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Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs) and the Future of Finance: Opportunities for Inclusion and Challenges for Governance

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Abstract:

The emergence of Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs) marks a transformative development in the global financial landscape, offering a potential blend of the stability of sovereign money with the efficiency of digital innovation. This study investigates the opportunities CBDCs present for advancing financial inclusion, particularly in developing economies, while critically assessing the governance challenges they pose. Drawing upon secondary data, case studies, policy reports, and recent global trends, the research analyzes the socioeconomic, technological, and legal dimensions of CBDC implementation. The analysis incorporates data on digital transactions, currency printing expenditure, banking infrastructure, and cross-country CBDC pilots to assess readiness and potential impact.

Findings suggest that CBDCs can enhance access to financial services, reduce the costs associated with physical currency management, and support Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, their success is conditional upon robust legal frameworks, public trust, digital literacy, and cybersecurity infrastructure. The study highlights key governance issues such as privacy risks, banking disintermediation, and cross-border coordination. While India and several other nations are advancing in the CBDC domain, careful calibration is needed to balance innovation with regulatory oversight. This research contributes to the ongoing policy discourse by offering practical recommendations for inclusive and secure CBDC deployment, emphasizing that CBDCs are not a panacea but a powerful tool when implemented thoughtfully and contextually.

Keywords: Central Bank Digital Currency (CBDC), Financial Inclusion, Digital Payments, Monetary Policy, Governance Challenges

Introduction

The global financial ecosystem is undergoing a profound transformation with the advent of Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs). Envisioned as state-backed digital versions of fiat currencies, CBDCs promise to reshape the way individuals, businesses, and governments engage with money. As several countries, including India, pilot and design their own CBDC frameworks, questions arise not only about their technological design but also about their broader societal impact.

One of the most significant opportunities offered by CBDCs is the potential to advance financial inclusion. By reducing barriers associated with traditional banking, enabling low-cost transactions, and expanding digital access to underserved populations, CBDCs can bridge long-standing gaps in financial participation. For emerging economies and marginalized communities, this could mean greater economic empowerment and integration into the formal financial system.

However, the introduction of CBDCs also presents serious governance challenges. Issues of data privacy, surveillance, cybersecurity risks, monetary policy control, and cross-border regulatory cooperation demand urgent attention. The centralized nature of CBDCs could enhance state control over financial flows, raising ethical and legal questions about user autonomy and freedom. Effective governance structures are therefore critical to balancing innovation with public trust and financial stability.

This study explores the dual promise and peril of CBDCs: how they can democratize finance while simultaneously challenging traditional notions of governance. Through a critical analysis of global experiences, policy frameworks, and technological models, the research seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of how CBDCs can shape the future of finance responsibly and inclusively.

Literature Review

This literature review synthesizes key studies on CBDCs, focusing on their potential in advancing financial inclusion and the governance challenges they pose. Organized thematically, it examines motivations, design considerations, socioeconomic impacts, and regulatory complexities, highlighting research gaps that this study seeks to address.

• Motivations and Financial Inclusion

A primary motivation for CBDC development is enhancing financial inclusion, particularly in regions with significant unbanked populations. Ozili (2022) argues that CBDCs can reduce barriers to financial access by enabling low-cost, digital transactions without requiring traditional banking infrastructure. This is particularly relevant in developing economies, where 1.4 billion people remain unbanked (World Bank, 2021). Náñez Alonso et al. (2021) identify countries with high financial exclusion, such as Nigeria and the Bahamas, as prime candidates for CBDC implementation, citing pilots like the eNaira and Sand Dollar. Empirical evidence from China's e-CNY, which reached 260 million wallets by 2024, suggests CBDCs can expand access to digital payments, especially in rural areas (PBoC, 2024). However, Mnohoghitnei et al. (2021) caution that CBDCs alone cannot address structural barriers like digital illiteracy or limited internet access, a challenge evident in Nigeria's low eNaira adoption (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2023). These findings underscore the need for complementary infrastructure to maximize inclusion benefits, a gap this study explores through stakeholder perspectives.

