FINANCIAL TIMES



Marx goes manga as capitalism struggles LEG LEWIS PAGE 18

EU learns that trade comes with politics MARTIN SANDBU, PAGE 19

US hatches plan for companies to pay for switch from fossil fuel energy

• Kerry pushes carbon credit scheme • 'Loss and damage' on COP27 agenda • Planetary 'distress signal'

The US is working on plans to tap cash from the world's largest companies to help developing countries cut their use of fossif fuels, which it aims to unveil at the UN climate summit this week.

the UN cilmate summit this week.

US president Joe Biden's climate
envoy John Kerry is trying to marshal
support from other governments, companies and climate experts to develop a
framework for carbon credits to be sold
to businesses. The proceeds could then
fund clean energy projects.
Under the plans, regional governments or state bodies would earn car-

bon credits by reducing their power se tor's emissions, as fossil fuel infrastru

tor's emissions, as fossil fuel intrastruc-ture such as coal-fired plants are phased out and renewable energy use increases. The credits would be certified by an independent, as-yet-unspecified acc-reditation body. Companies would then be able to buy the credits to offset their

Although the scheme would be volun tary, Kerry said recently that he hoped the private sector could be "enticed" to the table because it would offer the most polluting companies a way of address

Kerry and the US administration want to unveil the idea at the COP27 climate summit in Egypt, according to people familiar with the matter. More than 110 heads of state are expected to

attend COP27, which began yesterday.

At the opening session in Sharm elSheikh the issue of "loss and damage" was put on the formal agenda for the first time. "Loss and damage" has become a shorthand for poor countries' and climate campaigners' calls for wealthy countries to help out with the costly impacts of climate change.

The issue has grown more urgent this year as a succession of extreme weather events including widespread flooding in Pakistan and Nigeria have wreaked severe damage.

severe damage. Data published by the World Meteor-ological Organisation yesterday showed that the past eight years are on track to be the warmest on record, calling it a



The COP27 climate summit opened yesterday in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt planetary "distress signal". The WMO's report said the global average tempera-ture in 2022 was around 1.15C higher than pre-industrial levels. The Paris climate accord committed countries to limit warming to 1.5C ideally.

"chronicle of climate chaos". He added: "Change is happening with catastrophic speed — devastating lives and liveli-hoods on every continent."

hoods on every continent."

World leaders are scrambling to fund
the shift to clean energy and reduce

Kerry's plan will combat global warming by unlocking "tens of billions" of dollars of private capital to fund the neargy transition in developing economies, according to a person familiar with the discussions.

The use and trading of carbon credits is unregulated and a controversial solution to global warming. In theory, one credit represents one tonne of carbon avoided or removed from the atmosphere, but critics say they do not always deliver the emissions savings they promise.

romise.

However, the concept has boomed s companies and countries come under pressure to cut their emissions and meet net-zero emissions targets which are legally binding under the

Several industry groups are working to develop standards in an effort to bring more credibility to carbon credits, and regulators including the US Commodity Futures Trading Commission have been asked to monitor the market US officials said they would ensure the environmental integrity of the credits

But the US proposal lacks detail, the people said. Carbon credits were not "the kind of thing you can have half baked. The rules matter, the details matter," said one person familiar with the plans. "There's no easier way to get people angry than to throw offsets into the mix."

A person familiar with the discussions said the US state department was plan-ning to introduce a broad framework but it would take further time to develop the full details.

"One of the things we're looking at is the possibility of the private sector, in effect, being enticed to the table," Kerry said last month. Funds could go directly into closing down some co "directly into closing down some coal plants and acquiring renewables, which is direct emissions reduction. I hope perhaps even by [the time of COP27 in] Sharm el-Sheikh we might be in a position to outline that," he said.

Human rights in spoilight page 3

Briefing

- ▶ US oil reports \$200bn ▶ US oil reports \$200bn profits as prices surge Oil producers in the US posted more than \$200bn in profits sinc Russia's invasion of Ukraine as they cash in on global turmoil and soaring prices.— PAGE 6
- PMI closes on takeover
 Philip Morris International's
 \$15.7bn bid to buy Swedish Match
 is a step closer after winning the
 approval of Elliot, the largest
- Poles seek army training citizens worrying the fighting could spill over the border are
- Rate rises buoy Berkshire in US interest rates were 'primarily' behind a \$397mn boost to Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway in the third quarter.— PAGE 6
- ▶ Ethnic tensions hit Iran Protests against the death of a woman in Iranian police custody have led to widespread dissent and raised fears of stoking the
- China to keep zero-Covid Commission has ruled out any easing of the country's rigid z Covid policies, and warned of a severe winter flu season. – PAGE 4

president's party in midte ■ Republican ■ Democrat



Source: history house gov
The US president's party nearly always
loses congressional seats in midterm
elections, with net losses in the House e
Representives often in the dozens. Thr
exceptions have occurred since 1902, in
periods of high presidential approval.

Changing times put brake on used-car seller Carvana

Australia	A\$7.00(inc GST)
China	RMB30
Hong Kong	HK\$33
India	Rup220
Indonesia	Rp45,000
Japan	¥650(inc.JCT)
Korea	W4,500
Malaysia	RM11.50
Pakistan	Rupee 350
Philippines	Peso 140
Singapore	S\$5.80(inc GST)
Taiwan	NT\$140
Thailand	Bht140
Vietnam	US\$4.50

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Orcel strategy puts UniCredit in conflict with ECB over capital plans and Russia

MARTIN ARNOLD AND OLAF STORBECK FRANKFURT SILVIA SCIORILLI BORRELLI — MILAN

UniCredit has clashed with the Euro pean Central Bank over the Italian lender's plans to return cash to shareholders and its failure to leave Ru

The friction has built since chief exec The friction has built since chief execu-tive Andrea Orcel took over in April 2021 and implemented an aggressive strategy to overhaul UniCredit's opera-tions and pay out more funds to share-holders. The two sides have aired their opposing views in a series of letters, according to one person briefed on the matter who said the relationship was "more than just a little bit strained".

The clash comes as the central bank takes a tougher stance towards

Dow Ju FTSEuro St FTSE 11

eurozone lenders' capital plans as the bloc braces for recession. Italy and Germany, UniCredit's two biggest markets, are expected to be hit hardest by Europés energy crisis because of their previous heavy reliance on Russian gas. Several people briefed on the discussions said that the ECB had objected to UniCredit's commitment to distribute £16bn to shareholders by 2024, saying that it ran contrary to official guidance that "banks should not set their dividend policies in terms of absolute amounts". Another such person said: "When the regulators send you a list of questions, you can come to a mutual compromise around the answers, but orcel's style is "Im right because we've gotal this capital."

UniCredit has told the ECB that it has belandered to a row received to a banked.

ot all this capital'."
UniCredit has told the ECB that it has the headroom to pay more to sharehold-ers without significantly weakening its

unwelcome source of risk and has been pushing it to exit.

UniCredit told the Financial Times the ECB had "continuously provided us with challenge and guidance" during the bank's strategic overhaul, adding that regulators "public support" was "indicative of the trust that they have shown in "". "Instructure staid its was "roomstited to." us". UniCredit said it was "committed to disengaging from Russia in an 'orderly and decisive' fashion". The ECB declined to comment

World Markets

K MARKETS				CURREN	CIES					GOVERNMENT BO	ONDS		
	Nov 4	Prev	%chg		Nov 4	Oct 28		Nov 4	Oct 28	Yield (%)	Nov 4	Oct 28	Ch
00	3717.46	3719.89	-0.07	\$/€	0.990	0.995	€/\$	1.011	1.005	US 2 yr	4.68	4.72	-0.0
q Composite	10304.78	10342.94	-0.37	\$/£	1.128	1.159	£/\$	0.887	0.863	US 10 yr	4.16	4.15	0.0
lones Ind	32011.97	32001.25	0.03	£/€	0.877	0.858	€/£	1.140	1.165	US 30 yr	4.24	4.17	0.0
rofirst 300	1649.94	1620.90	1.79	¥/\$	147.245	147.510	¥/€	145.706	146.764	UK 2 yr	3.06	3.04	0.0
itoxx 50	3688.39	3593.18	2.65	¥/£	166.093	170.986	£ index	76.668	78.075	UK 10 yr	3.53	3.51	0.0
100	7334.84	7188.63	2.03	SFr/€	0.988	0.991	SFr/£	1.126	1.155	UK 30 yr	3.77	3.71	0.0
All-Share	4001.84	3926.87	1.91	CRYPTO						JPN 2 yr	-0.05	-0.05	0.0
0	6416.44	6243.28	2.77			No	v 4	Prev	%chq	JPN 10 yr	0.25	0.24	0.0
Dax	13459.85	13130.19	2.51	Bitcoin (\$)		20825	.07 20	206.75	3.06	JPN 30 yr	1.56	1.53	0.0





Nikkei	27199.74	27663.39	-1.68
Hang Seng	16161.14	15339.49	5.36
MSCI World \$	2467.89	2499.78	-1.28
MSCI EM \$	860.90	873.02	-1.39
MSCI ACWI \$	570.77	578.22	-1.29
FT Wilshire 2500	4849.95	4898.74	-1.00
FT Wilshire 5000	37902.71	38280.81	-0.99

Oil Oil Go

hereum	1624.97	1530.63	6.16	GER 2 yr	2.11	2.07	0.
				GER 10 yr	2.30	2.24	0.
MMODITIES				GER 30 vr	2.22	2.17	0
	Nov 4	Oct 28	%Week				
WTI\$	92.21	87.80	5.02				
Brent \$	98.34	95.56	2.91			Prices are latest	for edit
ild \$	1628.75	1659.75	-1.87		0	ata provided by N	Noming:
					A Bill-les	:	



nd's, with which Ankara has less of a

problem — on grounds including its sup-port for Kurdish groups and failure to deport dozens of people Turkey classi-fies as terrorists. Swedish experts said Stockholm would have difficulty on the

latter point as the government had no formal role in the extradition decisions.

Billström stressed in the radio inter

view: "The primary objective is Swe-

rship in Nato.

Jens Stoltenberg, Nato's secretaryneral, said during a visit to Turkey or

Thursday that "it's time to welcome Fin-land and Sweden as full members of

Nato", the most pressure he has placed on Ankara in public. al reporting by Ayla Jean Yackley

INTERNATIONAL

Sweden shifts Kurds policy to court Turkey

for Nato application as new PM meets Erdoğan

Sweden's new centre-right government says it will distance itself from several Kurdish groups as the country's prime minister prepares to meet Turkey's president to persuade him to back its application to join Nato.

Tobias Billström, Sweden's new for-eign minister, said Stockholm would change how it viewed the People's Protection Units (YPG), a Kurdish militia in Syria, and associated political group, the Democratic Union party (PYD). Many

One-day programme reflects Warsaw's fears of conflict spilling over from neighbour RAPHAEL MINDER AND BARBARA ERLING WARSAW

At a military academy on the outskirts of Warsaw, accountant Dorota Pakieła was learning how to roll over on the ground while keeping her assault rille pointed at the enemy. She also got to lob a hand grenade, put on a gas mask and use a compass to anavigate her way through the rubble of a "bombed city".

"bombed city".

Pakieła was taking part in the Polish
military's new training programme to
prepare civilians for a possible Russian
attack following Moscow's invasion of
neighbouring Ukraine.

The one-day programme launched
last month is run by 17 military units
across Poland. Pakieła, who has two
children, heard about it on social media

which helped to defeat the terror group Isis in north-east Syria. But Turkey views the militia as a threat because of its ties to the Kurdistan Workers' party (PKK), which is recognised by the EU and US as a terrorist organisation

"There is too close a connection between these organisations and the PKK . . . for it to be good for the relationship between us and Turkey," Bill-ström told state broadcaster Swedish Radio on Saturday.

ernment in Stockholm mounts a cam-paign to win over Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the last big hold-out against the Nato applications of

weden and neighbouring Finland. Ulf Kristersson, who became Swe

visit Erdoğan tomorrow. Kristersson told Swedish media he would insist that Stockholm was committed to combat

ing terrorism "in every way". The new Swedish stance drew a posi-

'Kurds regard this decision as the Swedish government bowing to the demands of Erdoğan'

tive reaction in Ankara, but was con-demned by the former centre-left gov-ernment in Stockholm and by Kurdish activists. The Social Democrats, who were in power until last month only because of the vote of a pro-Kurdish MP,

Ukraine fallout, Russian threat

Polish civilians flock to army training camps

groups and separate remarks that Sweden would not close the door to hosting nuclear weapons after joining Nato.

"The government's handling of the Nato process is both worrying and excruciating," said Morgan Johansson, former Social Democrat justice minis-

Kurdish national congress, said: "It's a Kurdish national congress, said: "It's a blow against democracy... against the world's security... Kurds regard this decision as the Swedish government bowing to the demands of Erdogan." But Ibrahim Kallun, a spokesperson for Erdogan.

Erdoğan, told Swedish state broadcaster SVT: "We see this as a very positive

ep. Turkey is holding up Sweden's Nato

Supply security

Serbia rushes to move away from energy dependence on Moscow

Serbia is considering a move to retake majority control of NIS, its main oil company, from Russia's Gazpromneft as it rushes to protect itself from the impact of sanctions on Moscow, according to the country's president.

Belgrade is also preparing half a dozen other projects to diversify the country's energy sources, including closer co-op-

eration with Hungary, to cut its depend-ency on Russia, Aleksandar Vučić said. "It's crazy that we didn't think about connecting with each other and building this infrastructure network before," said vučić. "We were not in the habit of wars in Europe, but now it is different. Almost everything changed. That's why we are in a hurry."

Almost everything changed. That's why we are in a hurry."
Moscow's acquisition of Serbian gas storage and oil refinery operators and Belgrade's more recent failure to secure long-term alternative supplies have left the landlocked Balkan country exposed as the EU targeted Russian energy after its invasion of Ukraine. In recent years Serbia has imported all of its gas and up to half of its oil from Russia.

From December, EU sanctions mean Croatia will be barred from transporting Russian oil shipments to Serbia. And if Brussels overturns an exemption from a Russian ownership ban, Belgrade's main oil company NIS will no longer be allowed to do business with EU entities; this would in effect shut down its operations as it receives all its oil via Croatia's Adria pipeline.

According to three people with knowledge of the situation, several groups, including the Serbian government and Hungary's energy company MOL, have considered buying the controlling stake from Gazpromneft, though talks on a sale have stalled. MOL electined to comment.

For now, NIS can operate normally because its refineries have been

declined to comment.
For now, NIS can operate normally because its refineries have been retooled to handle oil from Iraq and elsewhere and because of Belgrade's exemption from EU sanctions on Russian companies. an companies. But Vučić said Serbia, an EU member

But vucie said seroia, an BU member-ship candidate, needed to consider "all the possibilities", including taking over NIS and sourcing alternative supplies. "If there were other sanctions against

Russian-owned enterprises, it will be a huge problem for us," Vučić told the Financial Times. "We will have to act

anyway . . . we have to secure enough oil and gas to our people." Vučić was treading carefully because he wanted to avoid confrontation while his country relied on gas imports from Russia, a traditional ally of Serbia, analysts said. Vuk Vuksanović, a researche at the Belgrade Centre for Security Pol-icy, said only drastic conditions such as a cessation of Russian gas flows or expanded European sanctions would trigger a hostile takeover of NIS. Having formed a new government

last month, Vučić plans to spend about €2bn a year upgrading energy infrastructure, including new oil and gas links to Bulgaria, Romania, North Macedonia and possibly Montenegro. Vučić held talks with Hungarian pre-

mier Viktor Orbán last month on strengthening energy ties, including an oil pipeline to link Serbia to Hungary's ork, and an electricity partnership

Training: those taking part in the camps learn how to use a rifle, lob a

across Poland. Pakiela, who has two children, heard about it on social media and applied because "I'm scared of the times that we're living in and I want to be able to protect my family".

She is not alone. Some 1,500 people tried to book a spot for her session, which was limited to 100 participants aged between 18 and 65. As the fighting in Ukraine continues and Poles worry about it spilling over into their homeland, army officers said the programme, due to end later this month, was likely to be extended to meet demand.

Poland has increased its spending on defence and has been in the vanguard of western support for Ukraine. Eight months ago it was among the first nations to send weapons to Kyiv, while also welcoming millions of Ukrainian refugees. grenade, put on a gas mask and navigate through the rubble of a 'bombed city' Since then, it has served as a transport

and logistics hub for Nato and EU ship

and logistics hub for Natio and EU ship-ments and has agreed to host for the first time a permanent US army base. To strengthen its arsenal, the Polish government recently ordered billions of euros worth of tanks, planes and heli-copters from the US and South Korea, and last month signed a missile develop ment agreement with the UK.

Warsaw has pledged to double to 300,000 the size of its armed forces and raise defence spending to the highest ratio among Nato members, without setting a specific deadline

Polish defence spending is forecast to surpass 3 per cent of gross domestic product in 2023, up from 2.4 per cent

Poland ended compulsory military service in 2009, to the relief of those who saw it as an unwanted legacy of the Soviet era. When the government then created in 2017 a territorial defence force, it only managed to recruit in three years half the targeted number of 53,000 volunteers amid media and public concerns over whether it was siphon-ing off resources from the professional

But Russia's invasion of Ukraine abruptly reversed this sentiment to the point that a recent opinion poll found most respondents wanted to reintrouce conscription.

And while the country has strict laws

on gun ownership, shooting ranges have lately reported a surge in visitors. Such enthusiasm encouraged some rightwing lawmakers in July to propose loosening

Russian aggression had created "a need to redefine the concept of

militarisation" which had bec "unequivocally negative word", said sociologist Piotr Kwiatkowski. He expects Polish society's interest in the litary to continue to rise be "defence has become to be considered

important and necessary".

While the weekend training sessions are limited to adults, education minister Przemysław Czarnek announced earlier this year that basic defence training should be taught in schools. This has been put on hold, however, because there are not enough shooting ranges. Meanwhile Moscow's recent threats to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine prompted the Polish government last month to order a nationwide inspection of shelters that could be used against

ussian bombings. As he prepared to teach his Saturday recruits how to light a fire and build a shelter in the woods that sur-round the military academy, Major Cezary Czarnecki said: "I'm showing civilians some very basic survival methods, but this can bring big

support of a population prepared for a war." Since the Ukraine war began in February, the major said "people under-stand much better how the army pro-tects them, but of course we can still do 'I'm scared of the times that we're more: I would personally bring back military service, but I'm not the prime minister of Poland". living in and I want

to be able to protect my

Dorota Pakieła, pictured below

family

Like other participants on the mili-tary courses, architect Jan Jabłoński said he would be keen to undergo more sive army training "I believe in the idea of republican citizenship and developing a citizen army seems better to me than buying big things like tanks," he said. "If Poland is going to spend [more] on defence, that's good news as long as the money is

that's good news as long as the money is well spent and not used by politicians just to create a public show." Jabloński was among the trainees who had previously visited a shooting range. But academic Monika Koziar was finding out how to load an assault rifle for the first time. She said she could still not imagine ever using live ammunition to kill somebody, "but I'm a patriot and I



Grain deal highlights Erdoğan's increasing influence with Putin

Vladimir Putin's abrupt decision to pull out of a deal to facilitate Ukraine's grain exports through the Black Sea last weekend risked restarting a global food crisis as Russia's military threatened to block further shipments.

left Russia increasingly reliant on Tur-key. Since the Ukraine invasion, Ankara

key. Since the Ukraine invasion, Ankara has become a crucial economic lifeline for Moscow, just as Erdoğan has played up his role as peacemaker.

