▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ■ ●の00

# **Centralized Governance in Decentralized Organizations**

Lin William Cong<sup>1</sup> Daniel Rabetti<sup>2</sup> Charles C.Y. Wang<sup>3</sup> Yu Yan<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cornell University, ABFER, IC3, and NBER

<sup>2</sup>National University of Singapore

<sup>3</sup>Harvard University and ECGI

May 21, 2025

# The Big Picture: Decentralization in Web3

- Why decentralize?
  - Cong & He, 2019; Chen, Cong, & Xiao, 2021
- Decentralization at Consensus Layer
   Biais et al., 2019; Rasu & Saleh, 2020; Cong, He & Li, 2021; Capponi, Olafsson & Alsabah, 2021
- Decentralization at Asset Layer
  - Cong, Tang, Wang, & Zhao 2022; Ao, Horvath, & Zhang, 2023
- Decentralization at Information Layer (blockchain oracles)
   Zhang 2022; Cong et al., 2023; Cong, Prasad & Rabetti, 2024; Cong et al., 2025
- Decentralization at Governance Layer

▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ■ ●の00

# Introduction to DAOs

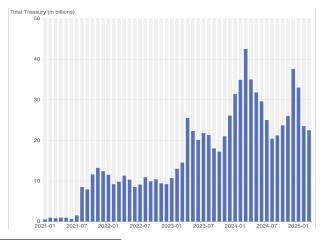
- Decentralized Autonomous Organizations (DAOs), emerging governance structure enabled by blockchain and widely adopted in DeFi/Web3.
- Decentralized: No centralized authority (management or board); direct democracy by community members.
   Autonomous: Automatic enforcement of governance rules and voting outcomes through smart contracts on the blockchain.
   Organization: A group of people with a common goal that may or may not have legal considerations.

・ロト ・ 『 ト ・ ヨ ト ・ ヨ ト

3

# Rise of Decentralized Governance

According to DeepDAO, the number of active DAOs has exceeded 10,000, with over 3.3 million active voters.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup>https://deepdao.io/organizations

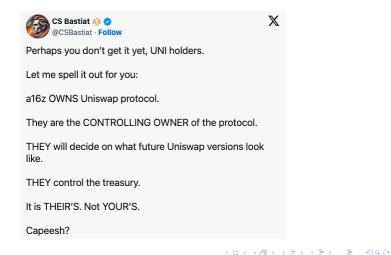
# Potential Benefits

#### Traditional firms:

- Separation of ownership and control; agency problems arise (Jensen & Meckling, 1976; Fama & Jensen, 1983).
- Small group making proposals and decide; high information asymmetry and insider trading (Jaffe, 1974).
- Large shareholders mitigate coordination issues (the free-rider problem) (Grossman & Hart, 1980; Shleifer & Vishny, 1986).
- DAOs (advocated to have decentralized governance):
  - Convergence of ownership and control: stakeholders with decision rights proportional to their ownership of governance tokens, mitigating agency problems.
  - Transparency: decisions/governance actions recorded on immutable/open blockchain, reducing info. asymmetry.
  - Simplified governance mechanism: facilitating participation of a broad spectrum of stakeholders.

# Challenges Facing DAOs

 Decentralized governance technologically possible but not a guaranteed economic reality.



### Paper in a Nutshell

#### Is DAO governance indeed decentralized?

 $\rightarrow$  No. Governance activity is often highly concentrated among a small group of actors.

Do DAOs face similar governance issues as observed in traditional firms?

 $\rightarrow$  Yes. The free-rider problem is worse in DAOs (underparticipation). Agency problem and insider trading re-emerge.

#### Are there observable economic consequences?

 $\rightarrow$  Yes. DAOs with higher level of conflicts of interest experience larger decreases in Total Value Locked (TVL) following market crashes.

Are there mechanisms for mitigating the governance issues?
 Yes. Voting designs that enhance community monitoring or limit large stakeholders' voting power offer partial remedies.

# Proposals in DAOs

- What are the proposals about? Launch of new products, modifications to protocol parameters, allocation of treasury assets, etc.
- Who come up with the proposals? Core team members, service providers, other token holders



Introduction 000000	Background & D 0●00	ata		Empirica 00000	al Results 00000000		Conclusion 00
Governance	Process						
Forum Discussion		f-chain /oting 	 	On-chain Voting	Im		
1	4 3	-7 days	<b>4 → ↓</b> 4 1-3 days	3-7 days	ч 1-14 day	/s	

Forum Discussion: A proposer posts a thread outlining the intended changes or initiatives on the community's discussion forum to gather feedback from other members.

