

# Global Commodities Forum

31 January - 1 February 2011

## Commodity Markets and Excess Volatility: An Evaluation of Price Dynamics under Financialisation

by

**Prof. Machiko Nissanke, Department of Economics,  
School of Oriental and African Studies,  
University of London**

**GLOBAL  
COMMODITIES  
FORUM**

Palais des Nations, Geneva  
31 January - 1 February 2011  
E-Building, Geneva, Switzerland



"The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of  
UNCTAD"

***Commodity Markets and Excess Volatility:  
An Evaluation of Price Dynamics under  
Financialisation***

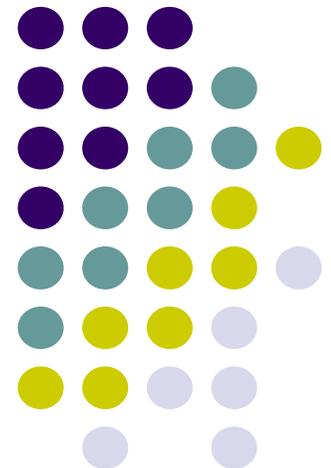
---

**Machiko Nissanke**

**Department of Economics**

**SOAS, University of London**

**Global Commodity Forum, UNCTAD, 1<sup>st</sup> February, 2011**



# Outline

---

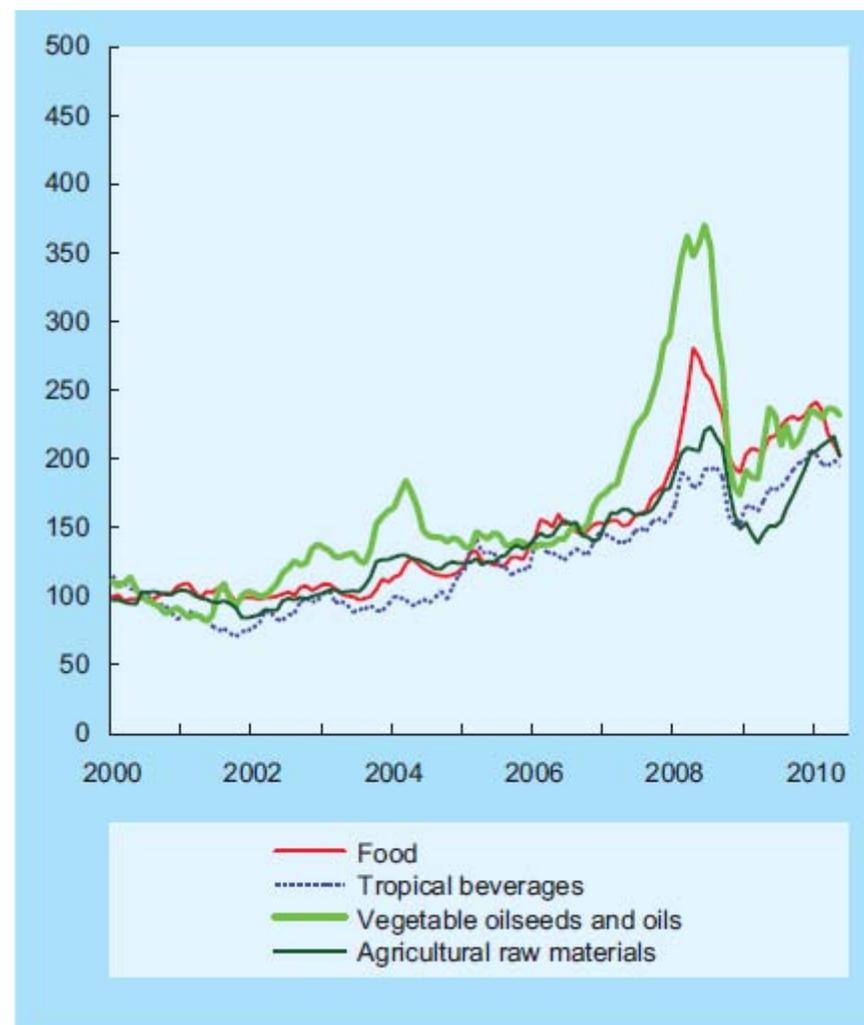
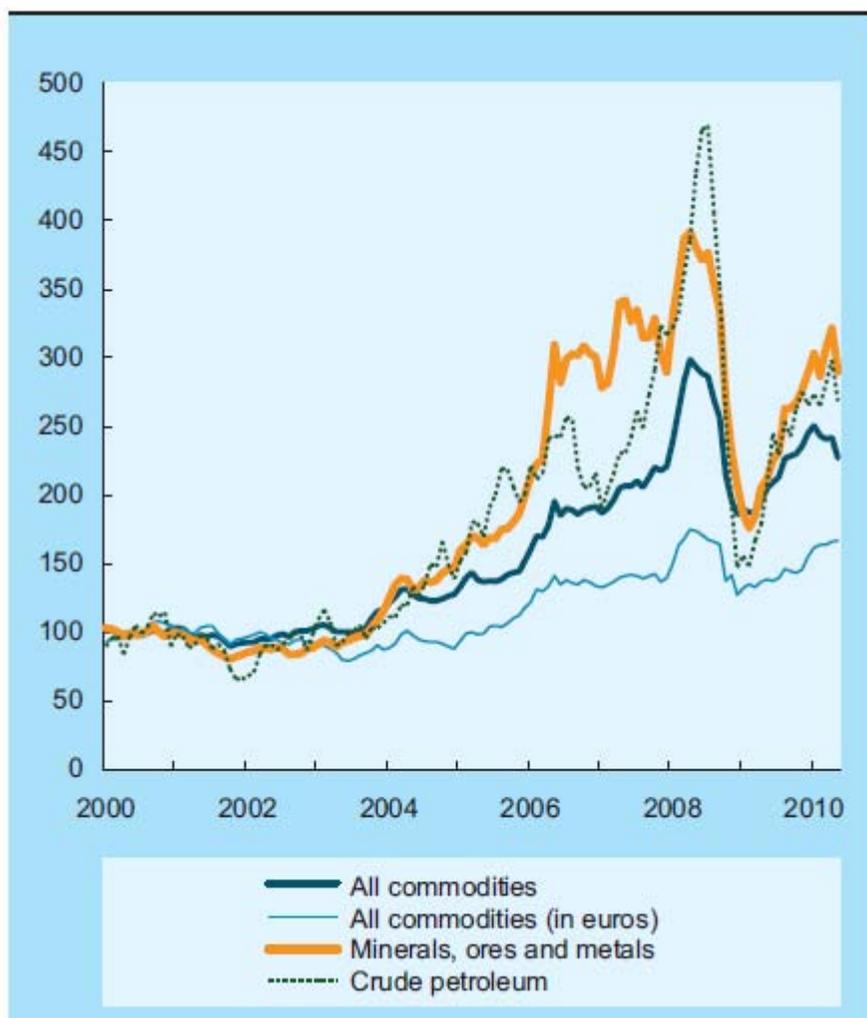


