

Payment technology complementarities and their consequences in the banking sector: evidence from Brazil's Pix*

Jose Renato H. Ornelas

Matheus C. Sampaio

Banco Central do Brasil

Northwestern University

June 2024

Abstract

Despite vast evidence of the benefits of low-cost instantaneous payment technology, several agents worry about the substitution in the payment sector and the disruption in the banking sector that this innovation could cause. In this paper, we use an instrument and individual-level data on payment methods, bank accounts, and bank services in Brazil to study the effects of a new payment technology, Pix, on the use of other payment technologies and its impact on the banking industry. We find evidence that Pix increases the use of the four most used payment technologies in Brazil among people and firms. We also find evidence of Pix leading to a growth in bank accounts, account use, access to credit, and expansion of bank services, with benefits spread across different types of banks. Our results suggest that not only firms and people tend to gain from the introduction of new payment technologies, but also the banking and payment industry.

Keywords: Natural Disasters; Instant Electronic Transfers; Pix; Payment Technologies

JEL Classification: D14, E42, E51, E58, G20, O1, O16, O33, Q54.

The views expressed in this Working Paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Banco Central do Brasil. Do not share.

*We would like to thank the Financial Institutions and Markets Research Center and the Asset Management Practicum for their financial support during this research.

1 Introduction

For a long time, payment technologies have been known to bring an array of different benefits to society. The payment literature is filled with evidence of the positive effects of new payment technologies on welfare, consumption, and economic growth from technologies such as Mobile Money, Instantaneous Bank Transfers (e.g. Pix, Zelle, UPI, Swish) and Card Payments (Jack and Suri [2014], Suri and Jack [2016], Suri [2017], Aron [2018], Higgins [2019], Bachas et al. [2018], Bachas et al. [2021] Balyuk and Williams [2021], Crouzet et al. [2023], Dubey and Purnanandam [2023], and Chodorow-Reich et al. [2020]). It is no surprise that more than 100 countries are experimenting with instantaneous payment technologies (Duffie [2022] and Frost et al. [2024]). Despite the acknowledged benefits and the effort to develop them, payment technologies have remained unpopular, slow, and expensive with fees surpassing 1% of GDP in several economies (Duarte et al. [2022], Duffie [2019], and Alfonso et al. [2020]).

One reason for the lack of universal adoption of instantaneous payment technologies is the barrier imposed on their development and popularity by the payment and banking industries. One noticeable example is in the United States, where banks lobbied for the lack of direct access of Fintechs to the new FedNow system and vouched to not join the system. As a result, only 35 financial institutions joined out of more than eight thousand in July of 2023. Likewise, lobbying halted the development of the digital dollar in the US and slowed the creation of mobile money in Nigeria. This worry is founded on the substitution forces that this technology would cause along with its disruption in the banking sector. Players who benefit from the use of competitor technologies, such as credit card companies and banks, fear the loss of market share and profits. Banks and Central Banks also fear that the technology would allow the easy transfer of funds from one bank to the other increasing bank competition, increasing deposit rates, decreasing profits, and as an unintended consequence, decreasing loans.

However, these players seem to underplay the complementary forces between payment technologies and the benefits a cashless economy would bring to the banking sector. This is due to the fact that payment methods share fixed costs. One simple example is the credit and debit card. Even though they seem like substitutes, firms that adopt one technology tend to adopt the other due to their shared fixed costs (equipment and software). The same goes for consumers with cards sharing fixed costs such as setting up bank accounts and carrying cards that perform both credit and debit functions. In the same way, the convenience of new payment methods could make firms and people face those fixed costs, thus increasing their use of bank accounts and bank products, displacing traditional

physical cash transactions, encouraging deposits, and boosting the banking and payment sector.

Given the importance of payment technology and the resistance that it faces, this research aims to estimate the effects of a new payment technology on other payment methods, and, more broadly, in the banking sector. For this, we study Pix, the revolutionary new instantaneous bank transfer launched in November of 2020 by the Brazilian Central Bank that only cost \$4 million dollars to develop, generated a cost savings of \$5.7 billion dollars in 2021 alone, and is expected to help generate 2% of Brazil's GDP by 2026 according to an ACI Worldwide study¹. Pix is a mostly free bank-to-bank instantaneous transaction technology² that quickly exploded in popularity in Brazil with 149 million people and 15 million firms using it as of December 2023. In contrast to the US Fed's approach, Brazil's Central Bank forced all major banks to adopt Pix³, making it ubiquitous in the country. At the same time, in Figure (1), we see that the proportion of cash transactions dropped from 42% in 2020 to 22% in 2023, and that money in circulation dropped 10% during the same period. We also witness a growth in the use of other payment methods and financial services performed by banks, while the access channel used by the population to access bank services has shifted from physical access to cellphone access. At the macro level, we see that the introduction of Pix seems to decrease the use of cash and accelerate the digitalization of payments and banking in Brazil.

In order to formally study the effects of Pix on the payment and banking sector, we leverage private individual-level data on the uses of payment and bank services for the entire population of citizens and firms in the country through the Central Bank of Brazil. In the case of the payment methods, the challenge is to empirically separate the substitutability or complementarity of Pix on other methods from changes in consumer preferences. In the case of the banking sector, we face the challenge of omitted variable bias. To solve those challenges, we use an Instrumental Variables approach and use floods as our instrument. We argue that floods can be a great instrument for several reasons, firstly, like most weather events, floods can be considered random draws from the climate distribution when controlling the endogenous ex-ante risk of flood in a municipality. Secondly, floods are a common and recurring natural disaster in Brazil, affecting 84% of municipal-

¹See ACI Worldwide study <https://www.aciworldwide.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Prime-Time-for-Real-Time-Report-2022.pdf>

²All transactions for individuals are free. Banks can only charge fees for transactions of large firms. During the beginning of Pix, most banks would not charge fees. As of December 2023, important Brazilian banks, such as Caixa and Nubank, continue to make transactions for free for firms.

³The Central Bank imposed that any financial institution with more than 500 thousand accounts must join Pix, 38 of them were forced to join and more than 700 other banks and financial institutions chose to join at the launch.

ities between 1991 and 2022, thus giving us statistical power. Thirdly, floods are sudden and swift, making them hard to predict. Fourthly, we expect a strong first stage of floods affecting Pix usage through the channel of informal insurance as has been shown by other researchers showing the crucial role instantaneous transfer methods take during shocks (Jack and Suri [2014], Blumenstock et al. [2016], Riley [2018]). Finally, we do not expect floods to affect other payment methods in Brazil because they are not suitable for informal insurance, being expensive, hard to use, slow, available during limited hours, and being accessible through only a few banks, and given that the last payment method introduced in Brazil was decades ago, if floods were to affect usage levels of payment methods in the long run, it would have done so already.

However, instead of blindly believing the exclusion restriction of our instrument, we begin our work by studying the effects of floods on our main variables before the launch of Pix. Our goal is to show that, previous to Pix, the exclusion restriction used to hold. For our analysis, we look at the usage of payment methods, bank accounts, and bank services at the municipal level using a staggered differences-in-differences design. In this case, our empirical strategy relies on the Parallel Trends assumption based on never-treated units, which translates to our variables following a parallel trend when controlling for Municipality and (Time x Flood Risk) fixed effects in the absence of treatment (flood). Our Municipality fixed effect captures fixed spatial characteristics, and our Time-fixed effect interacted with Flood Risk allows us to capture any common trend to untangle idiosyncratic shocks to areas while permitting differential trends for municipalities with similar probability of floods.

We show that floods obey the exclusion restriction in the period before the introduction of Pix, meaning, floods do not affect the usage of other payment methods, bank accounts, or bank services previous to Pix's introduction. This increases our confidence in the validity of our instrument. We also graph the effects of floods in our variables after Pix is introduced to find that floods spark a continuous growth in the use of Pix with the number of active users of Pix increasing to more than 3%, and the number of transactions and value transacted among people and firms increasing 4-5%. Moreover, we show that after Pix was introduced, usage of other payment methods, bank accounts, and banking services displayed a similar pattern, they remained stable immediately after a flood, and then they showed signs of growth after a few weeks. This pattern is consistent with our exclusion restriction assumption of floods not directly impacting our variables and that seems to happen is that people and firms are slowly switching to digital payments and services after they become active users of Pix.

To better quantify the effects of Pix, we turn to our Instrumental Variables approach.

We study the effect of a 1% increase in the number of Pix active users on the usage of other payment methods to find an increase of 5.7% in the number of Payment Slip transactions, an increase of 4.5% in the number of Bank Wire transactions, and an increase of 1.2% in the number of firms accepting Debit card. We also find that a 1% increase in the number of active users of Pix in a municipality leads to an increase of 0.45% in the number of people creating a credit relationship, a 0.25% increase in the number of people creating a relationship with a new bank, and a 0.80% increase in the number of people opening bank accounts for the first time.

Moreover, we expand our results on the creation of bank accounts by studying the behavior of people and firms that have already bank accounts. First, instead of counting bank accounts, we count the number of accounts being actively used using transaction data. This is especially relevant to Brazilians since they have a massive number of bank accounts due to employers being able to dictate over employees' choice of bank. By the end of 2023, Brazilians averaged 6 accounts per person, a big growth from 3.5 accounts in 2020. We find that the number of active bank accounts grows more than 4% for people and 2% for firms following a flood. Second, we study self-transfers, which are defined as transfers between accounts owned by the same person or firm but in different banks. Since Brazilians have so many bank accounts and each bank account has its different perks and comparative advantages, we believe that self-transfers are a good proxy for the optimization of bank accounts. We document a growth of active users of self-transfers of more than 4% for people and firms following a flood.

To address the belief that instantaneous payment technologies would make traditional brick-and-mortar banks obsolete and that digital banks and fintechs would take over, we study how the benefits to the banking sector are distributed among those two types of banks. First, we study Pix transactions to find that the growth in Pix popularity was shared almost equally between digital and traditional banks for people. For firms, we present evidence that seems to indicate that traditional banks were favored over digital banks. This is consistent with the fact that traditional banks are more established and can offer more complex services to firms. Second, we study the growth in the number and active use of bank accounts. We find evidence that the growth of new accounts seems to favor digital banks, while the growth in active use of accounts seems to favor traditional banks in the case of firms. This is consistent with the fact that smaller digital banks have more room to grow their number of accounts while traditional banks have more to gain from an increase in the number of active users.

Finally, we study the mechanism that makes Pix popular after a flood. We investigate whether people would use Pix as an informal insurance tool after a natural disaster, to

do that, we study remittances which we define as a transaction between two people in different municipalities. We find that during the week of the flood, there is a significant drop in the outflow of money, while the number of inflow transactions increases together with the number of people outside the municipality that are sending money to people inside the municipality affected by the disaster. We document a permanent change in behavior following the flood, with remittances growing around 2-4% after a year, and a network effect of Pix, with people outside the municipality growing their use of Pix to send money.

Collectively, our results suggest that the introduction of Pix in Brazil has led to a financial revolution, with significant growth of bank accounts, bank services, and other payment methods. We also find the crucial role that Pix plays during an economic shock, acting as an informal insurance tool. Moreover, we shed light on the benefits that different types of banks receive from Pix, with digital banks expanding their number of accounts and traditional banks expanding their number of active accounts. Our results suggest that the fears of the substitution of other payment methods and the disruption of the banking sector are unfounded, with much to be gained by not only people and firms but also the payment and banking sectors.

Our research contributes directly to the policy debate on whether new low-cost instantaneous payment systems could hurt the payment and banking industry. This debate has delayed or completely stopped the development of new payment technologies in several countries. Our work contributes to this debate by showing the complementarities between Pix and other payment methods while also showing the increase in the use of bank accounts and bank services.

Academically, we make three major contributions. First, we add to the payment literature by studying the benefits and complementarities of different payment methods. Many papers have been written displaying the benefits of payment methods on welfare, consumption, and economic growth (e.g., Jack and Suri [2014], Suri and Jack [2016], Riley [2018] Aron [2018], Balyuk and Williams [2021], Koont et al. [2023], Wang, Bian et al. [2023], Brunnermeier et al. [2023], Garratt et al. [2022], Haendler [2022], Aker et al. [2020], Brunnermeier et al. [2019], and Dubey and Purnanandam [2023]). Another related literature on payment adoption studies and how shocks can help overcome adoption barriers such as coordination failures, fixed costs, and lack of trust (e.g., Rosenstein-Rodan [1943], Rochet and Tirole [2006], Katz and Shapiro [1986], Huynh et al. [2022], Higgins [2019], Bachas et al. [2018], Bachas et al. [2021], Chodorow-Reich et al. [2020], Crouzet et al. [2023], Lahiri [2020], Gupta et al. [2020], and Breza et al. [2020]). We add to the literature by not only showing how a shock can increase the popularity of a payment technology, but also

that it can complement different payment methods, increasing the use of other beneficial payment methods and accelerating the digitalization of the economy.

Second, we add to the bank competition literature by studying the effects of a payment method in the banking sector. A growing literature studies the effects of new technologies in the banking sector (e.g., Ouyang [2021], Yannelis and Zhang [2023], Beaumont et al. [2022], Babina et al. [2023], Parlour et al. [2022], Gopal and Schnabl [2022], Di Maggio and Yao [2021], Chava et al. [2017], Ghosh et al. [2022], Erel and Liebersohn [2022], Buchak et al. [2018], Berg et al. [2022], Sarkisyan [2023], and Argentieri Mariani et al. [2023]). We add to the literature by showing that instantaneous payment methods can lead to the expansion of bank accounts, account use, access to credit, and bank services. Moreover, we expand our research to show how those benefits are spread across different types of banks.

Third, we add to the literature on natural disasters and informal insurance by studying the role of Pix as an informal insurance tool. Informal insurance networks have been studied by a large literature to bring an array of benefits, especially for the most vulnerable families (e.g., Jack and Suri [2014], Dell et al. [2014], Blumenstock et al. [2016], Riley [2018], Balyuk and Williams [2021]). We add to the literature by showing that shocks can lead to a long-term change in informal insurance behavior and that the use of a new informal insurance tool is spread to other municipalities through people's networks.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section (2) describes the institutional background, describing more in-depth the payment technologies in Brazil and our instrument, floods. Section (3) describes our main data sources. Section (4) describes our empirical strategy. Section (5) presents our main results. Section (6) presents our robustness checks. Section (7) concludes.

2 Background

In this section, we familiarize the reader with the Brazilian payment and banking landscape, the history of floods in Brazil, and compare the Pix initiative to other countries.

2.1 Payment Technology in Brazil

Like in many countries, Brazil lacked a modern way to transfer money between bank accounts and make payments. Almost 20 years after the last major innovation in this area, the Brazilian Central Bank developed Pix in November of 2020 with the goal of allowing users to make transfers and payments in a few seconds, 24 hours a day, seven days a

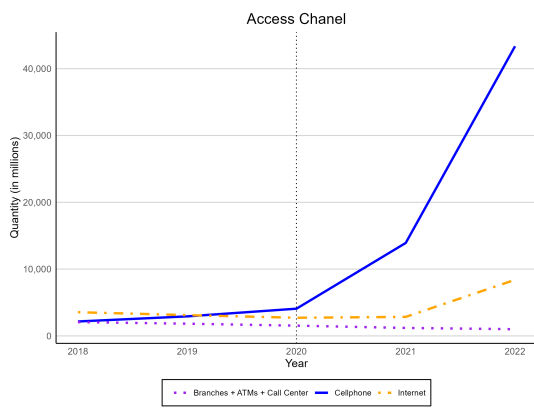
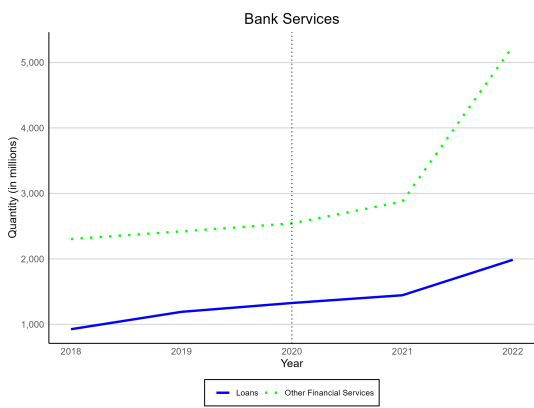
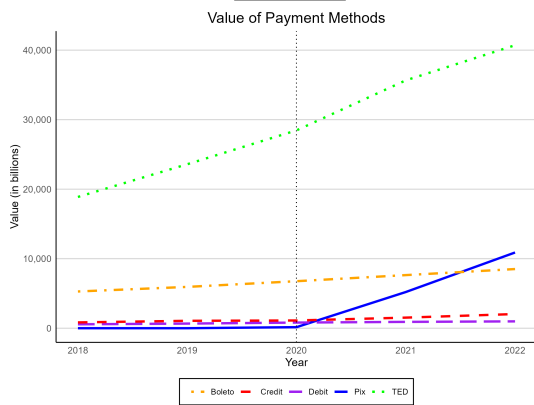
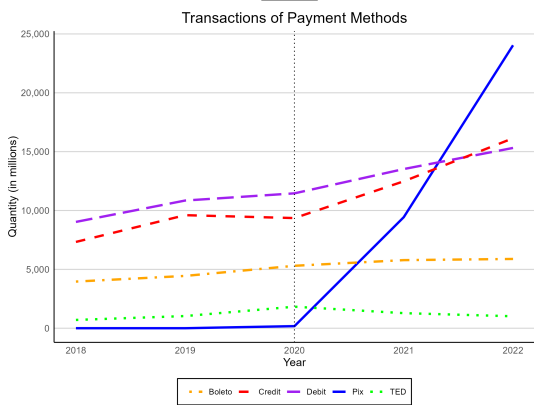
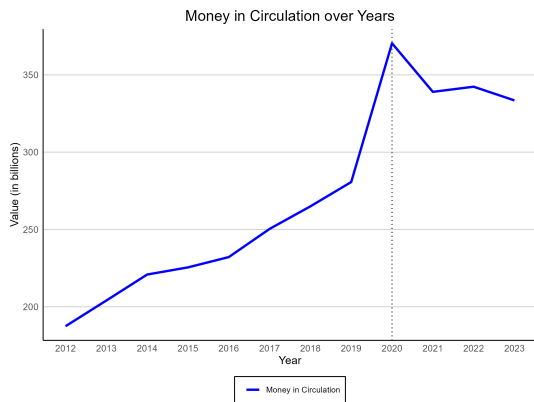
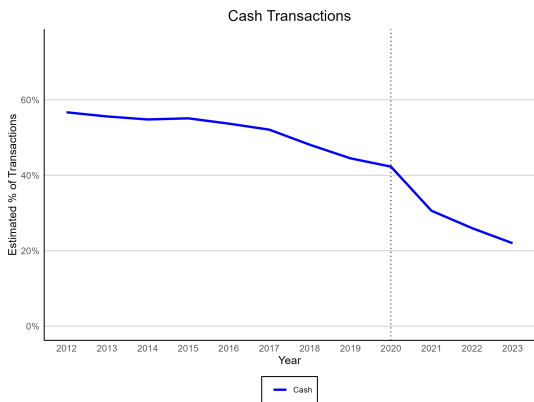


Figure 1

week. In essence, Pix is an instantaneous transfer method between bank accounts that is completely free for individuals. Firms may incur a small percentage fee for transactions that varies among banks, however, many of the most important banks in Brazil do not charge any fees⁴.