- Off-chain Voting: In some DAOs, an initial voting round may occur off-chain using platforms like Snapshot.
- On-chain Voting: If the proposal gains sufficient preliminary support off-chain, it may move to the on-chain voting phase.
- Implementation: After a proposal achieves a quorum and receives a majority of affirmative votes to pass, it will get implemented through smart contracts on the blockchain.

▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ■ ●の00

### Data and Sample

Proposals with votes in the top quartile in a DAO whose native token is listed on CoinGecko during 2020-2024. (2988 proposals in 216 DAOs)

#### ▶ Information on DAO proposals and voting records from Snapshot

- 1. DAO info: name, token contract, proposal managers' wallet addresses
- 2. Proposal characteristics: title, timeline, voting strategy, number of votes cast, scores for each option
- 3. Voting records: addresses of voters, each voter's voting power and selected option
- Token price data from CoinMarketCap price, volume, market cap, circulating supply
- On-chain transaction data from BigQuery sender address, recipient address, transaction time, number of tokens transferred, transaction hash

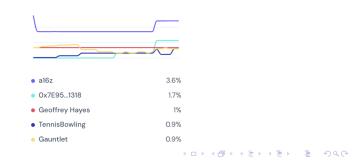
▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲ 三▶ ▲ 三▶ 三三 - のへぐ

### **Summary Statistics**

	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max
DAO Characteristics:						
Number of Proposals per DAO	216	13.833	33.313	1.000	5.000	392.000
Has Forum	216	0.458	0.499	0.000	0.000	1.000
Proposal Characteristics:						
Duration	2,988	5.306	3.226	0.000	5.000	16.000
Num of Voting Strategies	2,988	3.013	2.331	1.000	2.000	8.000
Delegation	2,988	0.388	0.487	0.000	0.000	1.000
Quadratic Voting	2,988	0.012	0.108	0.000	0.000	1.000
Num of Voters	2,988	2,369.180	27,217.686	2.000	86.000	510,523.00
Support Ratio of Winning Option	2,988	0.844	0.243	0.027	0.991	1.000
Participation Rate	2,554	0.063	0.115	0.000	0.022	0.994
Gini	2,900	0.801	0.202	0.000	0.863	0.999
Top Decile Voters (%)	2,569	0.762	0.230	0.029	0.828	1.000
Largest voter (%)	2,900	0.375	0.242	0.002	0.312	1.000
Blockvoters (%)	2,900	0.762	0.240	0.000	0.839	1.000
Top Voters%	2,569	0.762	0.230	0.029	0.828	1.000

# Stylized Facts: Centralized Governance

- Low Participation Rates: Only 6.3% of total eligible votes are cast per proposal, far below the 70%-80% participation rates in traditional firms.
- Concentrated Voting Power: The Gini coefficient for voting power distribution is 0.8. The top decile voters control 76.2% of the votes, and blockvoters (with over 5% of total votes) collectively account for 75.7%
   far exceeding the 39% stake of blockholders in public firms.
- Top voters: Core team members, institutional investors, third-party service providers, and key opinion leaders.



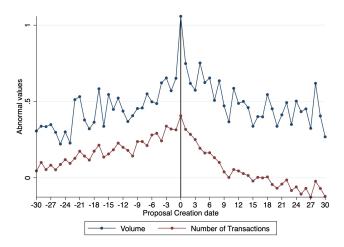
### Governance Influencers on Snapshot

- Proposal managers: Wallets listed on the settings page with granted permissions to manage the Snapshot space and proposals.
- Top Decile Voters: Wallets with voting power is in the top decile among all voters on a given proposal.