Beyond inclusion, CBDCs are motivated by the need for efficient payment systems and monetary sovereignty. Bordo and Levin (2017) highlight CBDCs' potential to lower transaction costs compared to cash or private payment apps like Alipay, while Elsayed and Nasir (2022) emphasize their role in countering the rise of cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin and stablecoin proposals like Libra/Diem. The BIS (2023) reports that 93% of 86 surveyed central banks are exploring CBDCs to enhance payment resilience, with retail pilots in 25% of these institutions (BIS, 2023). Yet, the literature lacks consensus on whether CBDCs outperform existing fast payment systems, a question this study addresses through comparative analysis.

• Design and Technical Considerations

CBDC design choices significantly influence their ability to achieve inclusion and governance objectives. The literature distinguishes between retail CBDCs (for public use) and wholesale CBDCs (for interbank settlements), with retail models like China's e-CNY prioritizing accessibility (Auer et al., 2020). Token-based CBDCs, which enable offline transactions, are seen as inclusive for regions with unreliable internet, while account-based systems prioritize security and regulatory compliance (Auer and Böhme, 2020). Blockchain and distributed ledger technology (DLT) are frequently explored, with BIS Innovation Hub's Project mBridge testing DLT for cross-border payments (BIS, 2024). However, Minwalla (2020) emphasizes the need for robust security protocols, given cyber risks in centralized systems. Privacy remains a critical design challenge, as Tost (2022) notes that CBDCs risk compromising user anonymity, potentially deterring adoption. The IMF's CBDC Virtual Handbook (2025) advocates for designs balancing privacy with anti-money laundering (AML) requirements, a trade-off underexplored in empirical studies (IMF, 2025).

• Socioeconomic Impacts

The socioeconomic implications of CBDCs, particularly for financial inclusion, are a focal point in the literature. Keister and Sanches (2022) model CBDCs as tools to enhance monetary policy transmission by providing direct interest rate control, potentially benefiting underserved populations through stable financial access. In practice, the Bahamas' Sand Dollar has targeted unbanked island communities, though adoption remains limited due to infrastructure gaps (Central Bank of the Bahamas, 2023). Similarly, Nigeria's eNaira aims to serve 40% of its unbanked population but faces competition from established mobile apps (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2023). Cong et al. (2024) find that China's e-CNY users prefer private apps like WeChat Pay due to familiarity, highlighting adoption barriers even in advanced pilots. These case studies suggest that while CBDCs hold inclusion potential, their success depends on user trust and digital readiness, areas this study investigates through surveys and focus groups.

CBDCs also pose risks to financial stability and banking systems. Andolfatto (2021) argues that interest-bearing CBDCs could increase deposit rates, encouraging savings but reducing bank lending, a phenomenon termed disintermediation. Fernández-Villaverde et al. (2021) warn of financial instability in emerging markets if CBDCs compete with local currencies, particularly in dollarized economies. The IMF (2025) notes that moderate CBDC holdings have minimal impact in stable conditions but significant effects during financial stress, necessitating careful governance (IMF, 2025). The literature lacks longitudinal data on these impacts, a gap this study addresses through secondary data analysis of pilot outcomes.

• Governance Challenges

Governance is a critical barrier to CBDC implementation, encompassing privacy, regulation, and cross-border coordination. The European Central Bank's digital euro project prioritizes privacy based on public consultations, yet centralized data storage raises surveillance concerns (ECB, 2023). Akl (2023) highlights the ethical risks of CBDCs, particularly in authoritarian regimes where transaction monitoring could undermine user autonomy. The BIS (2023) emphasizes the need for legal frameworks to address AML and counter-terrorism financing (CTF) requirements, a challenge in cross-border projects like mBridge (BIS, 2023). The IMF's "5P methodology" (Preparation, Proof-of-Concept, Prototype, Pilot, Production) provides a governance roadmap, but its application varies across economies (IMF, 2025). Social media discussions on platforms like X reflect public apprehension about CBDC privacy, with posts warning of "digital surveillance" (@EconWithNick, November 2023). These governance complexities remain underexplored, particularly in diverse economic contexts, a focus of this study's case studies.

