

FINANCIAL TIMES

MONDAY 10 APRIL 2023

ASIA



Warner Bros tries to get back on script
THE BIG READ, PAGE 17

Why corporate America is so top heavy
RUCHIR SHARMA, PAGE 19

Cycle of strife Air attacks fan Israel tensions

Israeli security forces patrol outside the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem yesterday after a week of violence triggered by a police raid on the compound. Israel's air force struck targets in Syria after militants in the neighbouring country fired rockets towards the border. Israel also bombed southern Lebanon and the Gaza Strip in response to rocket fire. Meanwhile twin attacks in Israel and the occupied West Bank killed two British-Israelis and an Italian tourist. The latest cycle of violence began after Israeli police raided al-Aqsa mosque on consecutive nights last week to remove Palestinians trying to remain in the compound, known to Jews as the Temple Mount. Footage of Israeli forces beating Palestinians with rifle butts and batons sparked outrage in the Arab world. **Air strikes on Syria page 2**



Briefing

- **Tesla unveils Shanghai plan despite unease in US**
The electric-car maker has laid out plans for a factory to make its Megapack energy storage system, as Elon Musk resists alarm over US tech groups in China. — PAGE 6
- **Taiwan anxiety rises**
Taipei has said 35 Chinese jets flew close to the island on another day of exercises in retaliation for President Tsai Ing-wen's meeting with US lawmakers. — PAGE 2
- **Saudis seek Yemen peace**
A Saudi delegation has arrived in Yemen to negotiate an end to the war that has pitted Riyadh and its allies against the Iran-backed Houthis militia group. — PAGE 2
- **Turkey drone angers Iraq**
Baghdad has demanded an apology over a strike that Syrian Kurds said was aimed at military chief Mazloum Abdi, a western ally in the war on Isis. — PAGE 5
- **Lukoil plant sale doubts**
US concerns over Lukoil's sale of an Italian refinery have forced Rome to review the deal to verify that there is no Russian role in the Cypriot buyer. — PAGE 9
- **FTSE chiefs' pay up 12%**
Pay for bosses at big UK groups rose by more than a tenth last year, as annual meetings near in which scrutiny is expected over employees' living costs. — PAGE 6

Global economy dodges big slowdown as growth outlook outpaces forecasts

China and US defy tough conditions • IMF chief remains cautious • Threat of inflation persists

CHRIS GILES — LONDON

The world's leading economies are showing surprising resilience, according to research for the Financial Times that suggests the global economy is set to avoid a sharp slowdown this year. The US, the eurozone, China, India and the UK are all growing faster than had been expected late last year, the latest edition of the twice-yearly Brookings-FT tracking index found, with consumer and business confidence rising after a rocky end to 2022. As recently as January, central banks and institutions such as the IMF were braced for a severe downturn. The research comes as global policymakers prepare to meet in Washington at the IMF and World Bank's spring

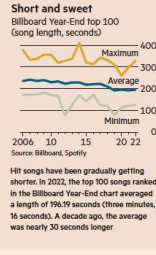
meetings this week. The fund is expected to confirm that the global economy will grow at a stronger rate than it forecast at its last meetings in October. There is little sign of the recessions that some analysts had feared, despite high inflation and rising geopolitical and financial risks. Despite that, managing director Kristalina Georgieva has warned that medium-term prospects for the global economy are at their bleakest since 1990. Eswar Prasad, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, a Washington-based think-tank, said the recent banking turmoil in Europe and the US was "exposing the frailties of financial systems in the major economies and adding to concerns about medium-term growth". Policymakers, especially central bankers, were "floundering" in an environment of rapidly multiplying risks, he said. The research "underscores a perilous moment for the world economy, with persistently high inflation, banking sector turmoil, and geopolitical risks threatening to derail growth", Prasad said. If these materialised, they would "take a toll on household and business

confidence and are likely to impinge negatively on medium-term growth". Despite that, the index suggests that the world's two largest economies will perform better than analysts had expected. China is "poised to register strong growth in 2023", Prasad said, while the US economy continues "its surprising run despite numerous headwinds". China's recovery stems from the end of its zero-Covid policy and a slowdown in the subsequent wave of infections, with the country likely to reach its 5 per cent growth target this year despite an increasingly state-dominated economy. Banking stresses in the US could derail the current strength in consumer spending and employment growth. But a soft landing is still possible, Prasad

said, with expectations of persistently high inflation easing. The eurozone and the UK are past the worst of their difficulties, with wholesale gas prices down more than 80 per cent from the peak last summer. But high inflation is set to constrain growth. By contrast, the picture is bleaker for low-income and frontier economies, which are suffering from rising debt servicing costs, weak export demand and their governments' limited ability to stimulate growth while maintaining the confidence of international financial markets. The Brookings-FT Tracking Index for the Global Economic Recovery (Tiger) compares indicators of real activity, financial markets and confidence with their historical averages.

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Datawatch



Russians find new payment pals as card groups pull out
Analysis — PAGE 9

Country	ASTOR (Kor GST)
Australia	AST000K (GST)
China	RH4830
Hong Kong	HK3233
India	Rup200
Indonesia	Rp45,000
Japan	¥4500K (CT)
Korea	₩4,500
Malaysia	RM1150
Philippines	₱100K (P)
Singapore	S\$5,800K (GST)
Taiwan	NT\$40
Thailand	BH40
Vietnam	US\$450

TikTok parent ByteDance leads China tech giants with record \$25bn profit

Beijing has said it would "firmly" oppose any move to separate TikTok's US arm from its Chinese owners. Any forced sale or ban of TikTok would hit ByteDance's potential earnings. Although it generated about 80 per cent of its revenues in China last year and TikTok was losing making, it nonetheless represents an important future profit engine. ByteDance, which was valued at \$500bn last year, generated almost \$85bn in sales in 2022, up more than 30 per cent from a year earlier as advertisers increased spending on the fast-growing TikTok and its sister Chinese app Douyin. Tencent and Alibaba reported ebitda of \$25.5bn and \$22.5bn for 2022 respectively. Both groups have been hit hard by Beijing's two-year regulatory crackdown on large tech companies.

A ByteDance investor in the US said a TikTok ban would not gut the company's financials based on current earnings. "TikTok is not as material a percentage of ByteDance's total revenue as people assume. But the ban would be a real loss to future potential, given its growth rate," the investor said. ByteDance's international business, which includes TikTok, recorded about \$15bn in sales for 2022, more than double that of a year earlier. Investors in the company appear to have shrugged off the threat of a ban. "There is a lot of value in the company. We view an outright ban as extremely unlikely," said one executive at a fund that backed the Chinese tech group. ByteDance does not disclose its revenues and profitability figures and did not respond to a request for comment.

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STOCK MARKETS				CURRENCIES				GOVERNMENT BONDS					
	Apr 7	Prev	%Chg	Apr 7	Mar 31	Apr 7	Mar 31	Yield (%)	Apr 7	Mar 31	Chg		
S&P 500	4105.02	4090.38	0.36	£/€	1.092	1.088	€/\$	0.916	0.920	US 2 yr	3.96	3.79	0.17
Nikkei Composite	12087.96	11996.89	0.76	\$/£	1.244	1.228	£/€	0.894	0.869	US 10 yr	3.40	3.29	0.12
Dow Jones Ind	33465.29	33402.72	0.01	€/£	0.819	0.819	\$/€	1.191	1.156	US 30 yr	3.82	3.54	0.28
FTSE100	1917.30	1908.55	0.46	\$/¥	131.795	131.050	¥/€	143.995	144.596	UK 2 yr	3.35	3.35	0.00
Euro Stoxx 50	4309.45	4298.39	0.26	¥/£	163.881	164.569	£/¥	79.450	79.947	UK 10 yr	3.56	3.57	0.00
FTSE 200	1741.56	1682.94	1.82	\$/HK\$	0.988	0.980	\$/HK\$	1.124	1.130	UK 20 yr	3.73	3.74	-0.01
Hang Seng	4033.91	4181.98	-1.82	\$/CNY	7.224	7.316	\$/CNY	0.645	0.647	JPY 2 yr	-0.07	-0.05	-0.02
MSCI World	2790.19	2784.05	0.22	\$/INR	72.724	73.16	\$/INR	0.013	0.013	JPY 10 yr	0.45	0.47	-0.01
MSCI EM	2037.31	2027.49	0.28	\$/KRW	11697.09	11620.17	\$/KRW	0.001	0.001	JPY 30 yr	1.31	1.29	0.02
MSCI ACWI	2913.20	2907.49	0.20	\$/NZD	1.631	1.631	\$/NZD	0.001	0.001	GER 2 yr	2.54	2.54	0.00
FT Wilshire 2500	204.51	202.20	0.33	\$/AUD	1.524	1.524	\$/AUD	0.001	0.001	GER 10 yr	2.18	2.18	0.00
FT Wilshire 5000	4193.79	4123.70	0.33	\$/CAD	1.361	1.361	\$/CAD	0.001	0.001	GER 30 yr	2.28	2.27	0.00

INTERNATIONAL

Erdogan rival turns up Turkey election heat from prison

Demirtas says opposition has best ever chance to oust president next month

BY LA JEAN YACKLEY — ISTANBUL

One of Recep Tayyip Erdogan's most prominent opponents has spoken out from his prison cell to urge Turkey's opposition to seize its best chance yet to unseat the country's president.

Selahattin Demirtas, who led the leftwing Peoples' Democratic party (HDP), Turkey's third-biggest political group, before he was jailed in 2016 on charges of supporting terrorism, said that a unified opposition that included Kurds could prevent a descent into "dictatorship".

"Step by step, Turkey has moved towards an authoritarian regime. If Erdogan wins this election, Turkey will have transitioned to a new kind of dictatorship," Demirtas said in response to questions submitted through his lawyer.

"Erdogan has managed to stay in power by dividing society... The opposition's unity as it goes to the polls is not only important to eliminate this polarisation but to win the election."

The votes of Turkey's Kurdish minority

A cost of living crisis and the response to February's earthquakes are eroding support for the ruling party

ity, who make up about 18 per cent of a population of 85m, will be pivotal in presidential and parliamentary elections set for May 14. Erdogan, who has been in power for 20 years, is lagging behind in polls for the first time ahead of a national election.

The HDP, whose base is mostly Kurdish, has not formally joined the six-party coalition backing centre-left Republican People's party leader Kemal Kilicdaroglu for president. But it has opted not to nominate its own candidate to avoid splintering the opposition vote.

"No party that does not receive the support of Kurdish voters has ever come to power. Kurds will be decisive in this election as well," Demirtas said.

But Demirtas, who wields influence over the HDP grassroots via tweets posted by his lawyers, said he had not decided whether to back Kilicdaroglu in his bid to end Erdogan's two-decade rule.

The Turkish president faces his toughest election test yet as a cost of living crisis and the state's response to February's earthquakes erode support for his ruling Justice and Development party (AKP). Yet polls indicate Kilicdaroglu will fall short of the simple majority needed to clinch the race in the first round, and the HDP's supporters are seen as a crucial swing vote.

The government has conducted a crackdown on the Kurdish political movement since the 2015 collapse of a peace process with the armed Kurdistan Workers' party (PKK). The illegal group

has waged a four-decade insurgency in pursuit of autonomy in which more than 40,000 have died and is designated a terrorist organisation by the US and the EU.

Erdogan has called Demirtas, who has twice challenged him for the presidency, a "terrorist" and rejected accusations of autocratic rule, pointing to his half-dozen electoral victories since 2003.

Turkey has ignored a 2020 European Court of Human Rights order to free Demirtas, a former human rights lawyer who was convicted on the basis of speeches that often targeted Erdogan.

The HDP is fielding its parliamentary candidates under the banner of its sister Green Left party to sidestep a potential ban at the constitutional court over allegations it supports the PKK. The HDP took 10.7 per cent of the vote in the 2018 election and now polls about 12 per cent.

Kilicdaroglu, who belongs to the minority Alevi faith in the mainly Sunni Muslim country and was born in a largely Kurdish province, was "making a sincere effort on change and democracy", Demirtas said. Kurds "value a common presidential candidate" and were "hopeful" about Kilicdaroglu's campaign, but they would wait to see how it unfolded before making a choice, he said.

Kilicdaroglu's electoral alliance, which includes rightwing and religious parties, has declined to formally embrace the HDP, deterred by perceptions among nationalist voters that it supports the PKK.

The party denies links with the militants and advocates a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

The Islamist-rooted AKP traditionally attracted about a third of Kurdish voters, but conservative Kurds have cooled towards Erdogan over the rollback of their earlier political and cultural gains.

Demirtas' political career reflects the narrowing of the Kurdish political space in Turkey. In 2015, the HDP worked with the government to mediate with the PKK and Demirtas canvassed for votes on a bicycle and appeared on television talk shows strumming a folk instrument. The HDP went on to win a record 6m votes, depriving the AKP of enough seats for single-party rule for the first time.

But within weeks, the peace process shattered and Erdogan forced an election rerun to recapture control. Despite a campaign promise that he could help end the violence, Demirtas' calls to the PKK to lay down its weapons went unheeded, and a year later he was jailed.

In prison, near the Greek border some 1,000km from his hometown of Diyarbakir, Demirtas says: "I never gave up politics in prison and try to be actively involved in the struggle."

"Erdogan openly says he will keep me in jail. We'll see whether he can still say that after the election."