Members 🕲		Closed		
🔮 0x5d49d60d	Sector	[ARFC] Launch avve by TokenLogic	aUSDC G	SM on Ethereum
Alice	(and the second s			
💿 Oxe2d608ae	and the second se	title: [ARFC] Launch aUSI author: @karpatkey_Toke		ereum
🚳 XG17	and the second se	created: 2024-10-18		
🚳 aavelabs.oth	and the second se	Summary		
Oxed03_8622	(and the second s			
@monetsupply.eth		This publication proposes Module (GSM) and migrat		
👩 stateløyer.eth		Ethereum.		
<b>≜</b> 0x235766e6		Votes 💷		ٹ
@ 0x60c81fbf		() acieth	YAE	367K AAVE >~
aavechan.eth		A Areta	YAE	101K AAVE 2~
👧 kartojal.eth		A TokenLogic	YAE	47K AAVE 3~
		e Wintermute Governance	YAE	45K AAVE 3~
		s. StableLab	YAE	40K AAVE 3~

View al

# Abnormal Trading around Proposal Creation



◆□▶ ◆□▶ ◆三▶ ◆三▶ 三三 のへで

### Abnormal Trading: Active vs. Passive Investors

$$\begin{split} Abvol_{iptd} &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 Day[-30,-1]_{iptd} + \beta_2 VotingPeriod_{iptd} + \beta_3 Day[+1,+30]_{iptd} \\ &+ \theta' Controls_{id} + \lambda_d + \sigma_i + \epsilon_{iptd} \end{split}$$

	(1) All Investors	(2) Active Investors	(3) Passive Investors	(4) Diff.(2)-(3)
Day[-30, -1]	0.168** (0.033)	0.482*** (0.000)	0.192** (0.049)	0.290*** (0.001)
Voting period	0.176** (0.047)	0.762*** (0.000)	0.201* (0.067)	0.561*** (0.000)
Day[+1, +30]	0.224** (0.026)	0.422*** (0.001)	0.263** (0.039)	0.159*
Size	-0.022 (0.487)	-0.052 (0.281)	-0.020 (0.539)	(0.010)
Return volatility	0.019** (0.014)	0.014* (0.057)	0.019** (0.022)	
AbReturn	0.870*** (0.000)	0.720** (0.039)	0.992*** (0.001)	
Year-Month FE DAO FE Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	Yes Yes 0.101	Yes Yes 0.030	Yes Yes 0.099	
Obs.	252,331	245,075	252,156	

Active investors exhibit a more pronounced increase in trading volume before proposal creation compared to passive investors.

# Abnormal Trading by Active Investors

	(1) Proposal Managers	(2) Top Voters	(3) Bottom Voters	(4) Diff. (2)-(3)
Day[-30, -1]	0.592*	0.525***	0.179***	0.346**
Voting period	(0.087) 0.938**	(0.001) 0.802***	(0.002) 0.339***	(0.033) 0.463***
Day[+1, +30]	(0.028) 0.773	(0.000) 0.290***	(0.002) -0.071	(0.005) 0.361**
Size	(0.182) -0.579**	(0.009) -0.103	(0.355) -0.040	(0.010)
Return volatility	(0.019) 0.141***	(0.126) 0.024***	(0.330) 0.038***	
AbReturn	(0.000) 2.088**	(0.000) 0.930***	(0.000) 0.549*	
	(0.044)	(0.000)	(0.090)	
Year-Month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	
DAO FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Adj. R <sup>2</sup> Obs.	0.041 136,886	0.027 196,613	0.025 110,325	

Proposal managers and top voters are the primary contributors to the volume spike.

▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ■ ●の00

# Centralization and Insider Trading – Buy-Sell Imbalance

	Proposal	Managers	Top \	/oters
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Neg. CAR	Pos. CAR	Neg. CAR	Pos. CAR
Day[-30,-1]	-0.009	0.039**	0.125***	0.144***
	(0.544)	(0.040)	(0.003)	(0.000)
Size	-0.001	-0.023	-0.016***	-0.017***
	(0.924)	(0.220)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Return Volatility	-0.001	0.156	-0.009***	0.004
	(0.957)	(0.119)	(0.000)	(0.845)
AbReturn	-0.078	-0.109	-0.095*	-0.161***
	(0.144)	(0.172)	(0.097)	(0.007)
Year-Month FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
DAO FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.253	0.256	0.049	0.052
Obs.	6,706	8,897	25,649	31,666

- Proposal managers likely have mixed motives of insider trading and vote accumulation when trading tokens before proposal creation.
- Top voters consistently make more purchases before proposal creation regardless of a proposal's price impact, indicating their dominant incentive to accumulate voting power.