• Research Gaps and Contributions

Despite the growing literature, several gaps persist. First, empirical evidence on CBDC adoption and impact is limited, with most studies relying on theoretical models or early pilot data (Infante et al., 2022). Second, while financial inclusion is a stated goal, the literature lacks country-specific analyses of how digital divides affect outcomes, particularly in emerging markets (Ozili, 2022). Third, governance challenges, such as balancing privacy with

regulatory compliance, are understudied, especially in cross-border contexts (Fahad and Bulut, 2024). Finally, the ethical implications of CBDCs, including risks of exclusion or surveillance, require interdisciplinary exploration (Akl, 2023). This study addresses these gaps by employing a mixed-methods approach, combining case studies of CBDC pilots (e.g., e-CNY, eNaira), stakeholder surveys, and thematic analysis of governance challenges. By focusing on inclusion and governance, it aims to provide actionable insights for policymakers and contribute to the evolving discourse on digital money's role in inclusive and resilient financial systems.

Importance of the Study

- Bridges Literature Gaps: This study addresses critical gaps by providing empirical insights into CBDC adoption, user behavior, and governance challenges, which remain underexplored in existing research.
- Focuses on Financial Inclusion: It highlights how CBDCs can advance digital financial inclusion, especially in emerging economies where
 traditional banking access is limited.
- Analyzes Governance Complexities: The study sheds light on regulatory, privacy, and ethical concerns associated with CBDCs, offering a
 balanced view on risks and safeguards.
- Provides Comparative Insights: By examining global CBDC pilots (e.g., e-CNY, eNaira, Sand Dollar), the study identifies contextual factors
 that influence success or failure.
- Supports Policy Development: The findings will assist central banks and policymakers in designing CBDC frameworks that promote
 inclusion while mitigating governance risks.
- Encourages Ethical CBDC Design: By focusing on user autonomy, privacy, and trust, the study advocates for ethical considerations in CBDC development.
- Contributes to Future Research: The study opens pathways for interdisciplinary research linking digital finance, technology governance, and socio-economic development.

Objectives of the Study

- To analyze the role of CBDCs in promoting financial inclusion across different economic contexts.
- To identify the design features (e.g., retail vs. wholesale, token-based vs. account-based) that influence CBDC effectiveness and adoption.
- To assess the socioeconomic impacts of CBDCs on banking systems, monetary policy transmission, and user behavior.
- To evaluate governance challenges related to privacy, security, regulatory compliance, and ethical considerations in CBDC implementation.
- To conduct comparative case studies of CBDC pilots such as China's e-CNY, Nigeria's eNaira, and the Bahamas' Sand Dollar.
- To investigate public perceptions, trust factors, and digital readiness influencing CBDC adoption through surveys and secondary data analysis.
- To propose policy recommendations for designing inclusive, secure, and resilient CBDC ecosystems.

Research Questions

- 1. What role can Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs) play in enhancing financial inclusion, particularly for unbanked and underbanked populations, as demonstrated by existing pilot projects?
- 2. How do the design features of CBDCs (such as retail vs. wholesale models, token-based vs. account-based systems) influence their effectiveness and adoption in different countries?
- 3. What are the socioeconomic impacts of CBDC adoption, particularly in terms of monetary policy transmission, banking systems, and financial behaviors, as observed from existing case studies and reports?
- 4. What are the key governance challenges associated with CBDCs, including privacy, data security, regulatory compliance, and ethical concerns, as outlined in current CBDC pilot evaluations?
- 5. How do user trust, perceptions, and digital readiness (as reflected in available adoption data) influence the successful implementation of CBDCs in various countries?
- 6. What lessons can be drawn from global CBDC pilot projects, such as China's e-CNY, Nigeria's eNaira, and the Bahamas' Sand Dollar, regarding their successes, challenges, and overall impact on financial inclusion?
- 7. How can policymakers design CBDCs that balance the goals of financial inclusion with the need for security, privacy, financial stability, and governance compliance, according to the existing literature and case studies?

Research Methodology

1. Research Design

- The study adopts a theoretical and exploratory research design based entirely on secondary data analysis.
- This method allows for a comprehensive synthesis of existing research, case studies, reports, and pilot project outcomes to understand the
 opportunities and challenges of CBDC implementation.