- **Changing Structures in Commodity Markets**
  - The Recent Commodity Markets Boom-Bust Cycle
  - Changing Market Fundamentals over the Last Decade
  - Increasing Participations of Financial Investors in Derivatives Markets- the Financialisation Process
- **Financialisation of Commodity Markets and Its Impact on Price Dynamics**
  - Intensified Financialisation with the Rapid Expansion of derivatives markets
  - Market Structures and Commodity Price Dynamics
  - Microstructures of Asset Markets and Speculative Bubbles
  - Empirical Tests of the Financialisation Hypothesis
- **Concluding Remarks**
  - The case for Reducing Excess in price volatility
  - Proposals- Virtual Interventions

# Changing Structures in Commodity Markets

## Market Fundamentals and Financialisation

# Background: Commodity Price Dynamics –High Volatility

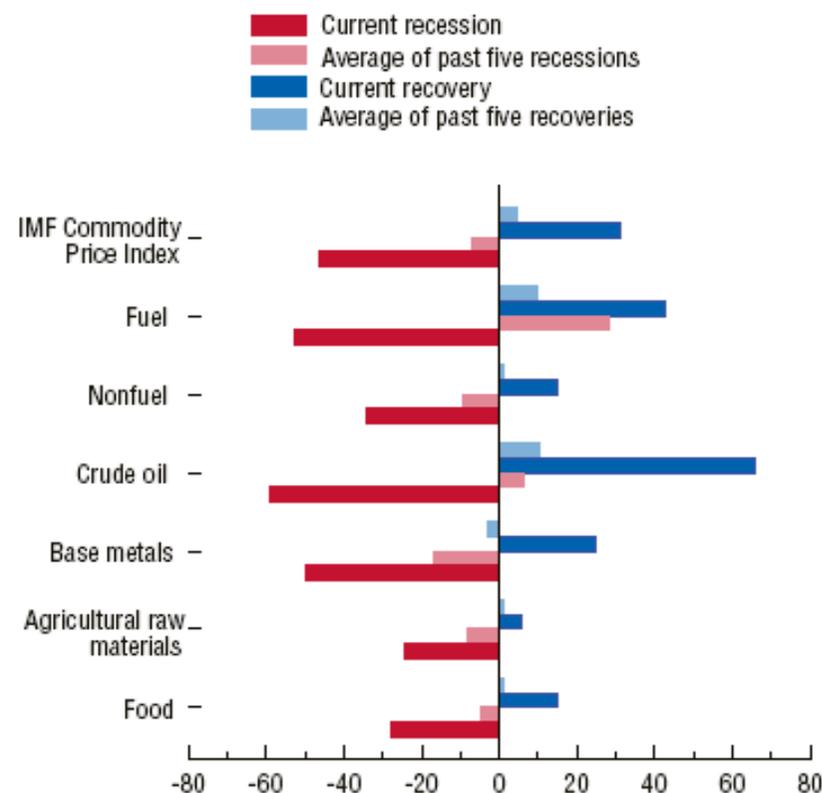


# Recent Price Swings: A) Price movement of 2008-9 and B) Price Movement in Global Recession and Recovery



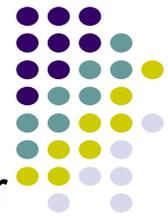
	Percent Change		
	Peak to trough	Trough to June	2009:Q2/ 2009:Q1
IMF Commodity Price Index	-55.6	31.1	15.7
Fuel	-64.1	42.7	20.1
Petroleum	-68.7	66.4	33.8
Nonfuel	-35.5	17.5	9.5
Base metals	-49.6	24.5	15.1
Agricultural raw materials	-33.0	13.6	0.7
Food	-33.4	19.6	10.2

Source: IMF, Primary Commodity Price database.



Sources: IMF Primary Commodity Price System; and IMF staff calculations.  
<sup>1</sup>Global recessions and recoveries are identified on the basis of monthly peaks and troughs in the log level of a monthly index of global industrial production.

# Changes in demand-supply relationships- **Market fundamentals**



- The shifts in fundamental demand-supply relationships -a key factor for price movements for commodities over *medium term*: Commodity boom in 2002-8 – ‘an entering into a *super price cycle?*’
- *An Asian Driver story* on the *demand* side across commodities (mineral, oil and agricultural raw materials and products);
- *supply constraints* due to subdued investment in the low price periods of the 1980s and 1990s;
