BITCOIN

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Introduction

- ► In December 2018, market cap of cryptocurrencies reached nearly 400 billion U.S. dollars (\$141 billion now)
- ▶ Equivalent to 11% of value of printed U.S. currency near peak
- What is Bitcoin, and why could it possibly have value?

BITCOIN

- ▶ Invented anonymously in 2009
- ► Idea: create a "bitcoin" (like me printing a TrevorDollar with a unique serial number)
- Problem: unlike a TrevorDollar, how do we know you're the one that owns it?
- Solution: shared public ledger, a list of who owns which blockchain (change ledger when someone transfers the digital TrevorDollar)
- ▶ Problem: who gets to change ledger?
- Solution: make it super hard to fake blocks and change blockchain, have every user have a publicly verifiable password for their bitcoins to confirm their identity
- ▶ Problem: but then why would anyone put in effort?
- Solution: reward them with bitcoins

BITCOIN-SPECIFIC

- ► Allows for anonymous transactions
- ► Total number of Bitcoins are capped
- ► Bitcoins don't require a central server ("peer-to-peer")/are decentralized

HOW DOES AN ECONOMIST SEE IT?

- ▶ Bitcoin is one of many intrinsically worthless, storable, non-dividend-paying objects in "limited" quantity
- ▶ We know how to value assets: the asset pricing formula!
- ▶ Value of an asset p_t is discounted (R) return from appreciation $p_{t+1} p_t$ and dividend d_t :

$$p_t = \frac{p_{t+1} + d_{t+1}}{R}$$

Or can plug in repeatedly:

$$p_t = \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{d_{t+i}}{R^i}$$

Price should be equal to discounted net present value of future dividends!

Asset Pricing

$$p_t = \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{d_{t+i}}{R^i}$$

- ► In other words, for price to be correct, I must be indifferent between selling today and holding and selling tomorrow
- But that's true of tomorrow's price as well!
- So I should be indifferent between selling today and holding and selling two periods, three periods, infinite periods from now
- By assumption we rule out bubbles

But...

▶ But there's a problem! Bitcoin doesn't pay any dividends! How could it possibly have value?

$$p_t = \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \frac{0}{R^i} = 0$$

- ▶ Is it just a bubble?
- ▶ Not so fast! "Dividends" come in many forms

ENTER 3COM, PALM AND CONVENIENCE YIELD (COCHRANE 2002)

- Company 3Com owned Company Palm, and then sold 5% of shares
- ► At end of year, would give the rest to 3Com stockholders (spin-off company)
- So two ways of owning same company
- Buy one share of Palm via buying 3Com stock, can buy it at \$54.54
- ▶ Buy one share of Palm via buying Palm stock, can buy it at \$81.81
- ► Is this insanity?

MORE INSANITY

- ➤ One year treasury bill paying off \$100 one year from now sells for \$94.17
- ▶ But another asset prices one year paying off \$100 one year from now at \$100! (what asset?)

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- ▶ But another asset prices one year paying off \$100 one year from now at \$100! (what asset?)
- ► Cash!
- ▶ Why hold the worse asset?
- Liquidity!
- ▶ But note that Palm far more liquid (traded) than 3Com
- "Convenience" yields real?

BITCOIN PROVIDES A CONVENIENCE YIELD

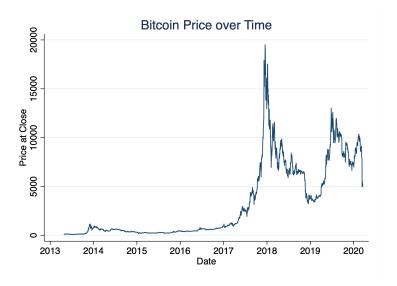
- Bitcoin has tons of potential convenience yields
- Allow people to dodge taxes, launder money
- Allow people to dodge government regulation
- ► Allow people to transact anonymously
- Allow people to transact without a fee or for a low fee
- Irreversible (maybe good?)
- So maybe it can have value

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SIMPLE BITCOIN ECONOMICS

- Schilling and Uhlig (2019) develop a theory of Bitcoin speculation and pricing when competing against the dollar
- Beyond our scope, but a few possibilities from asset pricing equation:
 - ► If people holding/speculating in bitcoin (not spending) then must have real return (otherwise hold better asset)
 - On the other hand, Bitcoin/dollar should follow a random walk w/o drift (otherwise invest in one and sell other)
- Extreme volatility possible even if the second (no speculation)
- ▶ Other: if Bitcoin/dollar a Martingale but bitcoins fixed and dollars not, then eventually as Medium of exchange Bitcoin falls in importance in long run
- Is Bitcoin/dollar a Martingale?



Statistical test of random walk at daily frequency says no. (Incidental: fell in value during crisis)

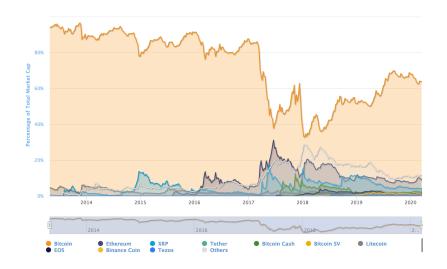
Some issues

- ► Note if bitcoin's value comes from convenience yield, then it shouldn't see continuous price appreciation unless convenience yield increasing
- Quantity of cryptocurrency not limited in long run
- Economic limits of blockchain
- Lets expand on these last two

Inflation with Bitcoin

- ▶ Even if total Bitcoins are capped, Bitcoin-like things aren't!
- Example: Bitcoin Cash, but also all other coins
- ▶ I am free to create TrevorCoins, parallel to Bitcoins with same initial ledger (chain) that everyone can trade
- Bitcoin market cap?

BITCOIN MARKET CAP



ECONOMIC LIMITS OF BLOCKCHAIN

- ► If you ever have a significant share of network, can try to "fake" transactions
- Merchant can wait for multiple confirmations back, but if you own many transaction-confirming computers, could fake confirmation for all
- ► This is a "majority attack"
- What economic principles must be true to protect from attack?

ECONOMIC LIMITS OF BLOCKCHAIN

- Two things must be true:
 - Miners at the margin must be indifferent between mining or not (otherwise entry or exit), so reward sets mining power
 - Computational costs of a majority attack must exceed benefits
- ➤ This means that recurring payments to miners (flow) must always exceed payoffs from a one-off attack stock!
- ► E.g. to steal just 10% of Bitcoin's peak \$400 billion market cap I should be willing to spend \$40 billion on computing power. Right now only rewards miners 5 billion/year so should be able to rent them out!

FIXES

- It's possible to fix these vulnerabilities
- Digital currency issued by government with central ledger run by govt and fixed to dollar (for instance)
- Or just a StableCoin: much of what bitcoin is, but backed by currency (or anything)
- Other possible mitigation mechanisms: need to have costs, but proof of work (work cost) or proof of stake (cost of illiquid reserves)

My own take

- ▶ I am not invested in Bitcoin or any digital currency to my knowledge
- ▶ I can't see much difference between Bitcoin and rocks
 - But! anonymous, decentralized may be good
- ➤ On the other hand, enormous energy consumption: 0.25% of total world energy, or 1.6% of U.S.'s energy consumption
- ▶ Boon to criminals (is that "bad"? "good"? depends on why they're criminals)
- ► In general I think elastic currency is good, rigid currencies set up for bank runs.
- I expect Bitcoin qua Bitcoin to be run down/limited by a combination of:
 - Speculative attack (Budish)
 - ► Fixed asset + Martingale (Schilling/Uhlig)
 - "Inflation" via other Cryptocurrencies
 - Loss of competitive edge in liquidity via Stablecoin