The Failure of a Clearinghouse: Empirical Evidence

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November 2017









• Central clearing counterparties (CCPs) become widespread



CCPs expected to improve financial stability

CCPs insure counterparty risk; netting benefits

New risk: CCP default

- Dramatic effects on markets and macro stability (Duffie, 2015)
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- Unique descriptive evidence: novel, hand-collected, archive data
- CCP risk management outside and around distress

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Implications: CCP capital structure & default management

Matched book

Out-of-the-money transactions Collateral held	In-the-money transactions Amounts owing to members
Other assets	Equity

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Low equity

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Theory of CCP risk management

Charter value effect

- Preserve cash flows associated with continuation of CCP
- Be tough with distressed member
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Risk-shifting effect

- Strict risk management: Equity may be impaired
- Lenient risk-management: Equity may be preserved
- Ex: If a price reversal occurs
- Risk-shifting: Be lenient with distressed member
- \blacksquare \rightarrow At the expense of surviving members

The market

Paris Commodity Exchange

- Futures on sugar, cocoa, coffee
- \blacksquare Trading through 35 registered brokers \rightarrow Also clearing members
- Execute orders on behalf of clients, including retail investors
- Short positions: commodity producers; long positions: retail investors

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CCP: Caisse de Liquidation des Affaires en Marchandises (CLAM)

- \blacksquare All trades centrally cleared \rightarrow CLAM takes counterparty risk
- Risk managed by calling initial + variation margins
 - Initial margins: Paid at initiation of contract
 - Variation margins: Called daily based on price fluctuations
- If default on margins: Liquidate member's position
- If loss: equity absorbs; no additional waterfall

The 1974 sugar price boom

- Nov. 1973 Nov. 1974: Six fold increase in global sugar prices
 - **1**,300 to 8,100 FRF: 1 1974 FRF \approx 0.85 2015 USD
 - Limited free market + Embargoes + Bad crops + Fear of shortage



The 1974 sugar crisis

Boom in sugar prices: Until Nov. 21st, 1974

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- Closure of sugar market: Dec. 3rd, 1974 to Jan. 1976
 - Market closes under pressure of CLAM + registered brokers
 - Negotiation + Judicial battle about loss allocation
 - Resolution of the CLAM, re-open with new CCP

Archive data

Department of Commerce + Paris Chamber of Commerce

- Legal, judicial and statistical documents, notes, confidential reports
- \blacksquare \rightarrow Exposures of CLAM, brokers and investors
- \blacksquare \rightarrow Account and transactions by Nataf
- \blacksquare \rightarrow Financial position on all of Nataf's clients

Bank of France

- Supervisory reports and notes
- Balance sheet data
- Stock price data from Cours authentique et officiel

Sugar price data from *Les Echos*.

Spot/future in Paris, London and New York

First cause of failure: Pool of investors

- Buyers of futures: Mostly retail investors
 - Policies to encourage retail participation
- High turnover: Buy at high prices

	Min	$10 \mathrm{pc}$	$25 \mathrm{pc}$	$50 \mathrm{pc}$	Mean	$75 \mathrm{pc}$	$90 \mathrm{pc}$	Max
Average buy price	2,084	4,879	5,525	6,201	6,080	6,784	7,275	8,005
Month	Jan.	Oct.	Oct.	Nov.	Nov.	Nov.	Nov.	Nov.

Massive retail investor defaults

At 6,217 FRF/ton: 49.6% of defaults

No retail trading in London and New York

- Diversified and sophisticated financial institutions
- Same price dynamics did not trigger investor defaults

- Was risk management lenient during the boom?
 - Data on all changes in initial margins in 1974

Initial margin in FRF per ton of sugar



Initial margin / Nearest-term future sugar price



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Quality of margins

Margins paid in cash or with bank guarantees (letters of credit)

Balance on CCP account = Deposited capital + External bank guarantees -Initial margins - Variation margins



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Average margin levels were well-managed

Build-up of large position (Nataf)

- 56% of CCP exposure on day of default
- CLAM did not use potential member-specific surcharges



- Theory: Rationales for penalizing large exposures
 - 10% initial margins sufficient if liquidation at limit down
 - But: Limit down are not market clearing prices
 - Liquidating (large) exposures subject to frictions
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Cumulative abnormal return from $\tau - 5$ to $\tau + 5$

$$C\bar{A}R(\tau-5,\bar{\tau}) = \sum_{t=\tau-5}^{\bar{\tau}} \left(\frac{1}{N}\sum_{i=1}^{N}AR_{it}\right).$$

	Cumulative abnormal	95% confidence	p-value
	return	interval	
$\tau - 5$	-0.001	[-0.014;0.011]	0.590
$\tau - 4$	0.001	[-0.020; 0.021]	0.471
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$\tau - 2$	-0.004	[-0.028; 0.020]	0.658
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Implied probability of default is non-zero

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\blacksquare \rightarrow CLAM is acting to protect Nataf

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Channel

- Trades registered at the CLAM at the end of the day
- Rearrange counterparties and prices before novation

	Dependent	variable: E	xecution price	e of buy orders
Avg. exec. price of existing trades	- 0.020 ** (0.028)	- 0.016 * (0.057)		
Size of existing position			- 0.279 *** (0.000)	- 0.247 *** (0.000)
Volume of trade		-0.185*** (0.000)		-0.097** (0.027)
N. Obs. R^2 Fixed effects	69 0.993 D, MAT	69 0.995 D, MAT	74 0.995 D, MAT	74 0.995 D, MAT

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Results consistent, but less significant, for sell orders

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- Article 22 sets a settlement price if closure
- Settlement at the average price over past 20 trading days
- Here: 7,400 FRF per ton, above price on Dec. 2nd, 6,200 FRF
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- Push for Article $22 \rightarrow Manipulate settlement price$

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- CLAM close to region where equity value function is convex



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- All assets of the CLAM liquidated
 - Large shareholders sell for 1 FRF per share
 - Retail shareholders sell for 100 FRF per share
 - No direct government contribution (but public ownership of banks)

Conclusion and policy implications

Three causes of the CLAM's failure

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- Large member position
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- Risk-shifting incentives
- Better CCP capitalization can reduce risk-shifting
- Better CCP governance can reduce risk-shifting
 - More power to members that attach greater value to continuation
 - Member-owned CCPs likely to prefer continuation
 - Rules versus discretion: less likely to delay default

Default waterfall

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Trade-off with skin-in-the-game

Optimal design is open question
For more entertainment





Appendix

New transactions registered — Sugar



[Back]

New transactions registered — Coffee and cocoa



CLAM stock price — 1966-1975



[Back]

CLAM stock price around failure



Daily returns on nearest-term contract

Volatility of sugar prices not markedly higher



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Valut-at-Risk (VaR)

[Back]

■ 98% VaR / Initial margin requirement is decreasing



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Open position



Open position / Market capitalization