- Neglected agricultural sectors- *low investment* in agricultural technology and supporting infrastructures in LICs with high dependence on imported food, leading to acute food crisis.
- Inventories was low at the time of price surge for minerals and agricultural commodities– an asymmetry in inventory and price movements;
- The high correlation between minerals, and agricultural vs *energy* prices- close interlinks between oil and agricultural and mineral prices through higher transport costs and other input cost;
- Higher food prices from the abrupt shift in arable land use from food crops towards bio-fuel crops and increased vulnerability to climate changes (the *Climate-change effect*);

# Increased Participation of Fin. Investors in Derivatives Markets and Deals – **Financialisation**

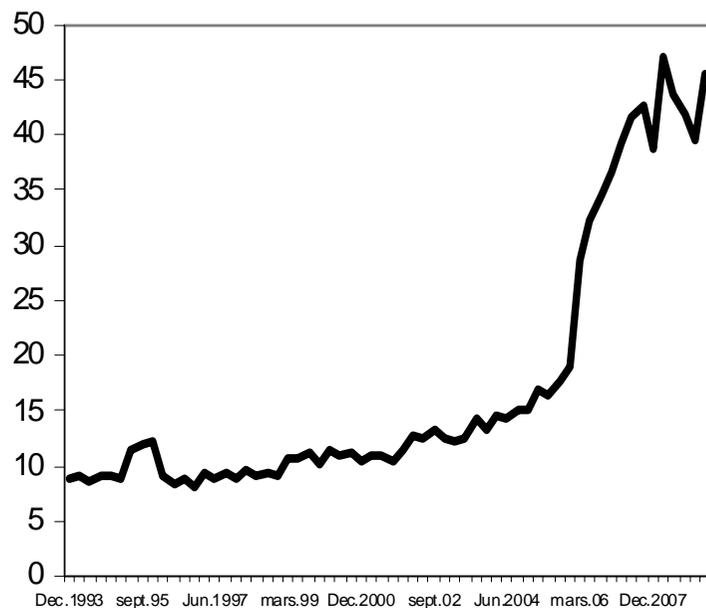


- the rapid growth of commodity derivatives markets since the early 2000 – associated with dot-com bubble-burst, low interest environments
- Easy monetary condition: real interest rates- an important determinant of real commodity price working through shifts in the cost of carrying **physical** inventories as well as (Kaldor, 1939- through convenience yield (the flow of net benefits yielded from holding stocks)
- The CFTC granted investment banks an exemption from position limits in their over-the-counter (OTC) commodity swaps transactions
- New actors in commodity markets (investment funds, mutual funds, pension and hedge funds and sovereign wealth funds);
- The flights from equity and bonds markets where the advent of financial crisis in the summer **2007** led to further monetary easing: excess liquidity moving into commodity markets
- High correlation across commodities as a result of commodity index trading and momentum trading, less reflective of the fundamentals;
- An intensification of financialisation in **2002-8** (in particular in 2006-8): the ‘commodity **super-price cycle**’ story at the back of Asian drivers and the high growth performance of EMs and other DCs coupled with ‘**decoupling**’ hypothesis

