

A FINANCE CURSE?

(How much finance is too much?)

Nicholas Shaxson

Presentation to Transparency Task Force



Mar 21st, 2023

I. A FINANCE CURSE?

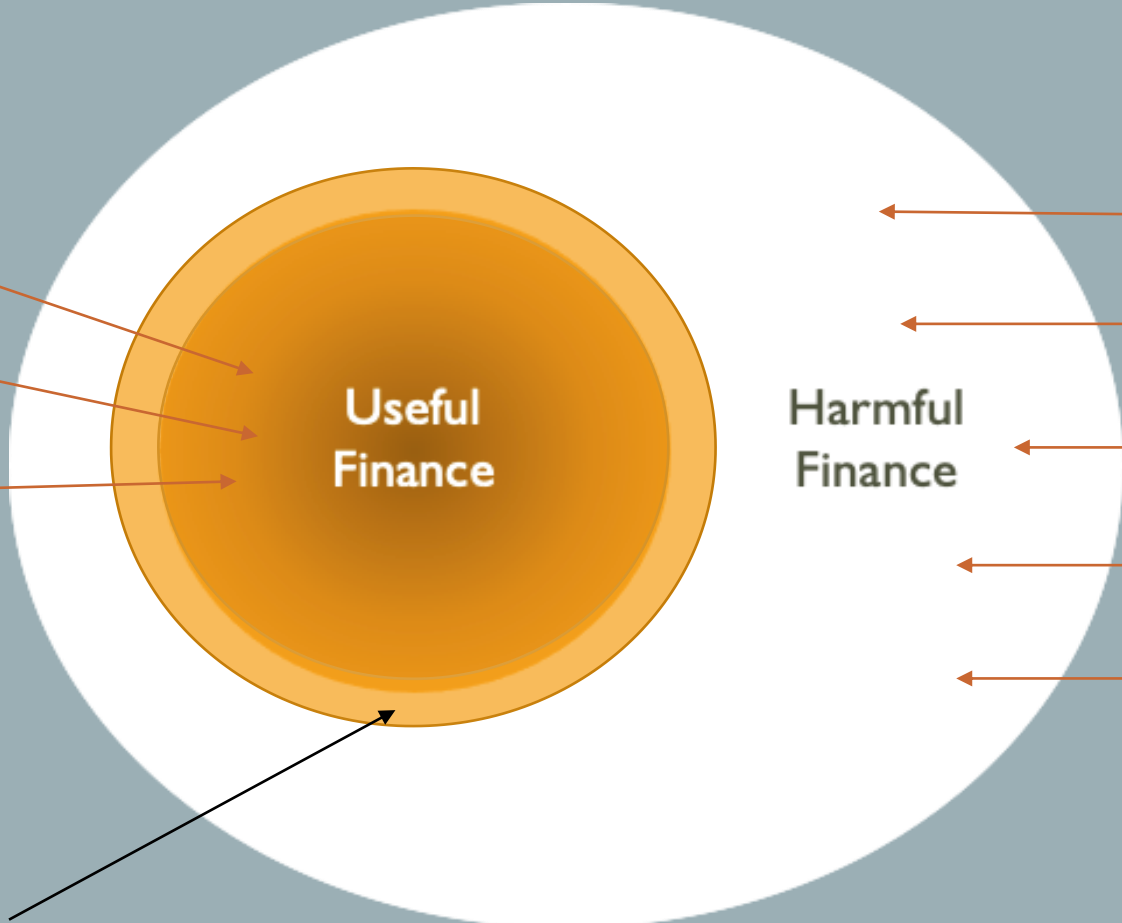
Some * food * for thought

Some food for thought ...

THE FRIED EGG OF FINANCE

Useful

- Savings accounts
- Lending to productive firms, SMEs, households
- Regular Stock market activity
- Etc.



(Fuzzy boundary)

Harmful

- Too Big To Fail
- Corrupt / criminal money
- Facilitate tax avoidance
- M&A: monopolisation
- Rent seeking
- Etc.

THE BANANA OF FINANCE?

