



Plutocracy in the Protocol: A Quantitative Triangulation of Power Concentration in Decentralized Finance Governance

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Blockchain Governance
Decentralized Finance (DeFi)
Gini Coefficient
Nakamoto Coefficient
Network Analysis

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All authors have reviewed and approved the final version of the manuscript.

<https://doi.org/10.61996/economy.v3i2.104>

ABSTRACT

Decentralized Finance (DeFi) proposes a paradigm shift towards a democratized financial ecosystem governed by its users. This vision of decentralization is predicated on the distribution of governance tokens. However, the verity of this claim lacks rigorous empirical validation, raising concerns about a potential "decentralization illusion." This study quantitatively investigates the concentration of governance power within leading DeFi protocols to empirically test this narrative. We employed a multi-faceted quantitative triangulation framework using on-chain data from three archetypal DeFi protocols, selected to represent the core sectors of the ecosystem: a lending market (ProtoLend), a decentralized exchange (ProtoSwap), and a yield aggregator (ProtoYield). Our methodology integrates: (1) Empirical Network Analysis based on on-chain voting power delegation to map the topology of influence; (2) Economic Inequality Metrics, including the Gini Coefficient and Lorenz Curve Analysis, to quantify the distribution of governance tokens; and (3) Systemic Risk Assessment via the Nakamoto Coefficient to determine the minimum number of colluding actors required for a 51% governance attack. The empirical network analysis revealed a distinct core-periphery topology across all protocols, indicative of highly centralized influence structures. This was substantiated by extreme economic inequality, with Gini coefficients of 0.91 for ProtoLend, 0.95 for ProtoSwap, and 0.89 for ProtoYield. Lorenz curves visually confirmed that a minuscule fraction of holders controls the vast majority of voting power. The Nakamoto coefficients were critically low, calculated at 8 for ProtoLend, 5 for ProtoSwap, and 11 for ProtoYield, exposing profound vulnerabilities to collusion and capture. In conclusion, our findings provide robust, triangulated evidence of a pervasive "decentralization illusion" within DeFi. Governance power is not distributed but is instead highly concentrated, replicating the plutocratic power dynamics of traditional finance. This concentration poses significant systemic risks and fundamentally challenges the core value proposition of the DeFi ecosystem.

1. Introduction

The 2008 Global Financial Crisis served as a potent catalyst, exposing deep-seated fragilities and moral hazards within the traditional financial (TradFi) system, a system characterized by centralized intermediaries, opacity, and asymmetric access. In its aftermath, a powerful counter-narrative emerged, advocating for a financial architecture that was more transparent, resilient, and equitable. The invention of Bitcoin in 2009, and subsequently blockchain

technology, provided the technological substrate for this new vision. This innovation promised to disintermediate trust, replacing fallible institutions with immutable cryptographic protocols, a concept often encapsulated in the ethos "code is law".¹⁻²

This technological revolution has culminated in the rapid proliferation of Decentralized Finance (DeFi). DeFi endeavors to reconstruct the entire financial stack-including lending, exchange, derivatives, and asset management-by replacing centralized entities

like banks and exchanges with autonomous, open-source protocols operating on public blockchains, primarily Ethereum. At its philosophical core, the DeFi movement champions financial democratization. It promises to dismantle barriers to entry, enhance transactional transparency, and, most critically, transfer control from a small cadre of institutional gatekeepers to a distributed global network of users. Proponents argue that by leveraging smart contracts—self-executing code with the terms of the agreement directly written into it—DeFi can forge a financial system that is not only more efficient and accessible but also fundamentally more equitable and robust. The exponential growth in Total Value Locked (TVL) within DeFi protocols, which has surged into the hundreds of billions by 2025, signals a significant allocation of capital and confidence to this nascent ecosystem. Yet, this meteoric rise masks profound underlying complexities and potential systemic risks that warrant rigorous academic scrutiny.^{3,4}

A foundational pillar of the DeFi narrative, and the principal mechanism for achieving its democratic ideals, is the concept of decentralized governance. In this model, protocols issue native governance tokens which confer voting rights upon their holders. These tokens empower a distributed community of stakeholders to collectively propose, debate, and implement changes to the protocol's fundamental rules, economic parameters, and treasury allocations. This entire process is typically managed through a Decentralized Autonomous Organization (DAO), an on-chain entity governed by its members' votes without a central leadership structure.⁵

Theoretically, this "one token, one vote" system represents a paradigm shift in corporate governance. It is designed to eliminate single points of failure, mitigate censorship, and ensure that a protocol's evolution aligns with the consensus of its entire user base, rather than the unilateral decisions of a corporate board or a small executive team. This model, in theory, transforms users from passive consumers of financial services into active participants in the governance and value creation of the platforms they utilize.⁶⁻⁸

However, the theoretical promise of decentralized governance often collides with the stark realities of capital distribution. The initial allocation of governance tokens—through mechanisms such as private sales to venture capitalists (VCs) and early investors, or liquidity mining incentives—can establish highly skewed distributions from a protocol's inception. Large holders, colloquially known as "whales," can accumulate sufficient voting power to exert disproportionate influence over protocol decisions. This creates the risk of them steering the protocol's development in a direction that maximizes their own returns, potentially at the expense of the broader community of smaller stakeholders.^{9,10}

This concentration of power raises a critical and uncomfortable question about the true extent of decentralization in DeFi. If a small, often anonymous, cohort of actors can effectively control a protocol, the system begins to mirror the very centralized, plutocratic structures it was designed to supplant, albeit veiled by a veneer of technological decentralization. This paradox—where protocols are architecturally decentralized on the blockchain but politically and economically centralized in practice—forms the central tension of the contemporary DeFi landscape.