# The rapid expansion of derivatives contracts

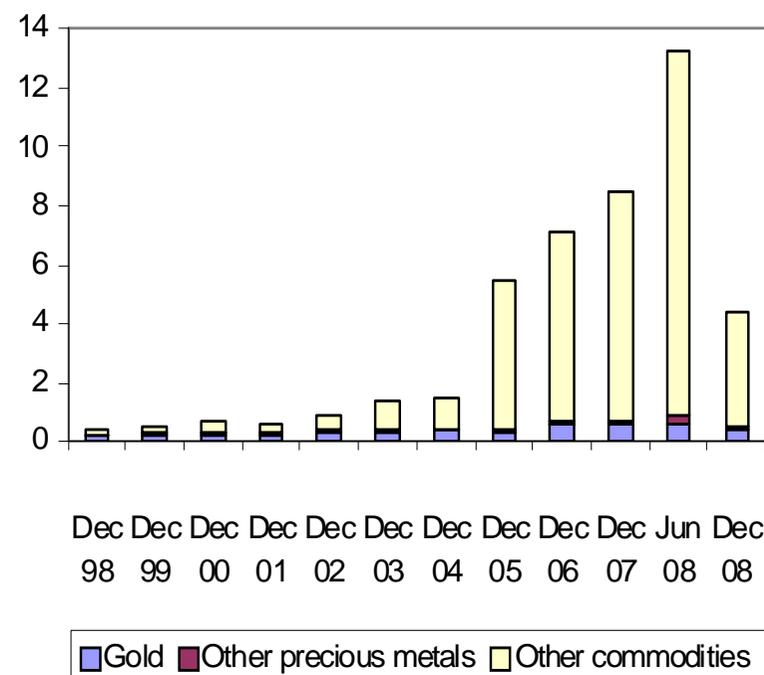


Figure 1: Futures and options contracts outstanding on commodity exchanges, number of contracts, million, December 1993 – March 2009



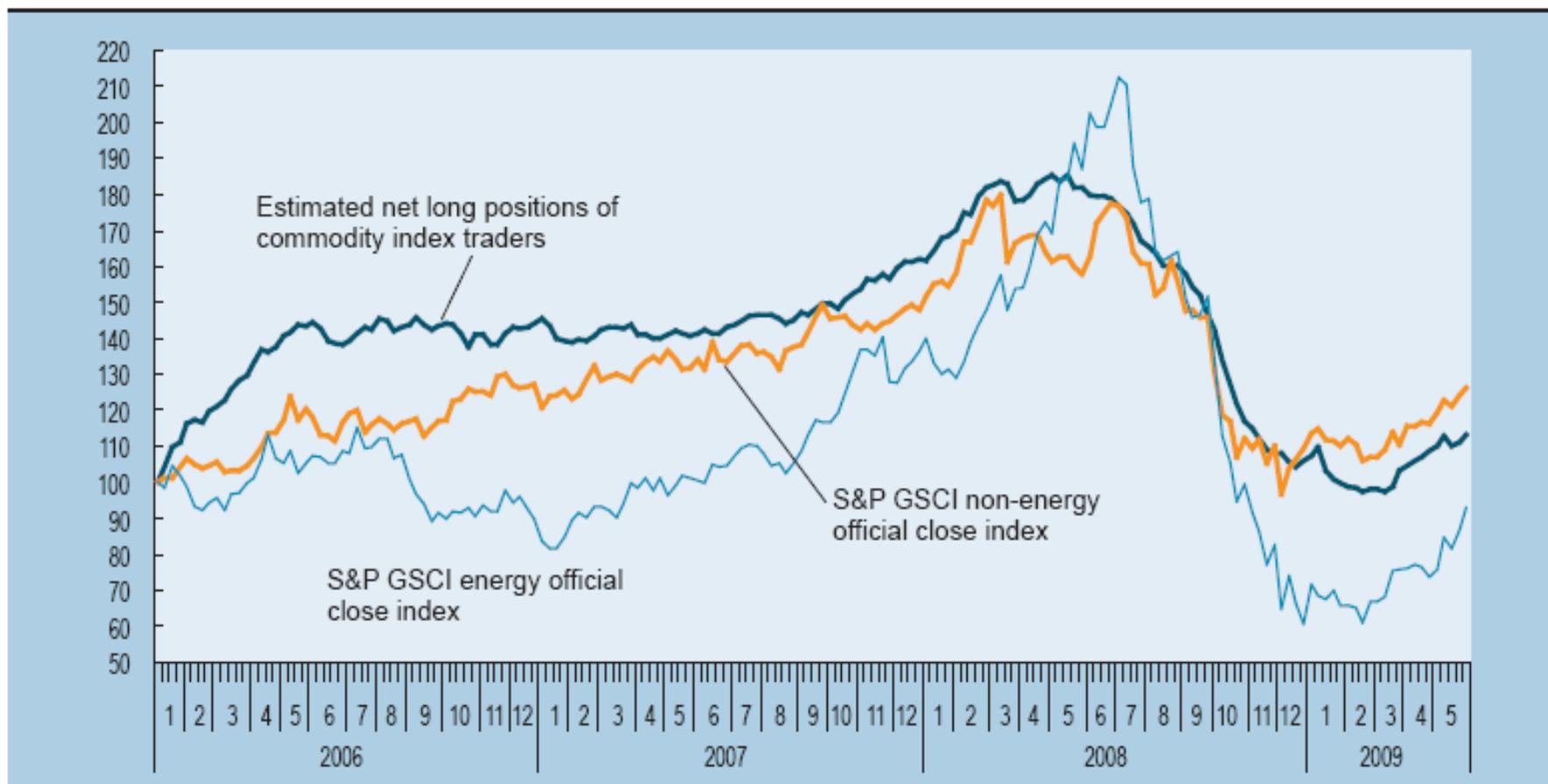
Source: BIS, Quarterly Review, June 2009, table 23B.