"One hand washes the other. Both leaders need each other," said Hüseyin Bağcı, who heads the Foreign Policy Institute in Ankara.

Turkey helped to broker the grain recti in lukr and stablishad a isinit constitution.

things. And Erdoğan has so many

cards," according to a person close to the deal.

Turkey's booming trade ties with Rusainawy have forced Put into listen, analysts said. Turkey has deepened trade with Russia as its companies step into the breach created by the withdrawal of western companies and the impact of sanctions. Turkish exports to Russia usuad 45 eras cent in Ordhard to

received billions of dollars of Russian cash — including an estimated \$10bn invested in an atomic power plant — helping it to manage a ballooning current account deficit. It imports about half of the natural gas it uses from Russia, and purchases of Russian crude oil have surged this year to about 60 per cent of total imports compared with 20 per cent in previous

after receiving only nominal concessions, with Turkish president Recep Tayrip Erdoğan boasting that his personal relationship with his Russian counterpart was key to restoring an agreement that has allowed more than 9mn tonnes of agricultural products to reach international markets.

"Hie [Putin] doesn't agree to open this grain corridor via others. But with me, when I call... "tight away he pened the grain corridor," Erdoğan said in an interview broadcast by the Turkish channel ATV.
Putin hailed Erdoğan's neutrality and commitment to helping poorer countries as he returned to the deal.

But analysts say that western sanctions and international isolation have

ordination centre in Istanbul with Rus-sian, Ukrainian, UN and Turkish inspectors who check the ships that sail to and from the Black Sea through its

to and from the Black Sea through its waters. Russia quit the pact after accusing kyiv of targeting its Black Sea fleet. Puttin spoke to Erdoğan on Tuesday last week and agreed to a Un-backed compromise to allow more inspections of Ukraine's ports and the shipping lanes, which Moscow claims Ukraine is using for "terrorist attacks". Russia has tramed the deal as "guarantees" that Ukraine will not use the sea routes for combat operations. Ukraine has denied providing any fresh guarantees. "Erdoğan must have said, "You have no cards, Vladimir'. Either you turn it on or we have to do more unpleasant

\$1.15bn, and imports from Russia more than doubled to \$5.03bn, figures from

For its part, Turkey has this year



and Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

& Partners.
Putin's close relations with Erdoğan also give him a diplomatic lifeline also give him a diplomatic lifeline — proof that he is not as isolated as the west might hope, if he holds regular summits with a Nato leader. The two have crafted a complex relationship to co-operate on a range of conflicts, from Syria to the Caucasus to Libya, despite

Syria to the Caucasus to Libya, despite supporting opposite sides.

While Erdogan's approach may dent the west's united front against the war in Ukraine, Bagio said the Turkish president's influence with Putin could serve the interests of Turkey's western aliles.

"It is important not only for Turkey and ususia to maintain dialogue, but also for Nato. Someone has to be able to speak with Russia," he said.

Monday 7 November 2022 FINANCIAL TIMES

INTERNATIONAL

Climate summit casts light on Egypt's human rights abuses

Activists call for release of political prisoners as world focuses on COP27

From a small blue tent pitched outside From a small blue tent pitched outside the UK's Foreign Office, Sanaa al-Seif has been leading a one-woman protest in an attempt to secure her brother's release from an Egyptian jail as the Arab state hosts global leaders at the COP27

Like many Egyptians, she is hoping that the climate conference, which began in the Red Sea resort of Sharm el-Sheikh yesterday, will provide a chance to shine an international spotlight on the country's dire human rights record.

"COP is an opportunity when eyes will be on Egypt — an opportunity to speak up and get some breathing room," said up and get some breatning room, said Seif, surrounded by portraits of her brother, Alaa Abdel Fattah. "It could save lives if the spotlight on the human rights conditions keeps escalating, and if governments put it in their engage-ment with Egyptian authorities." Abdel Fattah is one of the highest pro-file collidary briseners are sort beausand.

file political prisoners among thousands detained by President Abdel Fattah aldetained by President Ander Radian Sissi's regime since the former army chief seized power in a 2015 coup. The attention his case has garnered in the lead-up to COP27 underscores how concerns over human rights threaten to cast a shadow over the summit.

Sanaa's protest and Abdel Fattah's imprisonment has already drawn the

sanias protest and Abdet rattains imprisonment has already drawn the attention of climate activists — Greta Thunberg was among those who have visited her tented sit-in.

Amnesty International used a rare press conference in Cairo yesterday to

call for the immediate release of Abdel Fattah, who has been on a partial hunger strike for more than 200 days. "We are running out of time, so if the authorities do not want to end up with a death they should have — and could have — prevented, they must act now," said Agnes Callamard, Ammesty's secretary-general. "Twenty-four, 48 hours, 72 hours at the most — that's all they don't, that death will [hang over] COPZr. It will be in every single discussion."
Callamard said despite the release of some 776 political prisoners this year, Cairo has arrested 1,500 more people since April. "We will not be fooled," she said. "The government cannot spin its way out of the situation. It must take concrete, visible, authentic actions."
Rishi Sunak, UK prime minister, wrote to Sanaa Self on Saturday saying the British accomments. "is to all."

Rishi Sunak, UK prime minister, wrote to Sanaa Seif on Saturday saying the British government was "totally committed" to resolving Abdel Fattah's case and that he "remains a priority". The 40-year-old, who was an iton the 2011 revolution that outsted veteran president Hosni Mubarak, was granted British citizenship last year. Dozens of British my have also raised his case, while 15 Nobel literature prize-

Dozens of British MPs have also raised his case, while 15 Nobel literature prize-winners have lobbied for leaders to use the summit to address the Issue of Egypt's political prisoners.

Some activists say the scrutiny that has accompanied COP27 has already caused the regime to at least signal that it is sensitive to outside criticism ahead of the summit.

Hossam Bahgat, the head of the Egyp-



Protest: Sanaa al-Seif sits outside the UK Foreign Office where, below,

by Greta Thunberg

and opposition parties.

Bahgat said the number of those released was more than in previous years, but added that it "still remains a

tian Initiative for Personal Rights, an

independent Cairo-based advocacy group, said the government had released more than 800 political prison-ers this year and also pledged to estab-lish a political dialogue with civil society



small number relative to the overall

small number relative to the overall population of political prisoners".

He said: "What's more concerning is that new arrests on political charges didn't stop going at the same pace, but it's still a positive signal."

For Abdel Fattah's family, the fear is

that time is running out as he pledged to stop drinking water yesterday. "He was already looking very frail when I last saw him in August so I don't know how his body can endure any more," Sanaa

Her brother has spent eight of the past

Her brother has spent eight of the past 10 years behind bars. The activist is serving five years in prison after being convicted in December of "spreading false news that undermines national security" for a social media post. She worried that Sisi would use COP27 to project to his domestic audience that he was strong and enjoyed the backing of western powers; she urged governments to take a stronger line on rights abuses. "Whether the western politicians agree or not... this is how it's being presented to us Egyptians and

'COP is an opportunity when eyes will be on Egypt – an

opportunity to speak up and get breathing

how it's being used," she said. "If Sisi feels his PR might be a little bit ruined, he would release some more."

he would release some more."
Despite his government's rights record, Sish has enjoyed sound relations with western capitals that have traditionally viewed Egypt as an important partner and vital to regional stability.
Former US president Donald Trump once jokingly described Sisi as his "favourite dictator". The Biden administration has been more outstoken but

"lavourité dictator". The Biden admin-istration has been more outspoken, but provided Egypt with \$1.1bn in military aid last year, while withholding \$225mn over human rights concerns. "We have made very clear to the Egyptian government our concerns shout human rights issues; in Egynt." a

Egyptian government our concerns about human rights issues in Egypt," a State Department official said. Bahgat feared that once COP27 ended, the regime would return to its old ways, saying the small steps taken "could be easily reversed". . . once the eye of the world is no longer on Egypt." Additional reporting by Felicia Schwartz in Washington

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FROM ABU DHABI for THE WORLD



INTERNATIONAL

Brussels attacks US over green subsidies

Inflation Reduction Act breaks trade rules and risks retaliation, EU says

OUNDS — BRUSSELS

ANDY BOUNDS — BRUSSELS

The US's flagship green technology legislation breaches global trade deals, risks a global "race to the bottom" on clean energy incentives and could lead to retallation, Brussels has claimed. In its first formal response on the Inflation Reduction Act, EU documents seen by the Financial Times state that the \$\$x99h package of subsidies and tax credits for American producers and consumers contravenes World Trade Organization treaties that say countries

such as the US cannot discriminate against imported products. Officials in Brussels also believe the package, passed in August, could trigger retaliation from the EU and other US allies.

The European Commission comments sent to the US Treasury state that five measures offering tax credits and subsidies "contain provisions with clearly discriminatory domestic content requirements, in breach of WTO rules".

tent requirements, in breaking in vivides,"
"If implemented in its current form,
the Act risks causing not only economic
damage to both the US and its closest
trading partners, resulting in inefficiencies and market distortions, but could
also trigger a harmful global subsidy
race to the bottom on key technologies

and inputs for the green transition," the document, which is due to be published today on the US Treasury's website, said. "Moreover it risks creating tensions that could lead to reciprocal or stableton; reconstructions."

sions that could lead to reciprocal or retaliatory measures."

The response highlights concern in European capitals that the act will hamper investment in green technologies throughout the EU and heighten the risk of a transatiantic trade war.

A subsidy race has already begun, with Canada saying last week that it would introduce tax credits for green investment to avoid companies being lured to the US, Japan and South Korea have also complained about the US act. The EU wants changes to nine provisions in the legislation, which restrict

subsidies and tax credits to products made in the US, or companies operating here. The incentives affect manufacturing and investing in products, including solar panels, wind turbines and clean hydrogen.

Consumer tax breaks, which offer a \$7,500 subsidy for purchases of electric vehicles, are treated slightly differently, with canadian and Mexican products also qualifying.

The commission said the US must "give EU companies the same treatment as other US trading partners". While the EU welcomed the Biden administration's commitment to fighting climate change, it said "the green transition is not something to be achieved at the expense of others". US

companies would gain an advantage that would enable them to outcompete others, turning the fight against climate change "into a zero-sung ame." It also warned that retaliation "threat-ens the multilateral trading system at time when its value is more important than ever for both American and Euro-pean businesses".

than ever for both American and Euro-pean businesses."
While some EU member states, such as France, are already calling for retalia-tion, EU trade commissioner Valdis bombrovskis has so far preferred nego-tiations. A task force of senior US and commission officials met for the first time last week. The EU response said it "hopes to find constructive and amica-ble solutions". See The FT View

US politics. Midterms

Struggling Democrats call on Obama star power

Former president joins Biden to fire up the faithful in tight

Pennsylvania Senate race

LAUREN FEDOR — PHILADEL PHIA

As the lights came down on a packed arena in downtown Philadelphia on Saturday evening, the crowd roared and waved their illuminated cell phones in

the air.

The 7,500 people had come to Temple
University not for a concert but to take
part in an all-star Democratic political
rally aimed at limiting potentially bruising losses for the party in this week's

"Library alections."

Polls show Republicans on track to take back the House of Representatives and possibly the Senate, which is why one sitting and one former Den president took to the stage in the key

"This crowd's so wild I think they can hear us in Latrobe," President Joe Biden told the audience of mostly students union workers and local supporters, in a reference to the small city about 250 miles west of Philadelphia where former president Donald Trump held his own rally on Saturday night. "They're going to hear us, they're going to hear us on

Tuesday," Biden shouted.

The president has largely shied away from the campaign trail amid persistently low approval ratings. The buoyant mood in Philadelphia on Saturday was in large part thanks to the man with whom Biden shared the stage: his one-

time boss, Barack Obama.

The former president has crisscrossed the country in recent days to campaign with Senate candidates in a handful of hotly contested races that will determine which party controls the upper chamber of Congress for the next two years. Obama had come to Pennsyl-vania to campaign for John Fetterman, the state's lieutenant-governor and Democratic candidate for the Senate.

Democratic candidate for the senate.
Fetterman was once odds-on favourite in Pennsylvania but his campaign
has faltered after he suffered a stroke.
His well-funded Republican opponent
Mehmet Oz has also run an effective
campaign focused largely on issues such
as crime and inflation. Fetterman on
Saturday made light of his medical



Leading men candidate Jo Fetterman, left, and Joe Biden at the rally in Philadelphia,

ing star power of the 44th US president.
In a 35-minute speech, following remarks from Biden, Josh Shapiro – the Democratic party's candidate for gover-nor — and Fetterman, Obama leaned into the optimistic messages and rhetorical flourishes that first made him But he also struck a sombre tone, warning of the possibility of Democratic defeats.

defeats.
"I want people to be clear. Midterms are always hard for whichever party is in the White House," Obama said, adding: I can tell your from experience that midterms matter, a lot."
Two years into his first term in office, Obama sufferd a self-described "shellacking," at the 2010 midterms as Democrats took big losses. Four years later, midway through Obama's second term, the Republicans held on to the House of

on a "get out the vote" message to mobilise their core base of supporters. While early voting data has suggested

usiasm in some pockets of the coun try, Democrats are counting on strong turnout from the broad coalition that helped Biden to defeat Trump in 2020 if they are to win hard-fought contests, especially in swing states such as Penn sylvania.

That includes students — who are less likely to cast ballots than older voters —

likely to cast ballots than older voters—as well as African-Americans in urban areas such as Philadelphia.
"If you're angry and frustrated right now, don't complain. Go vote," Obama said. "Don't then out. Yote. Get off your couch and do what? Put down your phones and do what? Put down your phones and do what? Note. Vote for Josh Shapiro. Vote for) lon Fetterman."
But even Obama's fiercest supporters acknowledge his star power has its limits. Back in 2016, Obama Joined Hillary

'Don't tune out. Vote. Get off your couch and

Put down vour phones and do what? Vote'

do what?

west Philadelphia who attended Satur-day's rally, said he was a "Democrat through and through" but worried that Fetterman would lose to Oz this week. "That is why I am trying to get all of the people I know, and to try to get those

people that they know, to come out to vote," he said.

Meanwhile, Trump was casting the midterm elections as the first chance for voters to arrest the terminal decline of a

voters to arrest the terminal decline of a once great nation.

"We are a failing nation," he said, before listing inflation, crime, illegal immigration, suppression of free speech and a host of other things he said has spun out of control since heleft office.

The ex-president's endorsement helped Oz — a former cardiothoracic surgeon turned television personality —

surgeon turned television personality – secure the Republican party nomina

Beijing strategy

China rejects rumours of swift end to zero-Covid restrictions

Beijing has quashed hopes for an immediate easing of the country's rigid zero-Covid restrictions, setting Chinalinked shares up for more volatile trading, analysts said.

linked shares up for more volatile trading, analysts said.

China's National Health Commission reiterated the country's commitment to eliminating covid-19 at a press conference on Saturday and warned that the situation was set to become even "more severe and complex" as the country entered the winter fluseason.

"Practice has proved that our pandemic prevention and control strategy... [is] completely correct, and such measures are proven the most economical and effective," said fu Xiang, an official with the NHC.

Investors last week selzed on rumours that Beijing was considering softening restrictions. Chinese stocks listed in Hong Kong had their best week in more than seven years while Shanghai-listed shares recorded their highest weekly gain since July 2020.

Beijing has stuck by the country's zero-Covid policy, under which most international visitors are barred from entering China and cities can be locked down without notice, despite rising complaints from residents.

The daily number of Covid infections

down without notice, despite rising complaints from residents. The daily number of Covid infections in China hit a six-month high of 4,420 on Saturday, official data showed. The soaring case numbers also meant a lower likelihood that the government would ease Covid curbs despite some recent positive signs, such as the removal of a PCR test requirement for railway and domestic air travel.

"Markets took notice of these developments and began to speculate on a faster exit by the Chinese government from its 'dynamic zero-Covid' policy," Goldman Sachs analysts said. "However, as confirmed by the press confer-ence, the government still needs to keep its zero-Covid policy until all prepara-

Investors have also been bullish after a report that China is planning to reduce the time travellers must spend in hotel quarantine from 10 days to seven or eight. The former chief epidemiologist of the Chinese Center for Disease Con-trol and Prevention, Zeng Guang, said authorities planned to reopen the border between Hong Kong and mainland China in the first half of next year.

Investors are also pointing to an arti-cle in the state-run People's Daily newspaper that played down the long-term impact of Covid infections on health,

saying most symptoms were mild. "The market is cherry-picking facts in rch of any sign of zero-Covid relaxa tion," said Feng Chucheng, a partner at tion, sau reing cincineng, a partner at the research firm Plenum, in Beijing. "The bottom line to understand China policy is, the higher prominence attached to a specific policy is, the more sophisticated manoeuvre such a policy crit would require."

sophisticated manocuric soan a policy exit would require."

Market sentiment in Chinese stocks was also lifted when the US Public Com-pany Accounting Oversight Board ended on-site inspections of Chinese companies' audit data in Hong Kong.

companies' audit data in Hong Kong. The move is a step towards a determi-nation, expected in December, or

problems, saying: "Anybody recovering from a stroke, the worst thing you have to do isgo up before Barack Obama." A Fetterman campaign staffer described Obama as the "best closer in

politics" — and nearly 14 years to the day after he was first elected president,

Representatives and serized control of the Senate. "Somettimes I can't help imagine what it would have been like if those elections," Obama said.

The former president's remarks underlined how Democrats are focusing

Representatives and seized control of the Senate. "Sometimes I can't help imagine what It would have been like if the senough people had turned out to wote in those elections," Obama said.

The former president's remarks underlined how Democrats are focusing underlined how Democrats are focusing and referrent visitories.

to distance himself from Trump in part to appeal to moderate voters in the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia suburbs. Opinion polls suggest that strategy may be working: the latest RealClearPolitics average shows Oz leading Fetterman by 0.1 points, within the margin of error.

whether Washington will allow more than 200 US-listed Chinese firms to retain their presence on American mar-kets. The US is demanding unrestricted access to Chinese companies' accounts in a long-running dispute with Beijing. The PCAOB declined to comment.

Middle East

Anti-regime protests fuel ethnic tensions and fears of separatist threats in Iran

When Masoud Barzani, a former president of Iraq's Kurdistan province, offered his sympathy to the family of Mahsa Amini, the Iranian woman who died in custody after her alleged failure to observe the Islamic dress code, it sparked alarm at the heart of the Islamic republic.

Islamic republic.

Amini's death in September triggered some of the biggest anti-regime demonstrations yet in Iran. Some of the most intense protests have been in the Kurdish region from which Amini hailed and which has seen widespread strikes. Iran's hardline politicians fear lengthy unrest makes the country vulnerable to threats from ethnic separatists and Islamist insurgents. "After Barzani's phone call [to Amini's family], the issue of protests [in Iran's Kurdistan] literally turned into a separatist movement," an unnamed senior intelligence official told state-run newspaper Iran last month.