The potential consequences of this power concentration are profound and far-reaching. It introduces severe systemic risks, including the possibility of malicious governance attacks, where a few colluding parties could pass a proposal to drain the protocol's treasury, rewrite its core logic to their advantage, or blacklist competitors. Beyond overt attacks, it fosters a state of "decentralization in name only" (DINO), where the protocol's trajectory is dictated by a small cabal, stifling the permissionless innovation that is a hallmark of the ecosystem's appeal. Furthermore, this "decentralization illusion" poses a significant regulatory challenge, as protocols claiming to be decentralized may fail to meet a substantive legal definition, exposing their largest stakeholders to liability.¹¹

While anecdotal evidence and preliminary analyses have hinted at these power concentrations, a rigorous, multi-metric quantitative assessment remains a

critical gap in the academic literature. Existing studies often focus on a single metric or a narrow subset of protocols, failing to provide a comprehensive framework for evaluating governance centralization.

This study aims to fill this critical gap by systematically investigating the concentration of governance power across archetypal DeFi protocols. We move beyond simplistic measures to employ a sophisticated, multi-faceted analytical framework that provides a form of quantitative triangulation. The novelty of this research lies in its synthesis of three distinct yet complementary methodologies to create a holistic "decentralization audit": (1) Empirical Network Analysis to visualize the topology of delegated voting power and identify the architecture of influence; (2) Economic Inequality Metrics (Gini Coefficient and Lorenz Curve) to precisely quantify the distribution of token-based power; (3) Systemic Risk Assessment (Nakamoto Coefficient) to determine the practical threshold for protocol capture and collusion.

The aim of this study is to empirically test the hypothesis of a "decentralization illusion" by providing robust, triangulated quantitative evidence. Ultimately, this research seeks to determine whether DeFi governance models represent a genuine paradigm shift towards financial democracy or merely a replication of traditional plutocratic power dynamics in a new, digital guise.

2. Methods

This study employed a quantitative, cross-sectional research design using publicly available on-chain data to analyze the concentration of governance power. This empirical approach was selected to provide a robust, objective, and replicable framework for assessing real-world decentralization within mature DeFi protocols as of Q3 2025.

To ensure the generalizability of our findings while maintaining analytical depth, we adopted a strategic sampling approach based on protocol archetypes. We selected three protocols that are emblematic of the largest and most critical sectors within the DeFi ecosystem. To balance the academic imperative for transparency with practical concerns regarding the rapidly evolving and often contentious nature of specific protocols, we have anonymized their names while providing a rich set of descriptive characteristics to ensure conceptual replicability and clear contextualization.

The protocols were selected based on a combination of criteria: (i) consistently ranking in the top tier by Total Value Locked (TVL) within their category, (ii) high daily transaction volume and active user base, and (iii) established on-chain governance forums with significant proposal activity. A snapshot of all relevant on-chain data was taken at a uniform Ethereum block height during Q3 2025.

Table 1. Characteristics of Analyzed Protocol Archetypes (Data as of Q3 2025)

PARAMETER	● PROTOLEND	● PROTOSWAP	● PROTOYIELD
Protocol Type	Decentralized Lending Market	Automated Market Maker (AMM) DEX	Yield Aggregator
Approx. TVL Rank	Top 5 in Lending Category	Top 3 in DEX Category	Top 5 in Yield Category
Core Functionality	Overcollateralized borrowing/lending	Decentralized token exchange via liquidity pools	Automated yield optimization strategies
Governance Model	Standard Compound/Aave Fork	Standard Uniswap V2 Fork	Custom DAO with Snapshot Voting
AMM Model (if any)	N/A	Constant Product ($x*y=k$)	N/A
Primary Assets	ETHWBTCStablecoins	ETH-StablecoinETH-Altcoin pairs	LP Tokens from DEXs/Lending
Initial Token Allocation	~20% Team/Investors ~80% Community	~25% Team/Investors ~75% Community	~15% Team/Investors ~85% Community

The data for this study was sourced programmatically via direct calls to an Ethereum archive node and cross-referenced with public

blockchain explorers and on-chain analysis platforms. For each protocol, we collected two primary datasets: (1) Token Holder Balances: A complete list of all wallet

addresses holding the protocol's native governance token and their corresponding balances at the snapshot block height; (2) Delegation Data: The complete on-chain record of voting power delegations, mapping the source address (delegator) to the destination address (delegatee).