To use Pix, senders would initiate a transaction by inputting the receiver's key in their bank mobile app, the key uniquely identifies the receiver and takes the form of a phone number, email, random key, QR code, or tax identification number⁵. The receiver can also initiate a transaction by generating a dynamic QR code with embedded identifiers that allow a payment to be confirmed on both ends. This allows for payments to be instantly verified without the need for a manual check of bank balances, thus facilitating in-person and online purchases.

Pix gained popularity due to its speed, convenience, smaller fees, and for being present in most banks in Brazil since its inception (more than 800). By December of 2023, 149 million people and 15 million firms had used Pix, and it became the most popular transaction method in Brazil surpassing cash according to a McKinsey study. In 2023, \$3.5 trillion dollars, almost twice the Brazilian GDP, were transferred in 42 billion Pix transactions, averaging 200 transactions per capita.

According to a McKinsey report, there seems to be a clear substitution from cash to Pix, but whether Pix substitutes other payment methods is hard to tell. We investigate the other four most popular payment methods in Brazil: Bank Wire (TED), Payment Slip (Boleto), Credit card, and Debit card. Bank Wire (TED or electronic funds transfer) is a system similar to Pix that permits fund transfers between bank accounts. For the transfer, users would need all bank information from the recipient, the transfer could take from a few minutes up to the end of the day, and it only works during business hours⁶, there are around only 100 institutions able to do TED compared to the more than 800 institutions able to do Pix, and users are usually charged an expensive flat fee for transactions, so the method is more common for large transfers, especially between firms.

Boleto is a payment method that consists of a voucher with a unique barcode, the points in which it differentiates are that it has a smaller flat fee compared to TED, it does not require a bank for the sender, only the receiver, and it allows for instructions inside the voucher, for example, extra fees for late payment. Boleto is a very popular P2B payment method often used for utility bills and online purchases. However, this instrument takes

⁴As of December 2023, Caixa and Nubank, continue to make transactions for free for firms

⁵Those are CPF for individuals and CNPJ for Firms. These numbers are not as sensitive as their American equivalent SSN and EIN. CPF and CNPJ are how we uniquely identify everyone in our research.

⁶Business hours are defined as 9 am to 5 pm on business days. Transfers outside those hours will only be processed on the next business day, thus incurring extra days to the normal clearing time.

up to 3 days to liquidate, it only works during business hours, and there is a limited amount of banks that offer this service.

Credit card is a very useful payment method that allows consumers and firms to do secure transactions in person and online. Firms incur fixed costs to set up card payments and large percentage fees are taken for each transaction. Firms may also have to wait for 30 days to receive their money, with usually the option to pay extra fees to receive the money in a day. Users usually need access to a credit line, a bank account, and may pay annuities. Debit card is similar, however, firms pay smaller fees and receive the money earlier, and users do not need a credit line and have their money discounted from their bank account right away.

2.2 Flood

According to the World Health Organization, floods are the most frequent type of natural disaster in the world with 2 billion people being affected between 1998 and 2017. In Brazil, floods are one of the most common natural disasters alongside droughts. They happen suddenly, and swiftly and affect most parts of the country, with 84% of municipalities being impacted between 1991 and 2022. More than 6000 disasters occurred in the last 10 years, with floods happening all year long - look at Figure (2). It is estimated that they caused more than 2 thousand deaths, 140 thousand hospitalizations, and 16 billion dollars in losses; of those losses, only 1.2% were covered by federal assistance. It is also important to notice that in Brazil, the money given by the government following a natural disaster cannot go directly to the people affected, it must be used for "civil and defense" expenses (e.g. infrastructural projects).

To identify when a flood occurred, we use the natural disasters reports by the National System of Civil Protection. Those reports are filled by municipalities to inform damages to federal authorities⁷. Federal authorities, then access the veracity of the information and help the municipality with logistical and financial support. We collect data on municipalities that were able to claim State of Emergency or State of Public Calamity due to floods from 1991 to 2022.

⁷There are subtle differences between the classification of a flood by the federal authorities depending on the cause of the flood which, for simplicity, we aggregate those disasters under the term flood. They are "Alagamentos" (overflow of water at certain areas), "Inundações" (overflow of water from a body of water), "Enxurradas" (water running off at high speed), and "Tempestade Local/Convectiva" (local storms/convective storms with possibly intense rain, hail, wind, and lightning).

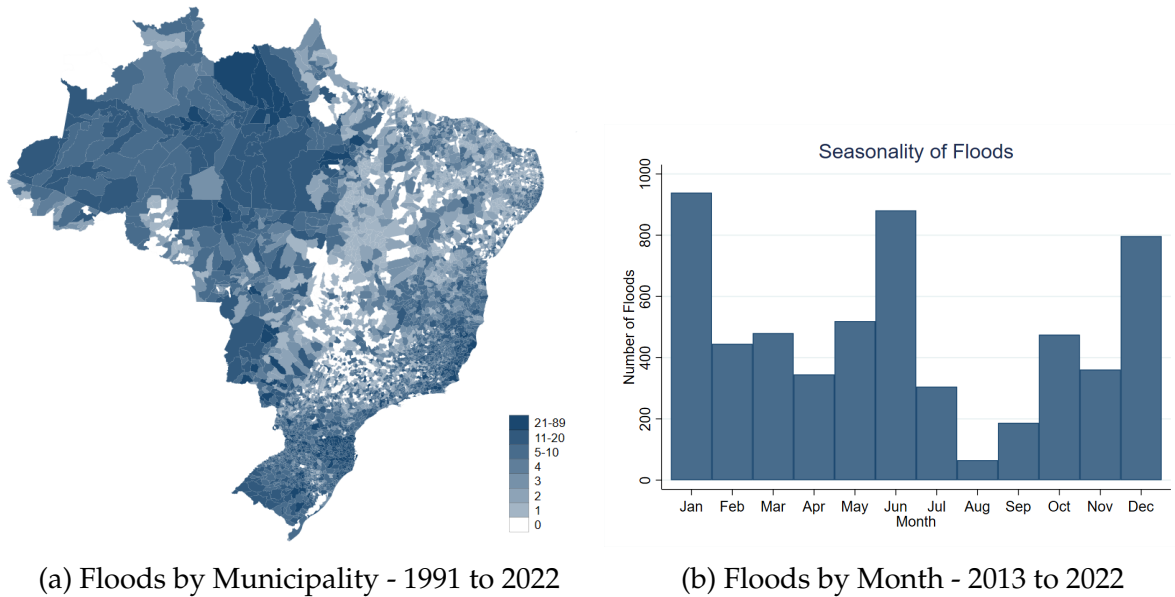


Figure 2: Floods in Brazil. Source: SINPDEC.

3 Data

To study payment methods, we collect identifiable individual-level data on Brazil’s top 5 most used payment methods: Pix, Payment Slip (Boleto), Bank Wire (TED), credit card, and debit card. For Pix, we collect transaction-level data from the Instant Payments System (SPI) from its launch in November 2020 to December 2022. From there, we generate weekly data for transactions, value transacted, and unique users. In order to investigate informal insurance, we collect data on remittances between people outside the flooded municipality and people inside it, thus being able to see how this mechanism plays a role in the expansion of Pix following a flood. Moreover, we investigate which banks are being used the most to make Pix transactions and whether people are using Pix to self-transferring funds from one type of bank to another.

For Payment Slip, we collect all individual transactions from the Interbank Payments Chamber (CIP)⁸ from 2019 to 2022. We aggregate the data weekly at the municipality level to generate the number of transactions, value transacted, and unique users.

For Bank Wire, we collect all individual transactions from the Booking Transfer System (STR) and Funds Transfer System (SITRAF)⁹ from 2019 to 2022. Similarly, we aggregate the data weekly at the municipality level to generate the number of transactions, value

⁸CIP is a non-profit civil society clearinghouse that is part of the Brazilian Payments System that operates the SILOC (Sistema de Liquidação Diferida das Transferências Interbancárias de Ordens de Crédito), where the Boletos are cleared.

⁹STR is operated by the Central Bank of Brazil, while SITRAF is operated by CIP.

transacted, and unique users.

For credit and debit card acceptance, we collect data on the volume of transactions at the firm and date level¹⁰ from CIP from 2019 to 2022. Note that differently from Pix, Boletão, and TED, we do not have transaction-level data for credit and debit cards. Thus, we will only know which firms accepted card payments, and the total value transacted at that date. Therefore, we will construct a measure of how many firms are accepting card payments, and the total value transacted in each municipality and week.

For financial services data, we collect data on every credit relationship between financial institutions and individuals and firms from the Credit Information System (SCR) from 2019 to 2022. This dataset identifies the lender (bank) and the borrower (firms and individuals) in each credit relationship. The data set reports a set of loan and borrower characteristics, including loan amount, type of loan, credit line, interest rates, and repayment performance. Since the use of credit cards is a form of loan, we are also able to access, the number of people and firms with credit cards, and their total credit card balance.

To study people and firms' behaviors toward bank accounts, we collect data on bank account opening and closing dates by institution and account holder from the Client Registration in the National Financial System (CCS) from 2019 to 2022. With this dataset, we are able to see based on their unique ID which individuals and firms opened or closed bank accounts each day for each bank ID, when they opened their first account, and their current stock of accounts.

As mentioned before, our flood data comes from natural disaster reports filled by municipalities to the National System of Civil Protection. We collect data on municipalities that were able to claim a State of Emergency or State of Public Calamity due to floods and were verified by the government from 1991 to 2022. We use this dataset to determine when a flood occurred in order to use it as our instrument.

We collect monthly balance sheet data from each bank branch in the country. This data is known as ESTBAN (Estatística Bancária Mensal), which is compiled by the Central Bank of Brazil every month. We use the confidential version of this dataset to have access to extra variables, with it, we can observe deposits by people and firms, loans, physical cash inventory, and assets¹¹. Our data spans all months from 2019 to 2022.

Municipality-level data is compiled from multiple sources, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and Anatel are the main ones. From these databases, we can create control variables that vary over time to complement our fixed effects such as the

¹⁰This dataset does not include store-branded cards nor meal vouchers.

¹¹Our cleaning of this data is similar to Bustos et al. [2020], we define bank deposits as the sum of deposits in checking accounts, savings accounts, and term deposits as reported by the ESTBAN dataset of the Central Bank of Brazil.

municipality's population, GDP, taxes collected, education statistics, and internet access.

4 Methodology

4.1 Staggered Differences-in-differences

The first step to evaluate the effect of Pix on other payment methods is to find a good instrument, and we believe that floods can be this instrument (we will discuss this in the next section). To increase the credibility of our exclusion restriction, we show that, previous to Pix, floods did not affect the usage of other payment methods. We also show that the effect of floods on other payment methods is not immediate, which is consistent with the idea that floods affect the usage of Pix first, and then the usage of other payment technologies later.

For that, we use a methodology called Staggered Differences-in-differences, where floods are the event that triggers Pix adoption. One of the reasons why we would expect floods to affect the use of Pix is because of informal insurance, literature has shown that people form informal insurance networks so that if a member of that network suffers a shock, people try to insure them by sending money. For example Blumenstock et al. [2016] showed that, following a natural disaster, people make transfers to the people affected by the shock; Jack and Suri [2014] also showed the importance of transfer technology in increasing their informal insurance network. We expect Pix to be used in those situations because of its price, speed, and convenience. When compared to other payment methods, the only one that could be used in the case of remittances is TED, however, the high flat price of TED transactions combined with its hard-to-use interface, limited availability, unpredictable transfer duration, and sparse number of participating banks, makes TED an improbable candidate for informal insurance. We also believe that floods should not change long-term behavior towards older technologies because of the high frequency of floods in Brazil, our rationale is that if people and firms were to change their behavior towards older technologies because of a flood, they would have done so already.

Like most weather events, floods can be considered random draws from the climate distribution in a given spatial area. We follow the extreme weather event literature, summarized in Dell et al. [2014], to evaluate the effect of floods in a municipality in Brazil. In this literature, it is assumed that the occurrence of a flood is a random event when comparing regions of similar flooding probability. Thus, the likelihood of being flooded ex-ante is endogenous and controlled for, while being flooded is exogenous and allows identification.

The main assumption of this approach is the conditional Parallel Trends assumption based on never-treated units. That means, that we are assuming that absent of the treatment, the treated units would move parallel to those never treated. Due to our Municipality and (Time-fixed x Flood Risk) Fixed Effects, our assumption translates to similar municipalities with similar flood risk moving parallel in the absence of a flood.

$$y_{m,t} = \sum_{k \neq -1} \beta_k Z_{m,t}^k + \mu_m + \theta_{Risk,t} + \epsilon_{m,t} \quad (1)$$

In Equation (1), $y_{m,t}$ is the variable of interest measuring the use of a type of payment technology or the use of a banking service in municipality m at time t (e.g. log Pix users or log quantity of bank accounts). Municipality-fixed effects μ_m capture fixed spatial characteristics, untangling the impact from various potential sources of omitted variable bias. Time-fixed effect interacted with Flood Risk $\theta_{Risk,t}$ allows us to capture any common trend to untangle idiosyncratic shocks to areas while permitting differential trends for municipalities with similar probability of floods. In our case, we define Flood Risk using ex-ante flood occurrences from 1991 to 2018, we divide municipalities into quintiles based on those numbers. The first quintile contains the municipalities that were never flooded and the fifth quintile contains the most flooded municipalities. This allows us to compare municipalities with similar probabilities of getting flooded to each other and allows for differential trends in those groups to account for the endogeneity in the risk of floods. $Z_{m,t}^k$ is a dummy that equals 1 if municipality m was hit by a flood k weeks ago. ϵ_{mt} is the error term. For our main results, we decided to use no controls and use the more simple Two-Way Fixed Effects regression model (TWFE). We believe it is better to show the most straightforward results first, and then change the model and add controls later to see if the results are robust.

We analyze two different periods, the "Before Pix" and the period "After Pix". The period "Before Pix" consists of January 2019 until November 16th, 2020, and the period "After Pix" consists of November 16th, 2020 until December 2022. As a robustness check, we also use the period from March 2020 until November 16th, 2020 as "Before Pix", and the period from November 16th, 2020 until June 2021 as "After Pix". This is to test whether the results are robust during the Covid period. We include all weeks before and after the shock, however, we only graph results from -26 to +52 weeks. We also show results by balancing the sample, so that every treated municipality has equal weight in the data points shown. We use data on all municipalities and cluster the standard errors at the municipal level.

4.2 Instrumental Variable

Once we show that floods affect the usage of Pix, we move on to establish that it is reasonable to believe the exclusion restriction that is, floods do not affect other payment technologies directly. We believe this assumption for three reasons, the first one is that other payment technologies are not suitable for informal insurance, they are expensive, hard to use, and slow; the second one is that it is reasonable to believe that if floods affected the usage of payment technologies, it would have done so already since floods are very common and the other technologies have been around for decades; and the third is that we have evidence that floods did not affect the usage of other payment technologies before Pix was introduced. Thus, we can use floods as a suitable instrument for the increase in usage of Pix and not the others.

$$y_{m,t} = \delta Pix_{m,t} + \mu_m + \theta_{Risk,t} + \epsilon_{m,t} \quad (2)$$

$$Pix_{m,t} = \beta Z_{m,t} + \mu_m + \theta_{Risk,t} + v_{m,t} \quad (3)$$

In Equation (2), $y_{m,t}$ is the variable of interest measuring the use of a type of payment technology or the use of a banking service in municipality m at time t . Municipality-fixed effects μ_m , Time-fixed effects by subgroup $\theta_{Risk,t}$ are added. $Pix_{m,t}$ measures the use of Pix in municipality m at time t . In Equation (3), $Z_{m,t}$ is the instrument, a dummy that equals 1 if municipality m was hit by a flood on a time before or equal to t , and 0 otherwise. We use the same periods as before and we cluster errors at the municipality level.