The Kurds are one of the largest state-less populations and are concentrated in an area straddling Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. They have long complained of marginalisation and have a history of rebelling against central governments in pursuit of greater autonomy or seces-

or magnamasation and nave a mostly or rebelling against central governments in pursuit of greater autonomy or secession. Iran's Kurds rose up against the newly fledged Islamic republic in 1979, demanding political autonomy, although they were suppressed.

In a sign of their concern, Iran's military in september fired ballistic missiles and armed drones at the bases of Iranian Kurdish dissidents in northern Iraq to full what was seen as a fresh separatist threat. At least 15 people were killed in an attack that Washington condemned as a violation of Iraq's sovereignty.

In a statement last week that made clear their concern about separatist movements, Iran's intelligence services said US intelligence was religious divides and collaborating with exiled Kurdish groups. "Such

[exiled] groups are enemies of Iran's beloved, vallant ethnicity and are separatists who carry out missions given to them by the Usa nd its abettors," the statement said, referring to the banned Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan. The arrest of Kurdish politicians in Iran and the attack on Iraqi Kurdistan had "helped Iran's Kurdistan calm down", the unnamed senior intelligence official said. The official anxiety speaks to concerns in Tehran about separatist ten-

sions. Persians account for about half of Iran's population, analysts estimate, with Turks, Kurds, Arabs and Baluchis among the rest. Kurds and Baluchis are largely Sunni Muslims — a minority who believe they are victims of discrimina-tion buckle Muslin lead against parallel

regime. There was an "unprecedented" crackdown on Sunni Baluchis in the province's capital Zahedan in September, according to the city's Friday prayer leader Molavi Abdul-Hamid. At least 82 people were killed in the "Bloody Friday" crackdown, human rights group Amnestysaid.

In an unusually outspoken speech, Abdul-Hamid said Iran's supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenel should be held accountable for the killings as the protesters were not armed. His supporters then flocked to Zahedan to swear allegiance to him.

Fearing more bloodshed, Iranian media called on hardliners to refrain from a crackdown. Abdul-Hamid then said in his sermon that "we are part of the Iranian nation" with "legitimate demands" that had to be met. He called for an end to "ethnic discrimination".

Brigadier General Ahmad Shafaei, a Revolutionary Guards commander based in the province, said Iran's ene-

mies had targeted Zahedan as the first city to "fall" but that the elite force had folled their efforts.

The guards have long boasted that they have maintained security in Iran despite turbulence elsewhere in the region. But, adding to the sense of insecurity, a Sunni man affiliated to Isis attacked a holy shia site in the southern city of shiraz last month, killing 13 piligrims, according to domestic media.

Kurdish activists say their demands are no different from those of other protesters who have called for the regime in Tehranto be replaced by a secular, modern government. It was Kurds, they say, who introduced the "Woman, Life, Freedom" slogan at Amin's funeral. It has since become a manifesto for protesters in Iran. By focusing on the separatist threat, say protesters, the regime is ignoring its own failures. "Kurdistan is not into separatist movements. Officials should be asked what they have done for Kurdistan," one activist said.

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Metaverse explored UBS and Julius Baer identify obstacles as they trial the use of avatars to interact with clients • COMPANIES

Companies & Markets

US oil groups reap \$200bn in profits after price upheaval

- 'War windfall' brings record half-year
- Producers prioritise investor returns

MYLES MCCORMICK - LONDON

US oil producers have raked in more than \$200bn in profits since Russia's invasion of Ukraine as they cash in on a period of geopolitical turmoil that has shaken up the global energy market and sent prices soaring.

shaken up the global energy market and sent prices soaring.

Aggregate net income for publicly listed oil and gas companies operating in the US came to \$200.24th for the sec-ond and third quarters of the year, according to an analysis of earnings reports and estimates carried out by S&P Global Commodity Insights for the Financial Times.

The figure - which includes super-

'Operating cash flow will likely be record-breaking – or at least very close to it - by year's end'

majors, midsized integrated groups and smaller independent shale operators — marks the sector's most profitable six months on record. *Operating cash flow will likely be record-breaking — or at least very close to it — by year's end," said Hassan Eltorie, executive director for upstream equity research at S&P. The cash bonaraza has infuriated the White House as elevated petrol prices drag on Democrat's polling numbers ahead of this week's midderm elections. President pee Biden last week called the patriated against a support of the control of the control

unlikely to pass in Washington. But it has become a reality across the Atlantic: Brussels has introduced a 33 per cent "solidarity contribution" on excess profits, while London has enacted an additional 25 per cent "energy profits levy" that has taken the tax on profits to 65 per cent until the end of 2025.

per cent until the end of 2025.
The bumper profits have been underpinned by soaring free cash flow, a key
industry metric which is defined as cash
flow from operations minus capital
spending. Elevated commodity prices
have pushed up the former; investor
insistence on frugality has slashed the

Brent crude, the international oil benchmark, averaged more than \$105 a barrel over the second and third quar-ters — well above an average of around \$70/b over the past five years. It hit a high of almost \$140/b in early March

night of almost ST44/V in Early Marian dafer Russian tanks rolled into Ukraine. Meanwhile, Wall Street, still reeling from a decade of profligacy and persist-ent losses, has demanded companies enter a new era of capital discipline— prioritising shareholder returns over expensive drilling campaigns in pursuit of wear-meater output drowth.

of ever-greater output growth.
Investment bank Raymond James estimates capital spending by the world's 50 biggest producers will be about \$300bn this year, roughly half what it was in 2015, the last time prices were at a comparable level. "Over the past five years, the industry has shifted from 'drill, baby, drill' to

Hard knocks Businesses endure shareholder punishment for missing Wall Street forecasts



Companies that missed both earnings and sales expectations have been severely punished

US companies that missed aireauy low Wall Street earnings expecta-tions in the third quarter have been punished more severely than at any time since at least 2000.

Groups that revealed sales and profits weaker than analysts had anticipated underperformed the blue-chip S&P 500 by 6.7 per cent in the day following the release of their figures, according to the Bank of America. It said the

post the most tepid profit growth since the coronavirus crisis in 2020.

"Companies that miss always underperform but the misses gave a signal that the floor wasn't lowered far enough," said Parag Thatte, US equi-ties strategist at Deutsche Bank.

ues strategist at Deutsche Bank Big technology companies have had a particularly bruising earnings sea-son after several high-profile busi-nesses issued downbeat outlooks. Apple, Microsoft, Google parent

"This earnings season has shown that growth stocks are not immune from the downturn."
In contrast, banks Goldman Sachs and BofA posted better than expected profits, and Netflix's share price jumped 13 per cent after positive results. But rewards for companies that beat expectations have been that beat expectations have been more muted, outperforming the S&P 500 by 1.3 per cent, compared with the historical average of 1.5 per cent.

Berkshire **Hathaway** buoyed by rising rates

ERIC PLATT - NEW YORK

Warren Ruffett's Rerkshire Hathaw warren Bullett's Berkshire Hathaway is becoming one of the principal benefi-ciaries from the sharp increase in inter-est rates in the US, as its fortress-like balance sheet begins to generate hun-dreds of millions of dollars in income

for the sprawing congiomerate.

The interest the company earns on its \$109bn cash pile nearly tripled from a year before to \$397mn in the third quarter, it disclosed at the weekend, noting the gain was "primarily due to increases in short-term interest rates."

Berkshire holds the vast majority of the properties of t

Last week the US central bank lifted rates to between 3.75 and 4 per cent, up from near zero at the year's start, and traders expect that rate to top 5 per cent

next year.
While tighter policy has sent shockwaves through financial markets — and
hit Berkshire's vast stock portfolio — it is
beginning to pay dividends for companies and consumers holding cash.

Buffett and Berkshire vice-chair Charlie Munger have over the past dec-ade presided over a significant expan-sion in Berkshire's cash holdings, which they believe is critical given the potential catastrophic payouts its insurance businesses could one day need to make. It was a point underlined by third-

it was a point unterined by third-quarter results that showed Berkshire was hit by a \$3.4bn pre-tax loss from Hurricane Ian, which killed more than 100 people in Florida. Berkshire's insur-ance unit suffered an operating loss of \$952mm during the quarter. The sell-off in financial markets ham-pered. Berkshire's equity, nortfolio

pered Berkshire's equity portfolio, which includes large stakes in Apple, American Express, Chevron and Bank of America. The company said its port-folio slid in value to \$306.2bn from \$327.7bn at the end of June. Those declines pushed it to a net loss of \$2.7bn in the period, or \$1,832 per class A share, from a profit of \$10.3bn a

une outsized earnings a windiani oi war and accused companies of "profit-cering" from Moscow's invasion. Unless they invested the cash haul into pumping more oil to bring down prices at the pump, he said he would ask Congress to hit them with higher taxes.

Windfall tax legislation remains

results are a sign of how gloomy senti-ment has become for companies on the S&P 500 index, which are set to

investors started to look at tech as the new defensive sector," said Ohsung Kwon, US equity strategist at BofA.

overan, companies on the S&F 500 index have revealed year-on-year earnings per share growth of 2.1 per cent, according to FactSet data based on groups that have already reported and estimates for those that have not. That would mark the slowest pace of profit growth in two years.

year perore, worth \$6,882 a snare. Bul-fett has long characterised the swings in

the portfolio as "meaningless".

Operating earnings rose to \$7.8bn from \$6.5bn a year earlier. The results were helped by larger profits in its man-ufacturing and services business lines.



Media. Online learning

Pearson's digital education vision begins to click

Group's transformation into a one-stop shop for training materials impresses investors

Two years into the leadership of chief

BETHAN STATON — LONGON

Two years into the leadership of chief executive Andy Bird, a promise to transform a business best known for university course materials into a digital-first learning company is under way.

"We no longer buy CDs, we listen to Spotify. We no longer buy CDs, we listen to Spotify. We no longer buy DVDs, we watch Netflix," the former bisney executive said six months into his tenure in an update to investors. "How we learn is also changing, driven by technology and new consumer habits."

After a muddled strategy before his arrival and seven profit warnings in as many years, many investors think the company has reached a turning point. Underlying sales were up 6 per cent to £1.8bn in the first half of the year and Pearson is the best-performing stock on the FTSE 100, up 59 per cent.

Their optimism stems from Bird's efforts to repurpose an established education company into a high-growth, high-margin disrupter in the digital arena, providing learning from school to college to the workplace.

"What we're trying to do at the moment is just place the different building blocks," Bird said. "It's very much be beginning four journey... of what could be explosive growth."

So far investors are on board. Cevian, the activist shareholder with a 10 per cent stake, pointed to Pearson's 'high-actival' six has its textbook business and its wide customer reach, and

ss and its wide customer reach and

welcomed plans to cut costs by £100mm in 2023. Partner Martin Oliw said it had a "compelling vision" and a strong foundation for profitable growth.

One first step towards this growth is a subscription service, Pearson Plus. Launched by Bird last year, it offers users online access to all Pearson's textbooks for \$14.99 a month — an offer the company says will position it as a spotify or Netflix, but for education.

Roger Wilkinson, head of equity research at Columbia Threadneedle, a top-10 Pearson shareholder, welcomed the move. He said Bird had grasped that "the way people absorb learning and training has changed."

At last count, the product had 4.5mn users, of which \$29,000 were new paying subscribers and the rest existing Pearson users automatically signed up.

The relatively small number of new sign-ups does not seem to worry investors. Ian Lance, fund manager at top-10 Pearson investor Redwhel, likened it to Microsoft's move from one-off purchases to a recurring revenue model. "It becomes a much more reliable, consistent stream of earnings," he said.

Margins on those earnings can also rocket because unlike spotify or Netflix, which have to keep buying or creating new content, textbooks change little. "It's just the students coming through the conveyor belt who learn the same things every year," wilkinson said.

The rebranding comes on the back of a tumultuous few decades. Pearson started life as a construction company in the late 1800s and subsequently built a stake in media with the purchase of publishing, broadcast and news organisations. It was not until 2015, after the acquisition of learning companies such acquisition of learning comp

as Edexcel, Harcourt and Connections, that it shifted its focus to education. For the past decade, Pearson's core higher education division has been

higher education division has been haemorrhaging sales to the second-haemorrhaging sales to the second-haemorrhaging sales to the second growth. Plagued by profit warnings, Pearson's sprawling jigsaw of education businesses looked stuck in the past.

Yet Bird insists the businesses he inherited will set the company apart. "I looked under the bonnet and I said, wow, there are some really interesting assets in this company," he said. "We have ... 90 per cent of the pieces of the jigsaw, we just need to make a new picture."

Jigsaw, we just need to make a new pa-ture."

Those assets include textbook con-tent that can be repurposed in more lucrative formats, such as online learn-ing. Vocational ETec qualifications, VUE assessment centres for sitting profes-sional qualifications and English lan-guage learning products are growing. Pearson has acquired Faethm, a tech



Andy Bird: chief executive hopes his

company that assesse businesses' skills needs, and credly, a platform for accrediting workplace training, Bird hopes to consolidate these into a cohen to fire for employers to retrain their workforces. Meanwhile, the Pearson Plus subscription base can funnel customers to qualifications, training and accreditation. "We go from diagnosis to learning to assessment then to certifyingyou ... we rethe only company that does that," Bird said.

Market sentiment backs Bird's swagger. "It's about enabling companies to see them as a one-stop shop," said Susannah Streeter of Hargreaves Lansdown. "And It keeps beating expectations."

Susannah Streeter of Hargreaves Lansdown." And it keeps beating expectations."

With the share price now significantly surpassing its 870p bid, Pearson looks justified in rejecting a £7bn takeover attempt from private equity group Apollo in March. Redwheel's Lance calculated that fit ecompany his is five-year targets, its share price could reach £12. "This has got the potential to be a really good business," he said.

But after a rough 10 years, some investors are more cautious. About a third of Pearson's sales are to school and college audiences that are shrinking as a result of falling birth rates and shifts away from universities. While the pace slowed this year, college enrolment has declined 4.2 per cent since 2002.

And while Bird's focus on workplactraining is designed to protect against these headwinds, some are sceptical that its offer matches the rhetoric. "It now has to make this vision more

"It now has to make this vision more tangible, and show progress on execution," said Cevian's Oliw. Nonetheless after years of wandering, Pearson may finally be finding its way

Monday 7 November 2022



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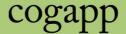
















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COMPANIES & MARKETS

Carvana's vending machine hits a lean patch

Rising rates knock used-car disrupter's sales, with shares down 95% from peak and debt trading at distressed levels

SUJEET INDAP AND ORTENCA ALIAJ NEW YORK

NEW YORK

A seven-storey glass tower that opened this year on the outskirts of San Francisco looks from a distance like the headquarters of a Silicon Valley start-up. It is one of 34 car "vending machines" run by Carvana, which promises to be the disrupter of used-vehicle dealerships.

The gleaming structures scattered across the US are a form of branding. Although most customers buy on the group's app and have the car delivered

Although most customers buy on the group's app and have the car delivered to their driveways, the vending machines make the point that buying a used vehicle should be much easier: as easy as picking a bar of chocolate. Carvana's pitch had attracted customers and investors alike. Last year the company sold 400,000 vehicles, twice smany sin 2019 as a shortage of seminary and 2019 as a shortage of seminary and 2019 as a shortage of seminary and 2019 as a shortage of seminary as in 2019 as a shortage of seminary and 2019 as a shortage of s

as many as in 2019, as a shortage of sem iconductors and other parts resulted in a paucity of new supply and sent the price of used cars skyrocketing.

Its market capitalisation peaked at \$50bn, and executives likened the trajectory of its revenue growth and valuation to Amazon, Google and Facebook

"Is [Carvana] a more efficient way to operate a car dealership? . . . The answer is yes by a wide margin," Clifford Sosin, whose CAS Investment Partners is the fourth-largest shareholder, said last year as Carvana's stock was soaring "This is an immensely difficult busines

to replicate."
But behind the glass boxes is a company that has more in common with a typical car dealership than might at first appear, one that traces its origins to an Arizona rent-a-car franchise called Ugly Duckling and is controlled by a father



Revenues dropped to \$3.4bn, under-shooting expectations, while net losses widened to more than \$500mn. The company blamed the fall on ris-

per cent from their peak in mid-2021, while its debt trades at distressed levels. High-profile investors such as Tiger Glo-bal and D1 Capital Partners have

capital has

1990 he pleaded guilty to bank fraud and received probation for his role in a sham transaction with Charles Keating, the Arizona property tycoon who was at the centre of a scandal in the US savings

technically challenging. It maintains about 20 inspection and reconditioning centres across the US where newly acquired inventory is polished into shape. Online shopping allows the Arizona-based company to avoid costly showrooms and salespeople.

Carvana bears the cost of picking up and delivering cars and has spent heavily on advertising to build its brand. Even on its preferred measure of operating profit, direct and overhead costs combined typically exceed revenue.

"We need to see either further (increases in car sales) or an improvement in per-unit profitability to sustainably see positive cash flow; "said Daniel Imbro, a stock analysta 18 tephens.

Carvana needed to raise cash this spring to buy car auction business."

Carvana needed to raise cash this spring to buy car auction business Adesa in a \$2.2bn deal. Adesa's physical locations would expand its footprint of reconditioning centres, boosting annual sales capacity to between 2mn and 3mn whickes, the company said.

But the timing proved tricky as Wall Street was souring on growth companies just as it sought to finance the deal.

Carvana sold more than \$3bn of C-rated junk bonds to investors such as Apollo Global Management at a relatively high yield of greater than 10 per cent. It also sold \$1.3bn in stock, with a third purchased by the Garcias at \$80 a sh Carvana's shares dropped 39 per cent to \$8.76 on Friday.

Carvana has pivoted from breakneck growth to preserving cash. It has laid off 2,500 workers, or 12 per cent of its

bour force. "I think undoubtedly, the swing in strategy from grow as fast as you can to get profitable as fast as you can is a big change," Garcia III said. Like others trying to turn a profit from selling used cars, it is under intense pressure as the Federal Reserve raises interest rates and inflation pinches consumers. Used-car prices are in retreat, making it harder to flip vehi-

Carvana on Thursday reported that retail car volumes declined 8 per cent

Investors' Chronicle Alpha

ing interest rates, which have made monthly payments for used-car loans increasingly unaffordable. Efforts to cut costs by reducing spend-ing on advertising and inventory have

turned off some shoppers. Carvana said it had roughly \$4bn of remaining liquidity, the vast majority in the form of borrowing capacity rather than cash.

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Investors' Chronicle Alpha

Carvana became a public group in 2017 after spinning off from used-car chain DriveTime. Carvana chief execu-tive Ernest Garcia III is the son of Drive-Time founder Ernest Garcia II. The elder Garcia controls 84 per cent of Carvana's voting shares, according to a

Garcia II has a chequered history. In

expensive, it will truly test appetite for funding [the group's] lossmaking

Garcia II acquired Ugly Duckling, which he would transform into Drive-Time. Along the way he pioneered vari-ous consumer finance products, includ-ing packaging customer car loans into nds. Loan securitisation is an impor-

tant part of Carvana's model.
Offering solid yields at a time of low interest rates. Carvana has been able to book large gains on the sale of its asset-backed securities to institutional investors. The sales have boosted its pre-ferred measure of profitability, gross profit per unit, or vehicle sold.