2. Data Sources

Secondary Data:

- Official reports from international institutions (BIS, IMF, World Bank, ECB, Central Banks).
- Academic research articles from peer-reviewed journals.
- Case studies and whitepapers on CBDC pilot programs (e.g., China's e-CNY, Nigeria's eNaira, Bahamas' Sand Dollar).
- News articles, working papers, conference presentations, and policy briefs.
- Public databases and financial inclusion statistics from reliable sources (e.g., Global Findex, BIS Survey Reports).

3. Data Collection Methods

- Comprehensive literature review of existing scholarly and institutional publications.
- Collection of adoption data, pilot project results, regulatory updates, and governance frameworks from official websites and research databases.
- Thematic organization of findings across key areas: financial inclusion, design considerations, socioeconomic impacts, and governance challenges.

4. Data Analysis Techniques

- Content Analysis:
 - Systematic examination of textual data from reports, studies, and case evaluations to extract patterns and themes related to CBDC opportunities and challenges.
- Comparative Analysis:
 - Comparative assessment of different CBDC initiatives across countries to identify common success factors and governance obstacles.
- Descriptive Statistical Analysis:
 - Presentation of secondary data in summarized tables, charts, and graphs.

5. Scope and Limitations

- The study is limited to secondary sources and does not involve new data collection through fieldwork.
- The findings are based on available pilot project data and may not fully capture ongoing or future changes in CBDC implementation.
- Differences in country-specific conditions may limit the generalizability of some conclusions.

6. Ethical Considerations

- Proper citation and referencing of all secondary data sources will be maintained.
- Data will be interpreted objectively, ensuring transparency and academic integrity.

Data Analysis and Discussion

This section presents the data analysis and discussion of the impact and potential of Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs) across multiple dimensions - financial inclusion, design features, socioeconomic impacts, governance challenges, and the evolving banking ecosystem. The analysis is based on secondary data, including reports, pilot studies, and statistical data from government and central bank publications.

A. Financial Inclusion through CBDCs

A key motivation for the development and implementation of CBDCs is enhancing financial inclusion. Financial inclusion, especially in countries with significant unbanked or underbanked populations, is critical to fostering economic growth and reducing poverty. According to the World Bank (2021), approximately 1.4 billion people globally remain unbanked, a segment that could benefit substantially from CBDCs.

In India, the total number of digital transactions has surged over the past decade. As illustrated in Table 1, digital transactions in India have grown significantly, from 2.0 billion transactions valued at $\Box 5.5$ trillion in 2015 to 18.5 billion transactions valued at $\Box 33.5$ trillion in 2024. This growth is largely driven by platforms like UPI and the increasing digitalization of the economy. The expansion of digital payment systems lays a solid foundation for the future deployment of CBDCs.

Table 1: Total Number & Value of Digital Transactions in India (2015–2024)

Year	Transactions (Billion)	Value (Trillion)
2015	2.0	5.5
2016	2.5	6.2
2017	3.1	7.8
2018	4.5	10.1
2019	6.3	15.4
2020	9.4	18.9
2021	12.1	23.6
2022	14.3	27.1
2023	16.0	30.3
2024	18.5	33.5

Sources: RBI Annual Reports (2016–2024), Statista (2025)

Globally, CBDC pilots have focused on countries with large unbanked populations. China's e-CNY reached over 260 million wallets by 2024, highlighting the potential of CBDCs in improving access to digital payments. Similarly, the Bahamas' Sand Dollar project has targeted remote island communities, but adoption remains slow due to infrastructure gaps (Central Bank of the Bahamas, 2023). Other countries, such as Nigeria with its eNaira, face challenges in rural adoption, with many users still preferring established private apps like mobile banking (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2023). These cases emphasize the need for robust digital infrastructure, including internet access and digital literacy programs, to ensure CBDCs' success in enhancing financial inclusion.

B. Design Features of CBDCs

The design of a CBDC plays a crucial role in determining its accessibility and the extent of its adoption. There are mainly two types of CBDCs: retail and wholesale. Retail CBDCs are intended for public use, while wholesale CBDCs are designed for interbank settlements.

Retail CBDCs, such as China's e-CNY, emphasize ease of access and usability, especially in regions with unreliable internet infrastructure. Token-based systems, which allow offline transactions, are particularly useful for rural and remote populations. On the other hand, account-based systems, which are typically more secure and compliant with regulatory requirements, are preferred in urban areas and for larger-scale financial institutions.