5 Results

5.1 Effects of Floods on Pix

The advantage of the staggered differences-in-differences approach is that rather than believing assumptions blindly, we can see them playing out. Our main variable of interest is the active number of Pix users in a municipality. We define it as 1 if a person received or sent money using Pix in a given week, and 0 otherwise. The idea behind the choice of this variable is that floods would increase the use of Pix through a channel of informal insurance (we will explore this channel in Section (5.4)), and once people pay the fixed costs of using Pix, such as setting up an account and learning how to use the app, they

will continue to use it. Moreover, since those fixed costs are shared with other payment methods, we expect that the increase in the use of Pix would increase the use of other payment methods as well.

For this analysis, we ran Equation (1) on the log quantity of active users of Pix. Figure (3) shows the staggered differences-in-differences graph on the left. In the figure, we show that the number of people using Pix drops significantly during the week of the flood which is consistent with a drop in commercial activities during a natural disaster, however, an upward trend begins a week after the disaster and continues over the course of the year. In the graph, we can see that the number of active users of Pix increases to more than 3% after 52 weeks. On the right of Figure (3) we show the results of the first stage of our IV approach where we performed Equation (3). In the table, we find consistent results with floods increasing users by 2.2%.

We provide a more detailed analysis of the effect of floods on many Pix variables in Figure (7) found in the Appendix. In this analysis, we distinguished transactions received and sent by people and firms. In the graphs shown in the figure, it is possible to see that the drop in the use of Pix on the week of the flood is mostly due to a drop in the number of transactions sent. This behavior is consistent with the necessity to save money during a natural disaster. Another interesting result is the fact that the number of transactions sent by people increases more than the number of transactions received, while the number of transactions received by firms increases more than the number of transactions sent. Meanwhile, the growth in total value sent and received is similar. This is consistent with people using Pix to purchase many small-ticket items and services from firms, while firms perform a few high-ticket transactions to pay suppliers and workers' salaries. In numbers, we see a 4-5% increase in the number of transactions and value transacted among people and firms.

Overall, we find that floods have a positive, progressive, and long-lasting effect on the use of Pix by people and firms. The effect is almost immediate with usually a drop during the week of the flood then a continuous growth in use in the following weeks. This is consistent with the idea that people use Pix as a form of informal insurance. Firms are quick to adapt as well, with growth, especially in the number of transactions received which is consistent with people using Pix to purchase goods.

5.2 Effects of Pix on other payment methods

In this subsection, we have the goal to establish a causal link between the number of active users of Pix and the use of other payment methods. The way we do this is two-

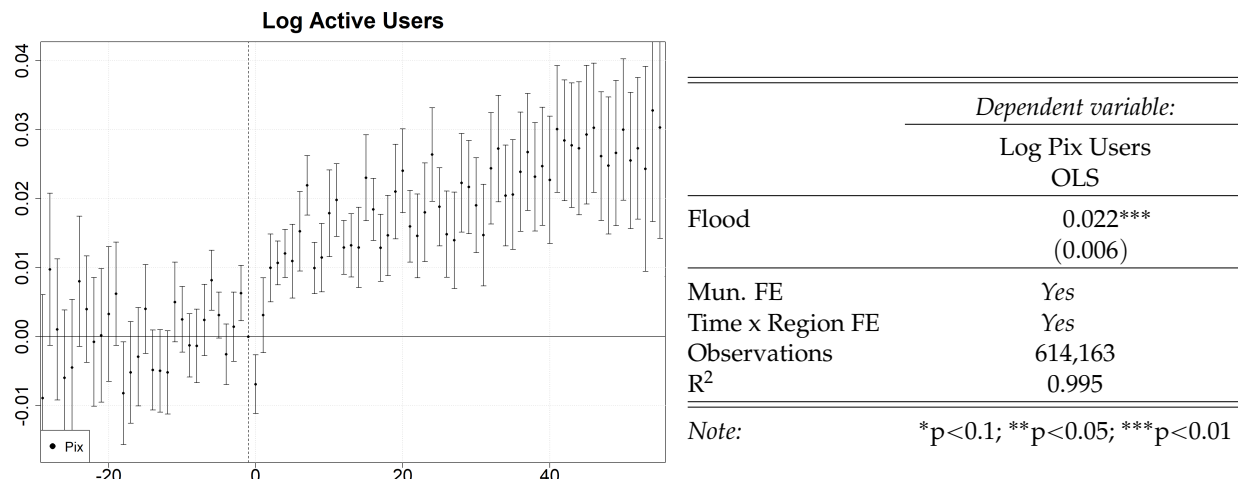


Figure 3

fold, firstly we show the effect of floods on other payment methods before and after Pix was introduced. The goal here is to demonstrate that before Pix, floods did not affect the usage of other payment methods, while after Pix, floods had a positive effect on the usage of other payment methods. Thus, if you believe that not much changed in Brazil to alter the aftermath of floods on payment technology in the periods before and after Pix besides Pix itself, you would expect that the effect of floods on other payment methods would be similar in both periods had Pix not been created. Therefore, the growth in the usage of a payment method after a flood would be caused by the increase in the number of users of Pix. Secondly, we use floods as an instrument for the increase in the number of users of Pix, the main assumption, in this case, is the exclusion restriction: floods will not affect the use of other payment methods directly. This assumption is impossible to test and it would require the reader to believe blindly in it, however, since we have data from before Pix existed, our staggered differences-in-differences act as a reasonable test to see whether this assumption is plausible.

For this task, we direct your eyes to the estimates in black in Figure (4). The estimates in black are the results of Equation (1) on the log transactions of Bank Wire, Payment Slip, and the log number of firms accepting Credit and Debit payments (we do not have transaction-level data on card payments and the number of firms accepting card transactions are defined by having a positive amount of total value transacted that week). The period we studied to create those estimates is from January 2019 until November 2020, when Pix was created. What we find is that, with the exception of highly noisy debit card data, we see no evidence of a systematic change in behavior toward payment methods after a flood.

Alternatively, in the estimates in red of Figure (4), we show the results of the same equation but for the period after Pix was introduced, from November 2020 until December 2022. We find that the usage of other payment methods is systematically affected by floods after Pix. We show that during the period near the natural disaster, estimates are flat, however, there seems to be a growth in the use of those payment methods after several weeks. This growth is shown in all alternative methods and this delayed increase is consistent with the idea that once familiarized with Pix, people and firms gradually learn to use other payment methods over time.

In the IV approach, we display in Table (1) the results of the same variables shown in Figure (4). We find consistent results with a 1% increase in the number of active users of Pix in a municipality leading to an increase of 5.7% in the number of Payment Slip transactions and 4.5% in the number of Bank Wire transactions. We also find that the number of firms accepting debit card increases significantly by about 1.2% while credit card acceptance does not change significantly.

Due to the richness of the data, we can offer a more detailed analysis of each payment method. For Payment Slips, look at Figure (8). We study four main variables, log transaction of Payment Slips (already analyzed in the previous paragraphs), Log Value (the sum of all money transacted), and Log Active Users for people and firms (constructed as the number of unique people and firms that sent or received money using Payment Slips). As seen before, the variables show a similar pattern, the before Pix estimates in black seem to be flat, while the after Pix estimates in red show a modest positive effect of floods on the usage of Payment Slips over time. Running the IV approach on those variables, we find that a 1% increase in the number of active users of Pix in a municipality leads to a 10.7% increase in the value transacted using Payment Slips, a 1.7% increase in the number of active firms, and a nonsignificant change in people actively using it.

For Bank Wire transfers, refer to Figure (9). As before, we found no evidence of floods affecting Bank Wire before Pix was created. In the period after Pix, in red, we start to see an increase in the usage of Wire only after several weeks. We see a clear increase in the number of transactions and total value transacted. This is consistent with people and firms learning how to use the technology after Pix over time. The pattern in the figure is reflected in the results of the IV approach, we find a growth of 4.5% in the number of transactions and 7.0% in the value transacted, while we do not see a significant change in the number of firms using Wire to receive or send money.

For Credit and Debit card payments, we refer to Figure (10). This data is not as rich as the other payment methods, we only have the total value transacted in a day to each firm, from where we create a dummy to determine whether a firm accepted card payments that

week. The estimates for them are a little more erratic than the other payment methods with a lot of noise, however, there seems to be no effect of floods on the number of firms accepting credit and debit cards, and the total value transacted before Pix.

The estimates for them are a little more erratic than the other payment methods with a lot of noise and some pre-trends. However, the common conclusion remains of no obvious effect of floods on the number of firms accepting credit and debit cards, and the total value transacted before Pix. In the period after Pix, we see a similar pattern from before, a delayed increase in the number of firms accepting credit and debit cards, and the total value transacted. In the IV approach, we find a 1.2% increase in the number of firms accepting debit cards, while we do not find a significant effect on the total value transacted of debit and credit cards, nor on the number of firms accepting credit cards.



Figure 4

Overall, we see a similar pattern for all payment methods, no effect of floods on the usage of payment methods before Pix, and a delayed increase in the usage of payment methods after Pix. This is consistent with the idea that people and firms learn how to use Pix first, and then gradually learn how to use other payment methods. The graphs also

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS Log Pix Users (1)	Log Trans. Wire (2)	Log Trans. Slip (3)	IV Log Credit Acceptance (4)	Log Debit Acceptance (5)
Flood	0.022*** (0.006)				
Log Pix Users		4.538*** (1.109)	5.737** (2.922)	-0.132 (0.285)	1.182*** (0.371)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163
R ²	0.995	0.853	0.874	0.994	0.991

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 1

increase our confidence that flood can be a valid instrument in our analysis. With that, our IV approach points to the fact that the increase in the number of users of Pix is causing an increase in the usage of other payment methods. This result goes in contrast with the more natural idea that Pix would substitute other payment methods, instead, we find that Pix is complementary to other payment methods.

5.3 Effects of Pix on Banking

Now we move on to analyze the impact of Pix in the banking sector. There is growing fear that free instantaneous transfer technologies have the potential to disrupt the banking sector. We will analyze a few variables to see if those concerns have any merit.

Similar to before, we selected a few relevant variables to study the effect of Pix on it. We direct the reader to the estimates in black in Figure (5) which are the results of Equation (1) on the (1) log number of people creating a credit relationship for the first time, (2) log number of people creating a relationship with a new bank for the first time, and (3) the log number of people opening bank accounts for the first time. The period we studied to create those estimates is from January 2019 until November 2020, when Pix was created. The first two variables are calculated on a monthly time frame, while the third is calculated weekly. In the estimates, we see no evidence of a systematic change in behavior toward creating new credit relationships or new bank accounts after a flood.

Alternatively, in the estimates in red of Figure (5), we show the results of the same equation but for the period after Pix was introduced, from November 2020 until December 2022. We find a few positive estimates weeks after the flood for all three variables. Those results are reflected in the IV approach in Table (2) where we find that a 1% increase in the number of active users of Pix in a municipality leads to an increase of 0.45% in the number

of people creating a credit relationship, a 0.25% increase in the number of people creating a relationship with a new bank, and a 0.80% increase in the number of people opening bank accounts for the first time.

Thanks to the richness of the data, we can offer a more detailed analysis of the impact of Pix in the banking sector. First, we expand on how the creation of bank accounts is affected by a flood before and after Pix. In Figure (11) we show the results of the staggered differences-in-differences on the log number of bank accounts for people and firms, the log number of people with at least one bank account in a municipality (log banked population), and the log number of people opening bank accounts for the first time (log adoption). According to the figures, log adoption of bank accounts before Pix was not affected by floods, while after Pix, we see a few positive estimates weeks after the flood. A similar pattern occurs for the log banked population, as you can imagine since both variables are closely related. The log number of bank accounts for people and firms are very similar and face the same problem since most of the estimates violate the pre-trend assumption despite our fixed effects, the only one that is well-behaved is the log number of bank accounts for firms that rise over time following a flood. Since we face some problems with the pre-trend assumption, the results of the IV approach should be taken with a grain of salt. The results can be viewed in Table (6) where we find that a 1% increase in the number of active users of Pix in a municipality leads to an increase of 0.80% in the number of people opening bank accounts for the first time, a 0.08% increase in the number of people with at least one bank account, an insignificant increase in the number of bank accounts for firms, and a 0.5% increase in the number of bank accounts for people.

Second, we study credit relationships between people and firms with their banks. We study three variables, the log number of credit adoption defined as the first time a person or firm creates a credit relationship, the log bank adoption defined as the first time a person or firm creates a relationship with a new bank, and log debt defined as the total amount owed by a person or firm. The results for people are presented in Figure (12), and for firms in Figure (13). There we find very stable graphs showing no evidence that floods affect credit relationships before Pix. After Pix, we also see stable graphs with a few positive estimates during certain months after the flood. The results of the IV approach can be found in Table (7) and Table (8). We find that a 1% increase in the number of active users of Pix in a municipality leads to an increase of 0.45% in the number of people creating a credit relationship and a 0.25% increase in the number of people creating a relationship with a new bank. We did not find evidence of a change in the total debt carried by people, also, none of the variables for firms were significant.

Third, we use data from Pix to study two interesting variables, the number of active

bank accounts and the number of self-transfers. We define the former variable as the number of bank accounts that were used to send or receive money in a given week, and the latter as a transfer from one individual’s bank account to the same individual in another account. The goal of this is to address the possible issue of people and firms creating bank accounts but not using them and to see whether people and firms are optimizing their bank account use by using Pix to transfer money between them. To study the number of active accounts, refer to Figure (15), there we find the number of active bank accounts growing more than 4% for people, outpacing the growth in active Pix users by around 3%. For firms, the number of active bank accounts grows about the same as active users, at the rate of around 2%. To study self-transfers, refer to Figure (14), where we find that the number of people and firms actively performing self-transactions grows to 4-5% after 52 weeks.

Overall, the results of this section are clear, we find that Pix contributes to the growth in bank accounts, access to credit, and expansion of bank products among people. We also find that people and firms are actively using more their bank accounts and optimizing their use by performing self-transfers.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Log Credit Adoption	IV Log Bank Adoption	Log First Account
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Log Pix Users	0.445*** (0.112)	0.224*** (0.065)	0.798** (0.373)
Mun. FE	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Time x Region FE	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Observations	138,325	138,325	614,163
R ²	0.878	0.974	0.851

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 2

5.4 Extra Results

In this section we will analyze two main topics, the first is the role of informal insurance in the growth in popularity of Pix following a flood, and the second is which type of bank, traditional or digital, was more favored by the growth in popularity of Pix.

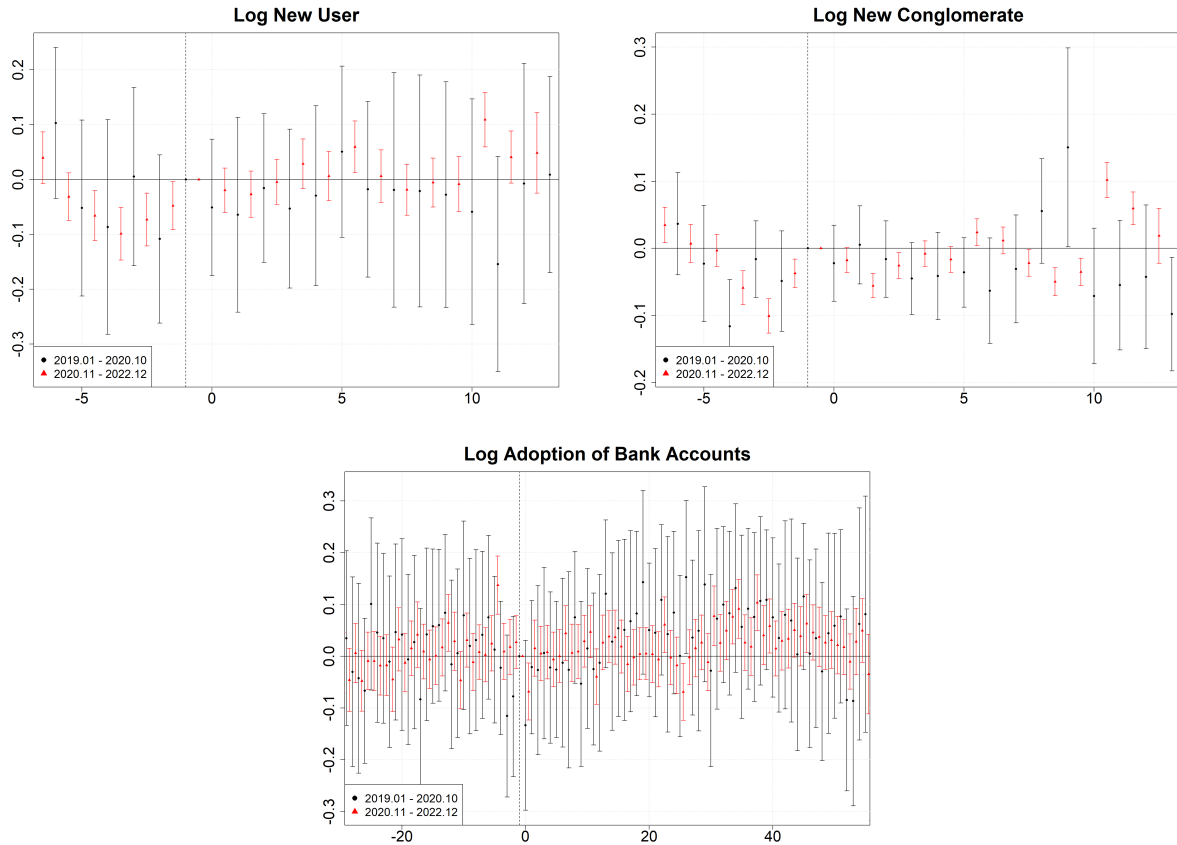


Figure 5

5.4.1 Informal Insurance

To study informal insurance, we study remittances, which in this case, we define as a transaction of Pix between a person outside the municipality affected by the flood and a person inside the municipality. Moreover, we define as inflow, a transaction from a person outside the municipality to a person inside the municipality, and as outflow, a transaction from a person inside the municipality to a person outside the municipality.