The gains from selling loans along with other ancillary fees have typically accounted for more than half of Carvana's gross profit per unit.

"Every auto company is a finance company," said one investor in Carvana debt.

In its peak quarter of 2021, gross profit per unit from selling loans and other fees exceeded \$2,500, as much as Carvana's gross profit per vehicle in

Carvanas gross proint per venicle in 2019.

The financing business benefitted from a nearly perfect confluence of events in 2021. Demand for vehicles was strong and car prices were rising, enabling carvana to create large securitisation packages. Investors sought out those securities for their yields at a time of low interest rates, creating large gains on sales when loans were sold.

"Lenders do the most work. They underwrite the loan, they credit-score, they price, they verify, in many cases service the loan, they credit-score, they price, they verify in many cases service the loan. And rate a result of doing the most work, lenders also earn he most profits on a given loan," oftief financial officer Mark Jenkins said in 2018, explaining why Carvana's credit business could be so lucrative. Sceptics, who include short seller Jim Chanos, wonder how the operations will fare as these conditions change. Carvana said its gross profit per unit from selling loans and other fees was \$1,921 in the third quarter. Carvana's core retail business has been its own high-wire act. Dealerships are regulated by states where incumbents have political cout to fight off direct-to-consumer challenges from Tesla or Carvana.

About 40mn used cars are sold in the US each year at a total value approaching \$tIm. Roughly half are private market transactions, with eaalerships handling most of the rest. While ecommerce accounts for almost a fifth of US retails alse, less than 2 per cent of used-car sales

than 2 per cent of used-car sales

Carvana's operations are

in its history

The pandemic led to a sales boom of the crisis have brought scrutiny on governance. In April 2020, it sold \$600mn of stock to a select group of investors and insiders. Buyers included co-founder of Guggenheim Partners Mark Walter, whose affiliates had been longtime investors of Carvana debt and equity. The Garcias bought \$50mn in shares.

A group of shareholders sued over the stock sale in 2021, arguing that Carvana had sufficient resources at the outset of the pandemic and that its board lacked enough independent directors to scrutinise a transaction that provided a windfall to insiders when the tock skyrocketed.

Garcia II went on to sell more than \$1bn in Carvana shares in 2020 and 2021, according to securities filings referenced in the lawsuit.

erenced in the lawsuit.

Earlier this year, a Delaware judge declined to dismiss the lawsuit. The elder Garcia, the company's largest individual shareholder, has never had a fordeclined to distinsic the about 1.0 declined to the leder Carcia, the company's largest individual shareholder, has never had a formal role at Carvana. But according to the judge's ruling, he "participated behind the scenes in the planning and execution" of the share sale.

Carvana has paid millions in fees to DriveTime and other affiliates of the Garcias. The company said those payments were for services that helped carvana grow, and remained modest.

"Payments from Carvana to related parties are insignificant in the context of hesize of our overall business," it said.

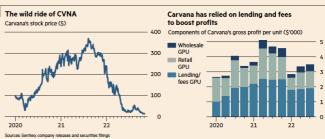
On 'Thursday Carvana's chief executive sought to reassure investors.

"While progress is rarely linear, we remain on the path to becoming the largest and most profitable autoretailer," the younger Garcia said.

The company's believers insist that business model will be vindicated.

"If they can stay solvent for next year, Carvana will be the future of car buying," a rival car executive said.

Carvana was reporting cash outflows even when its stock was peaking last year. Used-car prices are falling, with an index compiled by auction company Manheim down 7 per cent year on year. "Carvana has not generated any positive cash flow since first reporting finantiex compiled by auction company Manheim down 7 per cent year on year." "Carvana has not generated any positive cash flow since first reporting finantiex compiled by auction company and hedge fund that has been a longtime critic and short seller of the company." Now that capital has become more expensive, [it] will truly test lowes the same participant and the same participant an



FINANCIAL TIMES

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Elliott backs PMI bid for Swedish Match

Hedge fund tenders stake. opening way for takeover that would net it \$150mn

Elliott Management, the biggest share-holder in Swedish Match, has decided to back Philip Morris's \$15.7bn offer for the smokeless to bacco specialist, putting completion of the deal within reach, according to several people familiar with the matter.

with the matter.

PMI's offer had received more than 80 per cent of shareholder acceptances, as of the latest count on Friday, and more may be processed today, according to two people familiar with the matter.

Handelsbanken, the Swedish bank, is acting as the receiving agent.

The Maribbor maker first bid for Swedish Match in May, but when arbitrage funds and activist hedge funds bought up the stock, PMI was forced to increase its offer from SKr106 (\$9.63) to SKr116 per share last month.

Under Swedish takeover rules, PMI had made its offer conditional on achieving more than 90 cent of shareholder acceptances by a deadline of November 4, but PMI also reserved the right to complete the offer at a lower level of acceptances.

Two people close to the takeover process said activist hedge fund Elliott, which, as the biggest shareholder, was effectively kingmaker of the deal, had

decided to tender its 10.5 per cent stake, pushing shareholder acceptances above 80 per cent and clearing the way for the

The two course of the course o

the line. f PMI wants to do this . . . they will ly waive down to the 80 per cent

and open up an extended offer period," said a person familiar with the deal. "I would imagine then more share-holders tender and they will cross 90

holders tender and they will cross 90 per cent."

The person predicted that some index funds, retail investors and other hold-outs would then tender as they "won't want to spend the money and time on the back end of the trade".

Longtime Swedish Match shareholders, including Framtiden Partnerships and Australian fund manager John Hempton's Bronte Capital, which both own around 1 per cent of the stock and have so far refused to tender, could be forced to "flop in reluctantly", the person added.

"Without Elliott, I am forced to sell," Hempton told the FT. "I don't like being a minority in a company on the other side of the world without a big brother

But Dan Juran, managing member of Framtiden, insisted he had no plans to tender, adding that the deal proved "the endangered status of the species 'long-term invastor'"

term investor".

If PMI succeeds in capturing Swedish Match, it will be a huge boost to its efforts to transition away from cigarettes towards so-called next-generation products as part of its pledge to "unsmoke the world".

PMI and Swedish Match declined to comment. Elliott did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Executive salaries

Bonuses fuel 23% increase in FTSE 100 chiefs' pay

pay increases. The rise to £3.9mn was driven by record bomus payouts, partly as a consequence of lower targets set during the pandemic. Many companies bounced back strongly as lockdowns ended, leading to an average C50 bonus of 86 per cent of the maximum available, up from 58 per cent ast year and a long-term average of 70 to 75 per cent, according to PwC. The higher bonuses took overall average pay up from pre-pandemic levels of £3.6mn in 2018-19 and £3.7mn for 2017-18.

2017-18.
PwC said that 2025 pay awards were likely to be subject to "unprecedented" shareholder scrutiny a companies far a more difficult 12 months and the UK risks entering a recession.
The figures come as companies try to persuade staff to accept smaller pay deals. Many workers are struggling with spiralling price growth and rising inter-

Market questions. Week ahead

Investors wait for Fed rate rises to tame inflation

KATE DUGUID, WILLIAM LANGLEY

Investors and economists are expecting the Federal Reserve's aggressive interest rate rises to eventually curtail inflation,



'Broad

questions

. . still

overhang

China's

banking

sector

but forecasts suggest it is not likely to be evident in the data for October.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics will release its US consumer price index report on Thursday, with economists surveyed by Bloomberg expecting smaller acceleration in US consumer prices for the month of October.

Wall Street has forecast CPI to have increased 8 per cent year on year in October, down from 8.2 per cent in September.

October, down Home of F tember. Core CPI, which strips out the volatile food and energy components, is expected to have risen by 6.6 per cent, year on year, the same rate as in Septem-

year on year, the same rate as in september.

The CPI data come after the Fed last week raised interest rates by 0.75 percentage points, the central bank's fourth consecutive jumbo increase.

"Whether it is this month, next month or the one after that, I have increasing confidence that inflation will decelerate," said Eric Winograd, an economist at AllianceBernstein, citing lower commodity prices, an easing in supply chain pressures and decelerating house price growth. Inflation may be a key factor in deciding the results of tomorrow's Us mid-term elections to determine control of Congress, according to the latest polling data that highlight how the soaring cost of living and recession fears are weigh-

of living and recession fears are weighing on the minds of Americans.

Will Chinese loan growth stabilise?

The Chinese government hopes increased loan issuance will help to fund infrastructure spending, restart stalled building projects and revitalise the world's second-biggest economy – which has weakened due to repeated Covid-19 lockdowns and a property sec-

tor slowdown.
Wang Tao, chief China economist at UBS, forecast that renminbi loan issu-ance stabilised at about Rmb800bn

(\$110bn) in October, after far exceeding expectations the month before. The September surge — when new loans nearly doubled from the month before to Rmb2.47tn - was in part

thanks to recent state support. That included an order from regulators for state banks to extend at least



Clued in: New York Stock traders monitor comments by Federal Reserve chair Jay Powell on November 2.

time homebuyers at the end of the But analysts said economic uncer tainty and the zero-Covid policy, which officials vowed last week to uphold, could continue to hamper demand for expect to see a smaller acceleration in US consum credit in October. prices for October –

"Broad questions about a delayed property market recovery and un-favourable employment conditions still overhang China's banking sector," analysts at Fitch, the rating agency,

Rmb600bn in financing to developers

before the end of the year and a reduc-tion in benchmark lending rates.

would lower interest rates on loans

ranted by a state fund to some first

The People's Bank of China also said it

They also noted that issuance this year was driven largely by rising corpo-rate loans to companies in manufactur-ing and infrastructure, while retail and corporate loan issuance had ecclerated sharply. William Langley Did UK economic output dip in the third quarter?

The UK economy is expected to have shrunk in September and in the third quarter, underscoring the Bank of Eng-land's warnings that Britain is heading

or a recession next year. Economists polled by Bloomberg forecast UK gross domestic product to have dropped 0.2 per cent between August and September, partially reflect-ing the additional bank holiday for the en's funeral.

it follows a contraction in the previ ous month when "there was a general loss of momentum in the economy", according to Sandra Horsfield, econd

As a result, UK GDP is expected to have dropped 0.4 per cent in the third quarter compared with the previous three months, as activity suffered due to high inflation and energy costs. This means a wider gap compared with the

pre-pandemic levels of economic outut than the 0.2 per cent shortfall regis-ered in the second quarter. In contrast, the eurozone economy

expanded 0.2 per cent in the three months to September to 2.1 per cent, above its fourth quarter 2019 level, laying bare the hit of the pandemic and higher inflation on the British economy.

As it raised interest rates to 3 per cent this week, the highest level since 2008, the Bank of England forecast that the UK economy would enter a recession lasting at least throughout 2023.

It attributed the long-lasting down-

turn to high energy prices and materi-ally tighter financial conditions weighing on spending.
Benjamin Nabarro, economist at Citi-

group, also expects a two-year reces-sion. "The UK is increasingly facing an outlook characterised by tightening monetary policy, restrictive rates and a large-terms trade shock," he said. Valentina Romei

est rates, while companies are typically offering below-inflation pay rises of around 5 to 6 per cent, PwC said. Andrew Page, executive compensation leader at PwC UK, said the "increase in executive pay and bonuses highlights that FTSE 100 companies were boosted by businesses opening up

'Higher pay outcomes are likely to be met with greater investor scrutiny

drew Page, PwC

and demand returning after the pandemic". He added that "higher pay outcomes are likely to be met with greater investor scrutiny [in the 2023 AGM season], particularly in the context of rising inflation and pay increases across the workforce".

workforce".

Pay awards were set before the cost of living crisis began, but have led to criticism from fair pay campaigners.

Luke Hildyard, director of the High

Pay Centre think-tank, said that such Pay Centre think-tank, said that such pay increases "for people who are already multimillionaires are far from ideal at a time when their lower-paid colleagues are denied a pay rise that keeps up with inflation". The majority of executives received a salary increase for 2022 in line with their workforce, with 38 per cent being awarded a rise below that of their staff.

However, the use of bonuses and long-term incentive plans significantly boosted overall payouts. Pay for chief executives had fallen in

the pandemic, reflecting lower bonuses and moves by many CEOs to freeze their pay, with average pay totalling £3.2mn in 2020-21 and £3.1mn in 2019-20. But this has risen again. The proportion of chief executives with salary freezes fell from 45 per cent in 2021 to 15 per cent in 2022, while only 5 per cent of FTSE 100 CEOs received no bonus for 2021-22,

down from 22 per cent in 2020-21.
Some companies have already faced investor revolts. In June, Informa suffered a shareholder rebellion against a £2.7mn pay package for chief executive Lord Stephen Carter. Morgan Sindall and Marks and Spencer have also faced objections from shareholders.

UBS and Julius Baer hit metaverse obstacles

OWEN WALKER EUROPEAN BANKING CORRESPONDENT

Two of the world's biggest wealth man-agers are experimenting with switch-ing client meetings from oak-panelled boardrooms to the metaverse, but have struggled to overcome data security issues and motion sickness.

UBS and Julius Baer, swiss banks that specialise in providing white-glove financial advice to billionaires, have each trialled the use of headsets and avatars to interact with dients, according to people involved.

But neither bank is close to rolling out a virtual reality offering to their ultrarich customers, after the experiments caused concern over the technology's case of use and the ability to share documents securely.

"The technology is not there yet—frankly, it looks like Atari graphics at the moment and people who have tried it have had feelings of motion sickness," said one bank executive involved in the trials. "We also have a lot of issues with confidential and sensitive data security."

The metaverse is an immersive vir-tual world where people wearing head-sets interact with one another as three-dimensional avatars. It has been cham-pioned by the likes of Mark Zuckerberg, the founder of Facebook, which was renamed Meta last year and has pro-voked ire from investors for its heavy spending on virtual reality. Wealth management is one of the last

'The technology is not there yet - frankly, it looks like Atari graphics at the moment'

professional services to be disrupted by digitisation, as the ultra-rich value personal interaction with their advisers. But some wealth managers have been investing heavily in technology in recent years to prepare for changing demand.

Since becoming the chief executive two years ago of UBS, the world's biggest wealth manager, Ralph Hamers has prioritised investment in digital technol-

ogy to cut costs and differentiate the group's offering from rivals.

"We will use digitalisation and all the opportunities it brings to provide personal advice and . . . tailor that advice to clients' needs,' Hamers told investors at the bank's annual meeting this year. Hamers had pursued the use of artificial intelligence in wealth management through a 1st Aban acquisition of US advisory business Wealthfront, but UBS aborted that takeover in September.

A person involved in UBS 'strials of VR said the bank was trying to find ways to improve digital meetings with clients. "We have set up virtual offices in the metaverse, we have tested how to engage with clients. Were not there it's still very much experimentation." Fellow Swiss bank Julius Baer has also experimented with VR. It ran a pilot for staff to hold internal meetings in virtual spaces, while 200 executives took part in a "metaverse experience" at a senior global management conference.

"There's no outward facing use of this kind of tech at this stage," said a person with knowledge of the trials.

Technology

Flipkart curbs deals and hiring as losses mount

Flipkart's chief executive says the Walmart-owned ecommerce group will cut back on dealmaking and hiring in order to curb costs, as its losses balloon in the face of fierce competition from Amazon and Reliance.

Chief executive Kalyan Krishnamurthy said the recent funding crunch in global tech meant Flipkart was ending an acquisition spree, in which it spent up to \$500 mm to diversify into areas from travel to online healthcare.

"We've stopped, or we've taken a pause, in these M&As," he said. "What we've decided as a company is that in the next one to two years, we will make sure that these big investments we make see a lot of customer adoption and then we will go to the next set of M&As."

He added that Flipkart would not cut jobs, but it would hire 'significantly less than the last couple of years'.

Losses at parent Flipkart Internet Private for its financial year to March grew more than 50 per cent to Rs43.6bn

(\$528mn) from a year earlier. Wa acquired the company, an early star of Indian ecommerce, for \$16bn in 2018.

Indian ecommerce, for \$16bn in 2018. The size and potential of india's ecom-merce market have attracted a number of other hefty competitors, from Ama-zon to Indian conglomerates such as Mukesh Ambani's Reliance Industries



and Tata, both of which have commerce arms.
Yet Flipkart's performance shows how challenging india's relatively young ecommerce sector remains. Its revenue grew more than 50 per cent to Rs106bn its last financial year, but losses were driven by an increase in costs, including advertising and transportation.
A report last month by Bain, in collaboration with Flipkart, estimated that India's ecommerce shopper base would

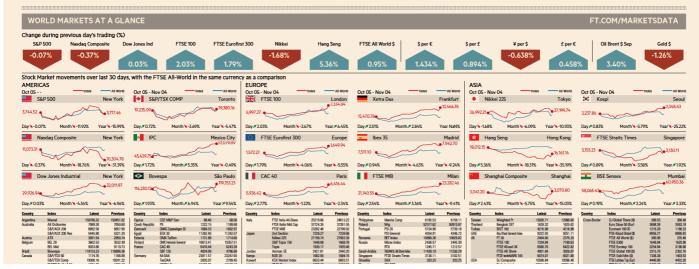
than 400mn by 2027, due to the growth of smartphones and digital services.

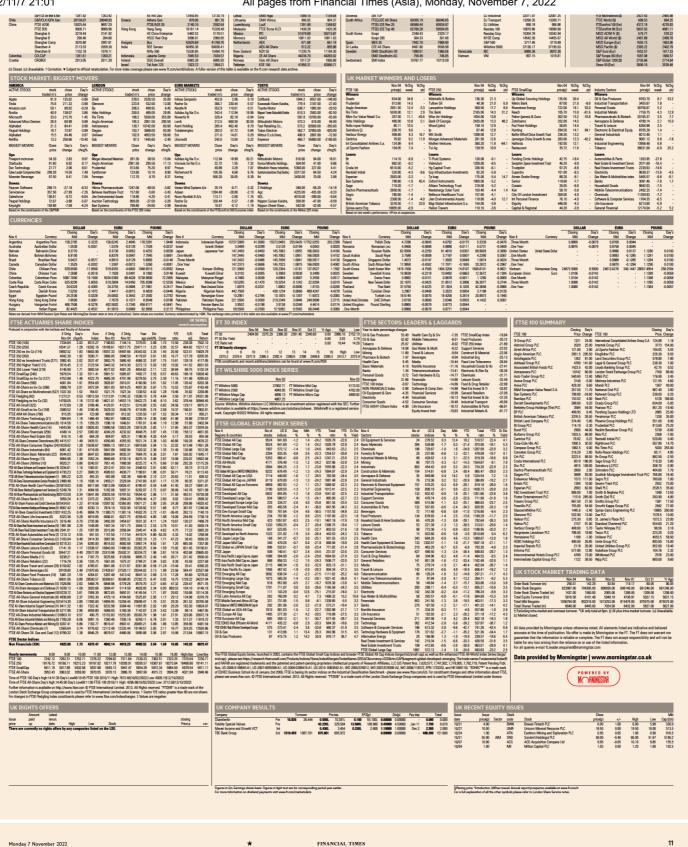
than 400mn by 2027, due to the growth of smartphones and digital services. The company remains a market leader in large ecommerce categories such as fashion and smartphones, said Satish Meena, an independent analyst. But keeping up with newer entrants such as Reliance and Meesho, which counts Meta as ninvestor, in first-growing markets including grocery and social commerce istougher, he said. "Profitability is nowhere to be seen." Meena added. "The companies will spend more and keep on spending." Krishnamurthy argued that India's ecommerce market was large enough to accommodate several large competitions. The sector remains "vibrant, given the size of the market", he said. "The cash consumption we have today is to build products, technologies, supply chains" for younger businesses.