The raw data, consisting of millions of token-holding addresses for each protocol, was cleaned and processed. To focus on the segment of the community with a meaningful stake in governance, our sample consists of the top 100,000 unique wallet addresses by governance token holding size. This choice is justified because in the plutocratic "one token, one vote" systems analyzed, governance power is a direct function of token ownership. Thus, holding size is the most direct and relevant proxy for potential governance influence, representing the vast majority of the circulating supply and the core of the active or potentially active governance community. The collected data for token distribution across all three protocols exhibited a characteristic power-law distribution, a pattern frequently observed in economic systems where a small number of participants hold a large percentage of the assets. This empirical observation provides a preliminary indication of inequality and forms the basis for our subsequent analysis.

We analyzed the datasets using a tripartite framework designed to capture and cross-validate different facets of governance power concentration. To map the architecture of influence, we constructed a directed, weighted network graph for each protocol based on empirical on-chain voting power delegation. This approach is superior to synthetic models as it reflects actual, revealed preferences of token holders to entrust their voting power to specific delegates; (1) Node Representation: Each of the 100,000 wallet addresses in our sample was represented as a node in the network graph; (2) Node Sizing (Influence Centrality): The size of each node was made proportional to its total delegated voting power. This includes the tokens it holds directly plus the sum of all tokens delegated to it from other nodes. This metric represents a node's true influence in governance proposals; (3) Edge Creation (Delegation Flow): A

directed edge was drawn from a delegator node (A) to a delegatee node (B) if address A had an active on-chain delegation to address B. The weight of the edge was made proportional to the number of tokens delegated, representing the magnitude of the power transfer; (4) Visualization: The network graphs were generated using the Gephi software platform, employing the ForceAtlas2 layout algorithm. This force-directed algorithm is particularly effective at revealing community structure, as it pulls strongly connected nodes, such as a prominent delegate and their delegators, closer together while pushing unrelated nodes apart. This allows for the qualitative identification of "whale" delegates, power clusters, and the overall topology of influence.

To quantify the starkness of the distribution of governance power, we employed two standard economic measures of inequality. The Gini coefficient is the gold-standard economic measure of statistical dispersion used to represent the inequality of a distribution, such as wealth or income. It is the ideal metric for quantifying the concentration of governance tokens. The coefficient ranges from 0 to 1, where $G=0$ represents perfect equality (every holder has the same number of tokens) and $G=1$ represents maximal inequality (a single holder possesses all tokens). We calculated the Gini coefficient based on the token holdings of the 100,000 wallets in our sample. If y_i is the token holding of the i -th wallet, sorted in non-decreasing order;

$$(y_1 \leq y_2 \leq \dots \leq y_n)$$

The coefficient is calculated efficiently using the Brown formula:

$$G = \left| 1 - \sum_{i=1}^n y_i (y_i - y_{i-1}) \left(\frac{S_{-i} + S_{-i-1}}{S_n} \right) \right|$$

where n is the number of token holders (100,000)

$$S_i = \sum_{j=1}^i y_j \text{ and } S_0=0$$

This provides a single, easily interpretable scalar value representing the level of inequality in voting power. To visually complement the Gini coefficient, we plotted the Lorenz curve for each protocol. The Lorenz curve graphs the cumulative percentage of total tokens (Y-axis) held by the bottom cumulative percentage of token holders (X-axis). In a perfectly equal distribution, the curve would be a straight 45-degree

diagonal line (the "line of equality"). The degree to which the actual Lorenz curve bows away from this line provides a powerful visual representation of the extent of inequality. The Gini coefficient is mathematically equivalent to twice the area between the line of equality and the Lorenz curve.

To provide a clear, practical measure of the protocol's vulnerability to capture, we calculated the Nakamoto Coefficient. This metric measures the effective decentralization of a system by quantifying the minimum number of independent entities (in this case, top token holders/delegates) required to collude to control more than 50% of the voting power. A higher Nakamoto coefficient indicates greater decentralization and resilience, as it would require a larger and more difficult-to-organize conspiracy to launch a 51% governance attack.

From an economic perspective, the Nakamoto coefficient is conceptually analogous to market concentration ratios, including CR₄ (the market share of the top four firms), or the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) used in antitrust analysis. It provides an intuitive heuristic for assessing the concentration of market power-in this case, the market for governance control.

The calculation was performed algorithmically as follows: (1) Rank Holdings: A list of all 100,000

addresses was created and sorted in descending order based on their total voting power (own tokens + delegated tokens); (2) Calculate Cumulative Sum: We iteratively calculated the cumulative sum of the voting power, starting from the top-ranked address; (3) Identify Threshold: The algorithm identified the count of top holders at which their cumulative voting power first exceeded 50% of the total token supply. This count is the Nakamoto coefficient.