Figure 2: Notional amount of outstanding over-the-counter commodity derivatives, December 1998 – December 2008, \$trillion



Source: BIS, Quarterly Review, June 2009, table 22A.

# Estimated Index trader Positions and Commodity Prices, January 2006- May 2009



**Source:** UNCTAD secretariat calculations, based on Bloomberg; Goldman Sachs; and CFTC.

**Note:** The positions of commodity index traders are estimated based on the January 2006 weights of both the S&P GSCI and DJ-UBSCI, and index trader positions reported in the CFTC's Commodity Index Trader Supplement.

# Financialisation of Commodity Markets and Its Impact on Price Dynamics

## Questions Over Excess Co-Movements in Commodity Prices- the Financialisation Hypothesis

---



- Q: The large swing and synchronised commodity boom-bust cycle of 2002-9- can be explained exclusively by structural shifts in commodity market fundamentals ?
- Q: Is high price volatility linked to the financialisation?
- **the excess co-movement hypothesis** advanced by Pindyck and Rotemberg (1990) - an influence of speculation
- Q: co-movement beyond the effects of common macroeconomic shocks on stock levels?
- Q: Can an “open interest”, i.e. **virtual** commodity stocks held as part of diversified asset portfolios, exert a significant effect on commodity prices?
- Q: Are commodity prices and inventory adjustments are exposed to swings in **market sentiments** in asset markets in general
- Can excess in co-movement be explained by the “**liquidity**” effects → traders operating across asset markets are subject to common cyclical movements in **market liquidity** conditions ?- **market liquidity cycles**

# Commodity Price dynamics Under Financialisation



- Q: Has the precipitous fall in prices after Sep. 2008 explained in shifts in market sentiment- a flight to Quality triggered by the crisis of confidence, leading to massive deleveraging in many assets markets?
- Q: How are commodity price dynamics related to development in other financial markets, e.g. bond, equity and currency markets?
- challenges against the position that the financialisation of commodity derivatives markets/deals affect commodity price dynamics :
  - Krugman (2008) “investors interested only in futures not taking delivery cannot change spot prices”
  - However, given low price-elasticities, price stability cannot be maintained only through inventory adjustments and changes in futures prices could affect spot prices through changes in market sentiments
  - Futures prices can influence spot prices through profit arbitrages, leading not only to changes in precautionary demand for holding commodities, but also to shifts in [market sentiments](#)
  - physical commodity stakeholders make decisions with reference to futures prices

# Factors behind the unprecedented price swings: A Financialisation Explanation



- The precipitous fall and collapse in commodity prices in the last Q of 2008:
  - in part a reflection of the actual and expected shift of demand-supply fundamentals due to the anticipated sharply weakened demand ;
  - resulting from the shift in market **sentiments** influencing **virtual** holding commodities - the massive liquidation of long positions in commodity futures and OTC deals through deleveraging on the part of portfolio investors.
- disentangling empirically the two conditions( the fundamentals and the financialisation) is not easy, but the spectacular rise and fall in commodity prices for 2006-8 cannot be explained in terms of market fundamentals alone; - reflecting in wedges between futures and cash prices
- The effects of financialisation continue to filter through price dynamics in 2009-10- financial investors are back in commodity exchanges