The main graphs of our analysis are presented in Figure (6). In the first two graphs, the estimates in black are the results of Equation (1) on the inflow, while in red is the outflow. We find that in the week of the flood, there is a significant drop in the outflow of money, while the number of inflow transactions increases significantly. This is consistent with informal insurance where people affected by the flood decrease the outflow while increasing the inflow. The last two graphs show the number of people affected by the flood receiving remittances and the number of people not affected by the flood sending remittances. We find that in the week of the flood, more people outside the municipality are sending money to people inside the municipality. In all graphs, we see a permanent

change in behavior following the flood, with remittances growing around 2-4%, and a network effect of Pix, with people outside the municipality growing their use of Pix to send money.

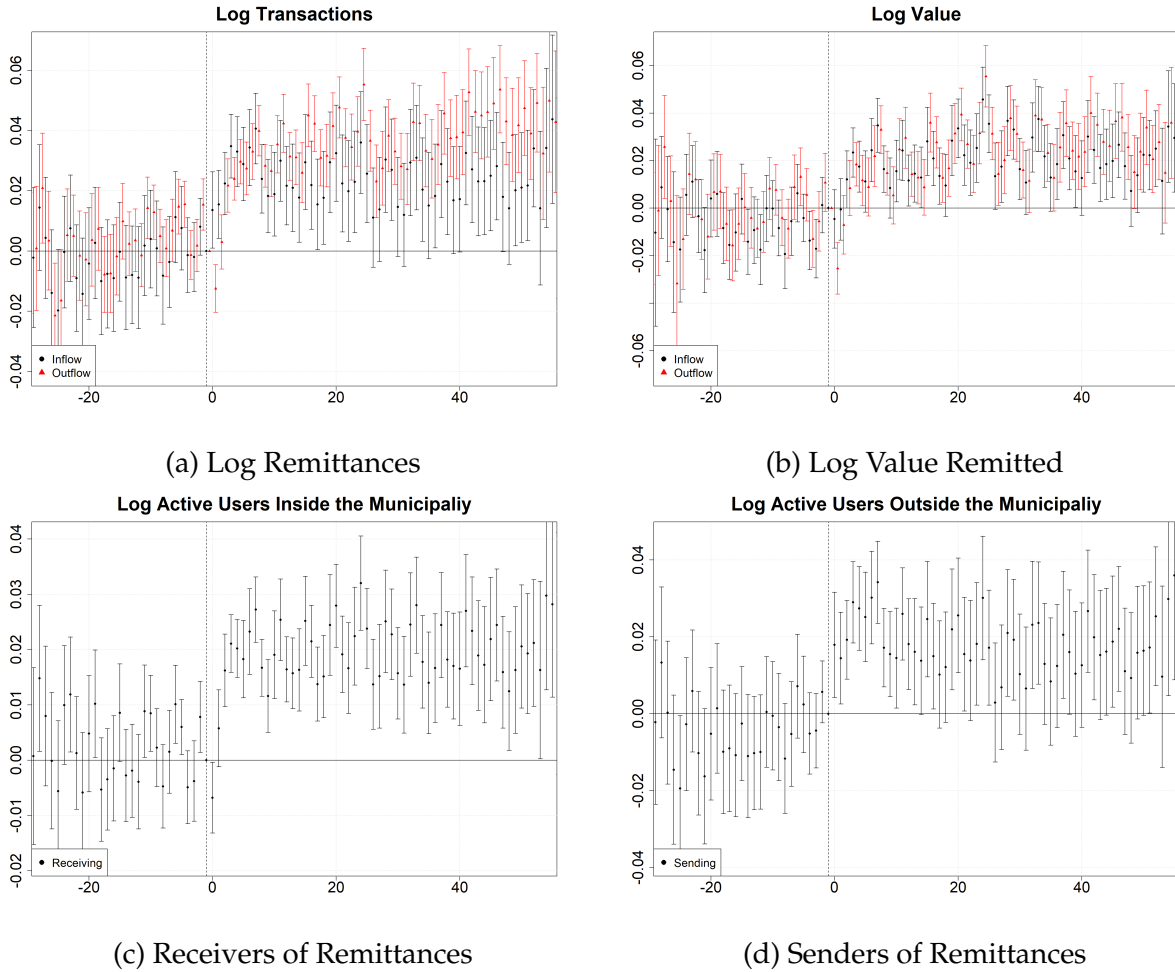


Figure 6

5.4.2 Heterogeneous analysis

In this section, we study the effects of Pix on different types of banks. Since there is a common-sense belief that digital banks and fintechs would take over traditional brick-and-mortar banks, we divide banks into two categories, digital banks and traditional banks based on their physical branch presence. The categorization of those banks is done by the Central Bank of Brazil.

First, we study Pix transactions using Equation (1) on the log number of transactions and the total value of Pix for people and firms between those different banks. The results

are presented in Figure (17), the estimates in black represent the traditional banks, while in red, the digital banks. We find that, for people, the growth in Pix transactions and total value transacted is almost identical. Thus, indicating that both types of banks were favored similarly after a flood. Alternatively, for firms the results seem to differ, despite the high noise and pre-trend violation, the estimates appear to show that traditional banks grew more in the number of transactions and total value transacted. This is on par with the idea that firms benefit much more from traditional banks since they can offer better services and credit.

Second, we look at the number and the active use of bank accounts. The results are presented in Figure (18). Regarding the number of bank accounts, we face the same problem as before with some violations to the pre-trend assumption in the case of people. In the case of firms, the estimates are more well-behaved with the growth in digital accounts appearing to be bigger than traditional accounts following a flood but the results are not significant. The result is on par with the notion that firms would have already established relationships with traditional banks and it is natural for the bigger growth of new digital banks. Regarding active use, we see a similar pattern as before, people's active use of bank accounts grows almost identically for both types of banks and their estimates obey the pre-trend assumption, while firms seem to grow more in the active use of traditional bank accounts however, the estimates violate the pre-trend assumption.

Overall, we find evidence that for people, both types of banks were favored similarly by the growth in popularity of Pix, while for firms, our evidence is of worse quality but it seems to indicate that traditional banks seem to have been more favored by the growth in popularity of Pix.

6 Robustness

Our empirical identification relies on the exclusion restriction assumption. To increase the validity of this assumption, we study the periods "Before Pix", from January 2019 until November 2020. The idea is that if floods did not affect our main variables before Pix, then it is reasonable to believe that floods would not affect them in the period after Pix, except through Pix. One may argue that studying results from January 2019 until November 2020 as our "placebo" period does not capture fully the effect of Covid and it is possible that our results are driven by the change in behavior caused by Covid. To check on the possibility that Covid was the main driver of our results, we study the period "Before Pix" from March 2020 until November 2020, and the period "After Pix" from November 2020 until June 2021.

The same results from Section (8.1) in the appendix are reproduced in Section (8.3). The results are very similar, with even stronger results of floods affecting the use of Pix and Pix affecting our main payment and banking variables. The results are naturally more noisy given the loss of observations, however, the main conclusion remains the same, floods do not have a significant effect on our main variables before Pix and Covid does not seem to be the driver of change, Pix does.

7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper studies an important aspect of the evolving financial landscape, the development of transfer technologies. While previous studies have shed light on the positive impact of these transfer systems, the speed of development and popularization of these technologies remains slow worldwide. One of the reasons for this reluctance is the fear that these technologies might compete with existing payment technologies and possibly disrupt the banking sector. At the same time, innovation on the payment technology front such as Pix has the potential to substitute cash transactions, pushing people and firms toward using more their bank accounts and other financial technologies.

We overcome the challenge of separating the substitutability or complementarity of Pix on other payment methods from changes in consumer preferences, by using floods as an instrument for the increase in usage of Pix. We find that floods have a significant effect on the usage of Pix, while not having a significant effect on the usage of other payment methods or in our banking variables before Pix. Thus clearing the way for an Instrumental Variable approach.

We discover that floods have a lasting impact on the usage of Pix, with a significant increase in the number of people and firms using Pix even after one year. We also find evidence that Pix is used for informal insurance, with a significant increase in the inflow of money from people outside the municipality and in the number of people sending and receiving remittances. We also find that the use of Pix by firms is also affected after a flood, with a significant increase in the number of firms accepting Pix as a payment method.

When studying the effects of Pix on other payment methods, we find overwhelming evidence that Pix causes significant increases in the four most used payment technologies in Brazil: Payment Slips, Bank Wire, Credit card, and Debit card. We show that following Pix use, people seem to be more open to using other payment methods. Similarly, firms seem to be more open to accepting other payment methods once they start accepting Pix.

In the banking sector, we find that Pix contributes to the growth in bank accounts, access to credit, and expansion of bank products among people. We also find that people

and firms are actively using more their bank accounts and that they are optimizing the use of their accounts by performing self-transfers. Regarding which type of bank was favored by the growth in popularity of Pix, we find that for people, both types of banks were favored similarly, while for firms, traditional banks seem to have been more favored by the growth in popularity of Pix. This is consistent with the fact that firms require more complex financial services which traditional banks have been providing for a longer time.

In sum, this research offers valuable insights into the consequences of the introduction of a new low-cost instantaneous transfer system on other payment methods and in the banking sector. We shed light on how better transfer technology might influence firms and people to use other payment methods, increasing their use of bank accounts. We hope that these findings can encourage the development of new transfer technologies and increase the adoption of these technologies worldwide.

References

- Jenny C. Aker, Silvia Prina, and C. Jamilah Welch. Migration, Money Transfers, and Mobile Money: Evidence from Niger. *AEA Papers and Proceedings*, 110:589–593, May 2020. ISSN 2574-0768. doi: 10.1257/pandp.20201085. URL <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pandp.20201085>.
- Viviana Alfonso, Alexandre Tombini, and Fabrizio Zampolli. Retail payments in Latin America and the Caribbean: present and future. *BIS Quarterly Review*, 2020. URL <https://ideas.repec.org/a/bis/bisqtr/2012f.html>.
- Lucas Argentieri Mariani, Jose Renato Haas Ornelas, and Bernardo Ricca. Banks' Physical Footprint and Financial Technology Adoption, April 2023. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4079061>.
- Janine Aron. Mobile Money and the Economy: A Review of the Evidence. *World Bank Research Observer*, 33(2):135–188, August 2018. ISSN 1564-6971. doi: 10.1093/wbro/lky001. URL <https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/10.1093/wbro/lky001>. Publisher: Oxford University Press.
- Tania Babina, Saleem Bahaj, Greg Buchak, Filippo De Marco, Angus Foulis, Will Gornall, Francesco Mazzola, and Tong Yu. Customer Data Access and Fintech Entry: Early Evidence from Open Banking, September 2023. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4071214>.
- Pierre Bachas, Paul Gertler, Sean Higgins, and Enrique Seira. Digital Financial Services Go a Long Way: Transaction Costs and Financial Inclusion. *AEA Papers and Proceedings*, 108:444–448, May 2018. ISSN 2574-0768. doi: 10.1257/pandp.20181013. URL <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pandp.20181013>.
- Pierre Bachas, Paul Gertler, Sean Higgins, and Enrique Seira. How Debit Cards Enable the Poor to Save More. *The Journal of Finance*, 76(4):1913–1957, 2021. ISSN 1540-6261. doi: 10.1111/jofi.13021. URL <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/jofi.13021>. [_eprint: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/jofi.13021](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/jofi.13021).
- Tetyana Balyuk and Emily Williams. Friends and Family Money: P2P Transfers and Financially Fragile Consumers, November 2021. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3974749>.

- Paul Beaumont, Huan Tang, and Eric Vansteenberghe. Collateral Effects: The Role of FinTech in Small Business Lending, October 2022. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4260842>.
- Tobias Berg, Andreas Fuster, and Manju Puri. FinTech Lending, November 2022. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4267962>.
- Wenlong Bian, Lin William Cong, and Yang Ji. The Rise of E-Wallets and Buy-Now-Pay-Later: Payment Competition, Credit Expansion, and Consumer Behavior, March 2023. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4407023>.
- Joshua E. Blumenstock, Nathan Eagle, and Marcel Fafchamps. Air-time transfers and mobile communications: Evidence in the aftermath of natural disasters. *Journal of Development Economics*, 120:157–181, May 2016. ISSN 0304-3878. doi: 10.1016/j.jdeveco.2016.01.003. URL <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304387816000109>.
- Emily Breza, Martin Kanz, and Leora F. Klapper. Learning to Navigate a New Financial Technology: Evidence from Payroll Accounts, December 2020. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3753159>.
- Markus K. Brunnermeier, Harold James, and Jean-Pierre Landau. The Digitalization of Money. *NBER Working Papers*, September 2019. URL <https://ideas.repec.org/p/nbr/nberwo/26300.html>. Number: 26300 Publisher: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.
- Markus K. Brunnermeier, Nicola Limodio, and Lorenzo Spadavecchia. Mobile Money, Interoperability, and Financial Inclusion, September 2023. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4574641>.
- Greg Buchak, Gregor Matvos, Tomasz Piskorski, and Amit Seru. Fintech, regulatory arbitrage, and the rise of shadow banks. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 130(3): 453–483, December 2018. ISSN 0304-405X. doi: 10.1016/j.jfineco.2018.03.011. URL <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304405X1830237X>.
- Paula Bustos, Gabriel Garber, and Jacopo Ponticelli. Capital Accumulation and Structural Transformation*. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 135(2):1037–1094, May 2020. ISSN 0033-5533. doi: 10.1093/qje/qjz044. URL <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjz044>.

- Sudheer Chava, Rohan Ganduri, Nikhil Paradkar, and Yafei Zhang. Impact of Marketplace Lending on Consumers' Future Borrowing Capacities and Borrowing Outcomes, September 2017. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3178322>.
- Gabriel Chodorow-Reich, Gita Gopinath, Prachi Mishra, and Abhinav Narayanan. Cash and the Economy: Evidence from India's Demonetization*. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 135(1):57–103, February 2020. ISSN 0033-5533. doi: 10.1093/qje/qjz027. URL <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjz027>.
- Nicolas Crouzet, Apoorv Gupta, and Filippo Mezzanotti. Shocks and Technology Adoption: Evidence from Electronic Payment Systems. *Journal of Political Economy*, 131(11):3003–3065, November 2023. ISSN 0022-3808. doi: 10.1086/724847. URL <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/724847>. Publisher: The University of Chicago Press.
- Melissa Dell, Benjamin F. Jones, and Benjamin A. Olken. What Do We Learn from the Weather? The New Climate-Economy Literature. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 52(3):740–798, September 2014. ISSN 0022-0515. doi: 10.1257/jel.52.3.740. URL <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/jel.52.3.740>.
- Marco Di Maggio and Vincent Yao. Fintech Borrowers: Lax Screening or Cream-Skimming? *The Review of Financial Studies*, 34(10):4565–4618, October 2021. ISSN 0893-9454. doi: 10.1093/rfs/hhaa142. URL <https://doi.org/10.1093/rfs/hhaa142>.
- Angelo Duarte, Jon Frost, Leonardo Gambacorta, Priscilla Koo Wilkens, and Hyun Song Shin. Central Banks, the Monetary System and Public Payment Infrastructures: Lessons from Brazil's Pix. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2022. ISSN 1556-5068. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.4064528. URL <https://www.ssrn.com/abstract=4064528>.
- Tamanna Singh Dubey and Amiyatosh Purnanandam. Can Cashless Payments Spur Economic Growth?, February 2023. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4373602>.
- Darrell Duffie. Can China Conquer Crypto? September 2022. ISSN 0015-7120. URL <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-04-22/can-china-conquer-crypto>.
- Darrell Duffie. Digital Currencies and Fast Payment Systems: Disruption is Coming. page 16, May 2019.
- Isil Erel and Jack Liebersohn. Can FinTech reduce disparities in access to finance? Evidence from the Paycheck Protection Program. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 146

- (1):90–118, October 2022. ISSN 0304-405X. doi: 10.1016/j.jfineco.2022.05.004. URL <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304405X2200109X>.
- Jon Frost, Priscilla Koo Wilkens, Anneke Kosse, Vatsala Shreeti, and Carolina Velásquez. Fast payments: design and adoption. 2024.
- Rodney Garratt, Jiaheng Yu, and Haoxiang Zhu. How Central Bank Digital Currency Design Choices Impact Monetary Policy Pass-Through and Market Composition, January 2022. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4004341>.
- Pulak Ghosh, Boris Vallee, and Yao Zeng. FinTech Lending and Cashless Payments, March 2022. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3766250>.
- Manasa Gopal and Philipp Schnabl. The Rise of Finance Companies and Fin-Tech Lenders in Small Business Lending. *The Review of Financial Studies*, 35(11): 4859–4901, November 2022. ISSN 0893-9454. doi: 10.1093/rfs/hhac034. URL <https://doi.org/10.1093/rfs/hhac034>.
- Apoorv Gupta, Jacopo Ponticelli, and Andrea Tesei. Language Barriers, Technology Adoption and Productivity: Evidence from Agriculture in India, May 2020. URL <https://www.nber.org/papers/w27192>.
- Charlotte Haendler. Keeping Up in the Digital Era: How Mobile Technology Is Reshaping the Banking Sector, November 2022. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4287985>.
- Sean Higgins. Financial technology adoption. *Northwestern University: Kellogg School of Management*, 2019.
- Kim Huynh, Gradon Nicholls, and Oleksandr Shcherbakov. Equilibrium in Two-Sided Markets for Payments: Consumer Awareness and the Welfare Cost of the Interchange Fee, March 2022. URL <https://www.bankofcanada.ca/2022/03/staff-working-paper-2022-15/>. Number: 2022-15 Publisher: Bank of Canada.
- William Jack and Tavneet Suri. Risk Sharing and Transactions Costs: Evidence from Kenya’s Mobile Money Revolution. *American Economic Review*, 104(1): 183–223, January 2014. ISSN 0002-8282. doi: 10.1257/aer.104.1.183. URL <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/aer.104.1.183>.