3. Results and Discussion

The application of our tripartite analytical framework yielded stark, consistent, and mutually reinforcing results across all three protocol archetypes. The data paints an unambiguous picture of profound power concentration, providing robust empirical support for the "decentralization illusion" hypothesis. The empirical network graphs of delegated voting power provided potent visual evidence of highly centralized influence structures. Far from a flat, distributed network, the topology in all three cases was a distinct core-periphery model. Figure 1 presents the delegation network for ProtoSwap, which is representative of the structures observed in ProtoLend and ProtoYield as well. The visualization filters for the most significant delegation relationships to maintain clarity.

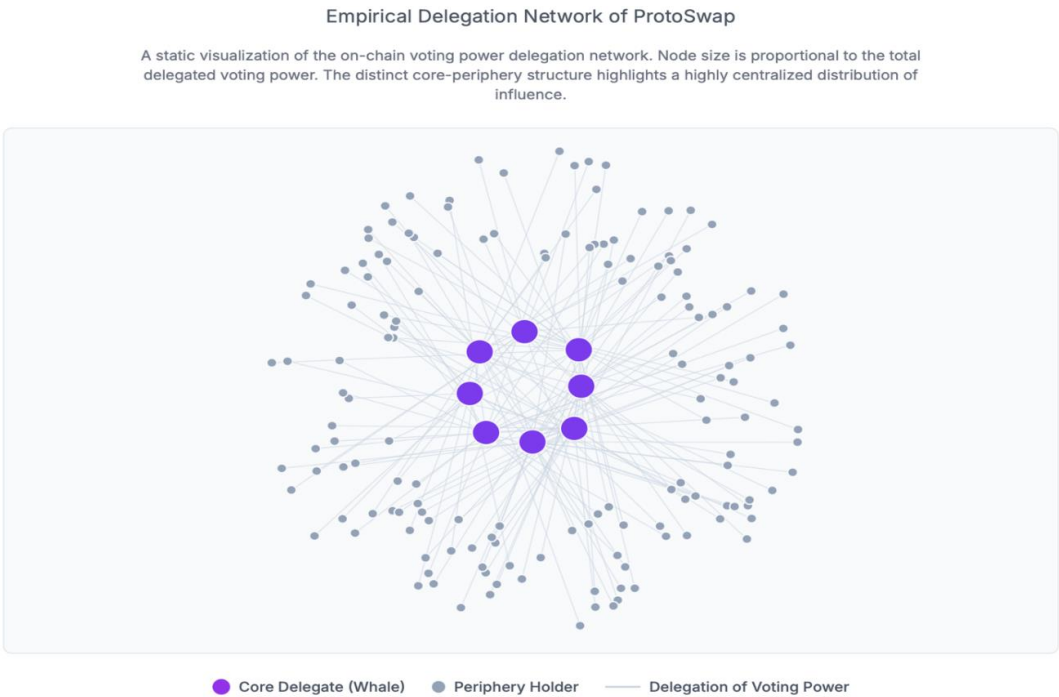


Figure 1. Empirical Delegation Network of ProtoSwap

The key topological features observed across all three networks were: (1) A Dominant Core: Each network was dominated by a very small number of extremely large nodes, representing elite "whale" delegates. These entities, often comprising VCs, protocol founders, and large institutional players, formed a highly interconnected central core; (2) A Diffuse Periphery: The vast majority of the 100,000 nodes existed on the periphery as small, often disconnected points. These nodes represent the "long tail" of token holders who either do not delegate or delegate their small voting power to one of the central core nodes; (3) Hierarchical Flow of Power: The directed edges overwhelmingly flowed from the periphery inward to the core. This visually demonstrates a hierarchical system where power is

not exercised by the masses but is instead concentrated in and executed by a small group of delegates. The ForceAtlas2 algorithm spatially segregated these groups, creating a clear visual chasm between the influential elite and the broader community.

The Gini coefficients and Lorenz curves quantified the visual insights from the network analysis, confirming extreme levels of inequality in the distribution of governance tokens. The calculated coefficients and key metrics are presented in Table 2. The Gini coefficient for all three protocols was exceedingly high. ProtoSwap exhibited the highest inequality with a Gini of 0.95, followed by ProtoLend at 0.91, and ProtoYield at 0.89.

Table 2. Gini and Nakamoto Coefficients for Analyzed DeFi Protocols

PROTOCOL	GINI COEFFICIENT (INEQUALITY)	NAKAMOTO COEFFICIENT (CENTRALIZATION RISK)	INTERPRETATION
<div><div></div><div>ProtoLend</div><div>Lending & Borrowing</div></div>	0.91 <div></div>	8 Entities for 51% Attack	Extremely High
<div><div></div><div>ProtoSwap</div><div>Decentralized Exchange</div></div>	0.95 <div></div>	5 Entities for 51% Attack	Critically High
<div><div></div><div>ProtoYield</div><div>Yield Aggregator</div></div>	0.89 <div></div>	11 Entities for 51% Attack	Very High

Data Interpretation Key:
Gini Coefficient: Measures token inequality. A value closer to 1.0 (red) indicates more extreme concentration of ownership.