# Market Structures and Commodity Price Dynamics

---



- The significant **overshooting** and **undershooting** in commodity prices – commodity prices are determined as other assets prices, on the basis of expectation formation on the part of heterogeneous participations
- Q: whether their expectations are always formed in relation to commodity market fundamentals;
- Strongest arguments against the financialisation hypothesis - the **Efficient Market Hypothesis** (EMH)
- Q : whether the “EMH” holds or not: “any and all information required for rational decisions is contained in prices determined in competitive markets
- If Markets are efficient, it play an important role of “**Price Discovery**” and “**Risk Management**”.
- Empirical test of the EMH in commodity markets on account of :
- commodity market structures: heterogeneous traders : **informed** trading, **noise** trading and **uninformed** trading;
- **information failures**’ and ‘**weight-of-money**’ effects by examining changes in commodity market structures (e.g. Mayer, 2009, Gilbert 2008-9)

# Market Structures and Commodity Price Dynamics (Cont'd)



- Three types of traders (trading rules):
  - **Informed trading**: stakeholders in physical commodities, use derivatives for hedging purpose, based on market fundamentals but constrained due to uncertainties over future fundamentals, poor inventory data and noises in market information: when markets are in bubbles, tend to follow market sentiments and the herd;
  - **Noise trading** e.g. commodity index traders and strategic investors in relation to development of other asset markets; traded in aggregate as index, commodity prices get correlated;
  - **Uninformed traders** (e.g. money fund managers)- use momentum trading and high-tech chartists, not refer to market fundamentals; React to price development, but not distinguishing between price changes due to shifts in market fundamentals or moves of noise trading
- the **information failure** effects – information does not reflect commodity market fundamentals – imperfect information
- The **'weight-of-money'** effects – prices are influenced by a position taken by large traders in the absence of matching counter-party liquidity – imperfect competition

## Market Structures and Commodity Price Dynamics



- Momentum or programme trading create arbitrage/profit opportunities
- The composition of traders (trading rules) change as market conditions shift - in search for high risk premium and market liquidity cycles
- Profit/arbitrage opportunities arising from the interface of these three trading rules, leading to a creation of **speculative bubbles**
- Activities in futures prices through leveraging and deleveraging of portfolio investors
- **Q:** Is speculation stabilising (if guided by fundamentals, then liquidity enhancing arbitrage dominates) or destabilising (if acting on fads)? If agents do not refer to fundamentals in decision-making, their expectation formation becomes **extrapolative** (not **regressive** with anchoring in fundamentals), leading to destabilising speculation
- Asset prices deviating from fundamentals, if agents enter and act predominantly on fads and in search for risk premium
- Shifts from **fundamental equilibrium** to **bubble equilibrium** ( behavioural finance literature on existence of multi-equilibria)



## ***Empirical Tests of the Financialisation Hypothesis***

- Testing **excess** in co-movement in commodity prices and those with returns of different assets: Lescaroux (2009) vs Tang and Xiang (2010) or Silvennoinen and Thorp (2010)
- Testing the presence of speculative bubbles and the effect of index trading
  - Irwin and Sanders (2010) “no empirical evidence of speculative bubbles in prices of agricultural commodities as results of the financialisation of futures markets”
  - Gilbert (2010)- modest presence of extraporative bubbles with substantial impacts of index-based investments
  - Mayer (2009)-Money managers vs index traders
- Testing interactions of market fundamentals and financialisation forces (Redrado et.al (2008)
  - financialisation generates a non-linear adjustment pattern of commodity prices to its fundamental value.
  - Slow adjustments to fundamentals after an exposure to shocks in futures
  - the impact of financialisation can be on short run price dynamics, rather than in the long term equilibrium level of prices

## Concluding Remarks : Policy Implications

# Consequences of Market Failures

---



- the entry and presence of speculative **noise trading** or the prevalence herd behaviour (Pindyke (2004) ;
- Excessive volatility not reflecting commodity fundamentals- not good for markets- markets do not work for hedging and risk management for commodity stake-holders:
- Price signal- does not indicate and predict properly a future price movement for investment and other technological advancement (for substitution and conversation)
- An enormous wedge between private returns (short-term gains) and social returns (long term consequences) as a result of market failures
- In the end, it is not a situation of winners and losers, but a negative-sum game for the global economy and community.
- The cost for Commodity Dependent LICs- huge- **Commodity Dependence Trap**
- The failure of the earlier ICAs should not be an excuse for non-action now