There is an optimal point for the size of a financial sector

Further growth of finance beyond this point may reduce economic growth

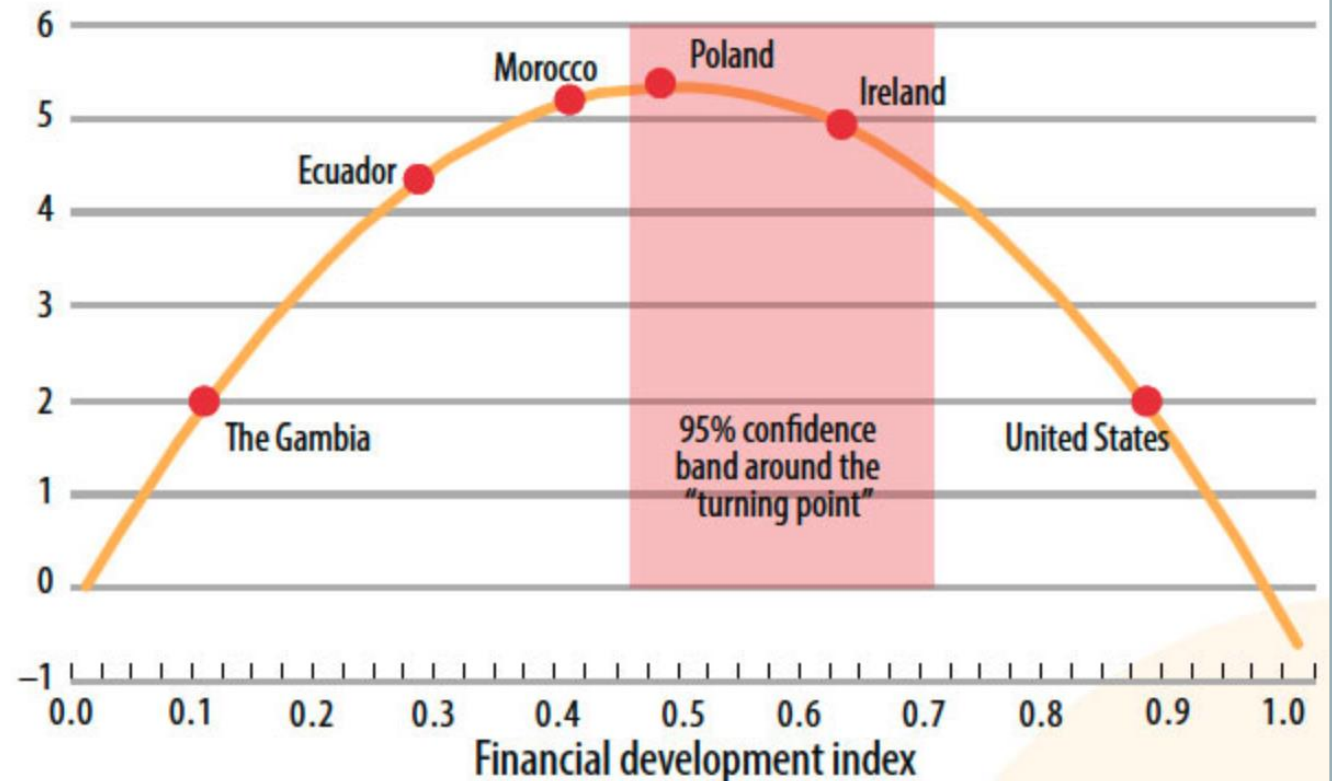
The “Too Much Finance” literature is contested, data is poor. (See e.g. [Sturn/Epstein, 2021](#))

Obviously, the nature of finance matters too, not just size

Too much finance?

Most advanced economies, including the United States, are past the point at which financial sector growth is beneficial.

(effect on GDP growth rate, percentage points)