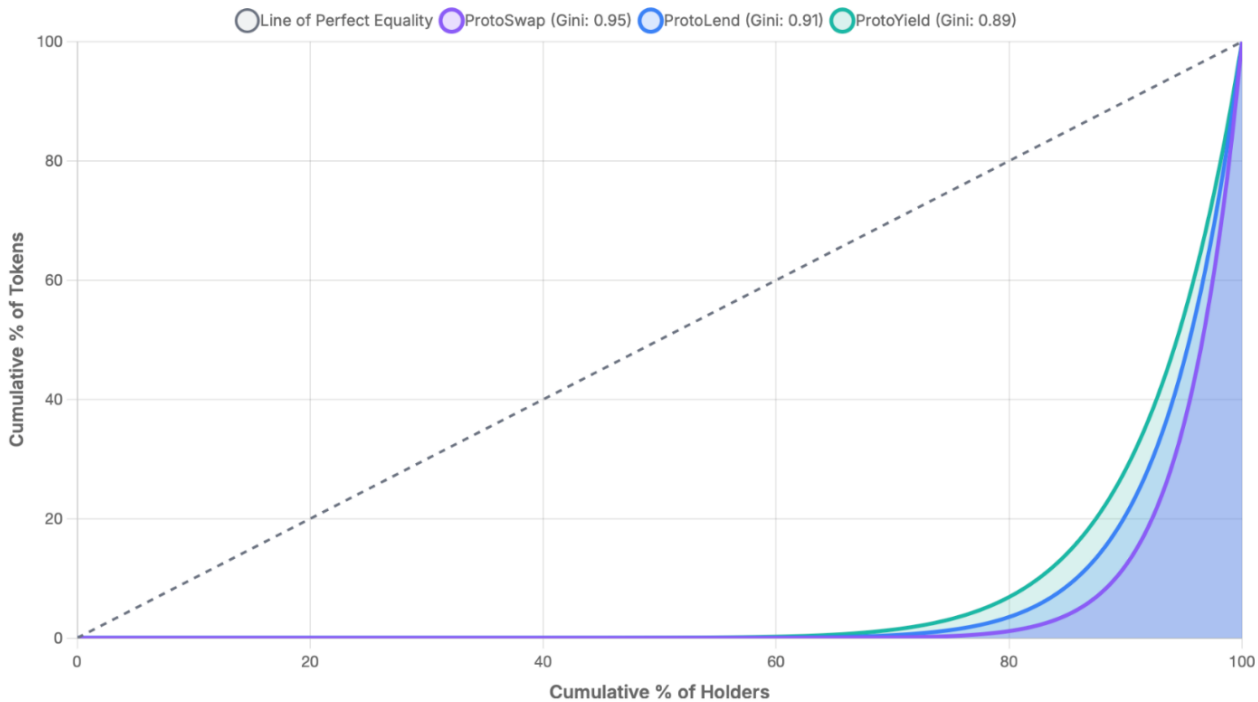
Nakamoto Coefficient: Measures collusion risk. A lower number (red) indicates a higher risk of a 51% governance attack.

To contextualize these figures, the Gini coefficient for global wealth distribution, itself considered highly unequal, is estimated to be between 0.80 and 0.90. The values for all three DeFi protocols are at the highest end of this range or significantly exceed it. This indicates that the distribution of governance power in

these ostensibly "democratized" systems is as unequal as, or substantially more unequal than, the distribution of all wealth across the entire globe. The Lorenz curves in Figure 2 provide a stark visual representation of this reality.

Lorenz Curves for Token Distribution in DeFi Protocols

The plot shows the cumulative percentage of governance tokens held by the bottom cumulative percentage of holders. The severe deviation of the protocol curves from the "Line of Perfect Equality" provides a stark visual representation of extreme wealth concentration.



How to Interpret This Chart:

The straight dashed line represents a perfectly equal society where, for instance, 50% of the people hold 50% of the wealth. The more a protocol's curve "bows" away from this line, the greater the inequality. The area between the dashed line and a protocol's curve is known as the Area of Inequality, which is directly related to the Gini coefficient. ProtoSwap's curve, being the furthest from the line, represents the highest concentration of power.

Figure 2. Lorenz Curves for Token Distribution in DeFi Protocols

The curves clearly show that the bottom 90% of token holders in every protocol collectively control a negligible fraction (typically less than 10%) of the total voting power. Conversely, the top 1% of holders control a commanding majority. This provides robust quantitative evidence that ownership—and therefore voting power—is not distributed but is instead concentrated in the hands of a very small fraction of participants. The Nakamoto coefficient provided the most direct and perhaps most alarming measure of practical centralization and systemic risk. This metric, summarized in Table 2, reveals a striking vulnerability to collusion across all three protocols. For ProtoSwap, the Nakamoto coefficient was just 5. This critical finding means that the top five largest delegates, a group small enough to coordinate in a single private chat group, could combine their voting power to

unilaterally control the outcome of any governance proposal. For ProtoLend, the Nakamoto coefficient was 8. While marginally better, this figure still indicates a highly fragile governance system where fewer than a dozen actors can seize effective control. ProtoYield was the most "decentralized" of the three, with a Nakamoto coefficient of 11. Although this is more than double that of ProtoSwap, the ability for just eleven stakeholders to orchestrate a 51% attack remains a significant systemic risk and falls dramatically short of the ideals of distributed, community-led governance. To further illustrate this concentration, Figure 3 displays the cumulative share of total token supply held by the top N wallets for ProtoSwap, the most centralized protocol. The curve shows the percentage of total governance tokens (Y-axis) held by the top N wealthiest wallets (X-axis, logarithmic scale).