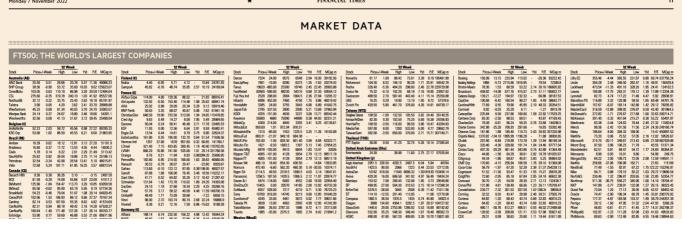
Flipkart raised \$3.60 in funding last year for a valuation of \$37.60 in, with main shareholder Walmant leading the round alongside SoftBank and Singapore's sovereign wealth fund GIC.

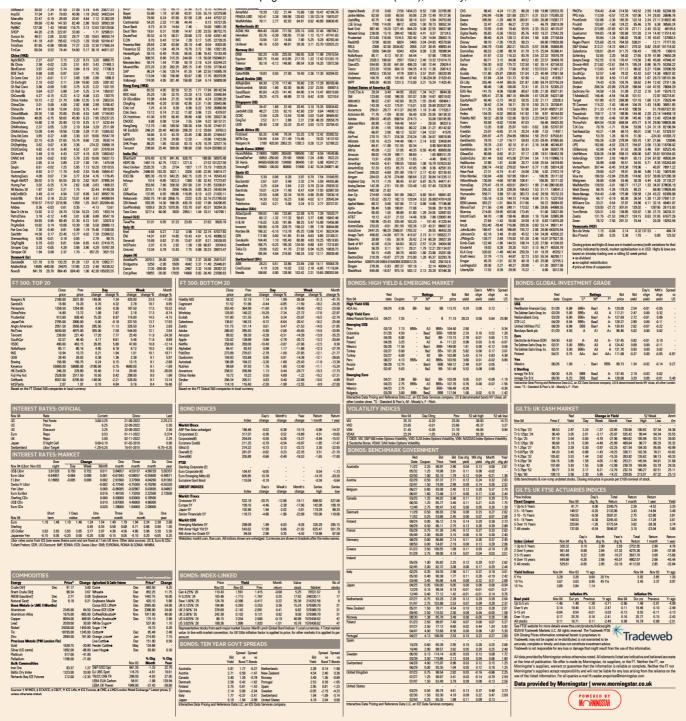
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WORK & CAREERS

Restless retirees head back to the jobs market

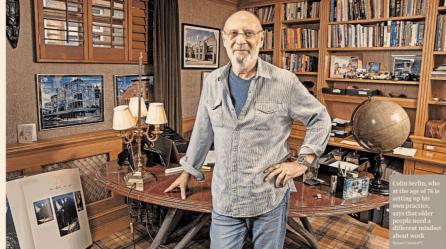
Wanting to earn more and socialise, older people are returning to work - and employers are happy to be flexible, writes Anjli Raval

eil retired in September. Age 70 and from Norfolk, he was deputy manager of a motor factor business, supplying car parts and acces-sories to garages. After working since he was 17, and deferring retirement for six years, he had decided it was finally time.

years, ne nau decured in was minary mine. But barely a month had passed before Neil (who does not wish to share his last name) realised the sums did not add up. The state pension would not cover the cost of rent, energy bills, groceries and other outgoings. Before long, he was back looking for a job.

Alonsoide his money worries he also

cost or rent, energy bins, groceries and other outgoings. Before long, he was backlooking for a job. Alongside his money worries, he also missed being around people. "There are serious financial concerns of course, but Imostly miss the social aspect of work. I mused to work for a happy team of people with a lot of banter," he says. Now he's looking for a part-time job in sales, something he says he is really good at. "Exceptional customer service" is what he has always been about. With the move towards electric cars, he does not see a future in his old trade. Instead, as a collector of clocks, he does not see a future in his old trade. Instead, as a collector of clocks, a week or work in a bookshop. "It's an outdated view that people will retire and sit athome and do nothing," he added. Many people over 65, like Neil, are hoping to be become part of the so-called "unretired." The cost of living crisis, opportunities for more flexible work and a post-lockdown realisation of he importance of social contact have all coincided, pushing many to look again for work and secure employment. Recent analysis shows that workers aged 50-64 have been leaving the UK workforce because they are choosing to retire early. But according to the Office for National statistics, the number of people over 65 in work or looking for work hit close to 1.5mn over the summer — their highest level on record —



before falling slightly of late. The total before falling slightly of late. The total number for those over 50 is now close to 10.5mn, in line with pre-pandemic levels. Many more over -65 are re-entering the workforce and a growing number – anecdotally – are looking for new opportunities.

Stuart Lewis, chief executive at Rest Less, a digital community and advocacy group for older people, says the official data appears to be showing signs of a return to a long-term trend of more economically active older people.

"What we have seen in very recent months, among those over the age of 65

This demographic can be incredibly productive if given the opportunity and the flexibility

particularly, is that they are going back to work. We believe this is the start of the great 'unretirement' trend. Anecodolly, there are lots of people considering coming back," Lewis says.

Lockdowns forced so many — particularly older people— to re-evaluate their priorities. They overhauled their working lives by giving up on long hours, arduous commutes and jobs they did not particularly enjoy, They also took on carring responsibilities and sought better manage their own ill health.

But the state pension, £9627 a year at present, is getting eaten up by higher costs of goods and services as inflation mounts. With higher energy bills and the rising cost of basic groceries, many older workers are now reversing their retirement plans.

Some employers have spotted an opportunity amid a skills and labour

shortage in the UK, amplified by restrictions on overseas workers.

Fuller's, the pub and hotel chain, has recently launched its first recruitment campaign targeted at older workers.

"We can offer ultimate flexibility: if a person is an early bird or night owl, or only wants to work on a Friday or not on a Tuesday when they look after grandchildren, we can cater to that," says Dawn Browne, people and talent director at Fuller's. In turn, the company hopes to secure staff for shorter, less popular shifts that do not pay as well as full day. While offering similar perks for all employees, Browne says they appeal even more to an older demographic, with staff discounts, help with health-care costs and a 24/7 GP service.

This is backed up by the ONN's Over 50s Lifestyle Study. It showed that among the 58 per cent of those between

50 and 65 who left their job during the pandemic and would consider returning to work, flexible hours are a priority.

For Jaci Quennell, a 65-year-old free-lance social worker and psychothera-pist, flexibility is key. Working from home and conducting online consultations and meetings has enabled her to work for longer. Having cut the number of days she worked in recent years after unsuccessful spinal surgery — an effective slowing down of her working life—she has now reversed course. She will soon take on a more senior role, setting up small children's homes in conjunction with local authorities.

About a third of the workforce in England are aged 50 or over, with around 9mn people aged 50 to 64 and mouth an 1.5mn aged over 65. But not all employers are offering what is needed to retain older workers, or recognising

the importance of recruiting them. Emily Andrews, who is pushing to create equitable access to work for peo-ple in their fifties and sixties at the Centre for Ageing Better, a charitable foun-dation, says there should be more older people in the workforce.

Andrews says that many workplaces

do not have cultures that make room for older staff and show they are valued. Andrews also highlights that recruit-

Andrews also nignights that recruiment drives and the language used in job ads are also largely focused on hiring younger workers, and many employers — despite the pandemic — are not fully flexible in how staff may work. Companies often do not offer support for people, of any age, with health conditions, she adds, and staff aged 50 and over are the least likely to receive "off the job" training, impacting their ability to gain skills and further employment.

Often older workers get caught in the "ableism and ageism nexus", Andrews says, and in turn older employees internalise some of these features, taking a massive hit to their confidence.

Thomas Roudet, an associate professor in organisation theory at the University of Cambridge's Judge Business School, says there is still a "stigma" when it comes to hiring older workers. while a multigenerational organisation can be highly creative, it can also increase conflict. Yet millennials and older generations actually share the same motivational drivers and career goals. While older workers do not want special treatment, they do want to be on a level peg with younger staff.

Colin Serlin, 76, says older people need to think differently about work. After 40 years working in property, he took a masters degree in psychotherapy and will soon set up his own practice—The Unrettring—offering courses to the recently retired, developed with therapists and academics. "People get bord, depressed and even more seriously ill as they don't know what to do with themselves," he says.

"When Individuals were in their twenties and thirties they often were led down a particular path. The main thing now is to re-evaluate what they want out of life. They need to just have a different mindset."

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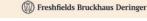


















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FINANCIAL TIMES

FEATURES



any politicians including UK prime minister Rishi Sunak trace their environ mental conscience to their children. Wanjira Mathai can trace hers to her mother — Wangari Maathai, the late Kenyan activist who won the Nobel peace prize for her work linking tree-planting, women's empow-erment and the fight for democracy.

won the Nobel peace praction in work linking tree-planting, women's empowerment and the fight for democracy.

"My strongest memories were just how much we had to plant trees. Every celebration we had, we had to plant something. We lived in an estate which had relatively small compounds, but [ours] was known because there were trees everywhere. People would say: if you want to know where they live, just follow the trees, you'll get there. My mother was very conscious of the fact that planting a tree was a celebration."

The family planted trees to mark birthdays, holidays and good fortune. "If my grandmother was unwell and went to the hospital, when she came back, we would plant a tree. On independence day, we would plant a tree."

As they ran out of space for trees, they planted flowering shrubs. Her mother and members of her Green Belt Movement took pleasure in their activism. "I always remember spending time around very happy people," says Mathal.

The happy memories matter, because the mood of the global environmental movement is often uncelebratory. Eleven years after her mother's death, Mathai heads the Africa efforts of the World Resources Institute, an environmental think-tank, She will be at COP27, taking place over the next fortnight in Egypt, and where storm clouds are gathering. Rich countries are preoccupied by Russia's invasion of Utraine and the rising cost of living. Their promise to

'Tree-planting is not the panacea. It is more important to protect forests than plant them'

funnel \$100bn of climate aid a year to poor countries remains outstanding, as does a commitment to double funding for climate adaptation to \$40bn by 2025. Grand plans – such as a pledge by 145 countries to end deforestation by

2030 – have yet to be fleshed out. "There's a lot of frustration," Mathai says, because commitments made have says, because communication and lave not been forthcoming. "To shore up our economies during the Covid pandemic, [trillions of dollars] were produced. And yet we couldn't find resources to meet over the past 10 years the \$100bn commitment."

understanding why they're not kept." The World Resources Institute has

a called for "an enormous acceleration in effort" for the world to limit warming to 15.C. The flow of private climate finance needs to be increased tenfold, to roughly \$\$Xin a year by 2030. Emissions from forests and agriculture, which are still rising, need to fall. Coal power stations, which are still being built, need to be wound down at a rate of 925 every year. Meanwhile, those who have done the least to cause climate change need money, argues the WRI. Western countries should, for example, pay for the protection of the Congo basin, the second largest rainforest in the world. Can such perspectives penetrate the negotiations? "I've heard it said that the negotiations are happening, it is almost like la-laland," Mathai says. "They don't necessarily feel the energy at COP is greatest outside and, as you go deeper into the centre, where the negotiations are happening, it is almost like la-laland," Mathai says. "They don't necessarily feel the energy that is outside." Yet she cites a speech at last year's Glasgow summit by the Kenyan activist Elizabeth Wathutt, who told how the rains had failed and urged delegates: "Please open your hearts."

"When else would you have an opportunity to address all those heads of state, talk to them about opening their hearts to the reality of climate change?" Mathai says. "This pressure works. It works because they are listening — they are human beings like us."

Mathai, 50, questioned her mother's footsteps before following them. It was the 1990s, and Wangari Maathai's work was challenging the autocratic regime of Daniel arap Moi, bringing political perpisals. Maathai (her mother's name has an extra 'a, added after her ex-husand insisted she stop using his surname lought for the protection of Karura Forest in Nairobi. She was beaten, "almost unconscious".

beaten, "almost unconscious".
"Moments like that, I felt: is this really
worth it? Why would you put yourself at
such great risk?" says Mathal. "I would
ask my mother if she was afraid, and she
would say: 'Of course I'm afraid. But
when you see this happening and you
know what needs to be done, you do it.'
She always used to tell me: 'Others will
follow, but someone has to lead."

Wath but wild is the Its 'S and worder!

Mathai studied in the US, and worked Matna studied in the Us, and worked in public health, before returning to Kenya and becoming "sucked into" the Green Belt Movement. She was about to return to the US, when her mother won the Nobel Prize in 2004, ushering in years of travelling together. Among those they met was the then Prince Charles, who became, in his words, "on hugging terms" with Maathai. "He was distressed about how slow we were mov-ing on sustainability, particularly the private sector. He was so inquisitive.

At the request of the UK government, the king will not be at COP, but he has organised a meeting of environmental activists and made clear where his sympathies lie. "I believe King Charles doesn't have to use a big microphone," says Mathai. "He's extremely influential, and he exercises his influence in water that we have been accessed in the control of the control o

says Mathai. "He's extremely influential, and he exercises his influence in ways that we may not always see."
The Green Belt Movement exalted tree-planting. But tree-planting has become a victim of its own success. Governments' pledges to plant trees will require more than 600mn hectares worldwide, an unfeasible prospect. High-profile schemes in countries like Turkey have fallen flat, with few trees surviving after the initial publicity blitz. "Tree-planting is not the panacea, and in some places you can't plant trees," says Mathai. "Most important is that it's locally led . . . Even for the Green Belt Movement, they've had mixed successes ... It is even more important that you plant them."
That underlines the importance of the Congo basin forest, which influences rainfall patterns in the Sahel and beyond, and includes peatland storing billions of tonnes of carbon. Deforestation rates are increasing — risking repeating the trend in the Amazon —

ates are increasing — ing the trend in the An

This climate crisis will be best solved in solidarity. It doesn't make sense when it's "them versus us"

while the government of Democratic Republic of Congo is allowing oil and gas companies into nature reserves. Can the forest be protected? "We actually have no choice. The Amazon is already a net emitter of carbon. The forests of south-east Asia are already emitting carbon. The Congo forest is the only true carbon sink of all the tropical forests in the world. We have to move fast, because our lives depend on the forest." In richer countries, climate action is associated with restraints on energy use, meat-eating and flying, but facing use, meat-eating and flying, but facing

use, meat-eating and flying. But facing malnutrition and blackouts, many Afri-cans need more protein and energy. "You cannot work on economic prosperity if you don't have energy," says Mathai. "That could mean, in some Mathai. "That could mean, in some cases, for example in cooking, we have to go through a gas transition. So that people can get access to gas for cooking, even as we build up the energy ladder to electricity for cooking."

The risk is copying the west's environmental missteps, locking in decades of

best solved in solidarity. It doesn't make sense to me when it's 'them versus us' or 'here they come migrating' . . . Who knows, Henry, maybe it's the other way - maybe Africa will be hosting as people migrate south . . . ! think we have to be open to the possibility that this universe will have surprises for us."

In an essay for The Climate Book, edited by activity Crote. The Numbers.

by activist Greta Thunberg, Mathai argues women are often hardest hit by climate change, and resourceful in adapt-

ing to it. So does climate action depenon more women in politics? Mathai praises Kenya's - unimplemented constitutional provision that men (or women) should not make up more than two-thirds of elective bodies. "But we don't want to romanticise the [idea] that women will solve the problem. We need a feminist attitude. We need more male feminists who see how women hold up societies, how women are often the cus-todians of food and fuel in the family."

Throughout our co Throughout our conversation, Mathai seems less proccupied by the spedifics of policy proposals than by communicating an impetus to act. Perhaps climate change must be felt viscerally before it can be addressed. She cites the European Commission vice- president Frans Timmermans, who, during last year's Glasgow talks, brandished a photo of his one-vear-old grandson. "It photo of his one-year-old grandson. "It brings a reality to those negotiations that is not purely intellectual."



In a sign of diverging priorities, west-ern leaders speaking at the UN General Assembly in September focused on Ukraine. Leaders of developing coun-tries, including new Kenyan president William Ruto, focused on Climate. Extreme weather has focused minds: Extreme weather has focused minds: floods in Nigeria have displaced 1.4mn people, while the UN says Somalia is "on the cusp of a devastating famine". "We're only at a 1.2C world. Can you imagine how much worse it will get?"

says Mathai. "So for Africa, and cer-tainly for developing countries, there's a lot of frustration and a loss of trust. A lot of this multilateral system is based on trust — that we will discuss these issues, we will have agreements and we will live up to the commitments we make in



Why go to COP? There is a captive audience. It is in many ways the

What sacrifices does your work Involve? My life is hardly at risk. Sometimes I wish I didn't have to make that trip, I'd rather be home with my two young children.

Your favourite tree? The strangler fig. Mighty and strong.

nture emissions. But Mathai argues that poor countries can start to leapfrog. "Technologies like green hydrogen are coming down the pipeline much faster than we expected. Prosperity can come not only in one way."

Scientists project increased warming will make parts of sub-Saharan Africa unlivable this century, while agricultural productivity will fall in many areas. This may lead millions of climate migrants to head towards Europe, where governments are alterady strug-where governments are alterady strugwhere governments are already strug-gling to handle the political implications of immigration. The idea of mass clite exodus is uncomfortable to those like Mathai, who are focused on ensur-ing climate investment flows to African untries. "This climate crisis will be



ARTS

Will the curtain fall on ENO?



A shadow hung over the opening night of English National Opera's fizzing new production of Gilbert and Sullivan's 'The Yeomen of the Guard'. By Richard Fairman

t felt surreal watching an entertain-ment as innocuously winsome as The Yeomen of the Guard on Thurs-day evening in the knowledge that the company putting it on, English National Opera, was possibly hours from going to the guillotine. This new production of Gilbert and

Sullivan's operetta opened the night before Arts Council England was sched-uled to make its delayed funding announcement for 2023-26. A desire to "level up" the arts in other parts of the country was always going to bring bad news for the capital. On Friday the axe fell with a venge-ance. ENO has lost its entire grant as one of the Arts Council's National Portfolio Organisations. ENO's statement follow-ing the announcement said that an offer

ing the announcement said that an offer of £17mn from the Arts Council over the of £17mm from the Arts Council over the next three years would allow it "to increase our national presence by creat-ing a new base out of London, poten-tially in Manchester", but the prospects cannot look anything but grim. It is hugely regrettable that this blow should come just as ENO is picking itself up after one of its periodic plunges into artistic gloom. Although the current season is disappointingly short, the nine fully staged productions have been well chosen and build on some of the successes of recent years.