- Michael Katz and Carl Shapiro. Technology Adoption in the Presence of Network Externalities. *Journal of Political Economy*, 94(4):822–41, 1986. URL <https://econpapers.repec.org/article/ucpjpolec/v3a94a3ay3a1986a3ai3a4a3ap3a822-41.htm>. Publisher : *University of Chicago Press*.
- Naz Koont, Tano Santos, and Luigi Zingales. Destabilizing Digital ‘Bank Walks’. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2023. ISSN 1556-5068. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.4443273. URL <https://www.ssrn.com/abstract=4443273>.
- Amartya Lahiri. The Great Indian Demonetization. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(1):55–74, February 2020. ISSN 0895-3309. doi: 10.1257/jep.34.1.55. URL <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/jep.34.1.55>.
- Shumiao Ouyang. Cashless Payment and Financial Inclusion, August 2021. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3948925>.
- Christine A Parlour, Uday Rajan, and Haoxiang Zhu. When FinTech Competes for Payment Flows. *The Review of Financial Studies*, 35(11):4985–5024, November 2022. ISSN 0893-9454. doi: 10.1093/rfs/hhac022. URL <https://doi.org/10.1093/rfs/hhac022>.
- Emma Riley. Mobile money and risk sharing against village shocks. *Journal of Development Economics*, 135:43–58, November 2018. ISSN 0304-3878. doi: 10.1016/j.jdeveco.2018.06.015. URL <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304387818304413>.
- Jean-Charles Rochet and Jean Tirole. Two-sided markets: a progress report. *The RAND Journal of Economics*, 37(3):645–667, 2006. ISSN 1756-2171. doi: 10.1111/j.1756-2171.2006.tb00036.x. URL <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1756-2171.2006.tb00036.x>. [_eprint: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1756-2171.2006.tb00036.x](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1756-2171.2006.tb00036.x).
- P. N. Rosenstein-Rodan. Problems of Industrialisation of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. *The Economic Journal*, 53(210/211):202–211, 1943. ISSN 0013-0133. doi: 10.2307/2226317. URL <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2226317>. Publisher: [Royal Economic Society, Wiley].
- Sergey Sarkisyan. Instant Payment Systems and Competition for Deposits, November 2023. URL <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=4176990>.
- Tavneet Suri. Mobile Money. *Annual Review of Economics*, 9(1):497–520, 2017. doi: 10.1146/annurev-economics-063016-103638. URL

<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-063016-103638>.

_eprint:

<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-063016-103638>.

Tavneet Suri and William Jack. The long-run poverty and gender impacts of mobile money. *Science*, 354(6317):1288–1292, December 2016. doi: 10.1126/science.aah5309. URL <https://www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.aah5309>. Publisher: American Association for the Advancement of Science.

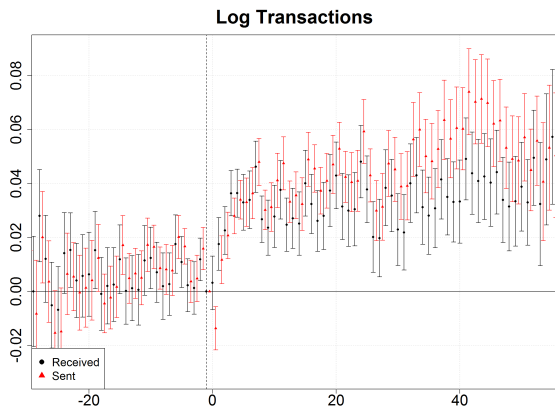
Lulu Wang. *Regulating Competing Payment Networks*. 2024.

Constantine Yannelis and Anthony Lee Zhang. Competition and selection in credit markets. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 150(2):103710, November 2023. ISSN 0304-405X. doi: 10.1016/j.jfineco.2023.103710. URL <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304405X23001423>.

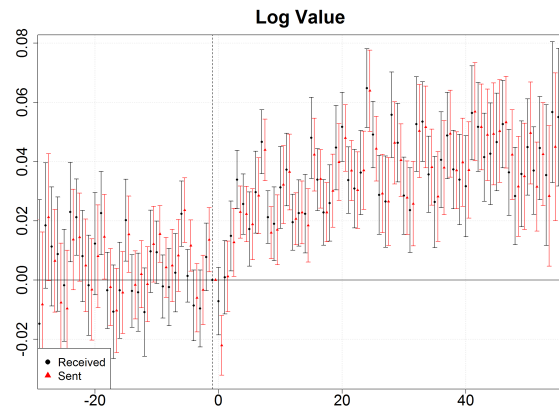
8 Appendix

8.1 Expansion of Results

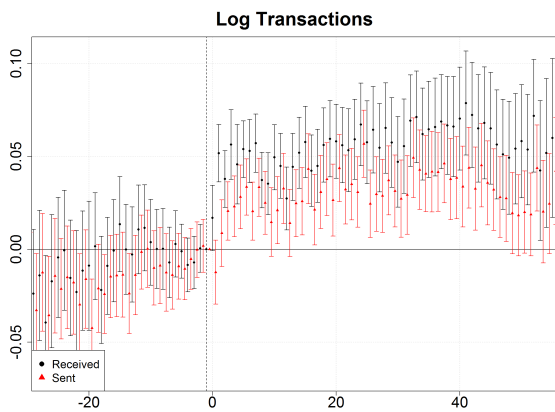
8.1.1 Pix



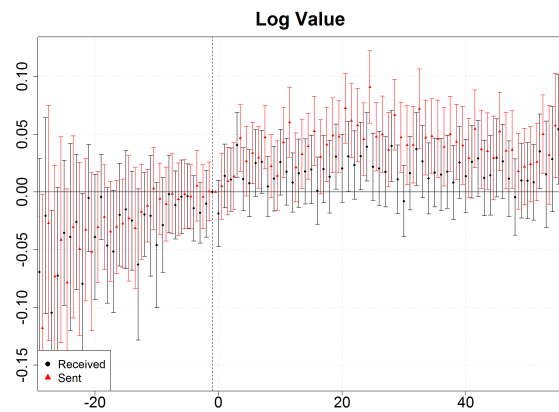
(a) People - Pix



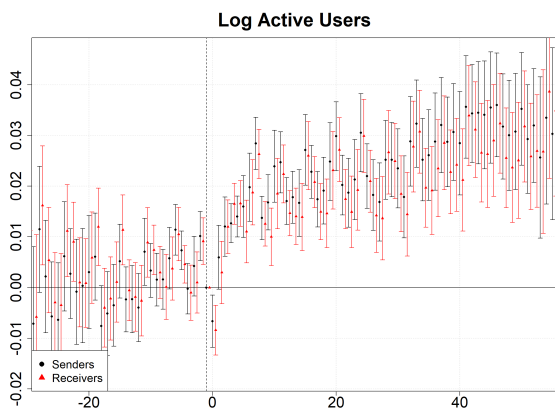
(b) People - Pix



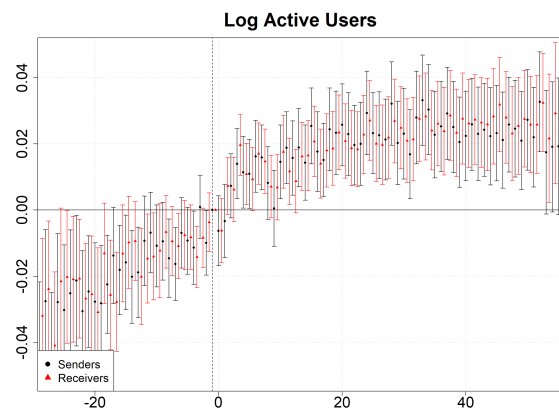
(c) Firms - Pix



(d) Firms - Pix



(e) People - Pix



(f) Firms - Pix

Figure 7: Active User is defined as 1 if that person or firm performed or received any transactions during that week. Transactions are defined as the sum of all transactions received and sent by people or firms. Value is defined as the sum of all values transacted by people or firms.

8.1.2 Payment Slip



Figure 8

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS Log Pix Users (1)	Log Trans. Slip (2)	Log Value Slip (3)	IV Log Receivers Slip (4)	Log Senders Slip (5)
Flood	0.022*** (0.006)				
Log Pix Users		-0.045 (0.114)	1.664* (0.870)	5.737** (2.922)	10.700* (6.357)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163
R ²	0.995	0.991	0.955	0.874	0.799

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3

8.1.3 Bank Wire

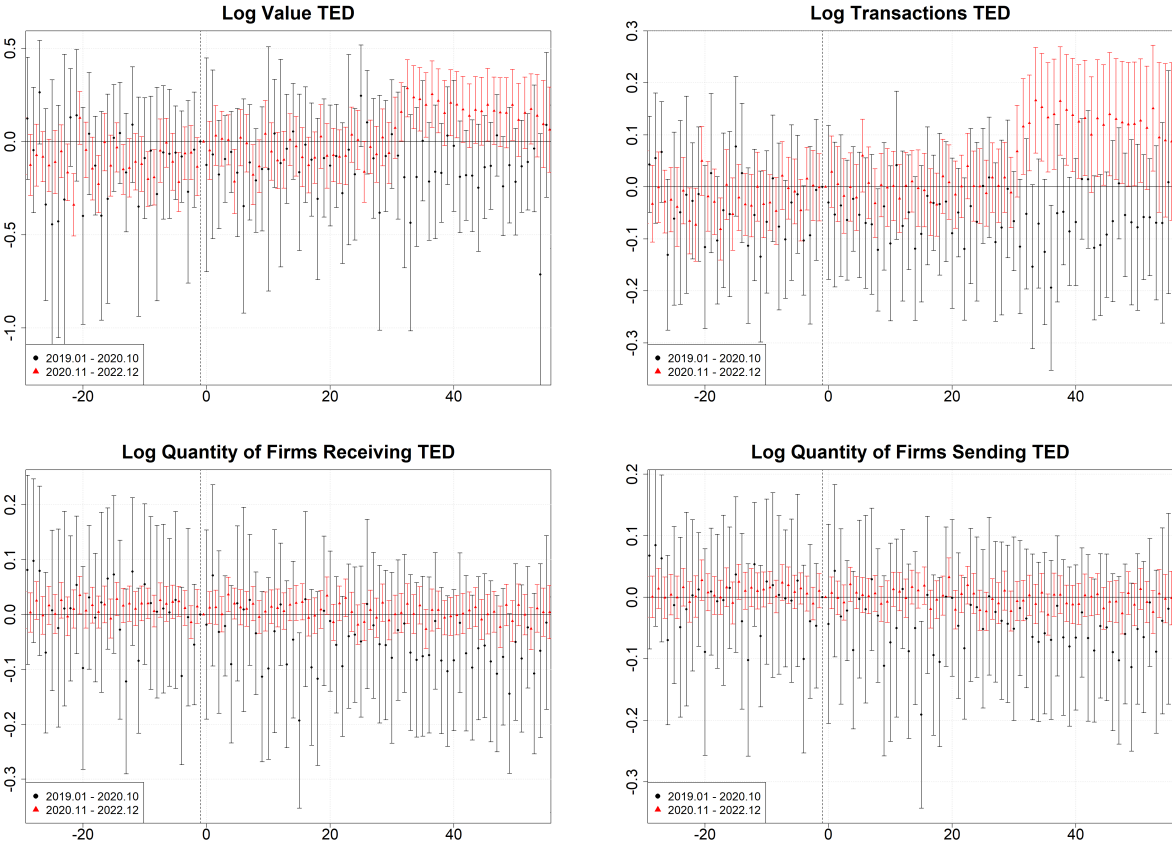


Figure 9: TED

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS			IV	
	Log Pix Users	Log Trans. Wire	Log Value Wire	Log Receivers Wire	Log Senders Wire
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Flood	0.023*** (0.006)				
Log Pix Users		7.047*** (1.946)	4.538*** (1.109)	-0.049 (0.369)	-0.144 (0.369)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	605,875	614,163	614,163	605,875	605,875
R ²	0.995	0.923	0.853	0.951	0.952

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4

8.1.4 Card Payments

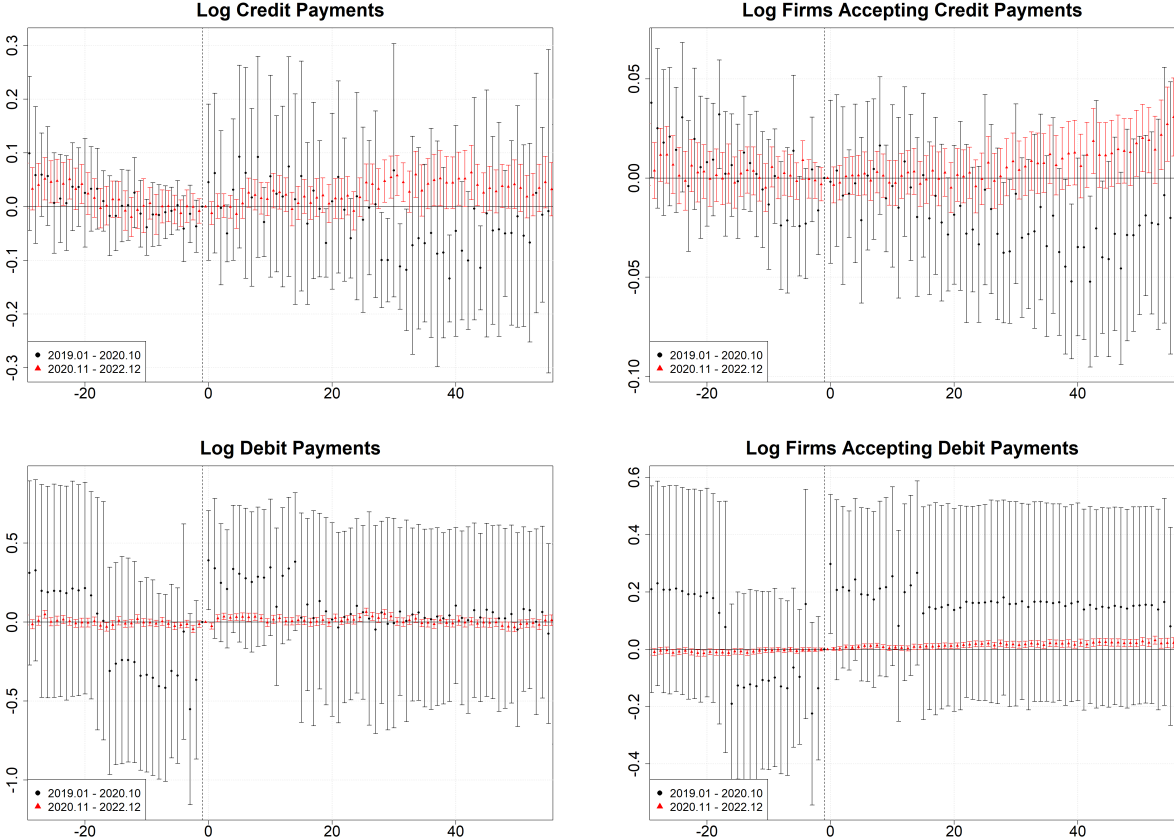


Figure 10

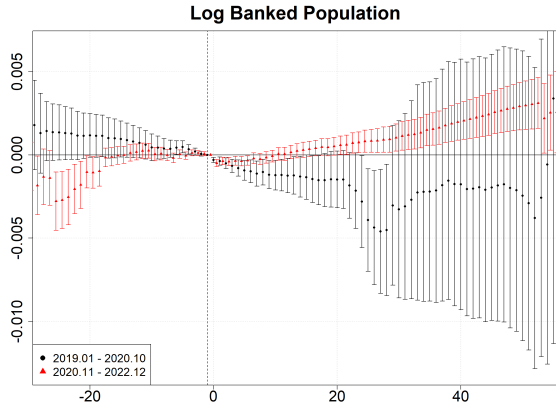
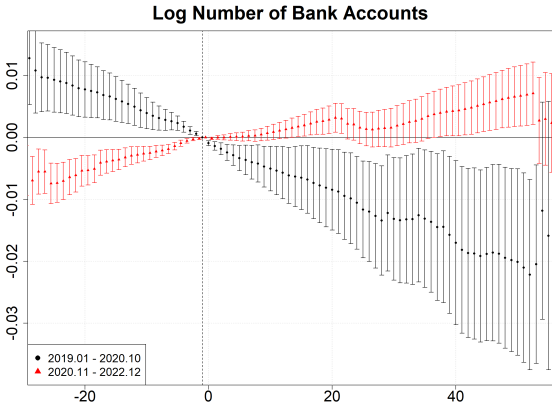
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS	IV			
	Log Pix Users	Log Value Credit	Log Credit Acceptance	Log Value Debit	Log Debit Acceptance
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Flood	0.022*** (0.006)				
Log Pix Users		-0.132 (0.285)	0.109 (0.612)	1.182*** (0.371)	0.225 (0.400)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163
R ²	0.995	0.994	0.973	0.991	0.983