'I never gave up politics and try to be actively involved in the struggle' Selahattin Demirtas

A demonstrator holds a scarf with an image of the opposition figure — HDP/DEMIRTAS



Drone strike

Iraq demands Ankara apology for attack on Kurdistan airport

BY RAYA JALABI — BEIRUT

Iraq has demanded an apology from Turkey over a drone strike that Syria's Kurds said was aimed at their military commander, a western ally in the fight against Isis.

Iraq's president called the attack on Sulaimaniya airport in the semi-autonomous Kurdistan region a "flagrant aggression on Iraq and its sovereignty".

"We call on the Turkish government to take responsibility and present an official apology," Iraq's presidency said on Saturday, adding that Ankara had no legal justification to continue "terrorising civilians under the pretext that forces hostile to it are present on Iraqi soil".

The Syrian Democratic Forces, a Kurdish-led militia that controls large parts of north-east Syria, said the attack was aimed at its leader, Mazloum Abdi. The SDF confirmed Abdi's presence at the airport at the time of Friday's attack. Abdi, who was not hurt in the incident, on Saturday condemned "the targeting of Sulaimaniya airport by Turkey".

Abdi said he had been travelling in a convoy that included US and coalition

troops. Asked what the reason was for his trip, he said the SDF had "joint operations" with Iraqi and Kurdish anti-terrorism forces that was known to the US-led coalition.

The US arms and trains the SDF in its campaign against Isis and keeps about 800 troops in Syria to support the militia. A spokesman for US Central Command did not respond to a request for comment.

Abdi said the attack was "a clear message from the Turks that they are bled and oppose our international relations and they want to damage them". Turkey's foreign ministry did not respond to a request for comment.

Turkey regularly conducts air and small-scale land operations in northern Iraq, home to the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' party (PKK). The army has also staged three full-scale incursions into Syria since 2016 to fight the PKK's Syrian affiliate, the People's Protection Units (YPG).

The PKK is listed as a terrorist organisation in Europe and the US. But across the border in Syria, the YPG is the dominant force in the SDF.

Additional reporting by Adam Samson

INTERNATIONAL

Economic crisis puts healthcare well out of many Pakistanis' reach

Inflation and falling exchange reserves lead to shortages of imported drugs

FARHAN BOKHARI — ISLAMABAD
BENJAMIN PARKIN — NEW DELHI

Nafees Jan, a 50-year-old taxi driver in Pakistan's capital, Islamabad, recently made what he called "the most difficult choice" of his life: whether to pay for treatment for his 10-year-old son for diabetes or to continue sending his four children to school.

Facing an "almost life and death situation", Jan decided to pull his children out of school in order to afford medicine and lab tests. "I had to opt for saving my son's life," he said.

Jan's agonising dilemma was one tragic consequence of a mounting economic crisis in Pakistan, where galloping inflation, which hit 35 per cent in March, has put the cost of essentials beyond the reach of many.

Pakistan's downward economic spiral is sparking a public health crisis. Rising inflation has driven the price of treatment to unaffordable levels, forcing many families to choose between healthcare and other necessities, while shrinking foreign currency reserves have caused shortages of imported drugs and medical equipment.

Meanwhile, devastating floods last year have pushed millions of Pakistanis into hunger and exposed them to greater risk of disease.

Pakistan's economic misery was "threatening the health and wellbeing of millions of already vulnerable communities", Unicef said. "No one should be forced into poverty, or kept in poverty, to pay for the healthcare they need."

Analysts warn that the country is at

risk of following nearby Sri Lanka into default. Its foreign reserves have fallen to \$4.2bn, less than enough to cover one month's worth of imports, leaving businesses struggling to operate.

The government of Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif has been locked in negotiations with the IMF to revive a multi-billion-dollar lending programme. But the sides have been unable to agree on the conditions to unlock the latest \$1.1bn tranche, which include raising taxes and cutting energy subsidies.

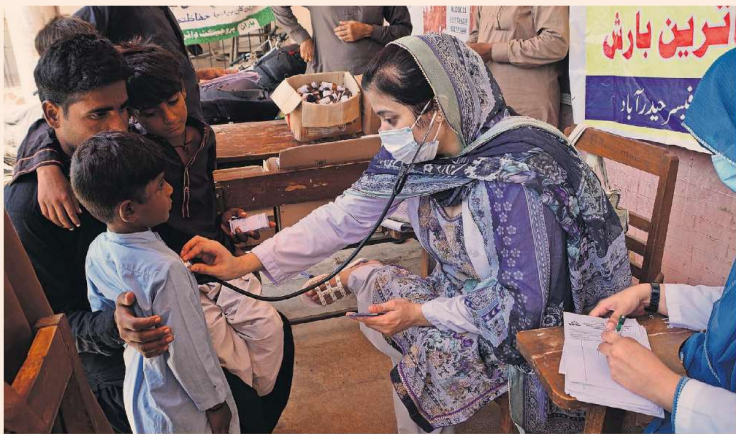
While the Fund argues such austerity measures are necessary, Islamabad says they will exacerbate the economic pain.

Pakistan's central bank last week raised its benchmark interest rate by 100 basis points to 21 per cent, the highest level in Asia.

Sharif is also embroiled in a bitter dispute with arch-rival Imran Khan, who has capitalised on Pakistan's economic anguish in a campaign to return to the top office, from which he was ousted a year ago. The prime minister's allies fear that acquiescing to the IMF's terms will squander their chances in elections due this year.

Pakistan has long struggled with poor healthcare. Forty per cent of children are stunted, or short for their age because of malnutrition, according to Unicef, a condition that can inflict lifelong physical and cognitive damage. More than half of medical spending is out of pocket, as severely underfunded public hospitals often leave patients little choice but to pay for treatment.

But the strain has intensified over the



Many families are forced to choose between healthcare and other necessities. Below, people displaced by floods queue for food. — Reuters/Anadolu Agency/Alamy All rights reserved



past year. Amid surging inflation and a sharp drop in the value of the rupee, authorities imposed import restrictions to protect remaining foreign reserves, a move that exacerbated shortages of medical equipment and raw materials for drugs.

"There is a huge gap in medicine supply," said Shabnam Baloch, Pakistan director at the International Rescue Committee. In recent months, "either the manufacturer was not able to

import the raw material or they were just leaving the country due to the shortage of foreign currency".

The head of one major pharmaceutical company in Pakistan, who asked to remain anonymous, denounced government controls on drug prices, which have not kept up with inflation on the rupee's devaluation. "How do you do business and still remain profitable in this environment?" they said.

Qazi Saleem, an Islamabad-based specialist in the procurement of healthcare supplies, said import costs had risen between 70 and 120 per cent in the past year. "It has become harder to get stents and lenses," Saleem added. "This has made it harder for patients... as they can't predict the expected cost."

Atif Munir, an endocrinologist in Lahore who treats diabetes patients, said insulin, which in Pakistan is overwhelmingly imported, had become more expensive and harder to find, forcing him to find more affordable supplies.

Pakistan's precarious position was worsened by flooding last year, which

caused an estimated \$50bn in damage and economic losses, displaced millions and wiped out swaths of vital crops such as rice.

The IRC said that 20mn people continued to need humanitarian assistance, and nearly half of them were experiencing extreme food insecurity. Contaminated and stagnant water had led to outbreaks of waterborne diseases including cholera, as well as malaria, the group added.

"The most vulnerable communities and particularly those impacted by the floods have either lost all their assets or sell whatever little they have to meet part of healthcare needs," Unicef said.

This includes Naimat Khan, 60, a father of seven who had brought his elderly mother from their village to the hospital in Rawalpindi for kidney treatment. Last month, he had to sell two of his seven goats to afford her care, fetching a much lower price than he intended.

"The cost of the visits to the doctor became more expensive each month," Khan said. "Finally, I had no choice."

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West Africa. Democracy test

Gambia's low growth piles pressure on president

Sense is of squandered chances as Barrow proves unequal to big economic and social challenges

AANU ADEOYE — SEREKUNDA

Ndow Darboe was jubilant when Gambia's opposition leader Adama Barrow ousted the country's autocratic president six years ago, sharing the widespread view that it would usher in an era of renewal after decades of dictatorship.

But he and many other Gambians have since become disillusioned by Barrow's failures to confront the west African nation's deep economic and social challenges. "People are suffering," said Darboe, a farmer from the coastal town of Serekunda.

Barrow's 2017 victory and the removal of Yahya Jammeh — who initially refused to step aside — was Gambia's first constitutional transfer of power since independence in 1965 and became emblematic of west Africa's democratic aspirations. Yet the lack of substantial change has fed the sense of an opportunity squandered, with fears the small country of 2.6mn would join the democratic backsliding that has hit the region in recent years.

Darboe said that the disappointment with Barrow was so widespread that some would even vote for Jammeh to return. "We'll go back to the devil we know," he said. "He made a lot of mistakes, with the killings, but there was development."

Jammeh, who has been in exile in Equatorial Guinea since 2017, was accused of widespread human rights abuses and repression during his 22-year reign, including jailing and torturing opponents. A commission set up by Barrow's administration to investigate allegations against the former regime concluded that hundreds were killed on Jammeh's watch and recommended that he should be prosecuted.

Marr Nyang, founder of anti-corruption group Gambia Participates, said anyone seeking Jammeh's return was "nypotic", but he agreed Barrow's government had done little to improve the lives of ordinary Gambians, create a better system of governance or boost the tourist-reliant economy.

"Barrow's tenure has been two steps forward, five steps back, then one step forward again," he said. "We have a baby democracy [that] should be able to walk, but it's crawling."

Barrow, a security guard in London in the 2000s and one-time property developer, was little-known in Gambia when he ran for the presidency.

His tenure got off to a difficult start when he was forced to hold his inauguration in neighbouring Senegal as Jammeh clung to power. The threat of intervention by troops from regional bloc the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) eventually persuaded Jammeh to stand down.

Yet Gambia's problems have continued: its gross domestic product per capita, at \$772 in 2021, is among the world's lowest. The pandemic hit to the economy took the proportion of its population living in poverty to more than 53 per cent last year, from 45.8 per cent in 2019, according to the World Bank. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has sent food and energy costs soaring.

More than three-quarters of respondents to a recent Afrobarometer poll said corruption had increased under Barrow. Gambia Participates has alleged mismanagement of funds meant to help the coronavirus recovery, including a scheme where lists of health workers were padded out with fake names to secure extra money. Gambia's health minister acknowledged in 2020 his department had uncovered such corruption.

The president has also drawn criticism for maintaining the Ecowas military mission deployed when Jammeh refused to stand down, rather than allowing security to be handled by Gambian forces. Parliament's failure to advance a new constitution that would have limited the president to two terms is another source of public anger.

"[Barrow] keeps saying he believes in term limits, but he's not supporting the constitution that would bring in term limits," said Nyang. "Gambians are tired of presidents ruling for more than 10 years."

Sait Matty Jaw, executive director of the Center for Research and Policy Development, said Gambia could not enter a democratic era without a new charter to replace the 1997 document in use now. "Gambia needs a new constitution, not only for term limits, but for other reforms like security because the police and military are still governed by colonial-era laws," he said.

A presidential spokesperson defended Barrow's government, saying it had spent 1.5bn dalasi (\$24m) on fuel subsidies to cushion the effect of rising fuel prices. The spokesperson added that Barrow supported term limits and had told the attorney-general and justice minister to revise the constitutional review. But uncertainty over an alleged coup attempt in December has underscored the fragility of Gambia's political renewal in a region where democracy remains under pressure. Military juntas have in recent years taken over in Guinea, Mali and Burkina Faso.

Observers have questioned the official version of events that led to the arrest last year of a group of Gambians, including military figures, who were accused of plotting to overthrow Barrow's government.

A western diplomat in Gambia said the story "didn't add up" and that the presence of the Ecowas forces would have prevented any coup. Five of the alleged coup plotters were released in January and the trial of five others continues.

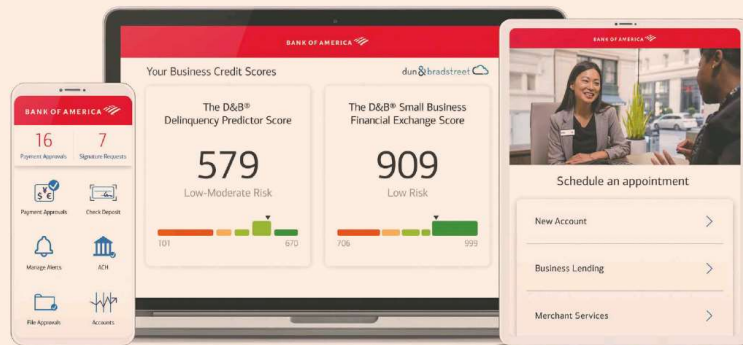
Lamin Marong, a telecoms worker on Pecco Loco beach, said that despite the general misgivings about the direction Gambia was heading under Barrow, there was one big difference under his leadership: the fact that people could criticise the government without fear.

"You can insult the president, go home and nobody will come for you," he said. "Freedom is one of the best things anyone can enjoy."

Respondents to one poll cite growing corruption under Adama Barrow



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Numbers game Only a handful of jobs are AI-resistant and accountancy is among the professions most at risk

Companies & Markets

Tesla unveils plan to build battery factory in Shanghai

- Musk defies rising US-China tension
- Energy storage system deal signed

HUBBON LOCKETT — HONG KONG
EDWARD WHITE — SEOUL

Tesla has announced plans to build a factory in Shanghai to produce its Megapack energy storage system as chief executive Elon Musk resists a rising tide of angst in Washington over US technology companies investing in China.

The electric-vehicle maker said at a signing ceremony in the Chinese city that construction of its new plant was planned for the third quarter of this year with production scheduled to begin in the second quarter of 2024.