That is especially the case with The Komen of the Guard, the latest in a well-received G&S series. Different directors have been involved, each truthful to the

received G&S series. Different directors have been involved, each truthful to the original in their own way, and Jo Davies is no exception. She has updated Yeomen to the 1950s and the accession of Elizabeth II, but the change is gently made, so that the Tower of London looms over communal scenes imbued with postwar

patriotic spirit, and the imprisoned Colonel Fairfax is now accused of being a spy, rather than of sorcery.

The satire of earlier G&S gives way to a more sentimental style here. The plot is ridiculously contrived, sending up some of the worst clichés of tragic opera while sometimes couching itself in amusingly Shakespearean language. Davies eschews gags in favour of creating sympathetic characters and adding a few dance routines to deliver extra fizz. Everything falls into place with skilo pla

dance routines to deliver extra fizz. Everything falls into place with skill.

It would have been helpful to trim the voluminous dialogue, but the cast do well to get so much of it across with point. Alexandra Oomens performs with musical-comedy pizzazz as street entertainer Elsie Maynard. Neal Davies and Heather Lowe scheme with lively purpose as Sergeant Meryll and his daughter, Phoebe. Susan Bickley is the daughter, Phoebe. Susan Bickley is the not-so-frumpish Dame Carruthers and Anthony Gregory cuts a plausibly dash-ing figure as a young Colonel Fairfax. As joker Jack Point, Richard McCabe gets some topical one-liners about Brexit and is strong on comedy, but weak on singing. Chris Hopkins conducts. Where does ENO go from here? At

least for the time being, the company plans to use its current home, the Lon-don Coliseum, as a comment, the London Coliseum, as a commercial asset by letting the theatre out for other opera and dance events, but a future with apparently no plans on the drawing board looks suspiciously terminal. Does such a prestigious history of achievements earned over nearly a century really count for nothing?

POP ALBUM

Drake & 21 Savage: Her Loss

Ludovic Hunter-Tilney

Drake has listened and he has learned. Like Coca-Cola hurriedly reintroducing its old taste after tinkering with the formula in 1985 — the year before Aubrey Drake Graham was born—the Canadian Graham was born—the Canadian rapper has executed a rapid U-turn. In June, he released his album Honestly, Nevermind, which took a surprise swerve towards house music. A backlash ensued among fans dismayed by the absence of rap beats. Four months later, one more than it took the mega-corp Coca-Cola to reverse course, the megastar has done the same.

mega-corp Coca-Cola to reverse course, the megastar has done the same.

Her Loss is a collaboration with Atlanta rapper 21 Savage. The pair teamed up on Honestly, Nevermind's only straight-up rap number, "Jimmy Cooks", which was by some distance that album's most successful song. Their 16 new tracks continue where it left off. It is unclear when they were made, whether before or after the sessions for Honestly, Nevermind, but they show signs of being recorded in a hurry. The beat in "Back'out-sideBoyz" took only four minutes to create, according to one of its producers, Rio Leyva. It takes two and a half minutes to listen to, although its monotonous plod seems todrago nof rmuch longer.

Opening track "Rich Flex" switches between two much better sylvantes between two much better sylvantes when the substantial will be sund-tracking separate sections of rapping by the principals. Their voices dovetail well. Drake's needling sense of self-control. A chartyping solo arts its hisls own right, he plays the street rapper to brake's rap god in the songs. He

topping solo artist in his own right, he plays the street rapper to Drake's rap god in the songs. He does a lot of gun talk — hard to process in the aftermath of the vioprocess in the attermation of the vio-lent death of one of rap's big stars, Migos's Takeoff — while Drake

brags about his super-luxe lifeotypical rap machismo towards the women who lucklessly popu-

late their verses. In "On BS", Drake describes late their verses.

In "On BS", Drake describes himself as a feminist because he spends "half a million on you hoes" while living it large in clubs. The absurd claim comes a few lines after he raps about taking drugs and getting muddled, so at least it has the benefit of a certain wit. Elsewhere, the stream of sexit denigration is just toxic. In "Circo Loco", Drake seems to allude disrespectfully to a 2020 incident when rapper Megan Thee Stallion was wounded in an alleged shooting by her then partner, the singer Tory Lanez. There is a constant stream of brags and jokes from both him and 21 savage about women baving ossemetic procedures or performing sexual favours.

"Middle of the Ocean" finds Drake hanging out in St Tropez, casting well-heeled scorn at "igno-



21 Savage, left, with Drak

rant" fans who criticised the dance music direction of Honestly, Never-mind. His return to ray on Her Loss represents a more emollient response to them. But the beats suffer from inconsistency. "More Ms" is atmospheric and icy; it was co-produced by 12 savage's regular collaborator Metro Boomin. But the meandering to-and-fro of a crudely titled track featuring rap-per Travis Scott sums up the autoper Travis Scott sums up the auto-pilot mode that the album often slips into. The rehabilitation of Scott following the crowd-crush deaths at his Astroworld festival last year also sticks in the craw. Her Loss is not our gain.



Beyond Offsetting

Get closer to net zero and nature positive.



PODCASTS Fiona Sturges

True-crime series that breaks the mould

of men" and were "promiscuous". One is described as "an only child and rather spoilt". In order to discover who these women were, cillans sifts through archives, pieces together family trees and drives miles to knock on the doors of those who knew them. Most powerful here are her conversations with the victims' children. In one pisode, alse Docker, son of Patricia, shares memories from his childhood including batthime in the kitchen sink. In another, cillan locates jemima McDonald's son, allan Mottley, who were scann when his mother 'fled' who we scann when his mother 'fled' who were scann when the 'fled' who were scann when the

questions, he starts talking and a lifetime of sadness comes tumbling out. Bible John provides a vivid portrait of Glasgow in the 1960s, from the music and fashion to the derelict tenement buildings, soon to be pulled down, where children played and where McDonald's body was found. The series also stands as a corrective to the scores of true-crime podcasts that sensationalise murder and casually overlook the impact on victims and their families. Gillan's sensitive approach reaps clear rewards: the

Explore more at CO2.com



cial Times (Asia), Monc 1960s in clasgow. All of them were mothers who died following a night out at the Barrowhand Ballroom, the killer was never caught. A Glasgow native, Gillan grew up hearing stories of Bible John — so-called because witnesses say they heard him quoting passages from the bible — and wrote a story on the case early in her career. Police had recopened the investigation in the mid-1990s, though nothing came of it, and Gillan was left with a feeling of unfinished business. I had imagined that Gillan's podcast would be a simple retread of the case, but the title is misleading. Bible John is resolutely not the story of a serial killer; it tells the stories of the women he killed — their names were Patricia Docker, glemina McDonald and Helen Puttock. Gillan's aim is not just to fill in the blans of their stories but to right a terrible wrong. Because these women, tattered photographs of whom would appear in the news with every twist in the case, were posthumously shamed and stripped of all dignity. This is evident in the police reports, which observe how the three women "liked the company

after which he was taken into care. He and winchine was usen into care. rie and his siblings have never spoken publicly about what happened; in fact, Mottley says, they have hardly spoken about it at all. But then he drives 260 miles to Glasgow to visit Gillan, with his wife and grandaughter in two. Encouraged by Gillan's gently probing her, is because she wanted "to do something different". It's a measure of his trust that, following their interview, he allows her to accompany him as, for the first time in years, he lays flowers on his mother's grave.

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Monday 7 November 2022

FT BIG READ, BUSINESS AND ECONOMY

As the UK emerges from the pandemic, hybrid working and recouped travel time are giving a lasting boon to the economies, ambitions and even infrastructure of satellite communities. By Andrew Hill and Emma Jacobs

n North Berwick, a seaside town half an hour east of Edinburgh by train, a search for pandemic silver linings leads to the Bass Rock community group. Until coronavirus hit, the group

named after the volcanic rock and sea-bird haven that sits in the Firth of Forth

bird haven that sits in the Firth of Forth - did not exist. It's the legacy of a "resil-lence group" set up by the town to deal with the immediate impact of the virus. Now two dozen or so volunteers devote evenings and weekends to local causes: refurbishing benches around the picturesque harbour, running fundraisers for the local high school or help-ing the local community centre support raisers for the local high school or help-ing the local community centre support vulnerable families through the cost of living crisis. "We've got a reputation of being able to help out where people need a hand," says Andrew Pendleton, one of the group's founders. A third of Bass Rock's volunteers are not the expected retired or part-time workers, but residents whoused to com-

one of the group's founders.
A third of Bass Rock's volunteers are not the expected retired or part-time workers, but residents who used to commute into Edinburgh. Remote working has freed up time they can devote to the community they came to know better during lockdown.

"The group wouldn't have come together in the way it had without the pandemic or working from home," adds Pendleton. "It was a real community invigorator."

Such groups are just one example of how a change in the habits of commuteers, now spending only two or three days in the office, is altering the behaviour, economy and even infrastructure of communities around the UK.

Some of the associated changes, such as improved community spirit, are largely anecolal. But even patchy data on local spending, residential house sales, car park use and social and sports club memberships hintat a wider shift. What is playing out is a version of what some local politicians and commentators predicted during the first wave of coronavirus: that economic activity would shift from city centres to outlying areas. This, in turn, is accelerating attempts by authorities outside major cities to encourage more local investment and activity.

Analysis by Tera Allas, McKinsey's director of research and economics, using public data from the office for National Statistics and Google, suggests the proportion of people travelling to work is still below pre-pandemic levels in every UK local authority, a trend particularly acute in London.

A local high street spending database

ticularly acute in London.

A local high street spending database supplied by the Social Investment Business, a regeneration charity, analysed by the Financial Times, shows that spending in-person in the City of London in September was down 27 per cent in nominal terms on 2019 levels—a 35 per cent drop, when adjusted for inflation.

It is hard to gauge how permanent the work-from-home habit will prove with the country braced for a tough winter of higher energy bills and increased mort-gage costs, as well as a recession that could lead to job losses.

could lead to job losses.

Whatever the outcome, the permanence of flexible working will have implications for local government spending, infrastructure and the future of retail, which is playing out differently in commuter towns across the UK.

Hazel Blears, former UK minister and chair of SIB, says: "If local councils can empower community activists, then by



Commuter towns transformed

'What has become apparent is that we now have a workforce who can see a life beyond the office and the daily

evenly distributed through the week. The SIB data reflects those changing habits: spending in Epsom in August enjoyed a 16 per cent rise among people living within 2 miles, but an 11 per cent decline among those travelling to the area from further afield.

area from further afield.

A clearer jicture has energed in East Lothian, the county that includes North Berwick. High street spending by locals increased 55 per cent between September 2019 and this September, making it one of the biggest beneficiaries of an increase in high street activity across the whole pandemic. Overall, local spending lisu p41 per cent since 2019.

John McMillan, Scottish Labour councillor and East Lothian's provost (the

John McMillan, Scottish Labour coun-cillor and East Lothian's provost (the equivalent of mayor elsewhere), says economic development plans were under way before the pandemic. The work-from-home revolution gave that ambition a boost, he says, with local businesses quickly adapting. Jo McNicol, whose husband's family

as farmed near North Berwick since 1908, opened a café, The Drift, in 2018 on the fringe of its land with views over the Firth of Forth, using repurposed shipping containers. What became a takeaway service during lockdown—"a

muter who . . . don't need to commute so often or are moving . . . to places like Hastings as it's more manageable to commute a couple of times a week". Graham Peters, co-chair of the Hastings Town Deab board, says the car park at Etchingham station, in a village on route to London, is now only a third or half-full most days. Before the pandemic, "a lot of our friends left in the dark and came home in the dark: that is changing now", he adds.

dark and came home in the dark: that is changing now", he adds.
Spending in Hastings, according to the SIB data, is up by quarter in nominal terms since 2019, driven by a 30 per cent increase in spending by people living within 2 miles of the seaside town.

The influx of new residents, o The influx of new residents, coupled with two years of lockdowns, has elevated Hastings' aspirations from promises of high-speed rail or better motorway links with the capital, to a cohesive and sustainable neighbourhood, says Jess Steele, a community activist and chief executive of Hastings Commons Community Land Trust, which runs co-working spaces in formerly derelict buildings held in common ownership. A small town "doesn't want a load of

demic has done is shift that divide

by Demos, a cross-party think-tank, in December 2020, revealed that 63 per cent of them considered this one of their top three priorities for local amenities. Finding this alternative choice to the work-home binary is still proving diffi-cult however.

cult, however.

Epsom councillor McCormick, who rents a basement office, bemoans the dearth of formal co-working space in the borough. To help fill the gap, Devenia Besant, founder of community group Epsom and Ewell Families, has set un a pon-up co-working space for group Epsom and Ewell Families, has set up a pop-up co-working space for local businesses in All Things Nice, a cafe that offers shared space twice a month. "[Remote workers] still want to be around people but they might not have anoffice togo backto," she says. One issue is that the big co-working companies – Regus, owned by IWG, or WeWork, for instance – are more likely

to be found in or near city centres. That

offices. The changing habits of London altered the nature of the workforce

In Hastings, above, a shared workspace has been converted from an old Debenhams

store, reflecting the surge in demand for

people wanting to be more involved," says Smith. "More of it is about people who want to make a difference in their community." In Epsom, Besant says lots of locals are using the time they save by not com-muting to volunteer for food banks and

local branches of Age Concern, a charity that provides support for older people.

Bright lights, big cities

The staying power of these changes is yet to be truly tested. Down in Epsom, Pengelly says it is early days. "There's several years of a shakedown still to come, as businesses give up London and look at hubs [elsewhere]," she says. Big centres, such as London and Edin-

burgh, will continue to exert a gravita tional pull, and efforts of employers to lure staff back to the offices may reverse some of the homeworking trend.

And as the short-term impact of lock-downs crystallises into a longer-term pattern, regions may also develop a nev symbiosis between cities and their surroundings. In Scotland, council offi-cials see Edinburgh and the surrounding Lothians as complementary, no mpetition. Watson, The Lighthouse's -owner, says: "We need the central



coming together and bringing in private capital, they can make things happen."

Shop local

In Epsom, a 34-minute train journey from Waterloo station in central London, the car park traditionally used by commuters has lost almost half of its customers since the start of the pan demic. The shift in commuter behav

demic. The shift in commuter behaviour cuts both ways.

This has also squeezed Senzo, the coffee shop next door. "We were doing 500 sales between 7 and 9 am before and we have barely 100 now," complains AJ, enzo's owner. Some customers trickle in after 9am but more staff are needed to serve them at the tables.

Steven McCormick, who represents the Residents' Association on Epsom & Ewell borough council, says numbers for other car parks are almost back to pre-pandemic levels, suggesting more people are spending time locality. The SIB database presents a mixed picture. The FT's analysis suggests that

spending in the borough only recovered back to 2019 levels, the last pre-pandemic period, over the summer — by which time in-person spending in the country at large had increased by about

Karen Pengelly, manager for Epsom's Business improvement District, which uses the slogan "Go Epsom", says "habits have changed and we are still trying to quantify it". She believes footfall in Epsom's main shopping dis-trict, which appeared busy on a recent rainy Tuesday afternoon, is now more

ntal health survival tool" she calls it has now reverted to normal busines
but also caters to the work-from-hon customers. There is no public WiFi, but locals drive up for meetings, and tables can be booked for up to 90 minutes.

Behold the 'down from Londons'

Beyond the traditional commuter belt. the pandemic also changed the ambi-tions of communities such as Hastings on England's south coast — an hour and three-quarters train ride from London. Sean Dennis, who runs a social enterprise providing business advice, finance and support, says the "down from Lon-dons", or DFLs, have moved from more expensive areas in or near the capital and stayed. Some have set up cafés and catering businesses.

He is also "seeing new breeds of com-

Recoveries have come at wildly different paces on spending (%) compared to same East Lothian Hastings*

21

between commuters and residents."

Some of the shift towards more
remote work, whether at a long distance, as in Hastings, or in the traditional commuter belt towns such as North Berwick or Epsom, has had a knock-on effect on the housing market.

Prices of residential property in Hast ings' town centre, for instance, have risen at 8.8 per cent annually between 2019 and 2022, according to figures col lated by TwentyCi, a property analytic company, compared with the 6.8 per cent annual growth rate for the UK as a whole. It now takes just 38 days to sell a property in the centre, against 63 three years ago and 45 on average in the UK though the recent increase in mortgag rates is bound to weigh on sales

Kate Darbyshire, director at John Bray estate agents in Hastings Old Bray estate agents in Hastings Old Town, has seen a "huge influx" of people from Tunbridge Wells, London, Brighton "All of a sudden, people are re-evaluating what's important in their lives, and realised that they can get a lot more for their money [here], 'she adds. In North Berwick, where residents

talk about the cost of property with both amazement and ruefulness, price rises are in line with the rest of the UK, but the time to sale has halved from 59 to 27

A space of one's own

As more people embrace the flexibility of remote working, so too has demand risen for a "third space", a happy medium between home and office. A survey of 20,000 adults, conducted

'Any free

time people

are valuing it

have, they

more and

deciding

what to do

The Lighthouse in North Berwick ed in 2018, rent ng 12 studios to a m, hairdresser and other small busi-esses, as well as fixed desks and co-working space. Once Covid restric-tions started to lift in July 2021, er Nick Watson says there w rapid increase in tenants returning, and new users signing up. "People had got sick of being at home," he says, adding

that they also preferred to stay local.

Hastings, too, has seen a surge in demand for communal offices, serving a growing population of workers in the creative industry. Bella Landen, who bought a vacant Debenhams depart ment store in 2020 with her sister, has opened two floors as a co-working space after spotting the DFLs trend. "We now have a workforce who can see a life beyond the office and the daily grind,"

Back in North Berwick, a desire for something more meaningful can be seen in the greater involvement of working-age residents in local cam-paigns, such as Bass Rock. One informal index of residents' care for their town, noted by local activist Hilary Smith, is a reduction in litter. "Some of it is about

Edinburgh market to be performing well because then those people working in Edinburgh reach the point that they can move out and afford to live here and come to us two or three days a week."

What remains to be seen is how — or if

What remains to be seen is how — or if policy will adjust to accommodate this tentative new normal. Speaking at the Anthropy conference on the future of the UK last week, mayor of London Sadiq Khan said he would advise against businesses "making long term decisions [on central London], based on the temporary position." Epsom has just completed a public consultation for a local para muniping to 2040 which is likely to plan running to 2040, which is likely to take into account how voters' attitudes

towards their town have shifted. Not everybody is a convert, Hamed Ovaisi, director at SO Legal, a solicitors practice with branches including in London as well as Hastings, is sceptical about the benefits working from home is bringing to the local economy

"Hastings is very transient and tourist reliant. Weekends [are] packed with tourists and walkers, midweek locals and [it's] practically dead." Ultimately, it is the wider economic

forces – from energy prices to the inflated cost of living – that could decide whether these growing, but fragile, work-from-home communities shrink or thrive.

shrink or thrive.
"The interesting thing will be what happens this autumn and winter," says the otherwise optimistic Pengelly.
"When you're sitting alone at your kitchentable, you get really cold."