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

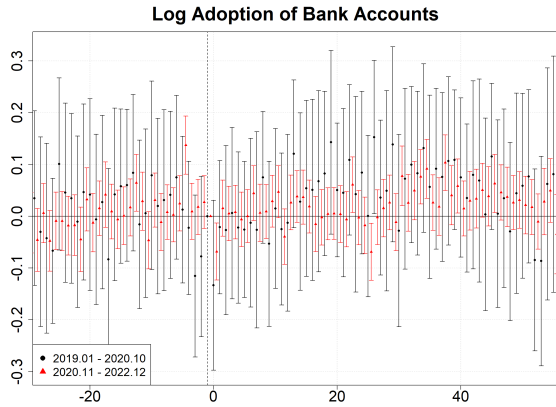
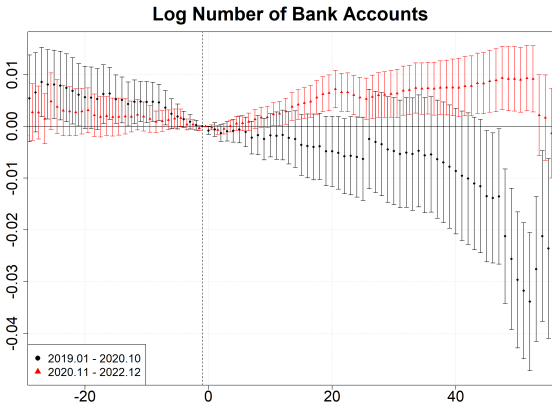
Table 5

8.1.5 Bank Accounts



(a) Log number of Bank Accounts - People

(b) Log number of People with Bank Accounts



(c) Log number of Bank Accounts - Firms

(d) Log Adoption of Bank Accounts

Figure 11

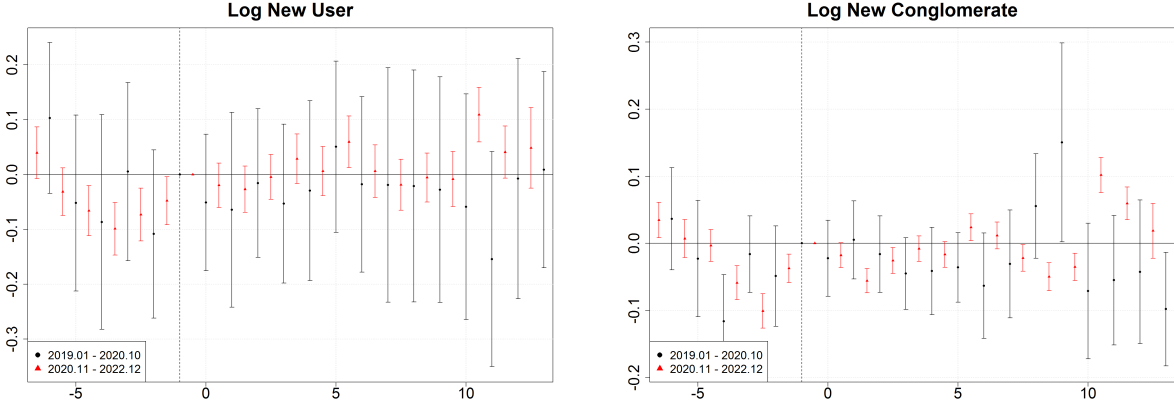
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS	IV			
	Log Pix Users	Log Bank Accounts - People	Log Banked Population	Log First Account	Log Bank Accounts - Firms
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Flood	0.022*** (0.006)				
Log Pix Users		0.514*** (0.194)	0.081** (0.035)	0.798** (0.373)	0.047 (0.149)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163	614,163
R ²	0.995	0.998	1.000	0.851	0.999

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

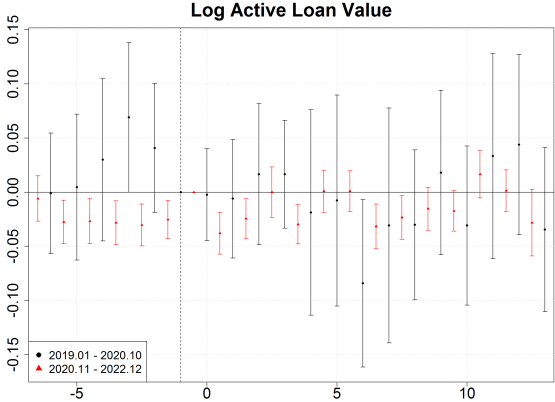
Table 6

8.1.6 Credit Relationships



(a) Log New Users

(b) Log New Conglomerate



(c) Log Active Loan Value

Figure 12: Credito

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	OLS		IV	
	Log Pix Users	Log Credit Adoption - People	Log Bank Adoption - People	Log Debt - People
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Flood	0.118*** (0.025)			
Log Pix Users		0.445*** (0.112)	0.224*** (0.065)	0.038 (0.037)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	138,325	138,325	138,325	138,325
R ²	0.995	0.878	0.974	0.984

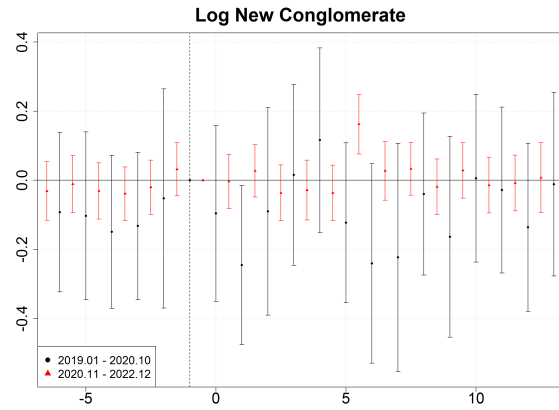
Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

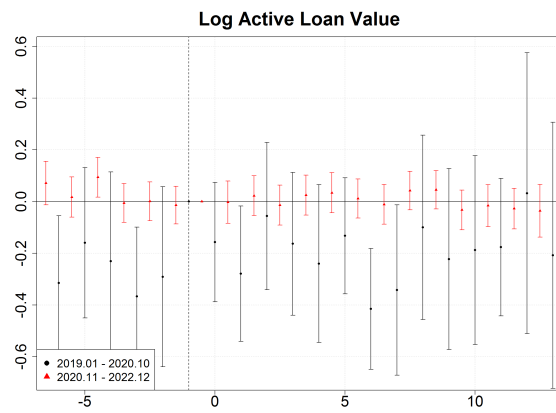
Table 7



(a) Log New Users



(b) Log New Conglomerate



(c) Log Active Loan Value

Figure 13: Credito

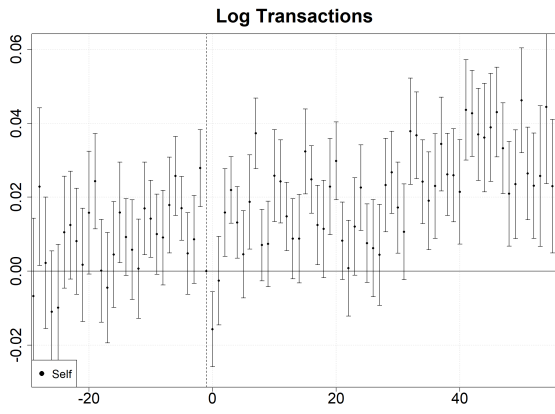
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	OLS		IV	
	Log Pix Users	Log Credit Adoption - Firms	Log Bank Adoption - Firms	Log Debt - Firms
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Flood	0.118*** (0.025)			
Log Pix Users		0.020 (0.114)	0.182 (0.128)	-0.267 (0.175)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	138,325	138,325	138,325	138,325
R ²	0.995	0.793	0.833	0.885

Note:

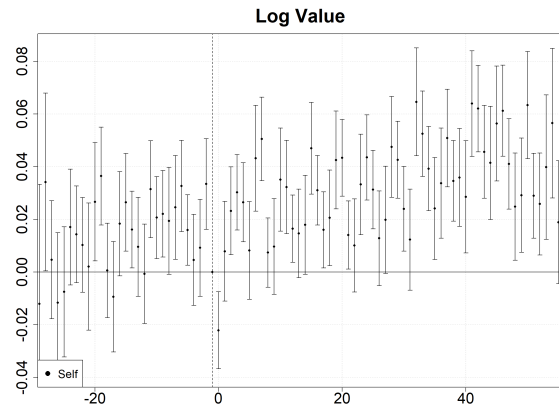
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8

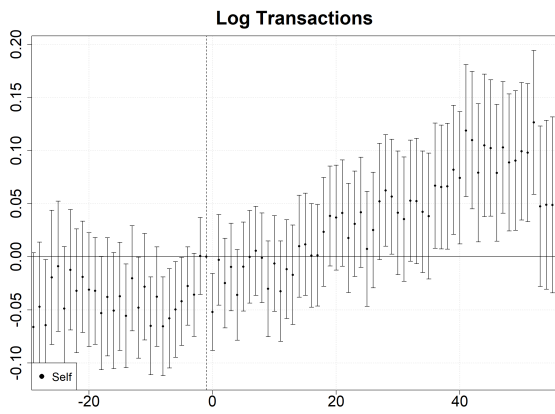
8.1.7 Self Transactions



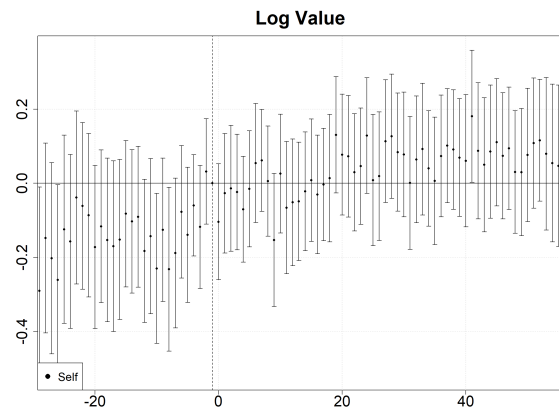
(a) Log Transactions



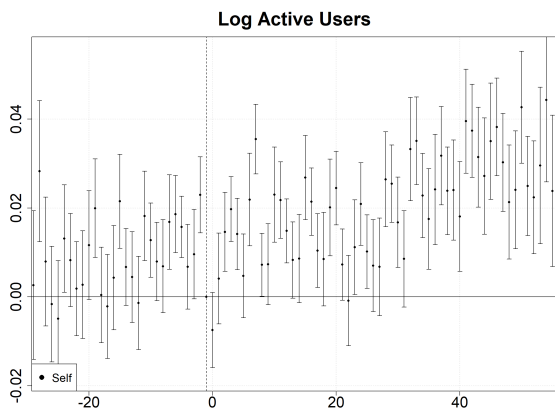
(b) Log Value



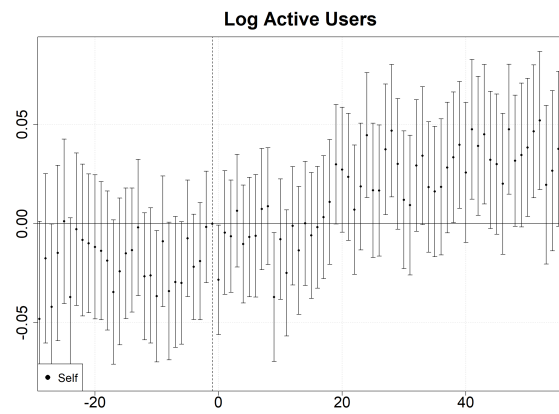
(c) Log Transactions



(d) Log Value



(e) Log Active Users



(f) Log number of Receivers

Figure 14: Self

8.1.8 Active Accounts

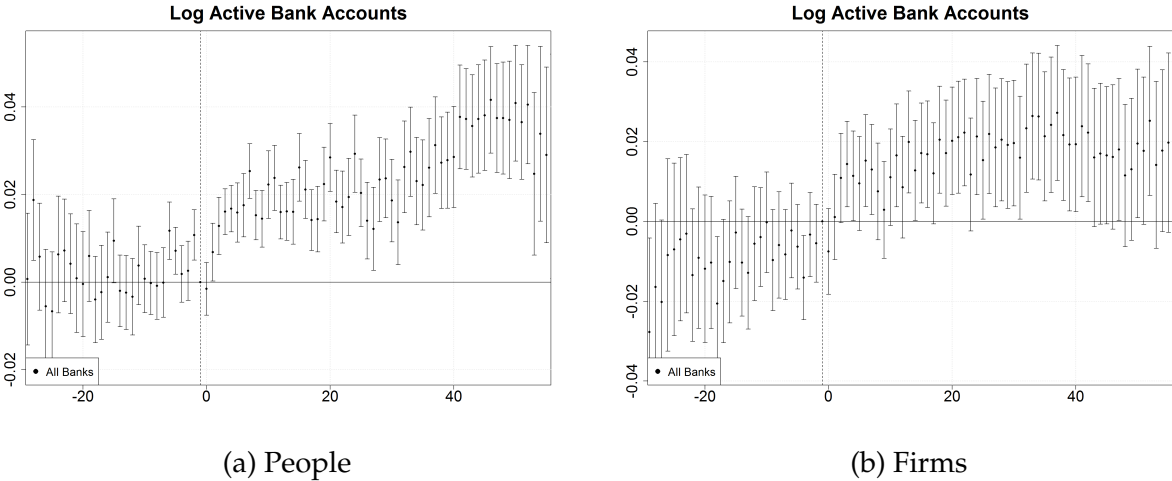


Figure 15

8.2 Other Results

8.2.1 Informal Insurance

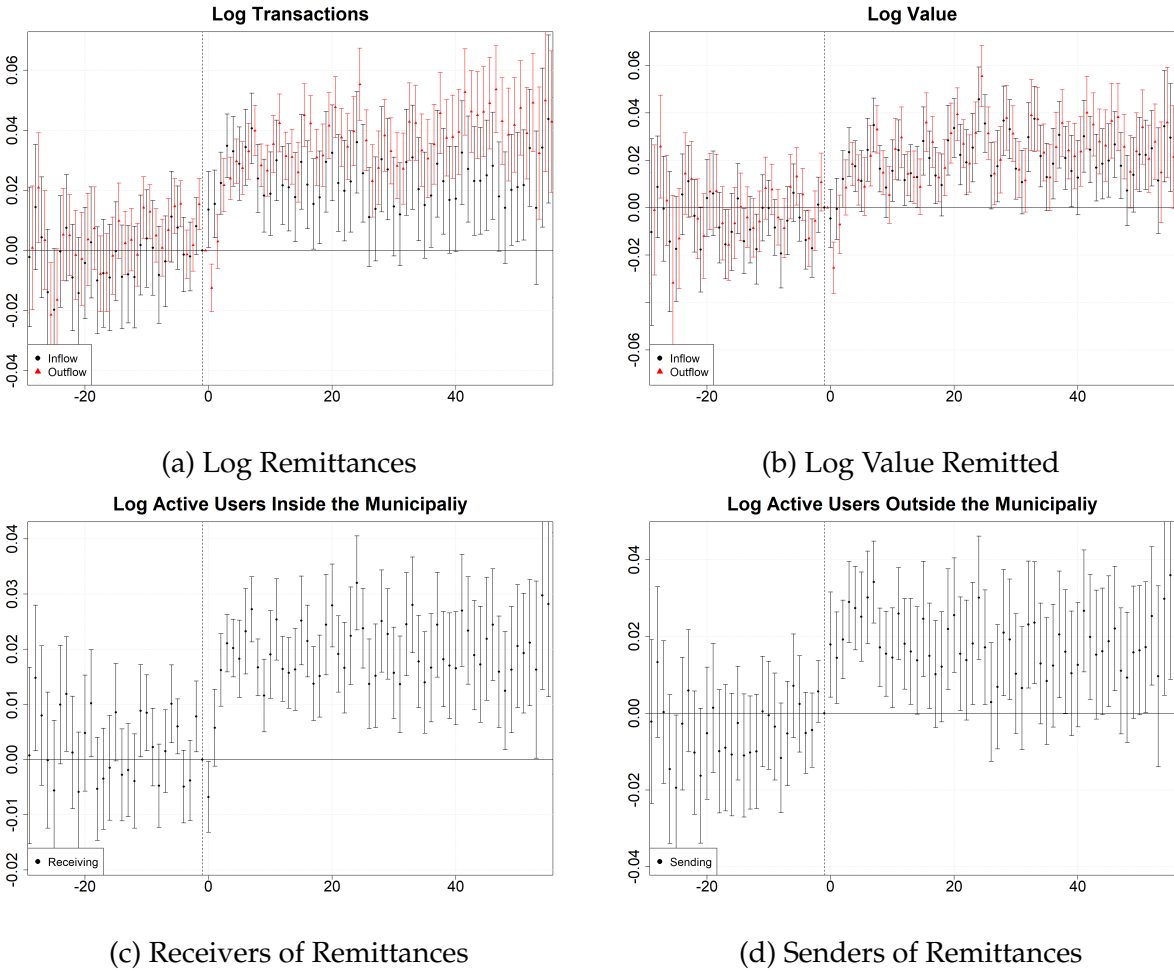
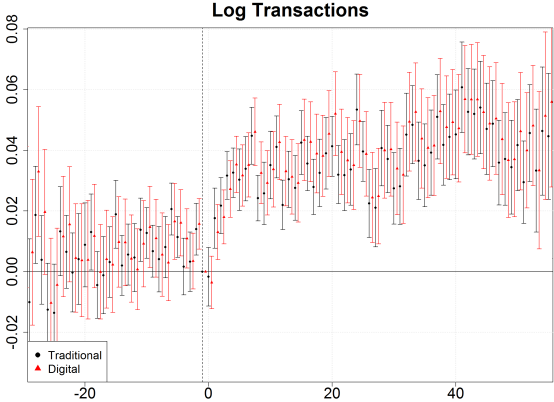
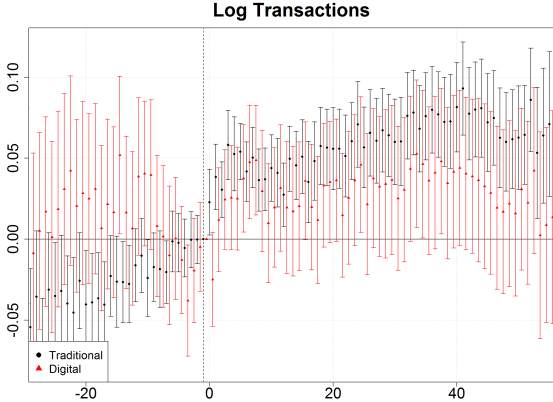