The plot starkly illustrates that the top 5 wallets control over 50% of the supply. This exponential concentration of power, as measured by the Nakamoto coefficient and visualized in Figure 3, demonstrates that the threshold for collusion is perilously low. The

governance of these protocols is not secured by a "wisdom of the crowd" but is instead brittle and susceptible to capture by a small cabal of insiders or large investors.

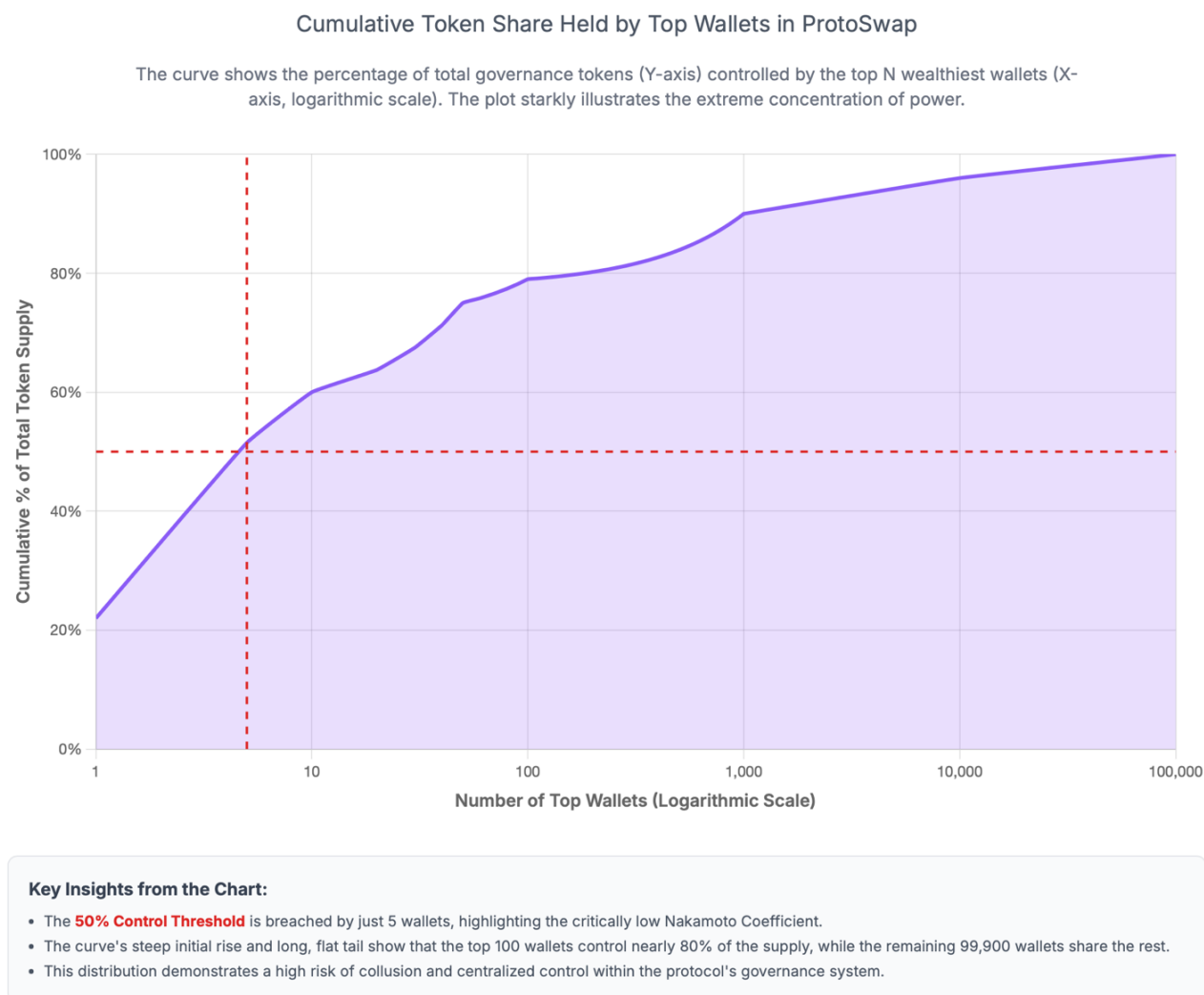


Figure 3. Cumulative Token Share Held by Top Wallets in ProtoSwap

The convergence of all three independent analytical methods paints a coherent and unambiguous picture. The network analysis visually revealed a core-periphery power structure. The Gini coefficient and Lorenz curves quantitatively confirmed that this structure corresponds to extreme levels of economic inequality. Finally, the Nakamoto coefficient provided a practical measure of this inequality's consequence: a critically low threshold for collusion and control. The "decentralization illusion" is not merely a theoretical concern; our analysis of on-chain data demonstrates

it to be a fundamental, structural feature of these prominent DeFi governance models.