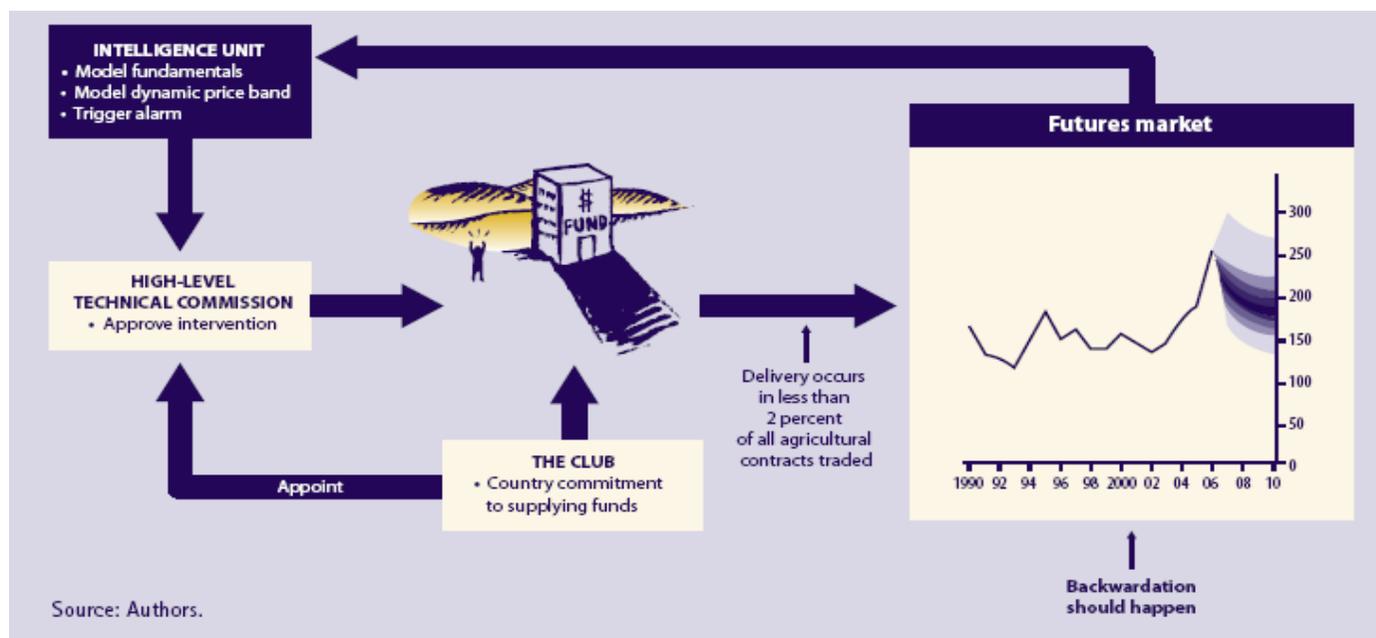
## What can be done ? towards making Markets Work

- Regulatory measures over markets (e.g. by CFTC):
  - i) aggregate position limits on futures contracts to counteract the “weight-of money” effects;
  - ii) increase the transparency of futures markets and OTC deals;
  - iii) capital deposit requirements on portion of each future transaction;
  - iv) Eliminate the loopholes in regulations;
  - iv) counter-cyclical margin requirements.
- Regulatory reform of commodity derivatives markets as a part of reforms over other asset markets- requiring international coordination and harmonisation
- Relying exclusively on buffer stock management for stabilisation is both ineffective and costly in the face of rapidly shifting market fundamentals
- What is required is a smart and efficient regulation, working in favour of market development; i.e. liquidity enhancing for risk hedging purposes
- Aiming at acting on **excessive volatilities** (defending price **levels** can be difficult when market fundamentals change rapidly)
- **Innovative** commodity stabilisation schemes through **virtual** intervention cum better inventory management