# Profitability of Trades

 $TradeProfit_{ijtd} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Day[-30, -1]_{itd} + \theta' Controls_{id} + \lambda_{ijd} + \epsilon_{ijtd}$ 

	Proposal Managers (1) (2)		Тор (3)	Voters (4)
Day[-30,-1]	0.131** (0.194)	0.095** (0.910)	-0.058 (0.035)	0.001 (0.044)
Size	(0.194)	-0.080***	(0.055)	0.059***
Return Volatility		(0.000) -0.018*		(0.000) -0.000
AbReturn		(0.064) 0.560***		(0.880) 0.242
Trade Size		(0.000) 0.092*** (0.000)		(0.143) 0.022*** (0.000)
		( )		
Investor $\times$ DAO $\times$ YearQuarter FE Adj. $\mathbb{R}^2$ Obs.	Yes 0.079 79,131	Yes 0.488 73,487	Yes 0.032 283,527	Yes 0.194 253,024

Proposal managers earn 9.5% higher market-adjusted returns when trading tokens prior to proposal creation, while top voters achieve no significant abnormal returns, further suggesting different trading motives of the two groups.

<□ > < 同 > < □ > < □ > < □ > < □ > < □ > < □ > < □ > < □ > < □ < つ < ○</p>

# DAO Characteristics and Profitability of Insider Trades

	Has F	Forum	DAO	Size		Gini	Top	Voters%
	(1) No	(2) Yes	(3) Low	(4) High	(5) Low	(6) High	(7) Low	(8) High
Day[-30, -1]	0.158*** (0.000)	0.036*** (0.000)	0.185*** (0.000)	0.002 (0.832)	-0.005 (0.713)	0.159*** (0.000)	-0.004 (0.765)	0.171*** (0.000)
Size	-0.080*** (0.000)	-0.050 (0.271)	-0.085*** (0.000)	0.003 (0.415)	-0.002 (0.902)	-0.079*** (0.000)	-0.002 (0.919)	-0.083*** (0.000)
Return volatility	-0.096 (0.516)	-0.006 (0.131)	-0.204*** (0.000)	-0.725	-0.006 (0.958)	-0.013** (0.013)	0.001 (0.994)	-0.169 (0.118)
AbReturn	-0.627*** (0.000)	-0.077*** (0.000)	-0.661*** (0.000)	-0.035 (0.363)	-0.009 (0.705)	-0.659*** (0.000)	-0.014 (0.392)	-0.648*** (0.000)
Trade Size	(0.000) 0.026 (0.802)	(0.000) 0.089*** (0.000)	(0.000) 0.159*** (0.000)	(0.363) -0.025 (0.593)	(0.705) 0.033* (0.084)	(0.000) 0.072 (0.166)	(0.392) -0.076 (0.187)	(0.000) 0.104 (0.170)
Investor $\times$ DAO								
× YearQuarter FE Adj. R <sup>2</sup> Obs.	Yes 0.531 44,009	Yes 0.338 29,242	Yes 0.554 41,849	Yes 0.111 4,330	Yes 0.138 5,318	Yes 0.540 44,069	Yes 0.138 4,050	Yes 0.541 44,104

Insider trading is more profitable in small DAOs with opaque information environment and concentrated voting power.

# Effects of Voting Designs

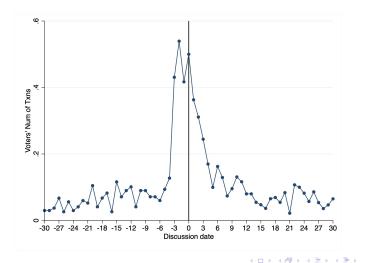
	Dele	ation	Quadratic Voting		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Day[-30, -1]	0.097**	-0.012	0.095**	0.005	
	(0.042)	(0.166)	(0.045)	(0.949)	
Size	-0.080***	0.003	–Ò.080***	0.003	
	(0.000)	(0.762)	(0.000)	(0.777)	
Return volatility	-0.016*	–0.072***	-0.015*	–0.071***	
	(0.051)	(0.000)	(0.051)	(0.000)	
AbReturn	-0.563***	-0.176***	-0.562***	-0.179***	
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	
Trade Size	0.093***	0.136***	0.092***	0.137***	
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	
Investor $ imes$ DAO $ imes$ YearQuarter FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Adj. $R^2$	0.492	0.587	0.491	0.589	
Obs.	70,547	29,536	73,180	26,905	

Delegation improves the monitoring of blockvoters by community members.