The empirical findings of this study present a significant and deeply troubling challenge to the prevailing narrative of DeFi as a bastion of decentralized governance. The consistent, triangulated evidence from network analysis, economic inequality metrics, and systemic risk assessment reveals a deeply embedded structure of power concentration that we have termed the "decentralization illusion." This section dissects the potential mechanisms driving this concentration,

explores the profound implications for the DeFi ecosystem, and connects our findings to broader theories of governance, economics, and law. The extreme concentration of governance power observed is not an accidental outcome but rather the predictable product of specific economic and structural mechanisms inherent to current DeFi protocol design.¹²⁻¹⁵ Our findings reflect and quantify well-documented phenomena within the live DeFi ecosystem.

The initial distribution model of a governance token is a primary determinant of its subsequent power dynamics. Many protocols allocate a substantial portion of their token supply (often 20-50%) to the founding team, advisors, and early-stage venture capital (VC) investors. As our archetype characterization in Table 1 shows, these insider allocations are significant. While often subject to vesting schedules, these initial allocations seed the network with a powerful, entrenched class of stakeholders. The observed power-law distribution in our data is a direct downstream consequence of these highly skewed initial conditions. This creates a persistent founder effect, where the Gini coefficient is high from day one, and subsequent market dynamics struggle to overcome this initial inequality.^{16,17}

Second, incentive programs such as liquidity mining and yield farming, while remarkably effective at bootstrapping liquidity and network effects, systemically exacerbate inequality. These programs reward users for providing capital to the protocol, with rewards typically distributed pro-rata to the amount of capital supplied. Consequently, the wealthiest participants ("whales") can provide the most liquidity, earn the largest share of governance token rewards, and thus accumulate ever more voting power. This creates a powerful plutocratic feedback loop, where wealth begets more voting power, which can then be used to influence the protocol to create even more favorable reward structures. This mechanism is a direct parallel to the capital accumulation dynamics in traditional economies, as famously described by Thomas Piketty, where the rate of return on capital (r) exceeds the rate of economic growth (g), leading to a widening inequality gap. The critically high Gini

coefficient (0.95) and low Nakamoto coefficient (5) in our ProtoSwap (DEX) model, a protocol type that relies heavily on such incentive schemes, is a textbook illustration of this dynamic in action.¹⁸

Third, the consolidation of effective power is further entrenched by voter apathy and the economics of participation. Meaningful participation in governance requires a significant investment of time, effort, and expertise to research complex proposals, engage in debate, and cast informed votes. For a small token holder, the potential impact of their single, low-weight vote is negligible, while the cost of participation is high. This creates a dynamic of rational apathy, leading to chronically low voter turnout among the "long tail" of holders. This phenomenon is directly analogous to the well-documented problem of shareholder apathy in large, publicly-traded corporations, where small, diffuse shareholders rarely participate in corporate governance, leaving effective control in the hands of management and large institutional investors. In contrast, DeFi whales have a powerful financial incentive to actively participate and shape outcomes in their favor. This dynamic means that effective voting power is even more concentrated than our token distribution analysis suggests, as the small group of active, wealthy participants wields disproportionate influence over a largely passive electorate.^{19,20}

The profound concentration of power revealed in our analysis has severe and multifaceted implications for the security, stability, and philosophical integrity of the DeFi ecosystem. The most immediate and acute risk is that of malicious governance capture. A low Nakamoto coefficient, such as the 5 we observed for ProtoSwap, means the protocol is highly vulnerable to a 51% attack orchestrated by a small number of colluding actors. Such a group could pass malicious proposals to drain the protocol's treasury, rewrite fee structures to their exclusive benefit, arbitrarily freeze user funds, or use the protocol as a weapon to attack a competitor. While mechanisms like on-chain timelocks exist to provide a window for the community to react, a well-coordinated and well-capitalized attack could still inflict irreversible damage before a defensive fork or social intervention could be effectively

organized. This fragility fundamentally undermines the "trustless" promise of DeFi, reintroducing a need to trust a small, often anonymous, and unaccountable group of powerful actors.

Beyond overt malicious attacks, power concentration leads to a more subtle but equally pernicious centralization of control. The protocol's development roadmap, its economic parameterization, including fee levels and interest rate models, and its strategic integration with other protocols can be dictated by the preferences of its largest stakeholders. This creates a state of "decentralization in name only" (DINO), where the protocol's operations are technically executed on-chain, but its strategic direction is centrally planned by an elite, plutocratic group. This environment stifles permissionless innovation—the very dynamism that makes DeFi compelling. It can lead to the prioritization of features that benefit insiders and VCs, such as mechanisms for extracting value, over those that benefit the broader community, including improved user experience and lower fees. This ossifies the protocol, making it less resilient to change and more susceptible to being outcompeted, mirroring the stagnation seen in incumbent oligopolies in traditional finance.