Tesla expects the factory to produce about 10,000 Megapack units a year — equivalent to about 40 gigawatt-hours of

the company's carmaking operations. Tesla said products from the new plant would be sold worldwide. It did not respond to a request for comment.

The new China investment comes at a tense moment for Musk's relationship with customers in the world's biggest consumer market as well as the ruling Chinese Communist party.

Tesla's first factory in Shanghai, which opened in 2019, produced almost 90,000 units in February alone, according to the China Passenger Car Association, and can turn out about 1.1m units annually.

Amid worsening tensions between China and the west, as well as worries about supply chain disruptions, some manufacturers increasingly use bases in China primarily for the local market, rather than for export.

Construction is planned for the third quarter with production expected to start by mid-2024

energy storage — reflecting Musk's decision to deepen engagement with China as his Tesla cars struggle to fend off growing competition from Chinese rivals.

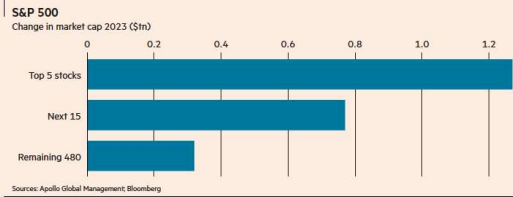
The billionaire's decision to expand his group's manufacturing presence in Shanghai takes place as the US is expected soon to release for trial a new investment screening mechanism to China.

The requirement would be one strand in a broad-based set of new policies under President Joe Biden aimed at cutting US reliance on China for manufacturing and technology and boosting American manufacturing.

Tesla's Megapack system provides lithium-ion battery packs to help store renewable energy for electricity grids and represents a key driver for its energy storage and generation business.

Musk has previously pledged to expand the business to be on par with

Mega gains Big Tech boost as just 20 stocks seize the lion's share of Wall Street rally



JUST GEORGE STEER — LONDON

Just 20 stocks account for almost 90 per cent of the US benchmark index's \$2.56tn gains so far this year as instability in the banking sector has driven down interest rate expectations and enhanced the allure of Big Tech.

Among the big gainers, Nvidia has climbed 85 per cent, Facebook owner Meta 76 per cent and Salesforce 42 per cent, underlining the heavy concentration in the most influential stock market.

The market value of those and the other 17 best-performing stocks in the S&P 500 has risen by \$2.05tn in 2023. Apple's valuation has risen almost \$600bn, or 30 per cent, in the past three months.

The market cap of the other stocks in the index, which is up almost 7 per cent so far in 2023, rose \$230bn over the same period, according to Apollo Global Management. Ignoring gains for megacap growth stocks, the S&P

500 rose 1.4 per cent in the first three months of 2023, said UBS.

"People are looking for safety and comfort given the cross-currents in the market, and tech gives them plenty of cases," said Jack Atherton, a JP Morgan sales trader.

Noting the phrase "Whenever the Fed hits the brakes, someone goes through the windshield," Atherton said megacap technology appeared to be "wearing an eight-point harness".

US technology companies were left battered by rising borrowing costs in 2022, with the Nasdaq down a third from an all-time record as the present value of technology groups' future cash flows declined.

The US Federal Reserve has continued to raise rates in 2023, but fallout from the collapse of Silicon Valley Bank in March is expected by some investors to lead to tighter lending standards and to cool economic activity to such an extent that further aggressive rate rises are no longer necessary.

Banking turmoil has lopped half a percentage point off the level at which investors expect rates to peak, with markets split on whether the Fed will lift rates by 0.25 percentage points to a target range 5-5.25 per cent or leave them unchanged when it next meets in early May.

Technology stocks have been among the main beneficiaries of the recalibration. Many of those businesses that suffered in 2022 but dominate US equity indices were "exploding higher on the violent rates reset", said Charlie McElligott, analyst at Nomura.

High inflation means that the zero-interest-rate environment that spurred technology stocks to records in 2021 is unlikely to return anytime soon, however, and the sector's nascent rally may already be fading.

Analysts at Bank of America have pointed to the first aggregate outflows from tech stocks in six weeks in the five days to March 31.

See Opinion

FTSE 100 chief pay jumps despite cost of living crisis

DANIEL THOMAS — LONDON

Total pay for bosses at some of the UK's largest companies rose by more than a tenth last year, further adding to the scrutiny expected from shareholders at annual meetings at a time when many employees face cost of living pressures.

Median overall pay for FTSE 100 chief executives increased by 12 per cent to £4.15m, according to data compiled by Deloitte from the first 55 companies to publish 2022 annual reports with financial years ending on or after September 15.

The median annual bonus payout of 76 per cent of the maximum award possible was lower than the 85 per cent level reached the previous year — with that in part due to companies hitting lower targets set during the pandemic.

However, many top executives benefited from strong share price performances at the end of 2022 across most sectors, which boosted payouts made under long-term incentive plans.

Deloitte found that more than 90 per cent of CEO salary increases for this year have been set below the average increase awarded to the workforce in the face of investor scrutiny and proxy guidance issued ahead of the 2023 AGM season.

The median CEO salary increase of 3.5 per cent to date compiled from the 55 annual reports compares with a median average salary increase of 6 per cent for the workforce.

The first indication that many of Britain's top executives enjoyed a significant boost to their overall pay package comes ahead of the annual investor meetings of companies in the UK in the spring and summer, when management teams face votes over their pay and governance by shareholders.

Mital Shah, partner in Deloitte's executive remuneration practice, predicted "a more challenging 2023 AGM season as investors closely scrutinise pay, with a particular focus on potential windfall gains made by executives on the back of incentive awards granted in 2020 during a dip in the market".

Shah added that this would contrast with last year when there was a "quieter AGM season as pay levels bounced back, following a period of temporary pay cuts in 2021 during the Covid pandemic [but] investors were generally supportive in voting on remuneration reports".

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Energy. Backlash

Lawmakers pose threat to Texas renewables boom

Bills would hobble wind and solar projects in the leading US oil and natural gas state

JUSTIN JACOBS — HOUSTON

A renewable energy boom in Texas is under threat at the state legislature, as lawmakers take up new bills that would hobble wind and solar projects.

Texas is well known as the top US state in oil and natural gas production. It has also become the leading state in wind power and is on track this year to surpass California with the largest solar capacity in the US.

The renewable technologies were already proliferating before the US Congress passed the Inflation Reduction Act climate law last year, which with \$369bn in clean-energy subsidies promises to supercharge solar and wind development.

The Republican-dominated state legislature is now debating bills that throw up new hurdles for wind and solar projects and guarantee fossil fuels' future as an energy source on the state power grid.

"We have invested heavily in renewable but now it's time to focus on dispatchable," Dan Patrick, the Texas lieutenant-governor spearheading the move, said at a recent press conference, using a term commonly used to refer to fossil fuel power generation.

One bill would impose new environmental permit requirements for renewable energy projects but not other types of power plants, evaluating factors such as encroachment on agricultural lands and wildlife lands. The measure would even

require currently operating plants to apply for the permits.

"Texas has always prided themselves on having an open market, not picking and choosing which technologies should win, and being a state where we don't heavily regulate. None of those things is true about this," said Becky Diefenbach, a partner at law firm Norton Rose Fulbright.

"It is absolutely being viewed as a real threat. Renewables is basically a bad word at the capital right now, there's just a lot of opposition."

The proposed state permit regulations run counter to an important energy bill passed by the Republican-controlled US House of Representatives last week that would streamline federal permission for big energy projects.

The swift rise of renewable energy has sparked a backlash from many Texas Republicans who argue the rising share of intermittent wind and solar resources on the grid has made the state's energy

system less reliable and is hurting the oil and gas sector.

Many blame renewables for the devastating blackouts during winter storm Uri in February 2021, which led to hundreds of deaths and more than \$100bn in economic damage, although natural gas-fueled generation was also significantly disrupted during the deep freeze.

Charles Schwertner, a Texas state senator, said Republicans wanted to offset "market distortions" created by federal subsidies for "less reliable generation" in the IRA, and ensure fossil-fuel generation was still being added in the state.

The clean energy backlash could hurt Texas's ability to take advantage of the subsidies in the act.

"Texas stands to be a major winner under [the IRA], but a lot of our political leaders just seem dead set on cutting off our nose to spite our face," said Doug Lewin, president of Stoic Energy, a consultancy.

Another bill under debate in the bicameral legislature would lead Texas to spend more than \$10bn to back construction of 10 gigawatts of gas-fired power generating capacity, about 12 per cent of the state's total current grid capacity, that could be tapped when power demand peaks. The state would guarantee the plants an annual rate of return of around 10 per cent.



Patrick has also proposed using funds from the state's budget surplus to provide low-cost loans to fossil fuel power projects.

"We want to ensure there's an incentive for more thermal power to be built in this state as quickly as we can build it," Patrick said.

Governor Greg Abbott has said that he wants renewable projects excluded from any new state-backed economic incentive programmes, which have been critical to drawing in big investors such as Elon Musk's Tesla and Samsung of South Korea.

"There's already a federal incentive for renewable projects," Abbott said. "Our focus is on dispatchable power to make sure that we will have the needed dispatchable power to provide reliable electricity to everybody in the state."

Texas has by far the highest electricity consumption of any state, so efforts to preserve fossil fuel use would deal a serious blow to federal goals of stripping carbon from the national power system.

Jeff Clark, president of the Advanced Power Alliance, an Austin-based renewable energy industry group, said the Republican legislative effort put the clean energy sector in the state "at risk".

"Companies looking at Texas and contemplating investment here should listen, because Texas is turning its back on clean energy," he said.

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GQG founder counts on Adani bouncing back

Jain goes against consensus, ploughing \$1.9bn into mogul's businesses after shorting attack led to sharp stock price fall

ORTENCA ALIAJ — NEW YORK
HARRIET AGNEW — LONDON

Rajiv Jain is not afraid of taking risks. The founder and chief investment officer of GQG Partners proved that last month when he ploughed \$1.9bn into Indian conglomerate Adani Group after it was hit by a US short-seller's attack that wiped as much as \$145bn from its market value.

The Florida-based firm's move has thrust 55-year-old Jain, an Indian-born emerging markets investor who has made a career of going against the grain, into the spotlight. While his public image is now tied to that of Gautam Adani's infrastructure empire, it does not appear to worry him. "The craziness part is mostly coming from the public relations risk," he told the Financial Times.

"Nobody who invested in FTX has gotten fired yet," he said, taking a swipe at the numerous groups that put money into Sam Bankman-Fried's now bankrupt cryptocurrency exchange. "He was playing video games while talking. Maybe we did a little more work than that. [Adani] doesn't play video games, I am pretty sure."

While GQG's investment in Adani Group caught the market by surprise, Jain said it had been looking at the conglomerate for five years and already had significant exposure to India.

Some of his team met Adani family members last summer while the company was doing a roadshow in New York, although Adani shares had been on a stratospheric rise then and, as Jain put it, "there were other fish to fry".

The surge in Adani stock came to an abrupt halt in January when Hindenburg Research released a report alleging accounting fraud and stock manipulation. While the company denied the accusations, investors fled and it was forced to call off a \$2.4bn fundraising.

"Things changed with a vengeance this year," said Jain, with the slide in value providing a compelling entry point for GQG. "The stock is down 75-80 per cent, so that obviously gets your



Demonstrators in Kolkata burn effigies of Gautam Adani and Indian prime minister Narendra Modi

ports-to-power conglomerate, could eventually be worth more than the entire business is now.

He said Hindenburg had failed to mention Adani's "physical assets, regular assets, monopolistic assets — those are hard to replicate".

For Jain the Adani trade is no different to other contrarian plays he has made. Most recently this included aggressively snapping up unloved energy stocks and meaningfully selling down holdings of technology stocks in 2021 because of higher inflation and valuations that were "in la la land".

This helped GQG's global equity strategy lose only 4.7 per cent last year when its benchmark was down 18.4 per cent, according to fund documents.

Cutting tech stocks "was damn controversial because the consensus is that these things are the best things since sliced bread", Jain said. Using his five-year outlook, he thinks Amazon, one of the most popular companies in investment portfolios, "looks like a cult stock".

Like Hindenburg, Jain's 20-strong investment team counts former investigative journalists whom he put to work interrogating people in Adani's ecosystem. Their conclusion was that the core operations were strong.

"Ultimately, this business is about monetising the difference between perception and reality and we see reality differently to Hindenburg," Jain said.

GQG has had its own mishaps, most recently with investments in Russia where it had significant exposure before last year's invasion of Ukraine. Jain said GQG had started cutting back before the war erupted but still kept some money in companies it believed would do well irrespective of geopolitics.

"The names we left in Russia were the names we thought would be fine even if things turned bad. As luck would have it, all of these companies are minting money still except, what we didn't predict, was the capital controls," he said.

Russia exposure accounted for roughly 3 per cent of GQG's emerging markets equity fund and about 1 per cent of its global quality equity fund, Jain said. GQG was forced to write down the investments to zero because of the sanctions imposed on Russia that, he said, "haven't exactly been really successful, to put it mildly".

He said the Adani trade had received a positive reception on a roadshow in Australia this month where Jain was meeting some of GQG's largest investors.

Nonetheless, Jain said he had sized the trade appropriately as with all his investments — which still include holdings in tech titans such as Meta, Microsoft and Google — to make sure it would not be catastrophic for the fund if it failed to play out the way he anticipated.

"If we lose 50 per cent it's a bad three or six months, it's not a bad five years... we can lose 75 per cent in Meta or maybe 30-40 per cent here. Pick your poison," he said.



attention," Jain said he was not concerned about Hindenburg's report on Adani and accepts that companies in emerging markets tend to have certain traits that may make some investors uneasy.