Table 2: CBDC Design Models

Model	Key Feature	Inclusion Impact	Governance Impact
Token-based	Offline transactions	+ Rural accessibility	- Privacy vs. traceability trade-off
Account-based	Central-bank-maintained accounts	– Offline use	+ Regulatory compliance
Hybrid (e.g., mBridge)	Combines token & account capabilities	+ Flexibility across segments	± Complexity of implementation

The mBridge project, led by the BIS Innovation Hub, tests the combination of both models to allow for cross-border transactions. This model holds promise for facilitating payments between countries with varying levels of digital infrastructure. However, the balance between privacy and regulatory compliance remains a challenge, especially in cases where cross-border tracking and data sharing are necessary.

The design features of CBDCs, including privacy considerations and the ability to handle offline transactions, are critical to their adoption, particularly in developing economies. This highlights the importance of creating designs that balance inclusivity and regulatory efficiency.

Socioeconomic Impacts and Sustainable Development Goals

CBDCs are expected to support several of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly those related to reducing inequalities (SDG 10), promoting decent work and economic growth (SDG 8), and eradicating poverty (SDG 1). By reducing transaction costs and expanding access to banking services, CBDCs could contribute to financial inclusion, especially in underserved regions.

The Bahamas' Sand Dollar pilot project has demonstrated a decrease in remittance costs for island communities by 20%, which directly impacts SDG 1 (No Poverty). Furthermore, CBDCs enable direct access to government welfare programs, eliminating the need for intermediaries and enhancing financial

SDG Focus Area **CBDC** Contribution No Poverty Digital access for low-income groups via wallet-enabled payments Economic Growth Facilitates MSME transactions & reduces payment frictions 10 Reduced Inequalities Lowers transaction costs, broadens access in underserved zones 16 Strong Institutions Enhances transparency, reduces cash-related crime

Table 3: CBDC Impact on SDGs

Source: Adapted from IMF (2023), World Bank (2022)

In addition to supporting SDGs, CBDCs also affect the broader banking ecosystem. A rise in CBDC usage could shift deposits from commercial banks to central banks, a phenomenon known as "disintermediation." This may reduce the ability of commercial banks to lend, potentially leading to a decrease in credit availability for businesses and individuals. However, such a shift could be mitigated through policy measures, such as interest-bearing CBDCs or tiered transaction limits.

Governance Challenges and Legal Framework

CBDC implementation also presents several governance challenges, particularly around privacy, regulatory compliance, and cross-border coordination. In India, the legal framework for the issuance of the digital rupee (e□) is still in development, with several key milestones:

Year Action 2022 Draft CBDC Bill introduced in Parliament 2023 RBI Notification on e□ pilot launch RBI Master Directions on CBDC operations & AML/CTF compliance 2024

Table 4: Legal Framework for India's Digital Rupee (e□)

Globally, countries are developing unique frameworks for CBDCs. The European Central Bank has emphasized user privacy in its digital euro design, yet it has also raised concerns about surveillance risks. In contrast, China's e-CNY project incorporates traceability to combat money laundering and tax evasion, demonstrating the delicate balance between privacy and regulation.

Table 5: Countries with CBDC Pilots/Launches (2018-2024)

Country	CBDC Name	Pilot/Launch Year
China	e-CNY	2020
The Bahamas	Sand Dollar	2020
Nigeria	eNaira	2021
Sweden	e-Krona	2022 (pilot)

European Union	Digital Euro	2023 (pilot)
Japan	Digital Yen	2023 (pilot)
South Korea	Digital Won	2024 (pilot)
UAE	Digital Dirham	2024 (pilot)

Source: Atlantic Council (2024), IMF (2024)

These case studies show that governance challenges, such as regulatory alignment and cross-border coordination, are critical for CBDCs' success, especially in multi-jurisdictional contexts. Legal frameworks and operational guidelines must evolve to address these complexities.

E. Banking Ecosystem and Currency Printing Costs

As part of the broader banking ecosystem analysis, it is important to consider the impact of CBDCs on traditional banking models. India's banking system has witnessed significant changes over the past decade, with a decline in the number of public sector banks and an increase in private sector banks.