"Additional Jupostic Buckles Could."

Additional reporting by Chris Cook

FINANCIAL TIMES

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

Rich countries need to dig deep on climate finance

At COP27, more funding is needed for poorer countries to adapt to warming

The green transition was once mostly the preoccupation of activists and scientists. One result of Vladimir Putin's weaponisation of energy in his war on Ukraine has been to thrust it to the heart of the geosecurity agenda, at least in advanced democracies. Soaring prices have finally prompted determined efforts by governments to cut reliance on fossil fuel, even if, short-term, some are having to use more coal. Rather than a setback for climate action, the International Energy Agency says, the energy crisis can be a "historic turning point".

That is one positive element in a backdrop to the COP27 summit now under way in Sharm el-Sheikh that otherwise looks grim. Inflation and economic

looks grim. Inflation and economic slowdown hardly provide a propitious environment. Extreme weather events

this year such as the appalling floods in Pakistan have highlighted the damage done even by 1.1c of global warming to date. A UN report has warned, meanwhile, that "woefully insufficient" climate efforts mean the world is still on track for at least 2.4c of warming — well above the 2c, or ideally 1.5c, goal in the 2015 Paris agreement.

The \$\$700n financing for the green transition in the US inflation Reduction Act, and the EU's REPOWEFU programme are signs that the rich world is, belatedly, starting to put its money where its mouth is. That will give advanced economies more authority in seeking to persuade poorer countries — which have had less time to benefit from carbon-fuelled industrialisation — to leap to green energy. By September, only 24 out of more than 190 countries had presented more vigorous action only 24 out of more than 190 countries had presented more vigorous action plans this year to cut emissions, as agreed at last year's COP26. As well as spending more at home, however, rich countries will also need to

provide far more financial support for poorer countries in mitigating and adapting to climate change; financing is set to be the make-or-break issue for this COP. Wealthy nations pledged to mobilise \$1000n a year by 2020, but are still about \$1770 short. Last vear, they committed to hit the target by 2025, and negotiate a new deal to start in 2025. They need to go much further. A much bigger chunk of financing, moreover, should go towards adapting to the effects of climate change — from weather warning systems to climate-resilient infrastructure and new farming methods—for which the UN has said developing countries will need up to \$440 ha year by 2030. More should also come as grants, rather than loans that push poor countries even further into debt. If the rich world can dig deep enough into its pockets on funding for mitigation and adaptation, that may off-set calls from poorer nations for funding to cover loss and damage caused by warming. Though the moral argument

nultilateral

the World Bank

for this may be strong—and the EU and US have signalled a readiness to discuss it—any agreement will be hard.

One priority in raising financing is reform of multilateral development banks, above all the World Bank. Proposals to change how MDBs operate could unlock several hundred billion dollars of green lending capacity without needing additional shareholder capital. Another priority is to leverage donor money more effectively to pull in private capital for green investment, sepecially in developing countries. Signs that some of the big banks that joined Mark Carney's net zero financial alliance at COP26 in Glasgow are preparing to backslide on their emission-cutting commitments are unfortunate.

to backside on their emission-cutting commitments are unfortunate. The defining challenge of the 21st cen-tury can only be resolved through co-or-dinated government action — especially by China and the US — in concert with the private sector and non-governmen-tal bodies. This, above all, is what the world needs to see from COP27.

ft.com/opinion

Opinion Society

'Degrowth' - Marxism is back for the modern age





stands of the biggest bookshop in Tokyo's financial district, the streets of late 2022 Japan should now be licked by revolutionary flames.

On one set of shelves are the titles that worship business, defly its pantheon of global leaders and promise readers supremacy with seven keys to success. Where these volumes identify crises — underfunded pensions, demographic collapse, climate implosion — they do so with the fearless faith that capitalism will present a solution.

But from across the sixth of the college o

Marx's writings on the natural world with a call to arms on sustainability Maxx's writings on the natural world with a call to arms on sustainability and climate change, was not an especially likely hit. But the pandemic, says Saito, created a natural sympathy for the idea of degrowth, and shook Japan out of the conviction that huge, overnight alterations to ordinary life were out of the question. To even its author's surprise, the book and its prescription for systemic upheaval has sold more than half a million copies, and is due to be published in English and other languages next year. His follow-up, Before the Great Flood: Maxx and planetary metabolism, was published last month and, according to sales staff at Maruzen, is doing a roaring trade. Though Saito couches his argument in academic tones, elements of his degrowth philosophy overlap with those of the noisiest climate activists outside Japan. A big part of Saito's mission is simply to provoke a Japanese

Letters

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Britain should deal with empty homes before building more

On the irony of "empty home" research coming from the Nomura Research coming from the Nourus and Institute, part of the same Japanese enterprise as the Nomura Ba fire-sale acquisition of nearly 60,000 Ministry of Defence properties back in difficulty, I wonder if the UK government isn't allowing developers to go on building houses that will never be occupied, much like China on, October 31).

Not only are over 8,000 of those MoD homes, now rented back by the ment, empty, but Action on Empty Homes estimates there are a further quarter of a million homes left

unused long-term. Many of these will be in places with low employment and not much immediately obvious reason to live there, although there are welcome examples where that has been changed. But Action on Empty Homes also calculates the number of "furnished empties", or second hom which are self-evidently in desirable

Then there are the "buy to leave", or safe-deposit boxes, as the erstwhile chief planner of the City of London referred to them a few years ago. These are bought, often off-plan, by offshore investors seeking a safe place for their

places. That comes to a further quarter

money. They have no intention of living in them, or letting them, which is why some of the most expensive blocks in the most exclusive areas are almost And all the while succes

governments urge the building of hundreds of thousands more homes the great majority of which will not serve actual need, which is beyond question and is increasing. High-end developers contrive to find ways not to include social housing or even to pay the legally required contribution to provide it off-site.

Politicians look back enviously to the 1950s and 60s when a Conservative

year, and seek to match that number. They tend to overlook the fact that some of those were so badly built they had to be demolished before councils had finished paying for them

Leo Lewis reports that Japan is planning to add more than 8mn new homes in the next 15 years, even as numbers of empty homes double. Encouraging construction to preserve GDP, as he describes it in Japan, is a environmental chaos. The UK should not follow suit.

Judith Martin Winchester, Hampshire, UK

US midterms will show democracy in action

democracy in action

If voting is allowed and encouraged for citizens, and those citizens vote on election day for one candidate over another, then isn't that our democracy in action whether the person or side on the losing end is left in disbellef, heartbroken, shock or believes democracy is in danger?

I didn't write the US Constitution (nor did Edward Luce), but Americans over two and a half centuries have wrestled with it and its amendments; have added amendments to it; have even repealed one amendment to it. Suffice to say, this document and its additions were and have been cobbled together to establish and maintain a democratic state, and this nation — and its 50 individual states with their 50 individual constitutions — as it stands today, is a functioning democracy, like



Americans are preparing to go to the polls for the US midterm elections

American politicians must back Ukraine military aid

One wonders what some politicians are thinking in the US when they cast doubt on the continuation of military

aid to Ukraine. Their proclama

aid to Ukraine.
Their proclamations must be music to the ears of Russian, Chinese and other authoritarian empire revivalists around the globe (Report, November 3).
According to the US Department of Defense, the US committed \$16.2bn in military aid to Ukraine in the first seven months of the war that Russia unleashed on Ukraine in search of its old empire.

old empire. This is barely 0.07 per cent of US

More action, fewer words needed to plug skills gap

neccled to plug skills gap
Action rather than words on skills is
certainly needed if we want to make up
the shortfalls in the Ut's skills base
compared to other countries, which are
holding back economic growth,
business success and individual
opportunity (Fr View, November 3).
Employer training has fallen 28 per
cent since 2005 and those with the
fewest qualifications are most likely to
miss out. Government policy has failed
to tackle this, in some cases making
things worse. We should incentivise
employer investment where there's a
skills deficit with new 'skills tax
credits'. Government, employers and
trade unions also need to take real
steps to agree how the apprenticeship
levy should be reformed, and then
implement it.
Naomi Phillips

- insistent from beyond the grave that the brakes must be slammed on the world's economic propulsion units, this update is attractively packaged for the mass consumption of despondent modern Japan and presented as the original visionary of the philosophy of "degrowth".

Whether Japan's public actually agrees with the thesis or not, a great many are certainly curious

The new wave of Japanese books eyeing global malaise through a Marxist prism includes a manga (comic) explainer of Das Kapital which depic worker exploitation in a charming mountain campsite and is aimed at broadening the potential salaryman audience of degrowth converts. Foremost in Japan's recent mainstreaming of Marx has been Kohei Saito, a thoroughly engaging philosopher who, from a book-lined study at the University of Tokyo, argues that degrowth is the only way to save society from a crisis of inequality and impending environmental doom. Growth did not make us happy. Frustration is rife. Reusable coffee flasks will not save us, he contends, sipping from one.

Whether the Japanese public actu-

will not save us, he contends, sipping fromone.

Whether the Japanese public actually agrees with the thesis or not — and there is no reason to equate vast readership with widespread conviction — a great many are certainly curious about Saito's framing of the issue. And that itself is intriguing in light of one of Japan's less discussed generational divisions: the split between anyone older than about 50 and those under 55 — the latter being, arguably, the rich world's first degrowthed cohort.

Saito's Capital in the Anthropocene, published in late 2020 and overlaying

conversation on the climate emernext to none

He is brutal on Japan's historical ten-dency to pack the economy with "bullshit jobs" that consume the country's increasingly precious labour force to no useful end. Meat, SUVs and sports cars should be far more heavily taxed to offset the damage they do, he says. He also believes that, because it works so well at promoting unneces-sary consumption, advertising should be restricted — in particular the kind of giant LCD screens that loom over Tokyo, draining power Japan can ill-afford to waste. "We could elimi-

Tokyo, draining power Japan can ill-afford to waste. "We could eliminate advertising from society and nobody would suffer at all except the advertising industry," he says.

But the most commercially significant aspect of Saito's new strain of Marxism, he admits, may well be that its being articulated by a 55-year-old. Saito was born in the late 1980s, during the inflation of one of history's biggest financial bubbles, and he entered primary school just as Japan was beginning its three decades of economic stagnation.

Japan has been in deflation for most of his adult life, wages across the country have not risen and interest rates have been zero. He may see Japan still as a sprawling consumption scape of destructive, growth-obsessed capitalism, but his is one of two generations who have reached adulthood without experiencing growth as their predecessors knew it.

cessors knew it.

These are the Japanese, he suspects, who are reading his books and perhaps wondering whether the kind of full-blooded systemic shift he sets out might not actually be so far out of the question. The streets of Japan are not, of course, aflame. But some may have already quietly embraced the degrowth philosophy.

it or not.

So, if the Republicans win this midterm election ("This will be the mother of all American midterm elections", Opinion, November 3) then, once again, democracy is at work the people will have spoken at the ballot box, and the heartbroken citizens will have to go back to the drawing board and make a better case next time when democracy is centre stage in November 2024.

Apprenticeships require funding in English regions

Quite rightly, you highlight ("Britain's skills agenda must not be overlooked", FT View, November 3) former prime minister Liz Truss's neglect of training and skills in her "growth plan".

The UK has long neglected any systematic, well organised or fully funded plan for skills and anytestic selbies. Some armset this cose.

systematic, well organised or fully funded plan for skills and apprenticeships. Some argue this goes back to the 19th century.

It is all very well to argue about the right level of public funding for universities, but unless the other 50 per cent of the age group that does not to universities is not also offered high quality, well-resourced training, through apprenticeships, further education colleges and other on-the-job training, no plan for restoring reasonable growth and bringing prosperity will be workable. The historic neglect of this large group cannot be allowed to continue. What is more, the Commission on London reported in 2018 that, in London and each of the other English regions, it was clear from detailed research that a much larger share of the funding for this vital task has to be devolved to each mayor to manage. The funds raised from the apprenticeship levy and unspent by employers go straight to the Treasury

for use elsewhere. Instead they should be distributed to mayors to spend on skills and apprenticeships in their

region.
They know their own region and
what best can be done and they have
the flexibility and tools to act speedily,
which Whitehall lacks and can never successfully acquire.

Tony Halmos Director, King's Commission on London, 2015-18
Visiting Professor, Policy Institute, King's
College, London, UK

Don't give up on planting trees to help the climate

Headlines around climate change and deforestation can be alarmist ("Tree-planting and land pledges would need area bigger than US", Report, November 2). Indeed, some recent commentary advocates that tree-planting does more harm than good for

fuel use, but this alone will not be enough.

Trillion Trees strongly agrees with the report's researchers that focusing on restoring already identified degraded land holds more promise for climate and biodiversity, and poses fewer threats to other dimensions of sustainability than creating unrealistic and inappropriate goals to plant only vast numbers of trees in previously unforested land.

The evidence in clear: in these areas restoration can and does have impact. Tree planting is part of that of course, but we do not have to find new lands to bring back our forests. John Lotspelc Executive Director, Trillion Trees Cambridge, UK K

Cambridae, UK

If some US politicians are so miserly and myopic so as not to be able to provide even this little for a war that helps defend the international world order as well as liberal democracy around the world, the years ahead will indeed see a retreat of both, and it will get a lot

more expensive. Empire revivalists are waiting around the corner.
And, truly it will be the end of the American century as its opponents have been gleefully

Lower interest rates are too early to call

the too early to call it seems rather early days to read that fixed-rate mortgage costs may fall as the Bank of England appears to be turning "dovish" ("Fixed-rate mortgage costs predicted to start falling", Report, November 4), when core inflation remains at 3.9 per cent and may remain at or above this level for many months or even years.

this level for many months or even years.
We will not know until midNovember what the UK government's new economic plans are, but we do know that gilt investors still need to buy some £250bn of new issues next year, plus buy part of the £875bn of older gilts acquired during the Bank's QE activities, as well as the £19bn acquired to resolve the LDI (diability-driven investment) liquidity crisis.
The yield levels required to sell this number of new (and old) gilts may lead to "crowding out" next year of other borrowers in the UK corporate bond markets and this may limit reductions in mortgage rates.

Charles Fairburst

Deputy Chief Executive, Learning and Leicester, Leicestershire, UK

COP27 must be made aware of plastic solutions

The Global Plastics Policy Centre was launched at last year's COP26 to help find sustainable solutions to tackle plastic pollution. However, with companies like Coca-Cola continuing to increase production of virgin plastics, this solution seems to be slipping further away from fruition (Report,

tims solution seems to be suppling further away from Fruition (Report, November 3).

At COP27, governments must crack down on plastic usage. However, they must also discuss funding usatinable biopolymer research. Many bioplastics are still derived from materials that can't fully degrade in normal conditions and damage the environment when not disposed of correctly. If we are to info as solution to plastic pollution, we must then fund the organisation's developing materials that can degrade naturally without industrial catalysts.

The science is already there, with many new materials achieving biodegradability certification following robust OECD 510 testing. The question is, will it be relayed to world leaders at COP27?

Duncan Clark

Trysha Technologies

London ECC, UK

The link between whelk stalls and managers

"Employers are still unsure how to manage the effects of hybrid work" (FT View, October 29). Any employer who cannot measure the output of their employees, independently of where they work, shouldn't be permitted to run a whelk stall. els Relaium

Monday 7 November 2022

Opinion

Economists see recession coming, so maybe it's not

Ruchir Sharma



conomists tend to think in small incremental steps, missing big turns in the story which helps explain why their consensus view had not forecast a single US recession since

iorecast a single US recession since records began in 1970 – until now. For the first time, economists as a group not only expect a recession in America in the next year, but give it a very high probability, more than 60 per cent. Given their record, it's worth asting whether the consensus is, in fact, unlikely.

and central banks raising rates aggres-sively and in a way that has seldom been

never happens and the unexpected con-

stantly occurs."

The case for the unexpected scenario no recession in the coming months —
 would start with inflation declining rapidly. That would allow the Fed to back off from further tightening. Just when the consensus has come to accept that inflation will be higher for longer, and not "transitory" as previously assumed, the easing of supply chain bottlenecks could lower inflation faster than

could lower inflation faster than expected.

The signs include cargo shipping prices plummeting, delays at ports shortening and the Fed's "supply chain pressure index" coming down sharply. China's economy is in a funk and is exporting slower inflation to the rest of the world. Goods inflation is decelerating with prices for everything from used cars to energy now in decline.

Many still assume that because an unusually tight labour market is driving up wages at a rapid pace, the Fed will

umusuany tight labour market is driving up wages at a rapid pace, the Fed will have to act as it did in the early 1980s – raising rates aggressively and averting an inflationary wage-price spiral by inducing a recession.

But for now America's economy still seems far away from recession territory. Weak growth in the first half of this year vanished in the third quarter, when US GDP grew at an annual rate of 2.6 per cent. Disposable incomes are keep pace with inflation, encouraging healthy growth in consumer spending. Spending on travel is stronger now than on the eve of the pandemic

There is always the possibility of a 'bluebird' event bringing unexpected joy

The private sector is spending too, with corporate capital expenditure growing faster than business revenues and earnings. The unemployment rate also remains very low at 5.7 per cent and has barely budged despite all the Fed tightening. None of this is what one would expect on the veof a recession. The tight labour market does push up wage inflation but some analysts are

holding out the hope that with job open-ings coming off significantly from the all-time highs of March this year, wage growth too will cool shortly. The public expects inflation to fall back into the low gle digits, not remain stuck near dou ble digits, as was the case in the 1980s. So today there is less pressures on the Fed

to keep raising rates.

Lower inflation would further boost the confidence of American consumers, who are in unusually strong financial who are in unusually strong financial shape. Bank deposits swelled during the pandemic, and \$2.5tn of that cash is still in the banks. Personal net worth is still in the banks. Personal net worth is still about \$2.5tn higher than before the pandemic. The debts that imploded in the Great Recession of 2007-2009 have largely vanished: today nearly 70 per ent of home buyers have FICO credit scores in the top tier — over 760 — compared with 20 per cent before the crisis. While we have been conditioned to expect economic shocks to be negative, there is always the possibility of a 'blue-bird' event bringing unexpected joy. A warm winter or peace in Ukraine would lower energy bills, helping to slow inflation and raise economic growth.

This is hardly the most likely scenario and compared with economists, who typically call recessions months after ey have begun, markets have a good recasting record. Though markets can send false signals, showing jitters before downturns that never arrive, they also downturns that never arrive, they also anticipate real recessions consistently. Going back to the second world war, the US stock market has typically fallen at least 20 per cent and bond traders have always pushed short-term yields above long-term yields in the months before a recession. Both of those market signals are warning of a recession now, so to pic-ture alternate outcomes may be magical

ninking. Still, when the consensus is so strong, sion forecasting record is so poor, it is hard not to think of that quote from Keynes. The unexpected is a constant in markets and the economy, which suggests we should at least entertain the possibility that a recession is not inevitable.