"Is this perfectly clean? No, it's not. Is it fraud? No, it's not. So the difference between the two is what we're talking about. In the meantime, you are getting irreplaceable assets, at very attractive valuations, which have some tremendous upside," he said.

The Adani Group did not respond to a request for comment.

Jain, who moved to the US in 1990, is a seasoned emerging markets investor. He said the early part of his career in the 1990s, when he "lived through one crisis after another", sharpened his senses and taught him to react quickly when a situation deteriorated.

He joined Vontobel Asset Management weeks before Mexico's so-called Tequila crisis in December 1994, when a huge devaluation of the peso triggered a banking crisis followed by successive crises in Brazil, Asia and then Russia.

Jain spent more than two decades at the Swiss asset manager, where he climbed the ranks to become co-chief operating officer and at its peak managed \$50bn.

He departed in 2016 to found GQG, which has amassed more than \$90bn in assets, including running more than \$20bn for Goldman Sachs Asset Management. Since it launched in 2016 the GQG Partners Global Equity Strategy has gained 10.7 per cent a year, ahead of its benchmark MSCI ACWI index at an annualised 7 per cent, according to fund documents.

Jain believes that if active managers are to justify their existence and their fees, they have to stick their necks out and go against con-

sensus. "It's very easy to buy Apple, Google, Microsoft... our job is to deliver alpha over the long run," he said. "If you don't want to be uncomfortable owning anything, why would you outperform? It will not happen."

There is perhaps already some cause

'It's very easy to buy Apple, Google, Microsoft... our job is to deliver alpha over the long run'

for discomfort. Shares in Adani Ports and Special Economic Zone last week slipped below the price at which GQG invested after a report that it was seeking more time to pay off some debts.

But with his bet on the Adani Group spread across four of its listed companies, Jain is looking at a five-year time horizon. He believes Mumbai's international airport, which sits within the

Emerging markets investor Rajiv Jain believes active managers must stick their necks out



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Oil & gas

Total urged to do more on emission reduction

SARAH WHITE — PARIS

A prominent activist group and 17 other investors have filed a shareholder resolution calling on France's TotalEnergies to do more to cut its emissions by 2030, a move that would imply rolling back some of its gas projects and investing more aggressively in renewable energy.

Dutch shareholder activist Follow This brought the motion ahead of Total's shareholder meeting on May 26, echoing the pressure that it is also looking to put on other big oil groups such as BP, Shell, Chevron and ExxonMobil.

Along with investors holding roughly 1 per cent of Total's capital, Follow This is calling on the company to be more aggressive in its Scope 3 targets — the carbon produced when the product a company sells is burnt, and which makes up the bulk of all emissions from oil and gas groups.

In the resolution seen by the Financial Times, the investors said they considered that Total's 2030 targets were not aligned with the ambitions of the Paris Climate Agreement, and the goal of keeping global warming well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.

"The strategy is totally up to the

board," said Mark van Baal, the founder of Follow This. But ultimately to align with Paris climate goals, "we need them to offer renewable energy at scale," he added.

"We're dealing with companies that don't want to change. Of course, they want to invest a bit in renewable energy but the bulk is in fossil fuels, and they want to remain oil and gas companies as long as possible," he said.

TotalEnergies has forecast that its Scope 3 emissions would stand at less than 400m tonnes CO₂ equivalent by 2030. But this compares with 389m tonnes CO₂ equivalent last year, meaning they will barely drop in the coming



TotalEnergies activists are seeking improvements in its Scope 3 targets

years. The group has defended its stance saying it was keeping this goal while increasing its energy production and was pivoting more towards gas, a fuel that was replacing more polluting coal in the world.

It also has a goal to reduce Scope 3 emissions from its petrol products by more than 30 per cent in 2030 compared with 2015.

The company had no immediate comment on the resolution, which would not be binding.

Total increased its yearly investment budget in clean energy projects to more than \$5bn for this year from more than \$4bn previously, although most of its \$16bn-\$18bn investments are dedicated to other areas, including oil.

"The first thing we'd like to see [from Total] would be to reduce investments in new oil and gas projects," said Bertille Knuckey, portfolio manager at Sycamore Asset Management, one of the investors behind the motion along with Edmond de Rothschild, Mandarin Gestion and La Banque Postale.

Last year, an attempt by Follow This to put forward a binding climate resolution was blocked by Total. The company put forward its own climate motion, which was rejected by 11 per cent of investors.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Oil & gas

Lukoil deal delayed amid fears over buyer

Rome takes extra time for review after Washington privately raises concerns

SILVIA SCORIELLI BORBELLI — MILAN
TOM WILSON — LONDON
JAMES FONTANELLA — MIAMI — NEW YORK
JAMES POLITI — WASHINGTON

Italian officials are racing to review a deal to sell the country's largest refinery after the US government privately raised concerns about the sale of the Russian-owned site to a little-known firm in Cyprus.

Russia's Lukoil agreed in January to sell its Sicilian ISAB refinery to GOI Energy, a newly established branch of the Cypriot private equity group Argus.

The €1.5bn deal, which overtook a competing offer from US-based Crossbridge Energy Partners and oil trader Vitol, also involves commodity trader Trafigura.

Trafigura will provide working capital and crude oil to the facility, and market the refined fuels it produces. The transaction was expected to close by March 31, but Italian officials are taking extra time to review crucial details, according to two people briefed on the talks.

The additional time was required partly after the US government informally asked Rome to confirm that there is no Russian involvement in GOI Energy, the two people and one other also briefed on the talks said.

The ISAB refinery is one of the largest industrial sites in western Europe. It can

process 320,000 barrels of oil a day, about a fifth of Italy's refining capacity. Rome stopped short of nationalising it last year after Russia invaded Ukraine but placed it under a temporary trusteeship, giving it a veto over any deal to sell it that could jeopardise operations or jobs.

Trafigura confirmed that executives including its co-head of trading Ben Luckock had met Italian officials last week to "answer their questions" but said the meeting had been "positive" and that the process was advancing.

GOI Energy is run by chief executive Michael Bobrov, who used to head Trafigura's operations in Israel.

One Italian official and one person close to GOI Energy said they were

"optimistic" that the deal would be approved this week.

The US State department declined to comment on any communication between US and Italian officials over the deal. It added that Lukoil and its Italian operations are not subject to US sanctions but stressed the need for scrutiny of any transaction involving Russian energy assets. "It is important to recognise that the Russian government works aggressively to undermine judicial processes in the United States and Europe, especially in regard to sanctioned entities, so these cases must be treated with utmost scrutiny and security," the State department said.

GOI Energy said it had provided the Italian government with full guarantees

on governance, production, financial and employment continuity, as well as energy security. It categorically declined any Russian involvement in its funding or operations, saying its investor mix was "exclusively Greek, Israeli and Cypriot". It added that GOI Energy's chair, Christodoulos Triantafyllou, is Ukraine's consul in Cyprus.

But two of the people briefed on the talks said Italian officials were still worried about some aspects of the transaction. One senior Italian energy executive said it was worrying that "a group of unknown investors, running a newly created entity out of Cyprus, could acquire an asset deemed strategic by Rome". A spokesperson for the Italian government declined to comment.

Pharmaceuticals

Korea biotech sector looks to diversify away from China

SONG JUNG-A — SEOUL
JAMIE SMITH — NEW YORK

South Korean biotech companies are working to diversify from China in anticipation that the US could tighten export restrictions on the sector to bolster its domestic industry and curb Chinese growth.

The Biden administration has identified biotechnology and biomanufacturing as strategic industries and is expected to introduce more specific measures within months.

The concerns in South Korea over one of its most important sectors for growth also highlight the collateral damage for third countries from rising tension between the US and China over supply chains and technology.

"We're trying to reduce our reliance on cheaper raw material imports from countries like China and develop more domestic materials to secure supply chain stability as the US-China conflict intensifies," said a spokesman for the Korea Pharmaceutical and Bio-Pharma Manufacturers Association.

The US has increased the number of export controls on China. Last year, Washington introduced expansive chip export curbs in an effort to slow its technological progress. Japan and the Netherlands have also restricted China's access to cutting-edge technology.

Washington is seeking to reduce US reliance on China for new medicines and products. In September, the White House issued two executive orders

"We're trying to reduce our reliance on cheaper raw material imports from countries like China"

directing US government agencies to identify actions to "mitigate risks posed by foreign adversary involvement" in bio-manufacturing supply chains and to enhance biosecurity in domestic infrastructure.

Executives at South Korea's leading biotech companies — Samsung Biologics, SK Bioscience and Celltrion — are concerned about the potential fallout from Washington's policies.

"I am afraid that our products produced here could face higher tariffs in the US or be excluded from potential tax credits," said an executive at one of the country's leading biotech groups.

Industry executives and analysts in the US suggest the policy shift will result in closer scrutiny of foreign transactions and could affect investment flows to companies that rely on China for parts of their supply chain.

In response to the rising tension between the US and China, South Korean chip companies Samsung Electronics and SK Hynix, along with carmakers and battery producers, are expanding their North American operations. The country's pharmaceutical companies have recently stepped up efforts to expand their overseas presence through acquisitions of US peers.

Samsung Biologics, the world's largest contract drugmaker, has opened sales offices in Boston and New Jersey and is seeking to build plants in the US and Europe to be closer to its main customers. The Korean groups have produced Covid-19 vaccines and other drugs for companies, including AstraZeneca.

Market questions. Week ahead

Economists expect slowdown in US headline inflation

Will US inflation continue to slow?

US inflation has slowed consistently over the past year, although falls have moderated in recent months as price pressures in sectors such as shelter — which includes rents — have remained high.

On Wednesday, the Bureau of Labor Statistics will release its latest consumer price index report, which is forecast to show that inflation rose at a slower pace in March than the previous month. Economists surveyed by Bloomberg are expecting the headline figure to have risen 5.2 per cent year-on-year, compared with 6 per cent in February.

Core CPI — which strips out the volatile food and energy sectors — is expected to have risen 5.6 per cent on the year, from 5.5 per cent in February. But the month-on-month core CPI figure is expected to have dropped from 0.5 per cent to 0.4 per cent.

Barclays analysts argue that the expected drop in headline inflation this month will be attributed to lower energy and food costs. The persistent strength in core inflation is likely to have been driven by shelter costs, even as the analysts predict a pickup in other core services, such as transport and medical care.

Wednesday's reading will be an essential piece of the Federal Reserve's deliberations in May over whether to pause its campaign to raise interest rates. *Kate Duguid*

Has the UK economy stalled?

Data due on Thursday will confirm whether the UK economy stagnated in February — an outcome that economists predict as widespread strikes during the month limited the rebound from lower business price pressures and greater optimism about the broader outlook.

Economists polled by Reuters forecast that UK gross domestic output held steady between January and February, following a 0.5 per cent expansion in the previous month. Business surveys, such as the purchasing managers' index, or PMI, pointed to an emerging recovery in business activity in February. It was boosted by lower input price growth, easing of supply chain disruption and waning recession risks.

Official data has already showed that retail sales expanded in February, while the construction sector is expected to have rebounded after heavy rains affected activity in January. But Samuel



The month-on-month core consumer price index figure is expected to have dropped from 0.5% to 0.4%.

Tombs, chief economist at the consultancy Pantheon Macroeconomics, predicted that the strikes would result in a 5 percentage point hit to the month-on-month growth, reflecting a loss of output in education, defence and public administration.

He calculated that the stagnation in February should leave output on course to fall marginally below the first quarter of 2023 and the previous three months, which would follow a 0.1 per cent expansion in the previous quarter. "A sustained upturn will not likely take hold until the third quarter, when prices should start to rise at a slower pace than wages," said Tombs. This would be earlier than the latest forecast from the Bank of England, which expected economic growth to return only in the middle of next year. *Valentina Romer*

Has Chinese bank lending recovered?

China is set to release a series of high-profile economic data this week including readings on inflation, trade and renminbi lending — any one of which could unsettle markets.

First up is the official consumer price index for March due to be released tomorrow, with economists polled by Bloomberg expecting annual consumer inflation to hold steady from the previous month at 1 per cent. Next, imports and exports are out on Thursday; economists expect each to show declines of around 7 per cent on the year.

But the wild card will be a reading on new renminbi bank loans that the country's central bank could release at any point during the coming week and which "should move markets", according

'A sustained upturn [in UK output] will not likely take hold until the third quarter, when prices should start to rise at a slower pace than wages'

to Iris Pang, chief economist for Greater China at ING.

Economists at Goldman Sachs expect that after a sharp drop in February, bank lending will have surged to Rmb3.3tn in March, on the back of supportive policy from Beijing and strong growth in credit demand driven by the country's economic reopening from pandemic restrictions.

They added that a cut to banks' required level of reserves late last month "suggests policymakers would like to keep [their] monetary policy stance accommodative to facilitate growth recovery".

Pang expects lending to come in even higher at Rmb4tn because of both the reserve requirement cut and a "significant amount of liquidity injection" in the final two weeks of March.

Hudson Lockett

Financials. Plumbing

Russians search for bootleg solutions to overcome payments sanctions

Need for constant innovation underscores the difficulty of functioning outside system

SIDDHARTH VENKATARAMAKRISHNAN
LONDON
NASTASSIA ASTRASHEUSKAYA
MOSCOW

Last September, the day after Uzbekistan stopped accepting bank cards that relied on Russia's domestic card scheme Mir, middle-class Russians were already discussing how to circumvent the ban.