# Innovative (*Virtual*) Stabilisation Schemes and inventory management



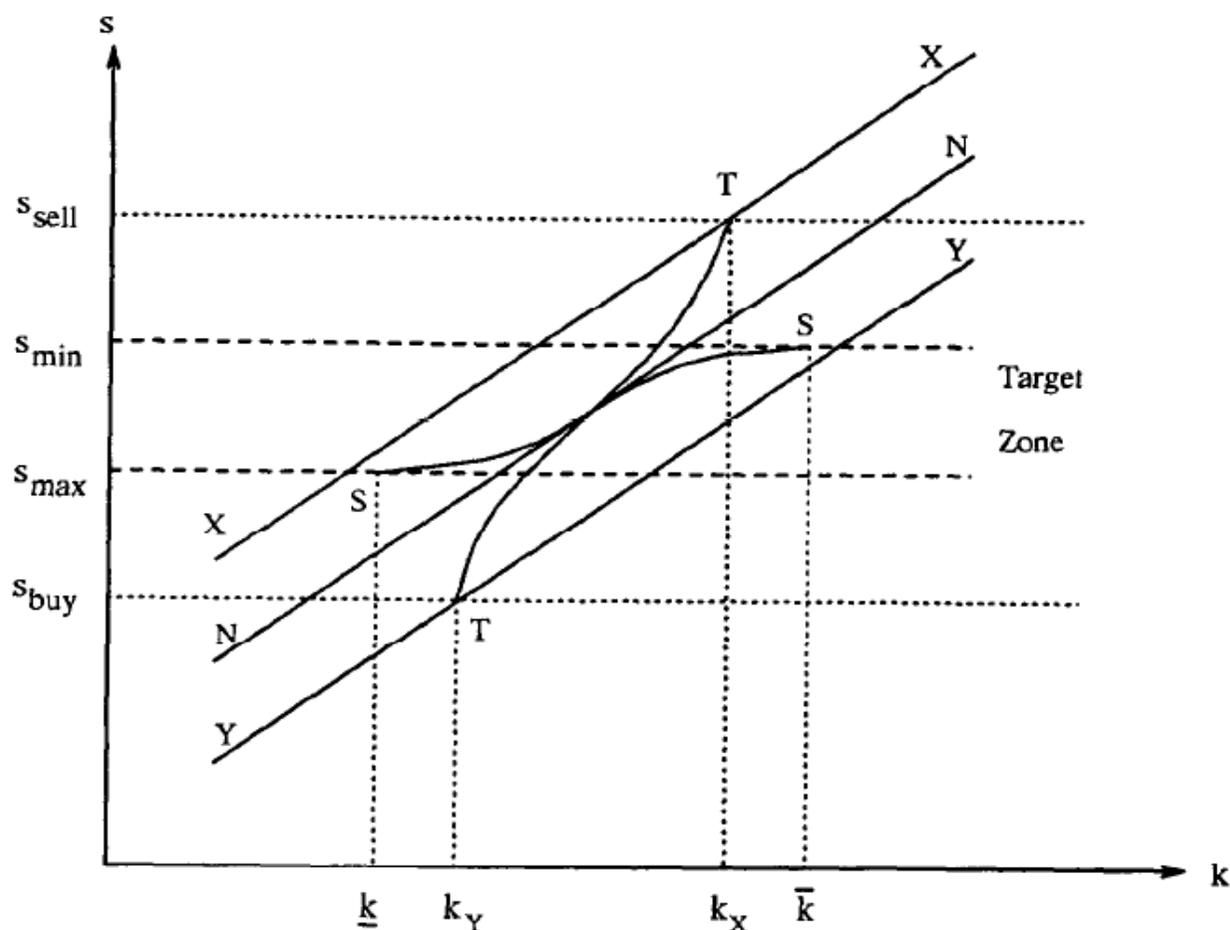
- IFPRI Proposal (Two- Pronged Schemes):
  - 1) A small physical food reserves should be established to facilitate a smooth response to food emergencies ( 5 % of the current food aid flow, managed by the WFP in different locations, backed up by emerging funds
  - 2) An innovative **virtual** reserve, backed by financial funds, and intervention mechanisms in **futures market** should be set up to prevent price **spikes** and to keep prices close to fundamentals





## Target Zone schemes

- Working effectively on agents' expectation formation with “credible” intervention ( creating “honeymoon” effects and “announcement” effects)
- Which instruments can deliver this credibility?



## The Case for Price- stabilisation – Target Zone Schemes



- Moving Target zones applied to commodity derivatives transactions with the use of multi-tier transaction tax as a part of global fin. tran. tax
- understanding movements of “equilibrium” prices in market fundamentals
- implicit target or guidance zones for prices of main assets, including commodities ( a wide and adjustable target zones in the light of shifts in fundamentals).
- Multi-tier transaction tax schemes (Nissanke 2005)- working on agents’ expectation, taming excessive volatilities, leading to speculative bubbles
  - The **first tier** tax can be **zero** under normal market conditions operating within a band, as it serves “as a monitoring and controlling device”, but allow normal efficient function of markets with plentiful liquidity.
  - The **second tier** of the exchange surcharge would function as an automatic circuit-breaker at times of increased probability of speculative bubbles;
  - The **threat** of a surcharge levy alone, if credible, may sufficient to keep prices within a target zone, **without** the use of physical reserves or buffer stocks.
  - The possibility of orderly realignments of commodity prices in light of market fundamentals

## *Can such innovative mechanism be made feasible?*

---



- The credibility and effectiveness of innovative mechanisms would rest on:
  - how well the future price development is forecasted in terms of market fundamentals
  - how closely the moving target zone could be designed and implemented to reflect such an evolution of fundamentals
- Public goods provision in addressing excess volatility demands highly information- and knowledge-intensive activities from specialised international agencies and institutions (e.g. CFC or UNCTAD) in collaborations with international commodity agencies and councils
- The success of the schemes depends on the political exigency and willingness of the global community