Furthermore, this illusion of decentralization poses a grave regulatory and systemic risk. Regulators globally, including bodies like the Financial Stability Board, are intensifying their scrutiny of the DeFi space. The claim of being "truly decentralized" is often wielded as a shield against being classified and regulated as a traditional financial intermediary, like a bank, exchange, or money services business. Our findings suggest that many protocols may not meet a substantive, functional definition of decentralization. If a small, identifiable group effectively controls a protocol (a fact made quantifiable by the Nakamoto coefficient), regulators may be inclined to "pierce the decentralized veil" and treat that group as a *de facto* board of directors or a general partnership, subjecting them to the full suite of financial regulations, licensing requirements, and legal liabilities. Systemically, the risk is compounded by the fact that the same small group of VCs and whales often hold large, influential stakes across multiple major protocols. This creates a

hidden vector for contagion, where the failure, collusion, or regulatory sanction of one of these key players could trigger cascading failures across the entire, supposedly resilient, DeFi ecosystem.^{17,18}

Our study also serves as a direct challenge to the simplistic "code is law" ethos that characterized the early discourse around blockchain and smart contracts. While the execution of smart contract code is indeed autonomous and immutable, the process of governance—which determines who gets to write, deploy, and amend that code—is an inherently social and political process. The distribution of power is the ultimate arbiter of the law. When power is as highly concentrated as our findings indicate, the "law" is written by the few, for the benefit of the few. The mechanisms of on-chain governance, in this context, do not eliminate politics or power struggles; they merely provide a new, technologically sophisticated arena for these age-old dynamics to play out.^{13,20}

The extremely high Gini coefficients in our study demonstrate that the digital economy is not inherently immune to the same powerful tendencies toward inequality that characterize traditional economies. This suggests that achieving genuine decentralization and financial democracy requires more than just technological innovation. It demands deliberate, thoughtful social and economic design choices aimed at fostering a more equitable and resilient distribution of power from the outset. This may involve exploring and implementing more sophisticated governance models like quadratic voting, proof-of-personhood systems, or futarchy, which are designed to break the direct link between capital and control.

While this study provides a robust, triangulated analysis, it is essential to acknowledge its limitations, which in turn illuminate avenues for future research. Our decision to anonymize protocols, while made to focus the analysis on archetypal structures, inherently limits direct replicability. Future research should endeavor to apply this framework to named protocols to validate and expand upon our findings. Our analysis is based on a "snapshot" in time. Power dynamics are fluid, and a longitudinal study tracking the evolution of the Gini and Nakamoto coefficients over time—especially before and after major

governance events or tokenomic changes-would provide invaluable insights into the stability of these power structures. The study is focused on three archetypes. Expanding this analysis across a much larger and more diverse set of DeFi protocols, including those on other blockchains, is a necessary next step to assess the universality of our findings. Our study uses token holdings and delegations as the primary proxy for power. Future work could incorporate more nuanced, off-chain data, such as social network analysis of governance forums and social media, to build a more holistic model of influence that includes social capital alongside financial capital.

4. Conclusion

This study set out to empirically investigate the concentration of governance power in Decentralized Finance, testing the validity of the ecosystem's foundational claim of decentralization. Through a comprehensive quantitative triangulation framework-integrating empirical network analysis, Gini and Lorenz inequality metrics, and the Nakamoto coefficient-our research provides compelling and convergent evidence of a significant and pervasive "decentralization illusion."

Our findings demonstrate that, contrary to the ethos of a democratized and user-governed financial system, power within the analyzed DeFi protocols is highly concentrated. The network visualizations revealed clear core-periphery structures dominated by an elite of "whale" delegates. This topology was quantitatively substantiated by extremely high Gini coefficients, ranging from 0.89 to 0.95, indicating levels of inequality in voting power that meet or exceed the most extreme wealth disparities in the global economy. Most critically, the perilously low Nakamoto coefficients, as low as 5, exposed a profound and practical vulnerability to collusion, where a handful of actors can unilaterally control protocol governance.

The implications of this plutocratic concentration are far-reaching. It undermines the security, neutrality, and censorship-resistance of DeFi protocols, reintroducing the very single points of failure and control that blockchain technology was

designed to eliminate. It creates significant systemic risks and challenges the regulatory viability of the entire ecosystem. Ultimately, it betrays the core promise of DeFi to build a more equitable and accessible financial system, risking the replication of traditional financial power structures under a new, more opaque technological guise.

The mechanisms driving this concentration are not bugs but features of current protocol designs. Therefore, addressing this challenge requires a fundamental shift in how DeFi governance is conceived and implemented. Future innovation must move beyond naive plutocracy and explore more sophisticated mechanisms that can foster a genuine distribution of power. Unless the DeFi community confronts this decentralization illusion head-on, the revolutionary potential of this technology may remain unfulfilled, captured by the very dynamics of centralization it aimed to transcend.

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