"[Accounts] with cards can be opened in 3-5 days in [most] banks," said a Telegram channel, touting how easy it is to travel to Uzbekistan, open an account and gain a credit card that can still be used internationally. The channel, with nearly 27,000 subscribers, was set up by an Uzbek less than two weeks after the start of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine to convince Russians to relocate to her country for business.

According to the Uzbek central bank, deposits in the country grew by

UZ\$60.5tn (\$5.3bn) in 2022, twice as fast as the previous year, hinting at how Russians have retained access to international commerce despite international sanctions. Data from other former Soviet republics also shows marked increases in demand for their banking systems, with Armenia doubling a surge of non-resident deposits in 2022.

"The data [on Russian deposit inflows] is quite striking," said Timothy Ash, associate fellow at Chatham House. "Alongside remittances, we've seen Russian deposit inflows including to current accounts."

The need for creative payments solutions, at home and abroad, is obvious. Not only have Visa and Mastercard cut services in Russia but Mir, which has helped keep domestic payments flowing, is also now accepted in just a handful of countries, such as Belarus and the breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

What is also obvious, say experts, is that one year since the invasion began, Russia's need to continuously innovate to keep payments flowing demonstrates just how hard it is to exist outside the US financial system, let alone supplant it.

Russia began preparing for the withdrawal of Visa and Mastercard following sanctions imposed after its annexation of Crimea almost a decade ago.

The Kremlin launched the National Card Payment System (NSPK) in 2014 to build an alternative financial plumbing system to process card transactions in Russia. The threat of hefty fines led Mastercard and Visa to sign deals allowing NSPK to handle all domestic payments. A year later, Russia launched Mir, which quickly built market share due to mandates for use by civil servants and pensioners.

"With 16mm cards in circulation as of September 2022, surpassing Russia's population of just over 147m, Mir has become a viable [domestic] alternative to western payment systems," said Ola Oyetayo, chief executive of payments platform Verito.

When Visa and Mastercard withdrew from Russia in March 2022, Russian-made cards simply continued running domestically on NSPK.

Private banks have also reacted to the exits of Apple Pay and Google Pay, which made up about a quarter of the digital wallet market in Russia in 2020, according to GlobalData.

Kartik Chakla, senior analyst for banking and payments at GlobalData, said that Sberbank, Russia's largest financial institution and a target of sanctions since April 2022, has had success with a QR payment system jointly run by the NSPK and the Russian central bank, which allows consumers to pay at more than 1m merchants.

Sberbank said that of the 75m customers who use its app each month, more than 28m users make use of QR payments, which launched in April 2022.

Meanwhile, digital bank Tinkoff — designated by the EU in its tenth round of sanctions at the end of February — has built a physical alternative to Apple Pay: a sticker with a near-field chip, which is connected to their accounts.

Attached to the front of a phone, it turns it into a contactless device.

Political pressure has also affected the number of countries where Mir is accepted. In September 2022, the same



The Mir scheme is accepted in just a handful of countries, such as Belarus

MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

Change during previous day's trading (%)



Stock market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison



Table with columns for Country, Index, Latest, Previous, and % Change. Lists various global indices and their performance.

STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

Table with columns for Stock, Share, % Change, and Price. Lists top gainers and losers in various markets.

CURRENCIES

Table with columns for Currency, Rate, % Change, and High/Low. Shows exchange rates for major currencies.

FTSE ACTUARIES SHARE INDICES

Table with columns for Index, Value, % Change, and High/Low. Lists various FTSE actuarial indices.

FTSE 100 SUMMARY

Table with columns for Index, Value, % Change, and High/Low. Provides a detailed summary of the FTSE 100 index.

FTSE GLOBAL EQUITY INDEXES

Table with columns for Index, Value, % Change, and High/Low. Lists global equity indices.

UK STOCK MARKET TRADING DATA

Table with columns for Index, Value, % Change, and High/Low. Shows trading data for the UK stock market.

UK COMPANY RESULTS

Table with columns for Company, Revenue, Profit, and % Change. Lists results for major UK companies.

UK RECENT EQUITY ISSUES

Table with columns for Company, Issue Size, and Date. Lists recent equity issues in the UK.

FT.COM/MARKETSDATA

MARKET DATA

FT500: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major UK companies like AstraZeneca, BP, HSBC, etc.

FT100: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major UK companies like AstraZeneca, BP, HSBC, etc.

FTSE 100: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major UK companies like AstraZeneca, BP, HSBC, etc.

FTSE 250: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major UK companies like AstraZeneca, BP, HSBC, etc.

FTSE 350: THE WORLD'S LARGEST COMPANIES

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists major UK companies like AstraZeneca, BP, HSBC, etc.

FTSE 500: TOP 20

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists top 20 FTSE 500 companies.

FTSE 500: BOTTOM 20

Table with columns: Company, Price, % Change, Dividend Yield, P/E Ratio, Market Cap. Lists bottom 20 FTSE 500 companies.

BONDS: HIGH YIELD & EMERGING MARKET

Table with columns: Issuer, Maturity, Coupon, Yield, Spread, Rating. Lists high yield and emerging market bonds.

BONDS: GLOBAL INVESTMENT GRADE

Table with columns: Issuer, Maturity, Coupon, Yield, Spread, Rating. Lists global investment grade bonds.

INTEREST RATES: OFFICIAL

Table with columns: Country, Rate, Change, Term. Lists official interest rates for various countries.

BOND INDICES

Table with columns: Index Name, Value, % Change, Volatility. Lists various bond indices.

BONDS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: Maturity, Rate, % Change, Bid/Ask. Lists UK cash market data.

GLTS: UK CASH MARKET

Table with columns: Maturity, Rate, % Change, Bid/Ask. Lists UK government gilt market data.

INTEREST RATES: MARKET

Table with columns: Instrument, Rate, % Change, Term. Lists market interest rates for various instruments.

BONDS: US TREASURY

Table with columns: Maturity, Yield, % Change, Bid/Ask. Lists US Treasury bond data.

BONDS: US GOVT SPREADS

Table with columns: Maturity, Spread, % Change, Bid/Ask. Lists US government bond spreads.

GLTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIAL INDEXES

Table with columns: Index Name, Value, % Change, Volatility. Lists UK FTSE actuarial indices.

COMMODITIES

Table with columns: Commodity, Price, % Change, Unit. Lists prices for various commodities.

BONDS: EURO CREDIT

Table with columns: Issuer, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Rating. Lists Euro credit bond data.

BONDS: EURO CREDIT

Table with columns: Issuer, Maturity, Yield, Spread, Rating. Lists Euro credit bond data.

GLTS: UK FTSE ACTUARIAL INDEXES

Table with columns: Index Name, Value, % Change, Volatility. Lists UK FTSE actuarial indices.

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MANAGED FUNDS SERVICE

SUMMARY

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Summary table with columns: Winners - Europe ex-UK Equity, Losers - Europe ex-UK Equity, Morningstar Star Ratings, Global Broad Category Group - Commodities. Includes Fund Name, Yr Return, and other metrics.

Advertising Feature

Advertisement for edentree investment management, featuring a line chart showing performance from April 2020 to April 2023.

Performance and Weightings section, including a bar chart for Top 10 Holdings - As of 28/02/2023 and a table of weights for various sectors.

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Keywest Member Bank Limited
250, The Esplanade, Singapore 0485 4311
Authorised Funds
Unit Trust Management - Star Capital

Ministry of Justice Common Investment Funds (UK)
Property & Other UK Real Estate
The Equity Real Estate Fund: 188.00 - 2.00 7.49 -2.62 12.81

Frask Investment Management LLP (RL)
Frask Asian Equity Income Fund: 177.07 - -0.57 4.94 -1.87 12.88

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Alpha Global Financials B Inc: 4.89 - -0.94 3.51 10.68 29.56

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Parsons Investment Fds (UK) 1200FF
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Authorised Funds Director - Link Fund Solutions

Slater Investments
Slater Investments Ltd (UK)
Slater Growth Fund: 268.18 - -1.82 0.00 -11.88 15.61

Toscafund Asset Management LLP (UK)
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Authorised Funds
Tosca A USD: 4.47 0.5 - 3.91 0.90 10.21 11.46

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Mirabaud Asset Management (UK)
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Mirabaud Global Income: 117.54 - -0.86 0.49 4.03 14.57

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WORK & CAREERS

How to be a better leader in the new workplace



Grace Jordan Management

The evolution of the role of the office in the future of work is still a hot topic...

Research I published on behalf of Women in Banking & Finance, an organisation for financial services professionals...

This study was done by my team at the London School of Economics in 'The Inclusion Initiative'...

We interviewed 100 staff members at different seniority levels in financial services companies...

inclusive, and applicable for other organisations and sectors. We called it, optimistically, the Utopia Framework...

We allowed respondents to discuss the future of work without input from ourselves. The majority spoke of the importance of reducing stress and illness...

Strikingly, one mentioned it was employers' responsibility to improve staff happiness at work. Interviews highlighted prioritising psychological safety...

look bad', and actually I didn't want to be in on this Thursday because I've got just Zooms'...

We did not find coercion or sanctions being applied to get people back to the office. More common were positive incentives...

Our wider research suggests fixed days in the office is already outdated and is not going to get the best from a workforce...

One senior management interviewee said: 'We get a lot more from our people when they feel trusted to make their own decisions...'

How much productivity are leaders losing by forcing employees to bend their optimal working style to meet ten hours when you're really stressed?'

We get a lot more from our people when they feel trusted to make their own decisions

on an assembly line, the amount of time you work hasn't been allowed to link to your outputs. And this is the key point for the financial services sector.

A focus on output over hours will mean colleagues see the position of being in the office on the days they are asked versus working autonomously. Some leaders may worry that employees will take advantage of remote work...

Financial and professional companies that value productivity should build autonomous working and being on-site in a way that maximises their organisation's needs.

The writer is author of 'Think Big', an associate professor at SSE and founding director of The Inclusion Initiative

Entrepreneurship

The City workers who swapped the office for the great outdoors

The pandemic prompted some to start businesses such as spiritual retreats and foraging workshops, writes Caroline Bullock

Muddy nails and waterproofs have replaced the silk shirts of Helene Mark's former City life. The Danish native left her role as chief operating officer of football analytics start-up Football Radar in 2018 to start an open-air nursery school.



Helene Mark, right, at her Outdoor Owls nursery at the Walton Firs Activity Centre near Cobham.

A 2021 report from insurance provider Aviva found the number of UK workers planning to make changes to their career rose to 60 per cent, from 53 per cent in 2020.

According to the UK's Office for National Statistics, total job-to-job moves between January and March 2022 increased to a record high of 994,000, driven by resignations rather than dismissals.

Mark's idea for Outdoor Owls came while she researched nursery provision when pregnant in 2019. Inspired by her home country, where early play and learning takes place entirely outdoors...

Mark enjoys the hands-on nature of site maintenance. "So much of modern life has become all about being within four white walls; starting at nursery, then school and later the office, yet the outdoors is the most natural place for people to be," she said.

There is one downside – she said she was yet to take a salary. "Obviously I've taken a hit on my personal finances, especially considering what other jobs I could have taken but I'm confident that if we continue to grow the nursery to more sites it will be a healthy business. I'm mentally and physically healthier than I was; there's a lot of hard work... but I have no regrets."

Other professionals have made similar career changes – and kept or increased their pay.

From Monitise to Stonehenge Yolandi Boshoff, 46, was made redundant from her post as a business analyst for Monitise, a financial services technology company...

Through her new venture running 'spiritual retreats' she is now matching her previous earnings but working fewer hours and with no commute. Clients from Europe, Australia and the US pay up to £4,500 for her guided breaks to the sacred sites of Glastonbury, Avebury and Stonehenge...

There comes a point where you want to do more with your life than just making your shareholders rich'... with your life to do more making shareholders rich'

He developed a website that stood out 'because there weren't many very professional looking sites in the industry in 2008'. Last year the site had 2m visitors.

There comes a point where you want to do more with your life to do more making shareholders rich'

friends and family "so we could catch up with them and get a shower", he said. "We didn't make much for the first few years, but I certainly smilled a lot more than when walking around Croydon and going to the office."

Now with an expanded team of instructors his courses regularly sell out and have waiting lists with corporate clients including Land Rover and Puma.

Mark Williams, founder of Galloway Wild Foods, which runs workshops on setting up and expanding foraging-related businesses, has seen a 10-fold rise in demand for his courses.

Others are also succeeding in this area. From Maria Fernandez Garcia was made redundant from her teaching post in 2020, she started Healing Woods, based in Bristol, which offers guided walks and workshops to identify wild plants and create remedies.

He said managing a large company's accounts "has been invaluable experience". But it meant his passion for foraging was on hold. Before the bar could open due to pandemic lockdowns, "multiple pivots" were needed, including a focus on local deliveries.

He said managing a large company's accounts "has been invaluable experience". But it meant his passion for foraging was on hold. Before the bar could open due to pandemic lockdowns, "multiple pivots" were needed, including a focus on local deliveries.

But the business now has a £150,000 turnover. Significant investment is needed but Proudfoot, who often spends a full day picking herbs and flowers, is aware investor hopes for quick returns are not compatible with the operational inefficiencies of traditional production methods.

"People assume because foraged ingredients are free that it's cheap and easy, but they have no idea how labour intensive it is," he said.

"Yet, it is the most rewarding way to spend my time; celebrating and sharing the natural ingredients we have on our doorstep has meant I've found my purpose."