Figure 16

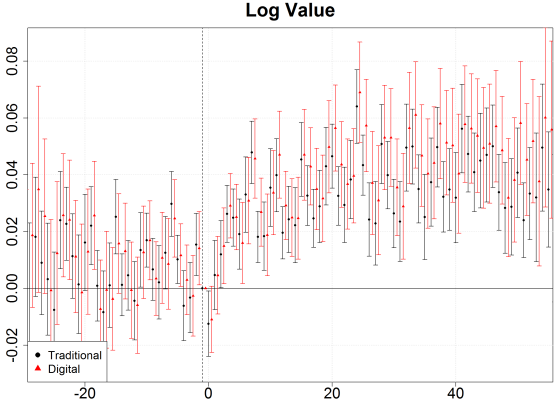
8.2.2 Heterogeneous Analysis



(a) People



(b) Firms

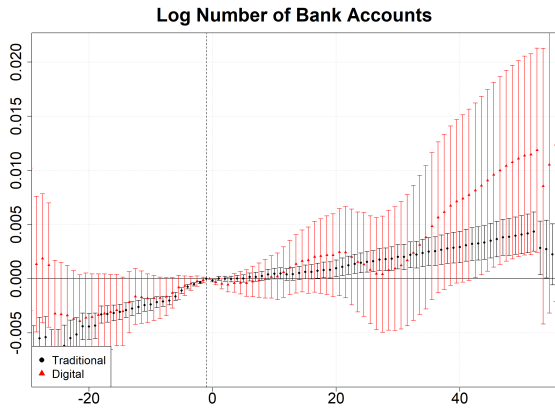


(c) People

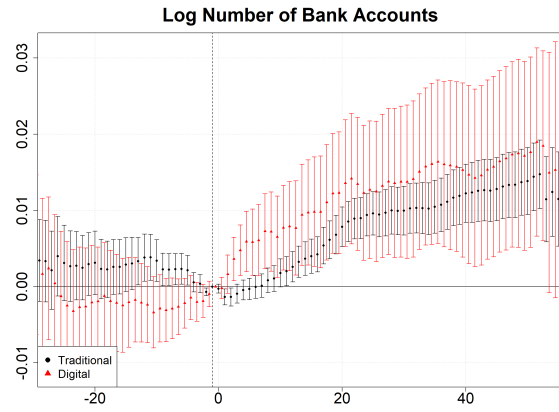


(d) Firms

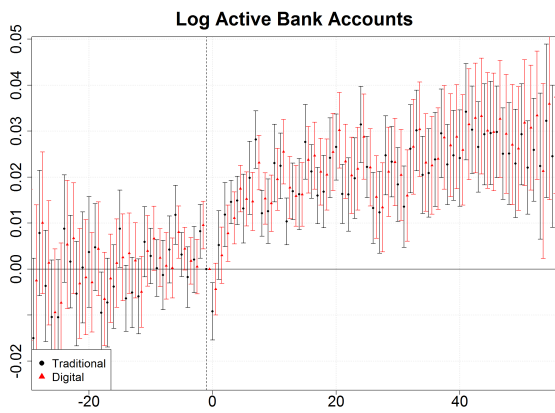
Figure 17



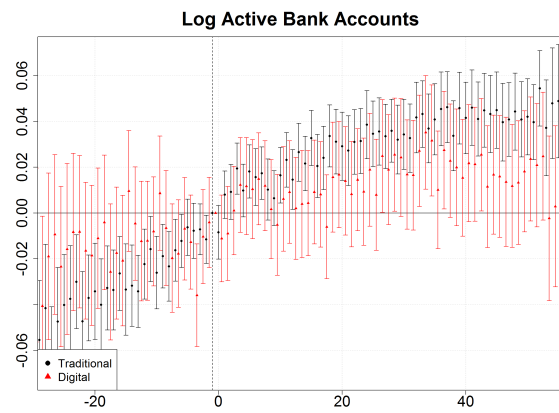
(a) People



(b) Firms



(c) People

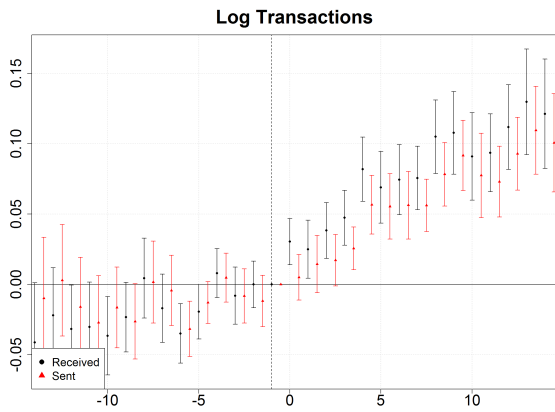


(d) Firms

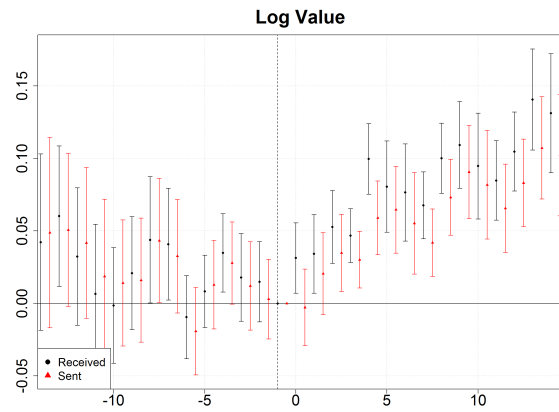
Figure 18

8.3 Robustness

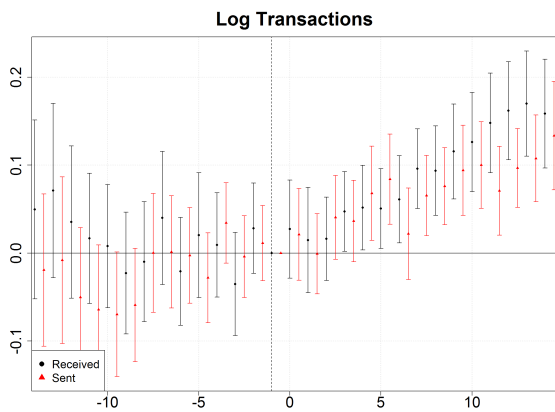
8.3.1 Pix



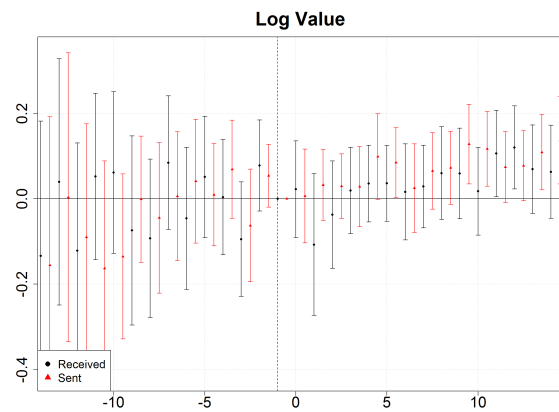
(a) People - Pix



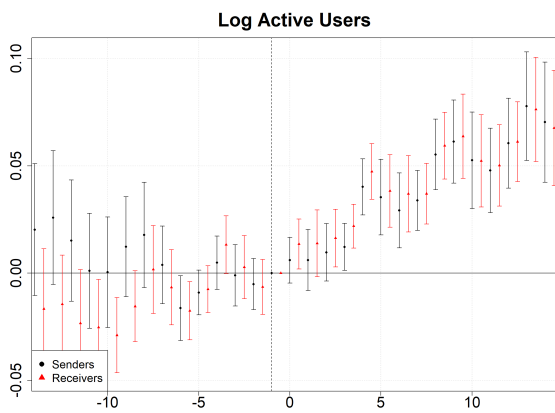
(b) People - Pix



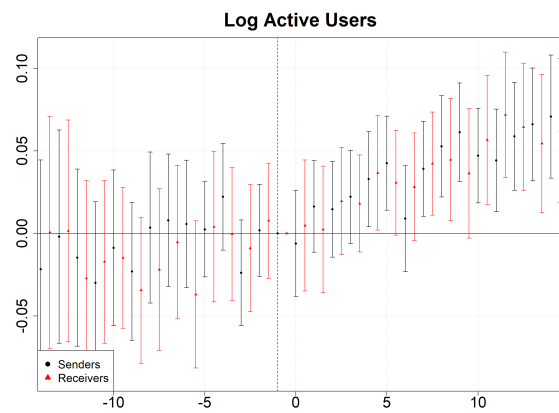
(c) Firms - Pix



(d) Firms - Pix



(e) People - Pix



(f) Firms - Pix

Figure 19: Active User is defined as 1 if that person or firm performed or received any transactions during that week. Transactions are defined as the sum of all transactions received and sent by people or firms. Value is defined as the sum of all values transacted by people or firms.

8.3.2 Payment Slip

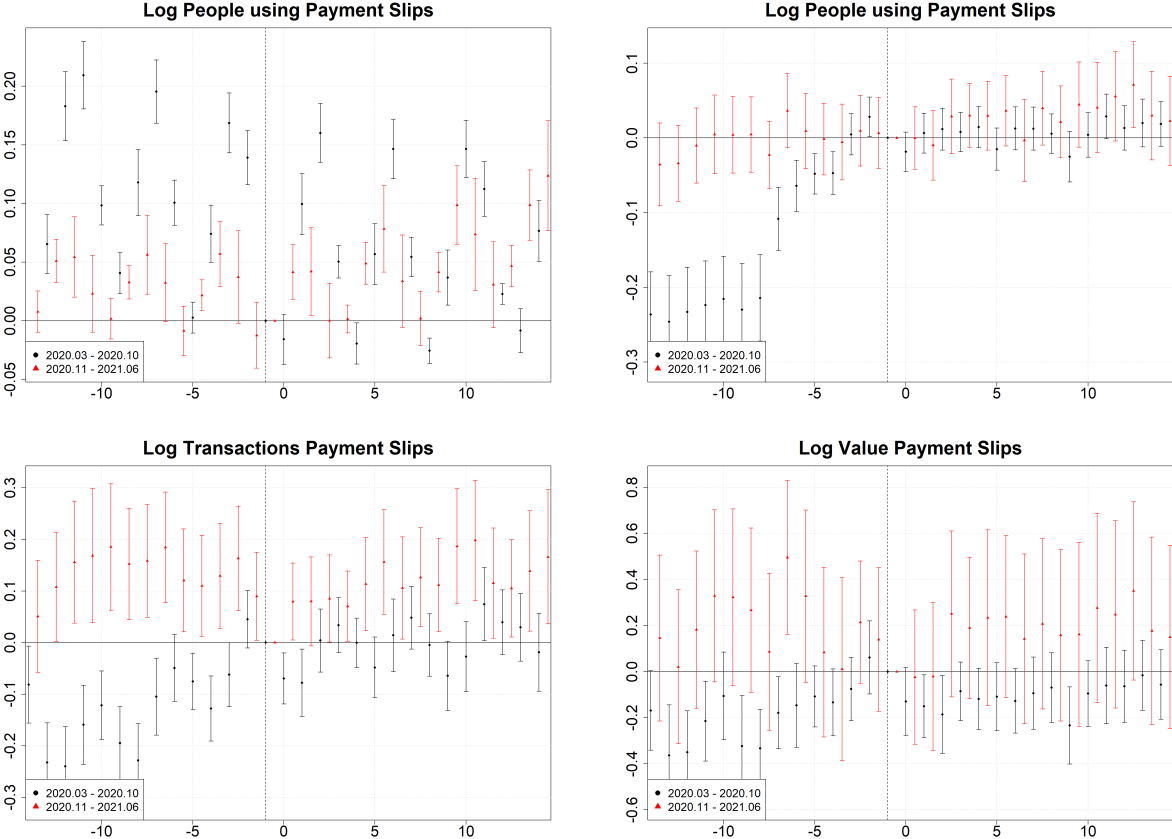


Figure 20

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS Log Pix Users (1)	Log Trans. Slip (2)	Log Value Slip (3)	IV Log Receivers Slip (4)	Log Senders Slip (5)
Flood	0.034*** (0.009)				
Log Pix Users		0.882*** (0.273)	0.852 (0.580)	0.142 (1.407)	0.185 (3.481)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	204,721	204,721	204,721	204,721	204,721
R ²	0.996	0.991	0.980	0.972	0.917

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 9

8.3.3 Bank Wire

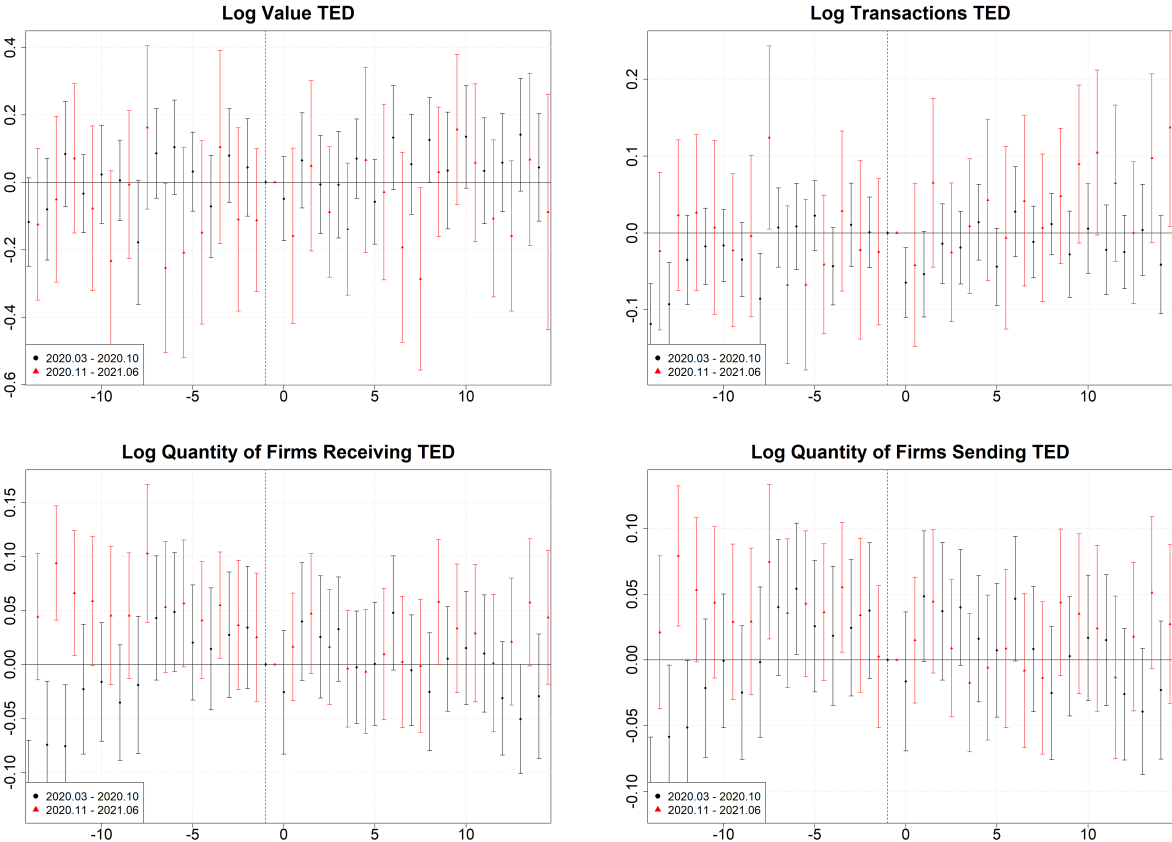


Figure 21: TED

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS			IV	
	Log Pix Users	Log Trans. Wire	Log Value Wire	Log Receivers Wire	Log Senders Wire
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Flood	0.034*** (0.009)				
Log Pix Users		1.323 (0.983)	1.501*** (0.579)	-0.990** (0.431)	-0.773** (0.385)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	201,705	204,721	204,721	201,705	201,705
R ²	0.996	0.753	0.907	0.954	0.956

