially if the relevant markets are to grow significantly. Moreover, proportionality should be an important consideration in defining the regulatory and supervisory approaches to fintech firms. This also means that large and more systemic players face different scrutiny and higher requirements than smaller and less systemic players. In short, not all of fintech can be subsumed under existing capital markets regulation such as MIFID and new regulatory approaches will be needed in some segments of the markets. This in turn will raise demand for regulatory change among tradim(mor)153 (ul)1 (a)7 (t)1







Source: OECD, *National Accounts at a Glance*.



Source: Cambridge Centre for Alternative Finance.



A				
B				
Category	Value	Value	Value	Value
1	10	8	6	4
2	10	11	7	8
3	18	22	15	14
4	18	18	15	14
5	12	12	25	20
A	10	8	6	4

Source: coinmarketcap.com, which lists 579 cryptocurrencies that have a market capitalisation above \$1,000.



Distributed ledger technologies (DLT), of which blockchain is an example, have been generating great interest in the financial sector. The attention has spread from bitcoin to the underlying technology and its possible applications beyond the realm of cryptocurrencies.

DLT allow the secure record of data across a shared network with decentralised validation. Blockchain is a sub-category of DLT in which this network is public and the register of trans-