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Business books

Learning to recognise 'microstress' and the new way to approach innovation

This month's recommended titles from FT journalists

'The Microstress Effect: How Little Things Pile Up and Create Big Problems — and What to Do About It', by Rob Cross and Karen Dillon



We all have stress in our lives, but what if someone told you that there is an insidious stress — particularly among high performers — you barely recognise, which has a huge impact on your life?

Rob Cross, professor of global leadership at Babson College, and Karen Dillon, a former editor of the Harvard Business Review and co-author of *How Will You Measure Your Life?*, through deep research, have identified microstress, its cumulative impact and how its effects can be reduced.

According to the authors, a microstress is a tiny moment of stress triggered by someone at work or in our personal lives. The problem is that when these microstresses build up, "the toll is debilitating".

Microstress is pernicious because "it is baked into our everyday lives at a volume, intensity, and pace we have never experienced", the authors write. Through their research, which involved hundreds of interviews with high performers across lots of companies, it "became clear... that it was never one big thing that led people to feel overwhelmed. Rather, the relentless accumulation of unnoticed small stresses in passing moments is what was drastically affecting the wellbeing of these people."

Microstress, the authors say, also tends to come from the people we are closest to, personally and professionally, so "there are layers of emotional complications, too".

The first half of the book takes the reader through the different types of microstresses: those that drain capacity to get things done and deplete us emotionally. However, the breadth of the research interviews meant the authors found about 10 per cent of the high performers they spoke to had found ways to manage microstress. So the second half of the book draws from these, offering strategies to make small adjustments that reduce the impact.

Cross and Dillon identified that most people could find

three to five opportunities to shift the effect of microstress. But where do you start? The authors offer practical advice — and we can all rise above some microstresses. They affect us because we let them. (Janina Conboye)

'Think Bigger: How to Innovate', by Sheena Iyengar



Author of *The Art of Choosing*, shortlisted for the 2010 FT Business Book of the Year Award, Sheena Iyengar is well known for her much-cited counter-intuitive 'jam study', which found that more people bought jam when they were offered a narrower selection.

Here, the Columbia Business School professor returns briefly to that research into the negative consequences of offering too much choice. But the goal of *Think Bigger* is more ambitious. Growing up blind, Iyengar writes that she frequently had "no choices to pick from" and constantly had to "create new choices to solve complex problems of all kinds". She meticulously describes the innovation method she developed and taught to business students.

The book lays out the methods "nuts and bolts" — six steps, from choosing the right problem, to applying a "third eye" to your idea to verify it is sufficiently novel.

Along the way, Iyengar is merciless about some of the myths plaguing creativity. She debunks the concept of the supposedly creative "right brain" and analytical "left brain" thinking, diagnoses "brainstorming" sessions as "idea diarrhoea" and warns innovators to stay on track. Sparks of solutions that occur to you as you refine your idea should be set aside in a "sparkling lot", she suggests.

Her illustrations from the pre-refrigeration quest for cheaper ice cream to the BNTech/Pfizer vaccine, are entertaining, but this is above all a practical guide. Those looking for even more practical detail could buy a companion "workbook"; but in truth, *Think Bigger* is quite detailed enough for the casual reader. (Andrew Hill)

FEATURES

The Henry Mance Interview

'You don't make the UK more level by making London poorer'

SADIQ KHAN

The capital's mayor and former MP warns against 'bashing' the capital as he seeks a record third term



Charlie Bibby/FT

As the air goes out of London? For the seven years since the Brexit vote, the city has been out of favour — a punchline for politicians, a discarded pawn in talks with Brussels. EU workers have left, equity markets have sagged. The Metropolitan Police's reputation has plumbed depths. In his offices next to the east London cable car, the capital's mayor, Sadiq Khan, puts on a brave face. He insists London has shrugged off the worst effects of Covid and, to some extent, Brexit. "I think we're back. If you look at public transport numbers at weekends, tourism and leisure is back." Khan sees the city as half-full, not half-empty. Office workers are commuting at 80 per cent of pre-pandemic levels from Tuesdays to Thursdays. The Elizabeth Line, opened last year, now accounts for one in six UK train journeys. But aren't the Conservatives and Labour focused on investing in the north and Midlands? "You don't make our country more level by making London poorer. . . Our competitors, I say this not in any way to cause offence, aren't Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff, Glasgow. Our competitors are Hong Kong, Singapore, New York. . . All politicians need to reflect on the consequences if they just keep bashing London."

'The key thing about a Labour government is they'd give us the money we need'

It's not just London under question; it is Khan himself. When he was elected in 2016, he was one of Britain's most popular politicians. As a Muslim and second-generation immigrant, he was a global symbol of multiculturalism. Regular clashes with Donald Trump and Boris Johnson solidified his support. Khan was proudly anti-Brexit and occasionally a sane leftwing counterpoint to Jeremy Corbyn, then leader of the Labour party. But last year his approval rating among Londoners turned negative. Even some Labour supporters feel his mayoralty has gone flat. Roy Stewart, the former Tory minister who briefly ran against him, calls him "a sympathetic character, but not a chief executive. He has a tendency to blame the central government for failures rather than take direct responsibility." Khan attracts unjustified criticism: his team traces much online abuse to Trump fans in the US and Narendra Modi supporters in India. But arguably a bigger problem is that his signature policy — cleaning London's air — is one that people can't see. Next year he'll run for, and is expected to win, an unprecedented third term. His predecessors Ken Livingstone and Johnson mostly served under national governments of their own party. Khan's hope is that, if Labour wins nationally in 2024, his horizons as mayor will open up. "This anti-London animus isn't going to go away overnight with a change of government. [But] the potential of working with a Labour government that's pro-London is so incredibly exciting. . . When you speak to Ken Living-

stone, he'll say when he first became mayor the government was giving money away." Khan vows not to be "a patsy" for Labour. "But the key thing about a Labour government is they'd give us the money we need." A human rights lawyer, Khan, 52, served as a transport minister under former prime minister Gordon Brown. He found the role stifling: "If you're the minister for paper clips, you can only talk about paper clips. Being an opposition MP was worse: "Thoroughly depressing." Khan's skill was campaigning — he outmanoeuvred rival Labour candidates for mayor. The job itself was difficult to adapt to. "I'm a pugilist. Being a mayor is very different — it's convening. I've had to change my temperament." Khan is among Britain's most scripted politicians, falling back on prepared lines. He lists his record on home building: the most number of council homes being built since the 1970s (although still nowhere near the 50,000 or so London needs a year). Murders were lower last year than any year since 2014 (although much of his mayoralty has coincided with rises in crime, following national trends). Air quality has improved: emissions of nitrogen oxides are a quarter lower than they would be without the Ultra Low Emission Zone that Khan introduced. That is personal: he was diagnosed with asthma at the age of 43, after running a marathon, and now takes tablets and uses a steroid pump twice a day. He is not backing down on his plan to extend the ULEZ to the whole of London in August: polluting vehicles will have to pay £12.50 a day. It is projected to cut nitrogen oxide emissions from cars in outer London by nearly a tenth. "ULEZ isn't a big thing on most people's minds. It's a big thing on a small number of people's minds. . . In outer London, 85 per cent of vehicles are compliant and half of Londoners don't even have a car."

Is the ultimate aim to charge drivers for every mile they drive? "Road use charging is interesting. . . If you get rid of the congestion charge, get rid of ULEZ, get rid of road tax, and charge people depending on how many miles they drive, how polluting their vehicle is, what time of day they're driving, are there alternatives related to public transport, how many people are in the car, that's potentially quite exciting. The problem is the technology's quite a long way off." Khan is quick to blame others. Johnson left him "no inheritance". Central government doesn't fund enough house building. **• Could Muslim and Hindu communities clash in London, as they did in Leicester last year? You must never be complacent. You've got to work at multiculturalism.** **• Best Tube line? Northern. I'm from Tottenham. Go to Bank station — it's revolutionised.** **• Last book you enjoyed? Richard Osman. He's a genius. People are quite snobbish about him.**

He speaks to other mayors — "Anne in Paris, Eric in New York or Ada in Barcelona" — and is "green with envy". "The mayor in New York gets to spend 50 per cent of monies raised in New York. We get to spend 7 per cent." He wants more control over council tax and business rates, and the power to impose a hotel levy. He has also backed a six-month rent freeze, which he doesn't have the power to implement. London has few big capital projects in the pipeline. New trains are being built for the Piccadilly Line, but there's no funding for signalling that would allow them to run more frequently. "It's ridiculous." He is meeting the day after a Tube strike. Khan, who normally commutes by Tube, cycled in on his electric Brompton instead. Campaigning for the mayoralty, he said he'd work to "make sure there are zero days of strikes". What happened? He insists that, between 2017 and 2021, Tube strikes fell "more than 70 per cent", even while 600 jobs were cut. But things changed when the government demanded a review of pensions as part of a Covid bailout. "It's deliberately been done by government which wants a fight with the trade unions." Ministers also demanded research into driverless trains, a prospect that Transport for London has said

'The mayor in New York gets to spend 50% of monies raised in New York. We get to spend 7%' is implausible because it would require widening of deep tunnels. The day after the Brexit vote, Khan called then Bank of England governor Mark Carney. "He said the only people who have rung me today are you and [Nicola] Sturgeon. No one from the government had rung him." So what about Brexit? "Businesses in London complain of two big things: a skills shortage and a labour shortage. Some restaurants are doing no lunch sittings because they've not got the staff." Khan wants London-only worker visas. Failing that, he wants the government to commission regional, not just national, lists of occupations suffering shortages. That would allow hospitality workers to come to London, for example. Will Labour leader Keir Starmer soften his refusal to rejoin the single market? "I'm sure he means what he says. But in the not too distant future, you'll get more people talking about the elephant in the room — the extreme hard Brexit. We should be talking about the single market and customs union — that doesn't mean going back in them." Khan wants London-only worker visas. Failing that, he wants the government to commission regional, not just national, lists of occupations suffering shortages. That would allow hospitality workers to come to London, for example. Will Labour leader Keir Starmer soften his refusal to rejoin the single market? "I'm sure he means what he says. But in the not too distant future, you'll get more people talking about the elephant in the room — the extreme hard Brexit. We should be talking about the single market and customs union — that doesn't mean going back in them." Khan wants London-only worker visas. Failing that, he wants the government to commission regional, not just national, lists of occupations suffering shortages. That would allow hospitality workers to come to London, for example. Will Labour leader Keir Starmer soften his refusal to rejoin the single market? "I'm sure he means what he says. But in the not too distant future, you'll get more people talking about the elephant in the room — the extreme hard Brexit. We should be talking about the single market and customs union — that doesn't mean going back in them." Khan wants London-only worker visas. Failing that, he wants the government to commission regional, not just national, lists of occupations suffering shortages. That would allow hospitality workers to come to London, for example.

been vindicated. I was the guy who was unhappy about how the [2021] Clapham Common vigil was being policed," said the mayor. He praises the "reforming commissioner" Sir Mark Rowley for having "no complacency, no arrogance, no defensiveness". What concretely is Rowley promising that Dick didn't? "A good leader shouldn't have a criterion for success how popular they are in the cabinet," says Khan, in a veiled dig at Dick.

But, he adds: "You can't escape the fact that we lost 20,000 officers across the country. . . That had an impact on quality and assurance, on violent crime going up."

Other than air quality, Khan lacks achievements that can excite London's voters. He has commissioned a report on cannabis, although as mayor he has little influence over drug laws. Is he minded to support legalisation? "I genuinely have an open mind. I was

surprised when I went to America and impressed by what's happening in L.A. I didn't realise that the tax revenues were so huge. But I appreciate there are downsides."

A third term would take Khan to 2028. He won't rule out carrying on. "At least six terms, come on! . . . As long as you've got ideas, and you love your job and people want to lend me their trust, then yeah, I genuinely think I've got the best job in politics."

FT FINANCIAL TIMES

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ARTS

Disturbing portraits of damaged men

THEATRE

Sarah Hemming

As we take our seats for Ivo van Hove's staging of *A Little Life*, we seem to be in recognisable territory: gathered around an all-purpose open living space, on which the cast, led by James Norton, are already padding about, swigging beers, joking.

But in fact, we soon realise, we are trapped in one man's deeply traumatised psyche. There's been a lot of talk about Norton's onstage nudity, but it's his naked emotional performance that is most striking – and most distressing. It's a superb performance in a deeply troubling show.

Norton plays Jude, the enigmatic central character of Hanya Yanagihara's 2015 novel. We first meet him, along with his three college buddies, Willem (Luke Thompson), Malcolm (Zach Wyatt) and JB (Omari Douglas), as they are starting out, young and hopeful in New York. But we gradually learn what sets Jude apart from his friends. Hideous childhood abuse has left him physically scared and emotionally damaged.

The great tragedy in Yanagihara's novel is that no one – his friends, his adoptive father Harold, his doctor – can save him, because no matter how much they love and care for him, he believes himself to be fundamentally unlovable.

Van Hove and co-adaptor Koen Tachelet invite you into that experience. Jan Versweyveld's set is fringed with pockets of normal life: there's a kitchen unit and little workstations where Jude's friends go about their business. But as they get on with designing buildings, creating art, finding remedies, Norton's Jude remains centre stage, his present constantly haunted by his history. Past and present coexist here as Elliot Cowan, representing all Jude's



abusers, regularly invades the space and hauls him back to those horrors.

To alleviate the pain, Jude cuts himself repeatedly, in scenes that are near unbearable. Watching on, we feel as helpless as his friends, though unlike them, we have been given some insight into why he does it. We can see that his body, for him, has become associated with trauma and disgust. The moments of nudity are forced on him, leaving him painfully vulnerable.