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 10

8.3.4 Card Payments

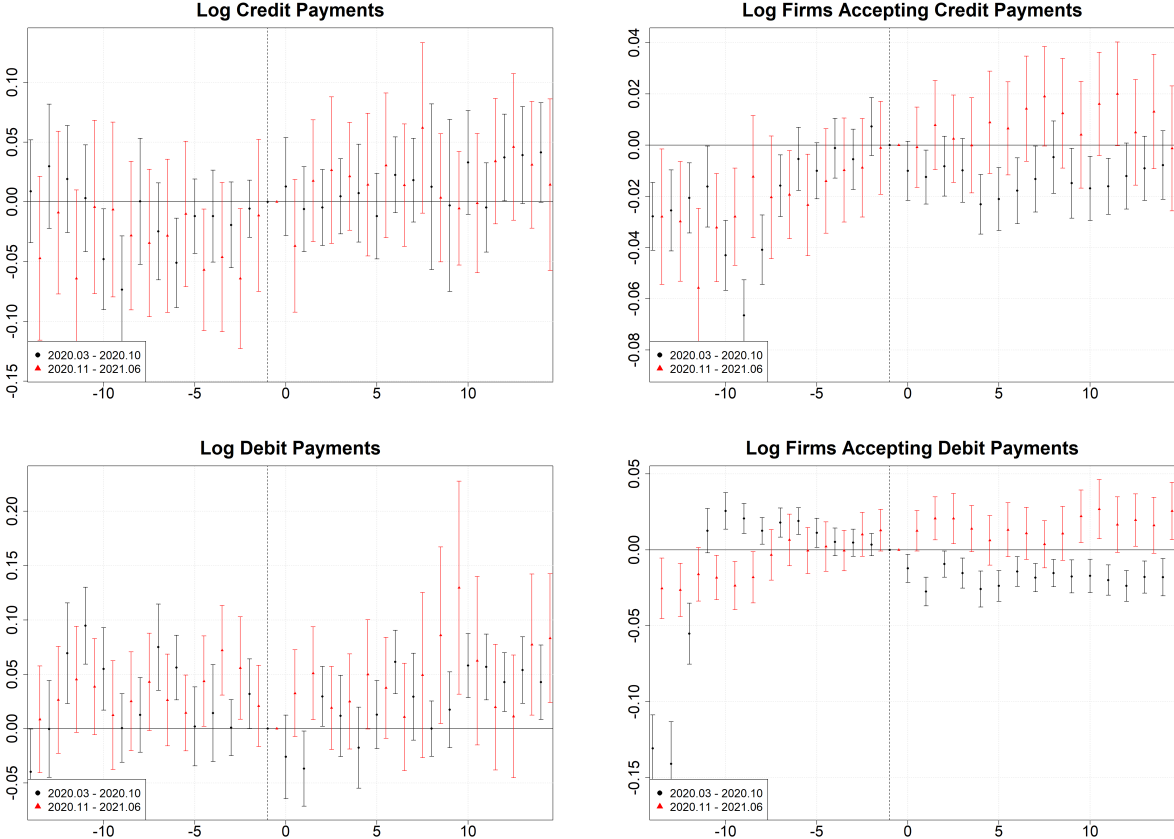


Figure 22

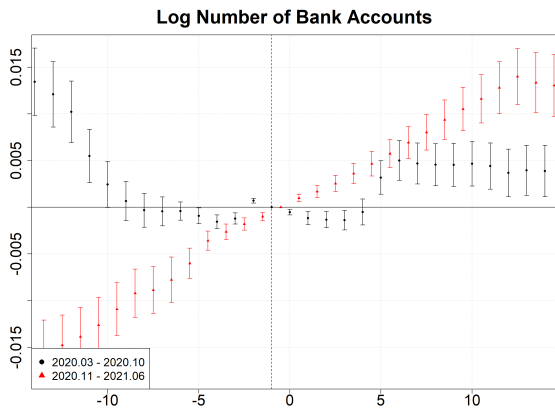
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS	IV			
	Log Pix Users	Log Value Credit	Log Credit Acceptance	Log Value Debit	Log Debit Acceptance
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Flood	0.034*** (0.009)				
Log Pix Users		0.886*** (0.282)	1.733*** (0.609)	0.768*** (0.214)	0.676* (0.397)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	204,721	204,721	204,721	204,721	204,721
R ²	0.996	0.994	0.979	0.996	0.987

Note:

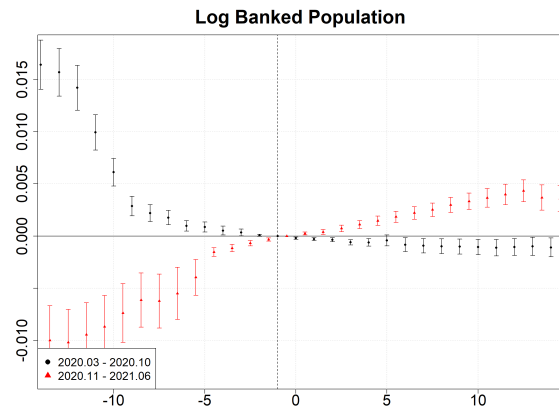
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 11

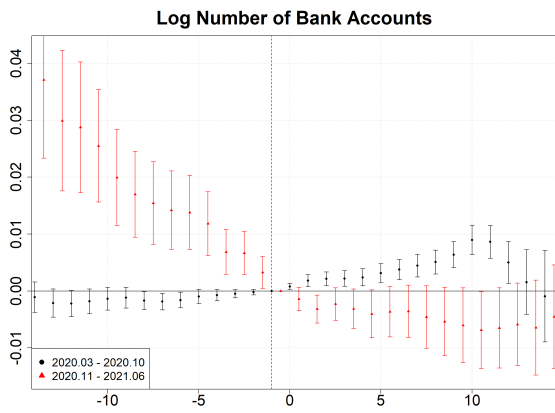
8.3.5 Bank Accounts



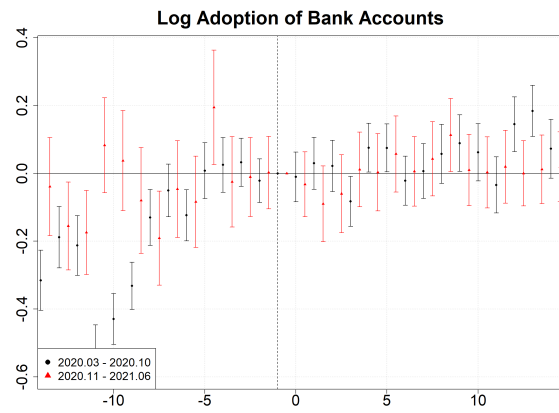
(a) Log number of Bank Accounts - People



(b) Log number of People with Bank Accounts



(c) Log number of Bank Accounts - Firms



(d) Log Adoption of Bank Accounts

Figure 23

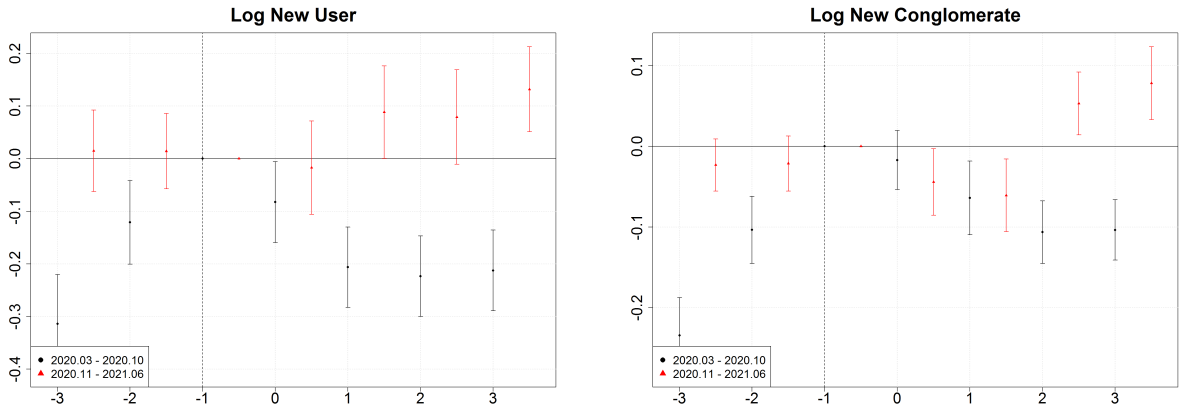
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	OLS	IV			
	Log Pix Users	Log Bank Accounts - People	Log Banked Population	Log First Account	Log Bank Accounts - Firms
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Flood	0.034*** (0.009)				
Log Pix Users		0.590*** (0.152)	0.321*** (0.083)	1.628** (0.768)	-0.767*** (0.219)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	204,721	204,721	204,721	204,721	204,721
R ²	0.996	0.998	0.999	0.803	0.997

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

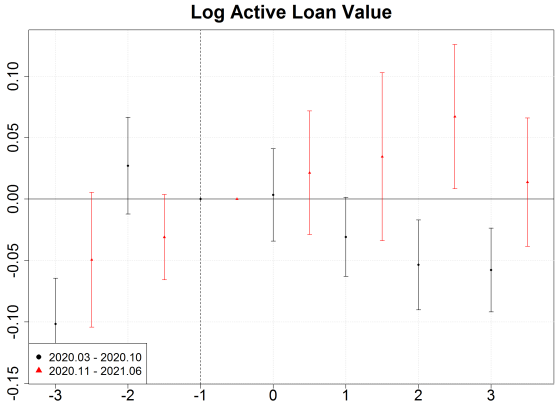
Table 12

8.3.6 Credit Relationships



(a) Log New Users

(b) Log New Conglomerate



(c) Log Active Loan Value

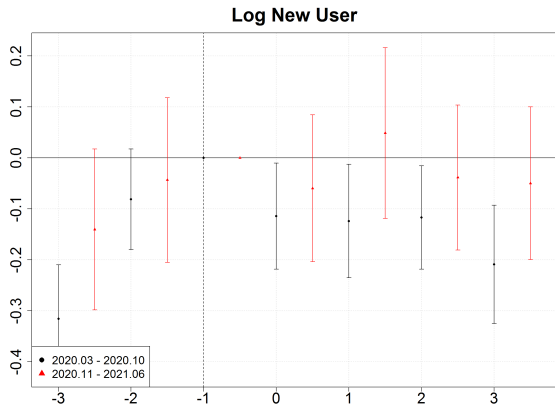
Figure 24: Credito

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	OLS	IV		
	Log Pix Users	Log Credit Adoption - People	Log Bank Adoption - People	Log Debt - People
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Flood	0.009 (0.062)			
Log Pix Users		6.111 (41.670)	3.201 (21.695)	7.494 (50.783)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	44,264	44,264	44,264	44,264
R ²	0.993	-13.936	-2.482	-17.698

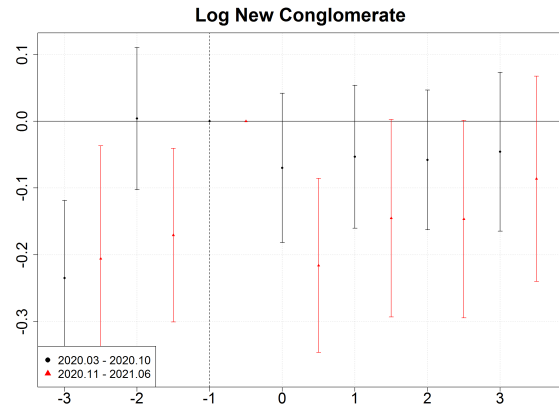
Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

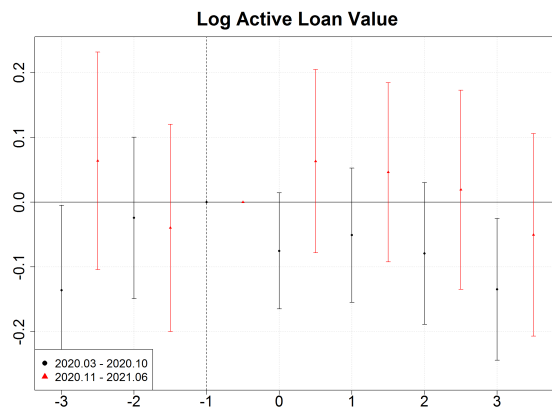
Table 13



(a) Log New Users



(b) Log New Conglomerate



(c) Log Active Loan Value

Figure 25: Credito

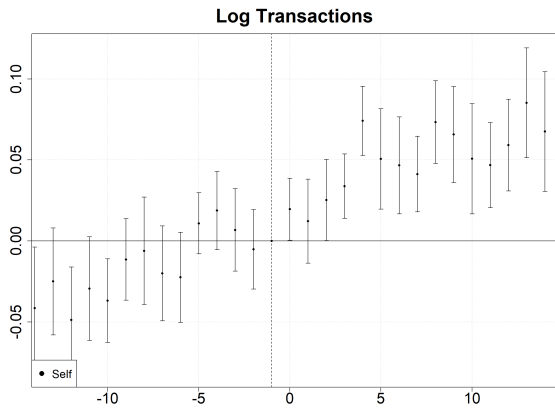
	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	OLS	IV		
	Log Pix Users	Log Credit Adoption - Firms	Log Bank Adoption - Firms	Log Debt - Firms
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Flood	0.009 (0.062)			
Log Pix Users		3.798 (26.317)	-3.621 (25.011)	2.609 (18.199)
Mun. FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time x Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	44,264	44,264	44,264	44,264
R ²	0.993	-5.746	-3.402	0.195

Note:

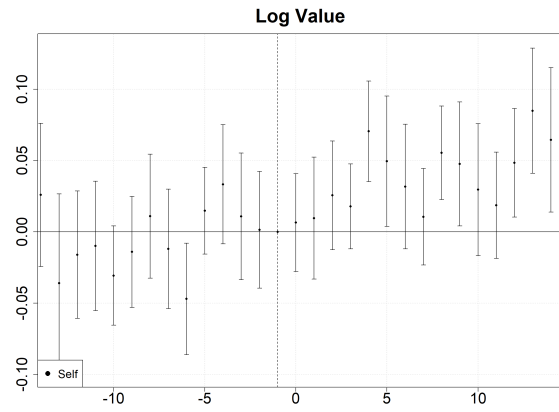
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 14

8.3.7 Self Transactions



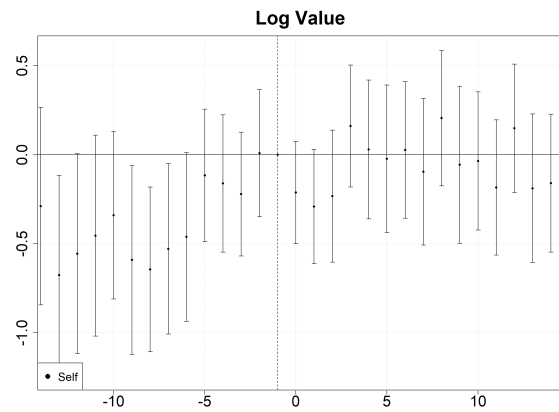
(a) Log Transactions



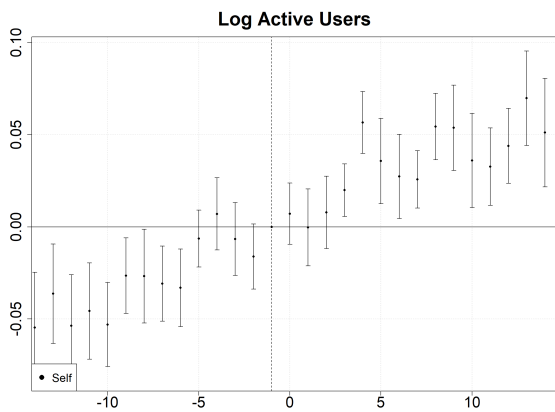
(b) Log Value



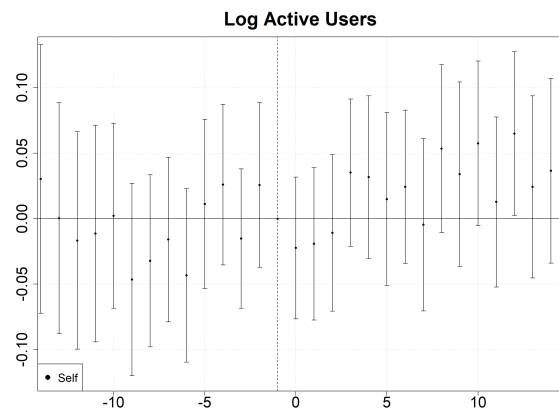
(c) Log Transactions



(d) Log Value



(e) Log Active Users



(f) Log number of Receivers

Figure 26: Self

8.3.8 Active Accounts

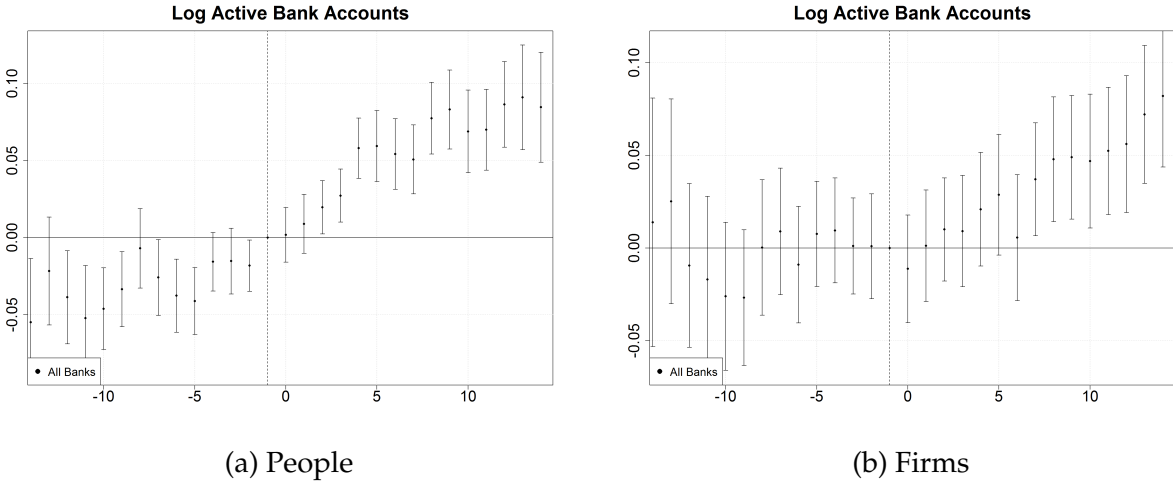


Figure 27