- Quadratic voting reduces the influence of blockvoters on voting outcomes.
- Both strategies effectively reduce the profitability of insider trading.

# Insider Trading of External Tokens

Unique setting of lending protocols: Values of external tokens are influenced by proposals, but these tokens do not confer any voting power.

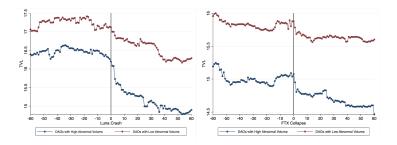


= 900

▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ ▲□▶ □ のQで

### Consequences of Conflicts of Interest

How Total Value Locked (TVL) of DAOs with varying levels of conflicts of interest changes during two market-wide adverse shocks: the Terra-Luna crash and the FTX collapse.



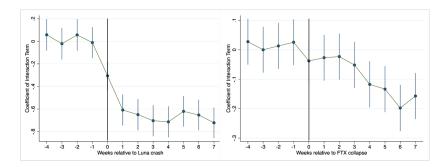
# Effect of Negative Shocks on DAOs' TVL

 $\begin{aligned} \ln(TVL_{ijt}) &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 Treatment_{ij} \times Post_t + \beta_2 Treatment_{ij} + \beta_3 Post_t \\ &+ \theta' Controls_{ijt} + \lambda_j + \epsilon_{ijt} \end{aligned}$ 

	(1) Luna	(2) FTX
$Treatment\timesPost$	-0.189**	-0.446***
Treatment	(0.025) 0.628***	(0.000) 0.255***
Post	(0.000) -0.701***	(0.002) 0.065
Num of Chains	(0.000) 0.242***	(0.376) 0.167***
Size	(0.000) 0.177***	(0.000) 0.095***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Return	-0.459* (0.082)	-0.303 (0.489)
Industry FE	Yes	Yes
Adj. R <sup>2</sup> Obs.	0.496 8,984	0.213 11,088

DAOs with higher conflicts of interest experience significantly larger decreases in TVL following the two market shocks, as investors may perceive these DAOs as having greater exposure to governance risk.

#### Dynamic Effects of Luna/FTX Crash



- No significant pre-shock trends, consistent with the parallel trend assumption.
- The adverse effects begin immediately after the Luna crash and four weeks after the FTX collapse, persisting throughout the sample period.

#### Contribution

#### Corporate governance and shareholder voting

- 1. Examine governance issues in a novel organizational form, including free-rider problem (Grossman & Hart, 1980; Shleifer & Vishny, 1986), agency problem (Jensen & Meckling, 1976; Fama & Jensen, 1983), insider trading (Jaffe, 1974), adding to the decades-long debate on efficient corporate governance design.
- Leveraging the transparency of blockchain data, we match investors' trading activity with their voting behavior in DAOs, providing direct evidence of vote trading (Bethel et al., 2009; Christoffersen et al., 2007).

#### Insider trading in corporations

1. Extends insider trading literature (Cohen et al., 2012; Dechow et al., 2016; Blackburne et al., 2021) by analyzing this phenomenon in the novel context of DAOs, highlighting the issue of insider trading in decentralized governance.

#### Blockchain-based governance

- Emerging studies on promises and challenges of DAOs (Appel & Grennan, 2023; Fritsch et al., 2024; Jiang & Li, 2024; Han et al., 2023).
- Adding to broader discussions on economic tensions of decentralization in Web3. (Cong & He, 2019; Cong, He, & Li, 2021; Cong et al., 2022; Cong et al., 2025; Sockin & Xiong, 2023; Ferreira & Li, 2024).

# Conclusion

- 1. Governance in DAOs is highly centralized, with low participation rates (6.3%) and the top 10% of voters controlling 76.2% of the voting power.
- 2. Governance influencers, including proposal managers and top voters, accumulate voting power through token trading before proposals.
- Proposal managers engage in profitable insider trading, earning an average market-adjusted return of 9.5%; profitability more pronounced in small DAOs (opaque info. environment & high voting concentration).
- 4. Voting designs that enhance community monitoring or limit large stakeholders' voting power can partially mitigate insider trading.
- 5. DAOs with higher levels of conflicts of interest experience larger declines in Total Value Locked (TVL) following adverse market shocks.
- 6. DAOs currently do not solve the governance problems of traditional firms; better design and regulation needed.