Running through van Hove's production is the fundamental importance of love – parental, sexual or friendly – and a fierce indictment of the abuse of it.

Trapped in a traumatised psyche: Luke Thompson, left, and James Norton in *'A Little Life'* – by Sarah Hemming

The damage done by the betrayal of parental care is particularly stark. Jude is abandoned by his parents, abused by those *in loco parentis*, rented out by a pedophile masquerading as a father/friend and horrifically raped by a supposed doctor. The story's redemptive streak lies in the love of his friends – his chosen family – and their repeated efforts to help him.

Onstage this tug of war between dark and light is symbolised physically. Jude's long-dead social worker, Ana (Nathalie Armin), haunts him as a voice of good counsel. Horror is counterbalanced by recurring, ritualistic images of tenderness, such as the four friends repeatedly carrying him to a hospital bed.

There's great expressionist use of the set and music too: background videos of New York distort as Jude reaches breaking point and the live music (designed by Eric Sleichim) scrapes and scratches.

And yet, there's something here that is deeply unsettling. There are major problems translating the novel to stage that Van Hove has not been able to surmount, and issues within it are amplified. Without the slow evolution of the 700-page narrative, the story becomes a relentless pile-up of pain and physical suffering. The nature of the source material means that it doesn't work like a drama, drawing you in emotionally through dialogue, plot and action. Characters remain sketchy and lack interiority, obliged to tell us salient details about their lives. Given their counterbalancing role in the story, this is critical.

Most significantly, even Jude becomes little more than his trauma: despite being inside his experience, we don't really know him. As the abuse and self-harm mount up, this becomes disturbing; it feels as if we are not meeting him as a person, just watching him being obliterated. So the empathetic impulse

to understand the enduring legacy of trauma inadvertently undermines the scale of what is being destroyed: a person with all their richness, depth and potential. His ordeals and self-harm become a grisly spectacle. Even the joy of his relationship with Willem feels clipped, undernourished, its abrupt loss a narrative twist to destroy Jude still further.

What's not in doubt is the quality and commitment of the performances. There's a real warmth, camaraderie and tenderness between the friends, while Zubin Varla brings a wealth of quiet kindness to Harold. And Norton is astonishing as Jude, switching in a moment from eager, hopeful child to damaged, guarded adult and finally to empty husk. His honesty and vulnerability are exemplary, his physical endurance staggering.

To June 18, then July 4–August 5 at the Savoy Theatre, London, alittlelifeplay.com

A Little Life
Harold Pinter Theatre, London
★★★★

For Black Boys Who Have Considered Suicide When The Hue Gets Too Heavy
Apollo Theatre, London
★★★★

Pain and love fight it out too in *For Black Boys Who Have Considered Suicide When The Hue Gets Too Heavy*, Ryan Calais Cameron's beautiful meditation on black masculinity (first shown at the tiny New Diorama Theatre then at the Royal Court). Again the focus is men, mental health and male friendship.

It takes the rough guise of a support meeting, with six black British men working through the histories that have made them who they are. That might sound corny, but Cameron's script is witty and moving, and delivered with terrific, eloquent physicality by the six-strong ensemble.

Named after different hues of black – Onyx (Mark Akintimehin), Pitch (Emmanuel Akwafo), Jet (Nnabiko Eji-mofor), Sable (Darragh Hand), Obsidian (Aruna Jallesh), Midnight (Keane Lawrence) – the characters take turns to step forward and confide. They talk about school and sex, family and fathers, microaggressions and major traumas. Onyx's father died rather than seek treatment for his prostate cancer; Sable hides his own insecurities behind his pulling power. We hear of playground encounters with racism; pressures to act strong; the lurking shadows of depression and suicide. But it's all handled with a deceptively light touch and great warmth and humanity.

When words run out, song and dance take over and they launch into scintillating choreography (by Theophilus O Bailey), firing up the audience. But what really makes this show its vulnerability, the deft expression of that through movement and subtle-body language, and the celebration of the power of mutual support. Whenever one man speaks, the others quietly react: tilting on their chairs, exchanging silent glances. It's a tender, joyous show: one that doesn't take itself too seriously and so makes its serious point powerfully. A very welcome arrival in the West End. To May 18, royalcourttheatre.com



'For Black Boys...' is a meditation on black masculinity – by Sarah Hemming

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PODCASTS

Fiona Sturges

was brought up to respect women and I've never lost that respect. I've added to it. I've contributed to it."

So says the late Bob Guccione at the start of *Stiffed*, an illuminating new podcast about *Viva*, the long forgotten erotic magazine for women, founded by Guccione 50 years ago. Guccione was the controversial brains behind the men's porn magazine *Penthouse*, the more explicit rival of Hugh Hefner's *Playboy*. (*Penthouse* was the first publication of its kind to show women's pubic hair, which in turn prompted *Playboy* to dial up the nudity.)

One of the more unexpected ideas explored in *Stiffed* is that Guccione was a champion of women: he not only had them as models in his magazines but hired them to manage, edit and write in them too.

Written and hosted by the journalist Jennifer Romolini, the series veers between playful and sceptical as it assesses Guccione's legacy. We learn how he changed the publishing landscape for the better with *Viva*, but stole the concept of an erotic women's

magazine from Gay Bryant, a young journalist on *Penthouse* who went on to coin the phrase "glass ceiling".

Romolini says Guccione was "kind of a genius" at spotting talent when it came to staffing magazines, but his editorial ideas were dreadful. He bragged about employing women, but paid them significantly less than his male employees. Another fun fact: Guccione wore a gold medalion engraved with the image of his own penis.

As for the magazine itself, the first issue, published in October 1973, was a disaster: the cover had a close-up of a woman's face in the throes of ecstasy



'Stiffed' tells the story of Bob Guccione's erotic women's magazine

while the inside featured, to quote Romolini, "a 15-page centrefold where a moustachioed man and a brunette woman in a bonnet cosplay as old-timey people in a picnic. A picnic where all they seem to be serving is a woman's naked body."

Talking to Romolini, Bryant notes that early issues were "a man's idea of what women wanted". It was only later, when Guccione began to lose interest and female staff could take the reins, that the magazine was able to shake off the male gaze and become truly radical, running features by leading feminist writers and activists such as Betty Friedan and Anais Nin.

There are echoes here of the 2021 podcast *Welcome to Your Fantasy*, about the exotic dance troupe the Chippendales. There, beneath the campy theatrics of men bumping and grinding in G-strings, was a more serious story about female desire and emancipation. In *Stiffed*, Romolini is interested in the political and social context of *Viva*, taking in second-wave feminism, pop culture and female sexual empowerment.

At the heart of the series is the question of whether a magazine funded by a man who made his fortune exploiting female bodies could really change women's lives for the better. The short answer? It's complicated.

crooked.com/podcast-series/stiffed

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

Without fear and without favour

Britain's troubling trends in life expectancy

The UK must get to grips with poor health and mortality across the country

The fact that people were living increasingly long lives used to be a reliable good news story...

be expected to have a life expectancy of 86.3. Under the 2020 projections it had fallen to 83.9 years.

Other trends are more worrying. In the UK, life expectancy improvements have slowed across all age groups...

After decades of rapid improvement, progress has slowed to a crawl since 2011. In the poorest parts of England, it has actually started to go backwards

Some experts have blamed austerity measures implemented in 2010, although other countries in Europe implemented austerity without seeing such strong effects.

According to an analysis published in The Lancet of the trends in 6,791 communities in England, female life expectancy fell in 18.7 per cent of communities between 2014 and 2019...

expectancy, widening the gaps between rich and poor areas. Infant mortality – the deaths of babies aged under one – increased in 20 per cent of areas for girls and 13 per cent of areas for boys.

Opinion Politics

Democracies can't take too much drama

Ray Gifford/ISTG/Getty



Ivan Krastev

The "la lutte finale" in many democracies around the world today. The memorable line about the "final struggle" from the old socialist hymn "The Internationale" is a fitting refrain for much contemporary democratic politics.

The job of the election is to turn madness into reason and to translate passions into interests

are determined to stop Benjamin Netanyahu's right-wing government from reforming – or, as they see it, subjecting – the judiciary. And it is now or never in Turkey, too...

political actors trained in the manner of Bertolt Brecht not Konstantin Stanislavsky. Which is to say that they should be capable of taking a distance from their campaign selves.

In a democracy, the losers in an election concede defeat primarily because losing does not mean losing too much – and anyway the next elections are never that far away.

Letters

Antitrust has role in policing the AI landscape

ChatGPT – and other generative artificial intelligence technologies – are so hugely expensive in talent and computing resources that only the largest companies are able to develop and deploy them.

Keep Golems on a leash to avoid a digital Gulag

We applaud the UK government's commitment to responsible innovation in artificial intelligence with its new white paper "Debate about AI needs to be more explicit".

Justice for sub-postmasters was decade-long campaign

Hearty cheers for James Susskind's call to action (Opinion, April 1). To his four ways of thinking about artificial intelligence, may I suggest a fifth?

policy needs to balance between supporting development of these astounding technologies by the big companies that are best able to develop them, and opening up access to them for smaller players that want to use them to create new products and services.

Israeli democracy, the judiciary and Netanyahu

You correctly observe the judiciary is a pillar of democracy in Israel (FT View, March 29). But the recent protests call for answers to two questions.

Meters must be part of the water solution

In your Lex column "UK water utilities: The Great Stink II" (Lex, March 29) it is noted that utilities will need to invest £20bn to cut leaks and reduce water usage...

firms. But the antitrust community needs a shift in mindset before it can take on this role: to seeing innovation as a process of sharing knowledge and expertise – rather than as a result of individuals pursuing their incentives, and to intervening in markets before competition problems arise.

Reading the runes on China's charm offensive

Your Big Read on "China's truce with tech" (April 1) has historical parallels. To strengthen West Germany's economy as the cold war developed, Alfred Krupp was released from jail in 1951.

OPINION ON FT.COM

A post-Putin Russia may look like Serbia after Milosevic. Nationalist grievances make strong ground for liberal democracy and good relations with the west, writes Tony Blair.

Credit Suisse exposure, an investor's worst nightmare

Robin Wigglesworth identifies that the biggest losers in the Credit Suisse collapse are those who were holding the bank's additional Tier 1 bonds and I can't disagree.

Government action is key to closing gender pay gap

It should be no surprise that the hugely flawed methodology in gender pay gap calculations makes absolutely no difference to the gender pay gap ("Lack of progress: Gender pay divide defies concerted action" FT View, April 5).

Robert Deri

Bridlington, East Yorkshire, UK

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Opinion

Why America's big companies keep getting bigger

MARKETS
Ruchir Sharma



The irony of the Silicon Valley Bank saga is now complete. The crisis started inside the American tech sector's favourite bank, but the government rescue has benefited Big Tech the most. As calm returns to the market, fuelled by megacap tech stocks, investors are relieved. They need to be aware, however, of where a system built on bullfrogs is heading.

Even two decades ago, capitalism was marked by boom-bust cycles that disrupted incumbents and created space for upstarts. While still a ubiquitous word, "disruption" is finally fading as churn in the market stalls. The big beneficiaries of post-crisis rescues are big, established companies – and this is not how capitalism is supposed to work.

After the government stepped in on March 10 to rescue SVB, megacap stocks had one of their best runs ever. Today, all of the top five US companies are tech businesses and together they represent more than 20 per cent of the stock market – the highest concentration since the 1960s and more than double the figure a decade ago.

The decline in competitive churn is a side-effect of the rescue culture that has been growing since the 1980s. Ever since the US Federal Reserve stepped in to prop up the market after the 1987 crash, the stock market has grown dramatically, from half the size of the US economy to two times larger at its peak in 2020. One might assume an expanding market should create room for more firms, but not in America.

The number of US companies that remain in the top 10 from one decade to the next has risen steadily, from just three in 1990 to six at the end of the 2010s. And while churn has weakened in the US, it remains relatively robust across much of the world. From the start to the end of the 2010s, just two Japanese companies remained on the top 10 list in Japan,

four in Europe, four in China and two in the global list, Microsoft and Alphabet.

Today, the top five US companies are bigger than the next five by the largest margin since the early 1980s. The top two alone account for nearly half the market cap of the top 10, up from 35 per cent at the start of the pandemic. Apple is now number one, and is nearly six times larger than UnitedHealth Group, in 10th place. Three decades ago, Exxon was number one but just over twice the size of the tenth company, BellSouth.

Competing explanations for the rise of Big Tech include the natural advantage of size on digital networks, where companies can add customers at negligible added cost. But "network effects" can't explain why three out of every four US industries have been consolidating

in the hands of a few companies. Sweeping government rescues that benefit incumbents can.

In the past, disruption was rapid in tech. New names rose to prominence with each new phase of the computer age, from mainframes to PCs to the internet and smartphones. Now, as the tech conversation shifts to breakthroughs such as AI, it still centres on the same old names led by Microsoft and Alphabet. And this rise of US monopolies has been accompanied by the decline of smaller US companies.

In China, where there has been more churn at the top, the prospects of internet giants such as Alibaba and Tencent have risen and fallen mainly with the intensity of government regulation. More than network effects, Beijing is the decisive factor.

The US government is not as intrusive as China's, but if you think Washington is not distorting markets when it rescues banks, you are not reading this in Texas. There, the mayor of Fort Worth recently said that the "main thing" worrying business leaders is this question: if SVB had served the oil industry rather than

Ambition is needed to rebuild trust in multilateralism

Juan Manuel Santos

World Bank/IMF governors meeting in Washington this week have a historic opportunity to address the triple crisis of climate, debt and poverty. They should restore trust in multilateralism by setting a high level of ambition for the international financial institutions (IFIs) to turbocharge their work addressing some of the world's biggest challenges.