The writer is chair of Rockefeller Interna

Growth-friendly reforms for the UK's broken planning system

Iohn , Muellbauer

fter the spectacular dem of Trussonomics, fresh thinking about how to resolve the UK's fiscal crisis thinking about how to resolve the UK's fiscal crisis new chancellor, Jeremy Hunt, urgently needs market-credible solutions that enhance long-term growth. An important element in a sensible package is to enable far better land value capture. This entails sharing more fairly the increase in value that results from development permission between society — the taxpayer — and private landowners. It would be a significant source of new funding, and reduce the constraints on growth that come from and from the high prices of land with development permission. We need three things, First, a planning system that would, on change of use, direct that the uplift in land value be split between the national or local planning authorities — to help meet infrastructure or housing needs — and the current landowner, whose portion would be fair reward for selling the land. Supporters of enhanced land value capture suggest a 50-50 split. Second, an amendment of the Lan Compensation Act 1961 so that local and central authorities could, where necessary, compulsorly purchase at a price close to the existing value. This would exclude "hope" value — that might at some future time arise if planning permission were given for change of use. The compulsory purchase option reduces the risk of one landowner.

locking development by each acting in nreasonable holdout profit from a

A fairer balance needs to be struck between the rights of landowners and those of society

project entailing multiple plots of land. The huge prices of residential land owe much to the exorbitant privileges given to landowners by the 1961 act.

Corporations cannot remain black boxes



1981, [John Gutfreund] turned Salomon Brothers from a private partnership into Wall Street's first

public corporation . . . from that moment, the Wall Street firm became a

ethical custom". Fair enough. But what if companies don't even release enough

if companies don't even release enough data to let people know whether they are living up to law or custom? It's an issue spottighted by the new rules on corporate pay transparency which came into effect in New York state last week. The rules, which force companies with four or more employees to include salary ranges when they advertise listings, follow on from similar laws already is therefore the religious or the religious control of the re advertise listings, follow on Irom similar laws already introduced in California, Colorado and Washington state. Already, they've exposed a huge bifur-cation between lower level employee pay and those in the upper ranks, while



and differing benefit regimes? All of these issues are being targeted by a growing number of workers, particu-

They were quietly compelled to do so by governments, in order to speed up vac-cine production, even as they fought in public to keep legal protections.

loads in the supply chain eventually take hold, reporting standards will rise. What's more, in an age of decoupling, in which governments are scrambling to

black box".

Though Lewis was writing about banking, he was referring to a problem that existed not just at Salomon, or even just within the financial sector, but in nearly all American corporations, even public ones. In all too many areas, with the exception of basic financial information, corporations remain black boxes. Opacity makes it difficult for regulators, investors, workers and customers to figure out important facts, from the full financial risk positions of big companies (a 2018 MMF pager notes that off full financial risk positions of big com-panies (a 2018 IMF paper notes that off balance sheet funding had grown since 2007), to whether they live up to their espoused values, to if they treat individ-ual employees fairly. As the economist Milton Friedman

said back in 1970, the social responsibil-ity of managers is to "make as much money as possible while conforming to the basic rules of the society, both those embodied in law and those embodied in

demonstrating how broad (and nebu-lous) the range of salaries at the top of an organisation can be. "Employees will have questions about their own pay as a result of seeing pay ranges posted on jobs similar to their own," says Tauseef Rahman, a partner in the consulting firm Mercer's career practice.

in the consulting firm Mercer's career practice.

The issue will be particularly pressing at a time when, according to Mercer, over 80 per cent of employers adjust salaries to reflect the current economic environment (in which wage inflation hasn't remotely kept pace with overall inflation, and even less so with skyrock-eting housing inflation) — but only 21 per cent of US employers say they've adjusted pay to align with living wages. Pressure for transparency will rise, even if unemployment does too. Companies will be pushed for more informa-

panies will be pushed for more informa-tion beyond fixed pay — what about

All pages it offi Fillal larly younger ones, who teel quite rightly that they haven't got their fair share of the corporate pie (the private sector share is still at near record highs compared with labour).

But pay transparency is just the tip of a much bigger iceberg of corporate opacity. There is an entire body of law, around things like trade secrets and patents, that is meant to keep information inside companies. Sharing intellectual property around vaccines became a huge, worldwide legal battle during the pandemic, as US and European companies didn't want to give up their patent secrets, even in the face of a global crisis.

The Treasury now requires companies to give much more information about who their owners really are

cial Times (Asia), Mond

The issue isn't resolved, nor is it going away. While the US constitution Itself allows companies to keep patents, and tradescrets are protected by state laws, here are going to be more and more global health crises that will necessitate such information sharing. Governments will have to find a way to ensure that smaller firms and innovators can protect intellectual property, while making sure that corporate monopolies aren't locking it up at society's expense. What's true for patents may soon better the row supply chains as well. Companies are often reluctant to reveal what information they have about suppliers for competitive reasons. But as any unmber of recent supply chain disasters have shown, they often don't know enough themselves, having outsourced so much production to other companies and countries.

That's about to change. As climate

That's about to change. As climate rules requiring full disclosure of carbon

understand whether they can make cru-cial products at home, companies will be compelled to learn more — and share more — about where risk lies, with both the public and private sector. Part of what has allowed such opacity in the US is that companies are legally persons, and enjoy all the privacy allowed to individuals. But that's chang-ing too. In September, the Treasury finalised a rule requiring companies give much more information about who their owners really are.

their owners really are.
It's about time, say academics like
Stanford's Anat Admati. "A corporate
'person' shouldn't have so much ability
to operate in the dark," she says. "The
forces of 'free markets' are undermining
trust in democratic institutions to police trust in democratic institutions to polic them." Indeed, when even Friedman standards aren't being upheld, thing have gone very dark indeed.

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Europe is learning that you can't separate trade and politics

Martin Sandbu



or all the jibes about it being a protectionist bloc, the EU has long been an important force for deeper international trade. The cross-border integration of its own members' economies is the deepest in history. Internationally, it is the most open economic region. Trade, together with competition, is the bloc's most successful policy area. It has achieved this by giving negotiat-

It has achieved this by giving negotiating power to an executive – the European Commission – as unencumbered by national vested interests as one can realistically get, and by isolating trade policy from non-commercial considerations. But that very success means the EU is all the more challenged by a world where this isolation is no longer nossible.

Hardly a day goes by without illustrating how trade relations are entangled with conflicts over values and geopolitics. The EU has recognised that a narrowly commercial trade agenda can undermine its priorities, and has also belatedly discovered the muscle that

comes with a large and open market. Forceful sanctions on Russia and the

comes with a large and open market. Forceful sanctions or Russia and the incorporation of climate and labour clauses in trade agreements show that Europe can, when it wants, use that power to shape the world around it. But what is still lacking is a consistent willingness and strategy for how to do so. Take the frictions over the US inflation Reduction Act. This piece of legislation involves a subsidy to buyers of electric vehicles, but only those made in North America. The EU has ried foul, which has led to the extraordinary step of two jurisdictions setting up a task force to scrutinise a piece of domestic legislation in one of them.

The EU risks protesting too much. While the US subsidy is discriminatory in form, it may not differ all that much in its economic effect from the EU's own subsidies to battery producers.

Europe's greater interest lies in reinforcing and locking in the belated US commitment to decarbonisation technologies that the IRA represents. Preparing the ground for its own intro-duction of carbon border tariffs, the EU should coax the US towards the same principle of linking market access to climate change policies. It could encourage Washington to move for-ward, and go beyond, its interest in

Putin's attack on Ukraine means the error of Germany's dependence on Russian gas is now blatant

"skinny" carbon adjustments for steel.
It's against this backdrop that German
chancellor Olaf Scholz went to China
last week, business delegation in tow.
The question the trip raises elsewhere in Europe is whether Germany has learnt to distinguish its own narrow commer-cial interests from Europe's broader

Vladimir Putin's attack on Ukraine viadimir Putin's attack on Ukraine means the error of Germany's depend-ence on Russian gas is now blatant. Its reliance on China is no less real, but less well understood. A decade ago, only Chinese demand for German goods made it possible to reconcile the three German desiderata of shrinking the eurozone periphery's current account deficits, maintaining Germany's surplus and recovering from the global financial crisis through export-led growth. One could fairly say that China saved Berlin from the contradictions of its own

Europe policy. No wonder, then, that Scholz does not no wonder, then, that school wore support "decoupling" from China. At the same time, he recognises strategic imperatives, promising to "dismantle one-sided dependencies". This is a step forward, and would help the German chancellor catch up with his voters, half of whom already think the country should radiue accompant on operation should reduce economic co-operation with China, while two-thirds reject economic interests taking precedence over

human rights.
Other European leaders, too, are
more eager to think strategically.

French president Emmanuel Macron reportedly wanted a later joint visit to Beijing by the two leaders. But Paris also often falls short of promoting a trade policy that advances the EU's united strategic interest rather than its own national concerns.

The trade deal with the South American Mercosur bloc has languished largely because of French reservations. The election of Luiz Inácio Lula da The election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva as Brazil's president creates an opportunity to complete the agreement with strong and enforceable commit-ments on climate change. If Macron is serious about the EU beling a player on the world stage, here is a chance for him to create the missing political com-mitment on all sides.

The EU can no longer trade in isola-tion from strategic imperatives. Neither

tion from strategic imperatives. Neither should the end of strategic naïveté be an excuse for withdrawal. Europe needs to transcend that old dichotomy and embrace the rather un-European approach of using trade policy to pursue political objectives.

This entitled owners to compensation for subsequent planning permission for years following a voluntary sale. In this, the UK is an outlier. In countries such as Germany and the Netherlands, a fairer balance has been struck between the property rights of landowners and those of society. The UK should learn from stellar examples of the use of land value capture for housing and infrastructure projects in cities such as Freiburg, Frankfurt and Rotterdam. Enhancing LVC would be a step forward in planning twoms and cities for the 21st century. Finally, the government's fiscal rules should be more growth-friendly, shifting the focus from constraining government debt relative to gross domestic product. Instead, the goal should be to raise the public sector's net asset value (assets minus debt) where the market value of land is counted on the asset side

value of land is counted on the asset side of the balance sheet. In the short term, acquisition of land for the public sector funded by debt would then leave the net funded by debt would then leave the net asset value unchanged. However, plan-ning consent would soon enhance land values owned by the public. One of the benefits of land value cap-ture is to reduce opposition to new hous-ing — this can come from those who fear,

sometimes with good reason, that the lack of sufficient infrastructure will put strains on local services. A well-func strains on local services. A well-func-tioning LVC system would guarantee properly funded new infrastructure, encouraging welcoming attitudes to new housing. There is a growing accept-ance across political parties and among the public that housing and planning markets are not fit for purpose: they are not working for the common good, and are not delivering the reasonable hous-

are not delivering the reasonable hous-ing expectations of most young people. The owners of land in the UK have pocketed too high a proportion of bene-fits from the investment that others, especially taxpayers, made in infra-structure and other development. The privileges granted by the 1961 act have contributed to the high costs of land in the UK and constrained growth. High land costs are part of the reason for the UK's housing problems: lack of afforda-bility gives us the highest average com-muting times among major northern muting times among major northern European economies and, as developers seek to maximise profit, the least well-insulated homes. All this must change.

The writer is professor of economics at

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Back to the coalface Older people are returning to work — and flexibility is key **OWORK & CAREERS**

Women are big losers in the politics of pockets



Pilita Clark **Business Life**

he other day at a business conference, I watched as a hapless man asked one of the most fatuous questions in modern corporate life. He worked for the audio team that had to attach a clunky microphone battery pack to all the speakers going on stage, and each time he approached

a female panellist, he said: "Have you got an inside pocket in your jacket?" It wasn't his fault. Most of the male It wasn't his laut. Most of the mae speakers did have such a pocket, into which the battery pack silkily slipped. But asking a woman if she has an inside jacket pocket is like asking if she has a ticket to the moon.

For reasons that continue to baffle, the foshion is about reasoning.

For reasons that continue to baffle, the fashion industry remains infuriatingly resistant to the internal female coat pocket, and is apt to make clothes without any useful pockets at all. The other day I bought a blazer that seemed to have three outside pockets, only to get home and discover one was in fact a Potenkin pocket, a fake slit sewn shut with nothing behind it.



48 per cent shorter and 6.5 per cent narrower than the equivalent in men's jeans, say journalists at The Pudding

publication.

After measuring dozens of pockets in 20 of the most popular jeans brands in 2018, they also found less than half of women's front pockets could fit a thin wallet, let alone a phone and keys. Most would not fit the average woman' hand beyond the knuckles.

hand beyond the knuckles. This is good news for the \$56bn global handbag market. But a lot of women would cheerfully do what men have done for centuries and carry

everything we need in pockets.
Actually, women had pockets for ages too, big enough to hold the afterbirth from an illegitimate baby or a stolen duck, the Victoria and Albert

Museum records.

Things seemed to go downhill in the
19th century, when female fashion
drifted towards more svelte lines and

66 Why can't high street retailers include an inside pockets began their journey to today's

I was muttering about this to anyone who would listen at the business conference when suddenly, a woman who was the chief executive of a very well-known company, said: "You need these." She opened her smart blue suit jacket to reveal that inside there was

not one but six pockets, including one with a highly desirable zip.

In them, she carried a work phone, a personal phone, her own business cards; cards others gave her; pens and a wallet. Also, she confided, her trousers all had properly sized pockets,

side and back. Where had she found this stuff? It Where had she found this stuff? It was tallor-made by Gormley, & Gamble whose founder, Phoebe Gormley, became the first womenswear-only tailor on Savile Row in 2015. All her jackets have at least one inside pocket, she told me when I visited her premises last week, and all her clients are thrilled to find it.

"They go, 'Oolt That's so exciting!."

inside pocket that Gormley reckons vould cost no more than £3 per jacket

I asked a few. H&M said it had no comment. So did Reiss. Zara's owner, Inditex, said at least two of its "classic tailoring" blazers had inside pockets but did not say what proportion of all its jackets did.

Women clearly face more dire problems than this, but as Gormley says, it's also wrong that high street womenswear typically comes in a fraction of the size permutations available in menswear: classic, slim, extra slim; short, long or regular leg, and so on. The result, she says, is that "when

The result, she says, is that "when men don't find clothes that fit them, they say, 'That's the clothes' fault,'' and look for a better fit. Women, having far fewer options, blame themselves instead. 'It makes women feel like they hate their body,'' she says. Ultimately, a more pocket-equal world would suit everyone, including men. Imagine going out without



Air travel: green dream

How net zero by 2050 can be achieved | Medium abatement | Medium abatement | Medium abatement | Costs of -\$300-\$0/t CO₂ | costs of £100-\$300/t CO₂ | costs of \$50-\$200/t CO₃ | CO₄ | CO₅ Historical Additional Sustainable aviation efficiency gains efficiency fuels, hydrogen and of 1% a year gains of another battery-electric sustible Partnership 1% a year aircraft Flights longer than 1,800km are responsible for two-thirds of GHG emissions from commercial passenger aviation Distance 1 nautical mile = 1.8 km

Icelandair is the first airline to promise carbon-free flying on its domestic routes. That is less promising than it sounds. Guilt-free air travel has yet to achieve lift-off — although high oil and

ticket prices may help a bit. Icelandair plans to use renewable energy in battery-powered aircraft by 2030. But low energy-density batteries are heavy for the energy they carry. So the airline is tapping into a technology

are nearly for line density flery carly, so the airline is tapping into a technology that is only really a potential solution for very short-haul flights. That is a problem in an industry in which two-thirds of emissions come from journeys that are longer than 1,800km, according to a Mission Possible Partnership report on aviation. Overall demand is set to grow steeply. Already, premium lesture travel has returned to pre-Covid levels, according to British Alreavys parent IAG. Business journeys are not far behind. Frankly, there is no technology that can, by itself, deliver guilti-free air travel. Making planes sleeker and more efficient is a great start, and saves money, but cannot great start, and saves money, but cannot great is ard, and saves money. Next up are biofuels — chemically

according to BNEF, a consultancy. Worse, supply is limited: only so much cooking oil exists with which to make

For unconstrained supply, we need to turn to renewable power. Storing it as hydrogen, rather than in batteries, trades the weight problem for one of space. Even supercooled to a liquid, hydrogen holds just over a quarter of the energy as the same volume of petrol. Mixing hydrogen with CO₂ to create e-fuels sorts out both weight and space. But as the world moves towards net zero emissions, the CO₂ will need to be sucked out of the air, an energy-

intensive and expensive process.

The good news is that higher oil prices will help give this ponderous problem some lift. They will make problem some lift. They will make newer, energy-efficient aircraft more attractive, and reduce the green premium for renewable technologies. Meanwhile, fuel costs account for roughly a quarter of those expensive airline tickets. That means that an industry commitment to blend in 10 pc ent blofuels, say, would still only add £6 to the cost of a £100 ticket. trousers, where pockets are typically feeble imitations of roomy male versions. Incredibly, the average front pockets in US women's blue jeans are

pocket that would cost no more than £3 per jacket to add? 🤧

Gormley's prices start at £1,650 for a fully bespoke jacket and £550 for made-to-measure options. But why can't high street retailers include an

ever again nearing those tedious words, "Have you got room to carry my phone?"

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similar to jet tuel but made from waste. Today, they account for 0.01% of aeroplane fuels, and are between two and four times more expensive,

we are not quite done with nygskan
— a Swedish word meaning "flight
shame". But £6 might be a reasonable
sum to help assuage our consciences.



JOTTER PAD

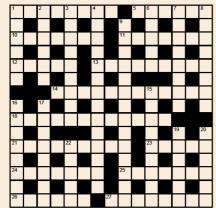
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ACROSS

- 1 Enterprise possibly begins knowing time will run out (8)
 5 Plaster is mostly fixed firm (6)
 10 Boost obtained from a ground nutmeg (7)
 11 Reserve, having been given the nod, is saved (7)
 12 Chaps getting into editor's change (5)

- (S)

 IS Learn glib labours sound somewhat familiar? (4,1,4)

 Is Salior chap i'm winding up in an act of pettiness? (12)

 IB Perhaps Cornish treat twerp carelessly cremated (7,5)

 IS Series of six shots? This is too many (9)
- 23 Earl went on a bike to eat away (5) 24 What could be flimsy in no good
- 24 What could be flimsy in no good zip? (7)
 25 I am in front of independent gallery's mirror (7)
 26 Repeat ceremony outside English college (6)
 27 Fragile container? Mine's below (8)

DOWN

- DOWN

 1 Son worried being on edge (6)
 2 Eg., JR Hartley, who we hope would promote a particular POV (6)
 3 Flexible dates by express firm (9)
 4 Inventively signorine tried home building? (8,6)
 6 Company set up near Los Angeles (5)
 7 Hydrocarbon which becomes cloudier when processed (5,3)
 8 Agad female unable to get along with ex (3,5)
 9 Le sparadrap ou Band-Aid? It gives life to Caesar, say (6,8)
 15 Fellows who are up working a dice scam (9)
 16 Glass vessel (8)
 17 Heads twitch daily (8)
 19 Deer displaying natural gift (6)
 20 Show concerning flesh as food (6)
 21 Tendency to split after beginning to dry (5)

- dry (5)

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