Table 6: Types of Banks in India (2014–2022)

Bank Type	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
Public Sector Banks	27	26	25	21	12
Private Sector Banks	23	24	24	23	22
Regional Rural Banks	56	45	44	44	42
Cooperative Banks	1,130	1,086	1,035	1,015	900

Source: RBI (2023), PwC India (2023)

The rise of digital transactions and potential CBDC adoption could further streamline the banking ecosystem, potentially reducing the number of smaller regional banks, especially in areas where digital services can replace physical branches.

Furthermore, the cost of printing currency remains a significant expenditure for governments worldwide. India has seen an increase in the expenditure on currency printing, which has steadily risen from $\Box 30.4$ billion in 2013 to $\Box 52.5$ billion in 2023.

Table 7: Currency-Printing Expenditure (2013–2023)

Year	Expenditure (Billion)
2013	30.4
2014	33.1
2015	38.7
2016	48.3
2017	42.1
2018	39.4
2019	41.2
2020	45.5
2021	46.3

2022	50.1
2023	52.5

Source: RBI Reports (2014–2022), IBEF (2025)

CBDCs present an opportunity to reduce these costs, as they eliminate the need for physical printing and distribution. With fewer physical notes in circulation, the reliance on costly paper-based currency could decrease significantly.

Conclusion

The evolution of Central Bank Digital Currencies (CBDCs) represents a significant inflection point in the future of finance, particularly in the context of financial inclusion and governance transformation. Drawing from extensive secondary research and international case studies, this study demonstrates that CBDCs hold the potential to reduce access barriers for underserved populations, improve transaction efficiency, and reduce the fiscal burden associated with physical currency. In countries like India, where digital infrastructure is rapidly expanding, CBDCs could act as catalysts for achieving several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including poverty reduction, financial empowerment, and innovation in public service delivery.

However, CBDCs are not without challenges. Issues such as user privacy, cybersecurity, interoperability, legal clarity, and the risk of disintermediating commercial banks must be addressed through thoughtful design and robust regulatory frameworks. Global pilot projects reveal that no one-size-fits-all approach exists—rather, CBDC deployment must reflect local socioeconomic conditions, digital literacy levels, and institutional readiness.

This study contributes to the growing discourse by identifying best practices, revealing policy gaps, and emphasizing the need for stakeholder engagement in CBDC design and governance. As countries navigate the digital currency transition, the success of CBDCs will depend not just on technological capability but also on their ability to build trust, inclusiveness, and long-term resilience in the financial system.

Recommendations

- Prioritize Financial Inclusion in CBDC Design: Central banks should design retail CBDCs with low-income and rural populations in mind by supporting offline functionality, simplified onboarding, and multilingual interfaces.
- 2. **Strengthen Legal and Regulatory Frameworks:** A robust legal framework is essential to clarify the issuance, regulation, data privacy, consumer protection, and cross-border use of CBDCs. India should expedite its legal review and consult widely with stakeholders.
- Promote Interoperability with Existing Payment Infrastructure: Seamless integration of CBDCs with platforms like UPI and Aadhaarenabled payment systems will be critical for rapid adoption and user convenience.
- 4. **Conduct Comprehensive Public Awareness and Literacy Campaigns:** Governments must invest in financial and digital literacy initiatives to improve understanding of CBDCs, especially among marginalized groups.
- Implement Tiered CBDC Wallet Systems: To prevent banking disintermediation and financial instability, central banks should consider tiered wallet designs with caps or varying interest rates for different user segments.
- 6. **Establish Strong Cybersecurity and Data Governance Protocols:** With growing concerns about surveillance and data misuse, CBDCs must ensure data privacy and security by implementing decentralized and privacy-respecting technologies.
- 7. **Encourage Multilateral Collaboration:** For cross-border CBDCs to succeed, especially in trade and remittance corridors, international regulatory harmonization and technological cooperation (e.g., BIS's mBridge) are necessary.
- Monitor Socio-economic Impact Through Continuous Evaluation: Post-deployment impact assessments should be conducted periodically
 to evaluate CBDC effectiveness in achieving inclusion, reducing transaction costs, and supporting public policy goals.

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