The challenges are urgent. An annual \$1tn of external finance would help developing countries protect their people from growing climate impacts, transition their economies and restore nature. But a 2009 pledge of \$100bn a year has still not been met. Meanwhile, 60 per cent of low-income countries are in, or close to, debt distress. The economic shocks from the pandemic and Russia's war on Ukraine exacerbate inequality. The World Bank estimates that nearly 100m more people now live in extreme poverty than before the pandemic.

World Bank governors look set to make incremental changes, perhaps \$5bn in extra annual lending – nowhere near the tripling of resources necessary. Given the front-loading of loans for Covid, lending may actually decrease next year and, with resources scarce, differing shareholder views on IFI priorities risk worsening global mistrust.

The sheer scale of need demands a paradigm shift. The international response must be much bigger. We need more private capital invested in developing countries, and more international

World Bank and IMF governors have a historic opportunity to address the climate and debt crises

public money to both facilitate that investment and supplement domestic resources. But the cost of capital for most developing countries is too high; the international system for helping those with debt difficulties isn't working; and the richer nations don't want to put enough money into solving problems they have partly caused.

The IFIs are the most efficient way to finance both national development and global public goods. Yet they are conservative and disinclined to innovate at scale. We need more IFI lending, mobilising as many extra resources as possible while protecting the poor. Ideas for how to do this include making better use of existing IFI capital, capital increases, more concessional finance, more private investment, creative use of the IMF's special drawing rights to lower interest rates, innovative taxes on those who profit most from fossil fuels.

With enough additional money, it's easier to resolve the supposed trade-offs of climate versus development, and national priorities versus global public goods. It is not a choice of a healthy economy or a healthy planet. We can't have one without the other. Nor should the countries that have done least to cause climate change get fewer resources for their priorities. Let's have zero emissions and zero poverty.

Decisions about exactly how to spend extra IFI resources can come later. The task now is to build confidence that an ambitious deal can be brokered. Announcements from these spring meetings will be a small step. The appointment of a new World Bank president this year will be an opportunity to discuss bigger steps.

Balanced deals involve global political leadership. There are ample opportunities at international meetings this year. But all will fail unless a transformational package is negotiated to meet the concerns of all countries. Ultimately the big decisions are for shareholders. With other multilateral institutions stammering, and great power rivalries jeopardising so much, we need the IFIs to help solve the world's economic problems more than ever – and the political will for them to scale up dramatically.

The theme of the World Bank/IMF meetings is "reshaping development for a new era". Leaders who build the global alliance to deliver prosperity for people and planet will earn the world's gratitude for many years to come.

The writer is a former president of Colombia, a Nobel Peace laureate and a member of The Elders, an NGO

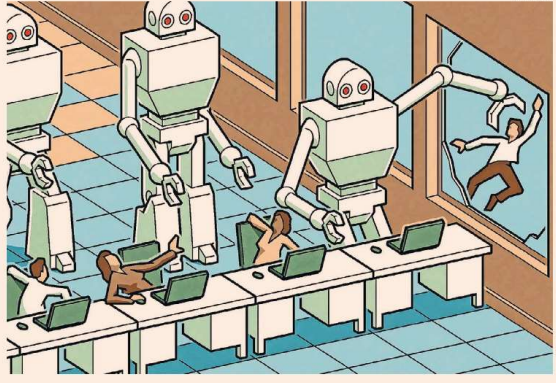
Time to hit the brakes on tech 'productivity'

BUSINESS
Rana Foroohar



Technology is everywhere and always an unalloyed good. New technologies ultimately create better jobs and more broadly based prosperity. So goes the conventional economic wisdom. But what if it wasn't true? What if technology had been used – in lieu of strong political and institutional restraints – to put more money in the hands of elites throughout history?

That's the starting point of *Power and Progress*, an upcoming book by MIT economists Daron Acemoglu and Simon Johnson, to be published next month. It explores several moments over the last millennium when technology led to the opposite of shared prosperity: agricultural improvements that created almost no benefits for peasants; advances in ship design that allowed the slave trade to grow; and industrial factories that took flexible-craft work out of the home and put it under the control of managers who increased working hours and decreased pay. It also addresses more recent developments, such as automation used to micromanage labour – and the coming revolution in AI that may disrupt us all.



These economists are hardly technophobes. It's probably impossible to be one at MIT, a centre of automation innovation. But the two academics take a different approach to the productivity gains of technology and how they get distributed compared with most of their peers. Neoclassical economic theory holds that technological progress always increases average wages. And even if it raises inequality, it ultimately lifts wages at the bottom of the income distribution. Acemoglu and Johnson refer to this idea as the "productivity bandwagon".

But their show that automation – perhaps the most important technological advance since the industrial era – isn't about increasing labour productivity but rather replacing it. Automation doesn't necessarily reduce wages if there are incentives or requirements (on the part of unions or government) that force the retraining of displaced workers and the creation of new jobs for them. But this isn't always the case. If new jobs and tasks aren't actively created, then automation can end up decreasing jobs and wages, even as it increases productivity and returns to capital.

This is, of course, largely where we have been over the last several decades, as the economic pressures on managers to hoard capital and treat workers as a cost rather than an asset on the balance sheet have grown.

Things didn't always work that way. Consider the rise of electric power in the 19th century and the effect that

this had on labour. Jobs for engineers and white collar managers increased, as they used the innovation to remake the shape of factories and create new and more efficient jobs for workers. This process continued for decades, helped along by New Deal legislation that encouraged collective bargaining and reduced corporate concentration (and thus political power), as well as by strong unions that made worker retraining part of the social compact.

By the 1960s, the income share of the top 1 per cent of the population had fallen to 13 per cent, down from 22 per cent in the 1920s. Average wages grew as fast if not faster than productivity.

From the 1970s onwards, that link started to break, in large part because of the decline of unions, shifts in antitrust policy, accounting changes that incentivised over productive capital expenditure in things like training, and a general devaluing of technological disruption and outsourcing. All this meant that even as American workers were becoming more productive, they weren't sharing in the fruits of that productivity growth.

The result was the implementation of what the authors call "so-so automation", such as worker tracking software or call centre bots, which aren't actually that much more productive than humans, if indeed they are at all (think about how long it takes software to solve a customer relations problem versus a human). Such "innovation" mainly just decreases costs for employers.

We are now at a turning point in the story of technology. Even the titans of Silicon Valley – people like Elon Musk and Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak – are calling for a slowdown in the rollout of AI, so that its implications can be better studied. Google and Microsoft are

telling us there's nothing to worry about. All this reflects the power of persuasion by influential figures, something the authors explain in detail.

Throughout history, major entrepreneurs in technological innovation, from Ferdinand de Lesseps (who was responsible for the Panama Canal building debacle) to the titans of so-called surveillance capitalism who started the work that allowed them to mine and profit from our personal data, have used power and influence to set the narrative around technology, which then takes on a life of its own.

We cannot allow that to happen now. Technology has created shared prosperity only when appropriate democratic guardrails have been in place to make sure that it does so. AI poses threats to both democracy and to jobs across all income bands. The result may be quite dystopian. Unions and government alike must act to make sure that this latest ride on the productivity bandwagon doesn't end in tears.

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Even Silicon Valley titans, such as Elon Musk, are calling for a slowdown in the rollout of AI

How to fix the UK's higher and further education finance system

Minouche Shafik

It is almost impossible to earn a decent income in today's economy without either university education, further education at college or technical and vocational training. As automation and artificial intelligence make routine and repetitive jobs redundant, this trend towards needing a certificate of some sort will accelerate. And investing in skills will be key, especially in ageing, service-based economies such as the UK.

But across developed nations, higher and further education face a trilemma in balancing access, quality and affordability. Most manage to achieve two of these – broadly speaking, the US system marries ease of access with quality but tuition is expensive; continental Europe manages access and affordability better, but its universities have done less well on quality than in the US or UK. For this

country, the best hope of resolution would be a comprehensive review of the objectives and financing of tertiary education – with broad political support.

The UK has rapidly increased access – the proportion of adults aged 25-34 with tertiary education almost doubled from 29 per cent in 2000 to 57 per cent by 2021. This has been enabled by a student loan scheme requiring graduates to pay back based on their earnings.

But the story on quality is more mixed. The UK is home to some of the world's leading universities but also has a tail of institutions that do not deliver good teaching or prospects. The Office for Students, the regulator, is concerned about courses with high dropout rates and low subsequent employment.

On affordability, the finances of the university sector are increasingly unsustainable. Tuition fees have been frozen at £9,250 for six years (about £6,500 in today's money). In the last academic year, English universities lost £1,750 for every UK student they educated. That annual loss will increase to approximately £4,040 per home student by the time they graduate in 2025.

They have been subsidised by high tuition fees paid by international students, which also help fund research. Attracting talented students from around the world is a great success story for the country and generates £26bn in economic benefit annually, but it is not a lasting solution.

If university funding is an emerging crisis, the situation at institutions that train those who do not go to university –

We need new answers, particularly given the impact of inflation on students' living costs

further education colleges – is already dire. Since 2010, there has been a steady decline in per-student spending down to the levels of about 20 years ago. That is no basis for developing the skills needed for good jobs or addressing unequal opportunities. With employer investment in training and apprenticeships also on the decline, non-university

routes to fulfilling jobs are also dwindling, exacerbating our productivity and inequality problems.

What is to be done? Improving skills is a top priority for all political parties and critical for economic growth, productivity, tackling inequality, levelling up the regions and social mobility. But the politics is complicated. The Dearing review of 1997, which enjoyed extraordinary bipartisan support before and after that year's election, led to the first introduction of student fees to maintain quality and fund expansion of operating numbers. Thirteen years later, Lord Browne's independent review of higher education finance reported, and was acted on, in part by both parties in the coalition government; it enabled a successful boost to access. In 2019, Sir Philip Auger led a review that made changes to student loan terms and, importantly, enabled the creation of a lifelong loan entitlement.

To avoid a crisis in tertiary education, we need new answers, particularly given the impact of inflation on students' living costs and the pressures of universities and further education colleges.

Political leaders across the spectrum should support an independent review with a mandate to address the urgent problems facing tertiary education. This should retain existing positive features – such as repayment of student loans linked to income – but put it on a sustainable financial footing in the time for urgent decisions after the next election. This might mean tiering of the system to allow institutions to specialise more in research or teaching while funding mechanisms could allow for different operating models. It should also fund research properly. If the UK is serious about wanting to be a successful knowledge economy.

Ideally, all parties should commit to engage with the findings in their manifestos and the commission report soon after the next election. This is the only way to secure political consensus on an issue crucial for the public finances, the economy, and the chance for all citizens to engage in the meaningful work central to a good life.

The writer is president and vice-chancellor of the London School of Economics



Doing what comes naturally City workers who swapped the office for the great outdoors

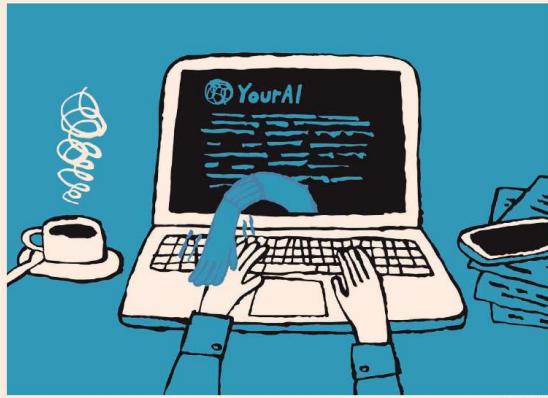
WORK & CAREERS

Will a chatbot career coach help solve my midlife crisis?



Emma Jacobs Business Life

I'm having a midlife crisis, I blurt out at 8.46am on a Tuesday. "I'm worried about making the most of my remaining time on Earth."



Karen Anderson

Human coaches get mixed reviews. Some credit them with rescuing their careers and sanity. Others complain coaches are employers' puppets – or worse, useless.

Telling all to AI won't be for everyone. But younger generations are more comfortable sharing their lives online

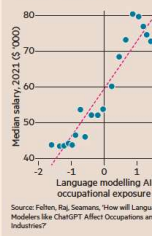
engage in a sexual relationship with someone who holds a position of power or authority over you? It is easy to point out Almy's shortcomings. So I take my criticisms to Matt Niebelschuetz, the co-founder of CoachHub, a virtual platform that matches clients with human coaches.

done in the presence of a human coach. Without prejudging the experiment, both of us anticipate AI will probably be a co-pilot rather than a replacement for coaches. Telling all to a chatbot won't be for everyone. But younger generations are more comfortable sharing their personal lives online.

Lex

Accountants/AI: Excel jobs excised

Higher-paying jobs more exposed to AI



Jobs most exposed to AI

Table listing job titles and their exposure to AI, such as Genetic counsellors, Financial examiners, etc.

Source: Follis, Big, Spurious, 'How will Language Modellers like ChatGPT Affect Occupations and Industries?'

All teacher positions are post-secondary

Spreadsheet jockeys work hard to maintain Excel bragging rights. Gone are the days when knowing the VLOOKUP search function won you respect. But worse may be to come.

Last month it said it would add a generative AI "co-pilot" to the taskbar of Microsoft 365 applications such as Excel, allowing users to ask data questions in their own language, not formulas.

Nikkei Asia crossword puzzle with clues and solution grid.

FT Weekend advertisement for HTSI featuring a woman holding a large pillow and a dog.

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