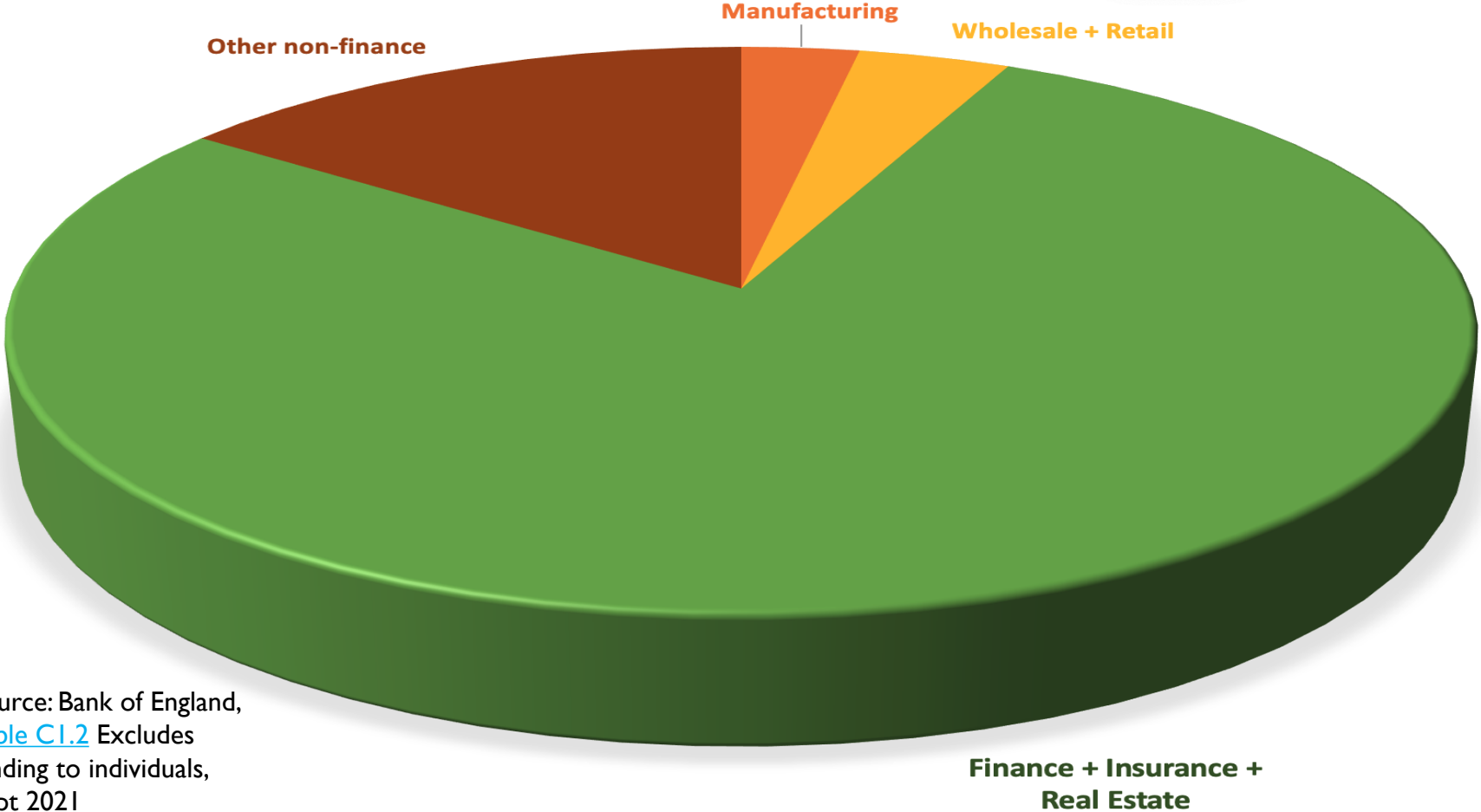


Source: Sahay and others (2015). Data updated in July 2019.

THE PIE OF UK FINANCE

UK FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS LENDING TO UK BUSINESSES

Chart Title



Source: Bank of England, [Table CI.2](#) Excludes lending to individuals, Sept 2021

2. CORE “FINANCE CURSE” THESIS

1. **Every country needs a financial sector** to support its economy
2. Financial sector development/growth boosts economic growth, but **only up to a point**
3. If finance expands beyond its useful functions and size, **further financial development likely inflicts harm / reduces growth (“Too Much Finance”)**
4. **“Excess” financial development:** inequality, economic instability, corruption/capture, reduced innovation, reduced competition, democratic damage, etc.

FINANCE CURSE THESIS II: INTERNATIONAL / CONCEPTUAL

A COMPARISON:

- a) A **tax haven** is a financial centre that transmits harm outwards to other countries. E.g. Cayman financial secrecy may damage Brazil's tax system, its criminal justice system, and its democracy.
- b) **Finance curse**: financial centre "excess" transmits harm inwards, to the country that hosts it.

(Non-tax haven financial activity can also transmit harm outwards, but this is outside the finance curse thesis.)

FINANCE CURSE THESIS III

- What is good for finance may not be good for the whole economy
- No trade-off between economic prosperity and financial curbs
- Apparent Paradox: “Too much finance makes you poorer”

PARALLEL WITH “RESOURCE CURSE”
(OIL / MINERAL EXPORTS)

- **Weak** version: resources are squandered
- **Strong** version: makes matters even worse. My
Angola, mid-1990s

Mineral-dependent countries lie on this spectrum

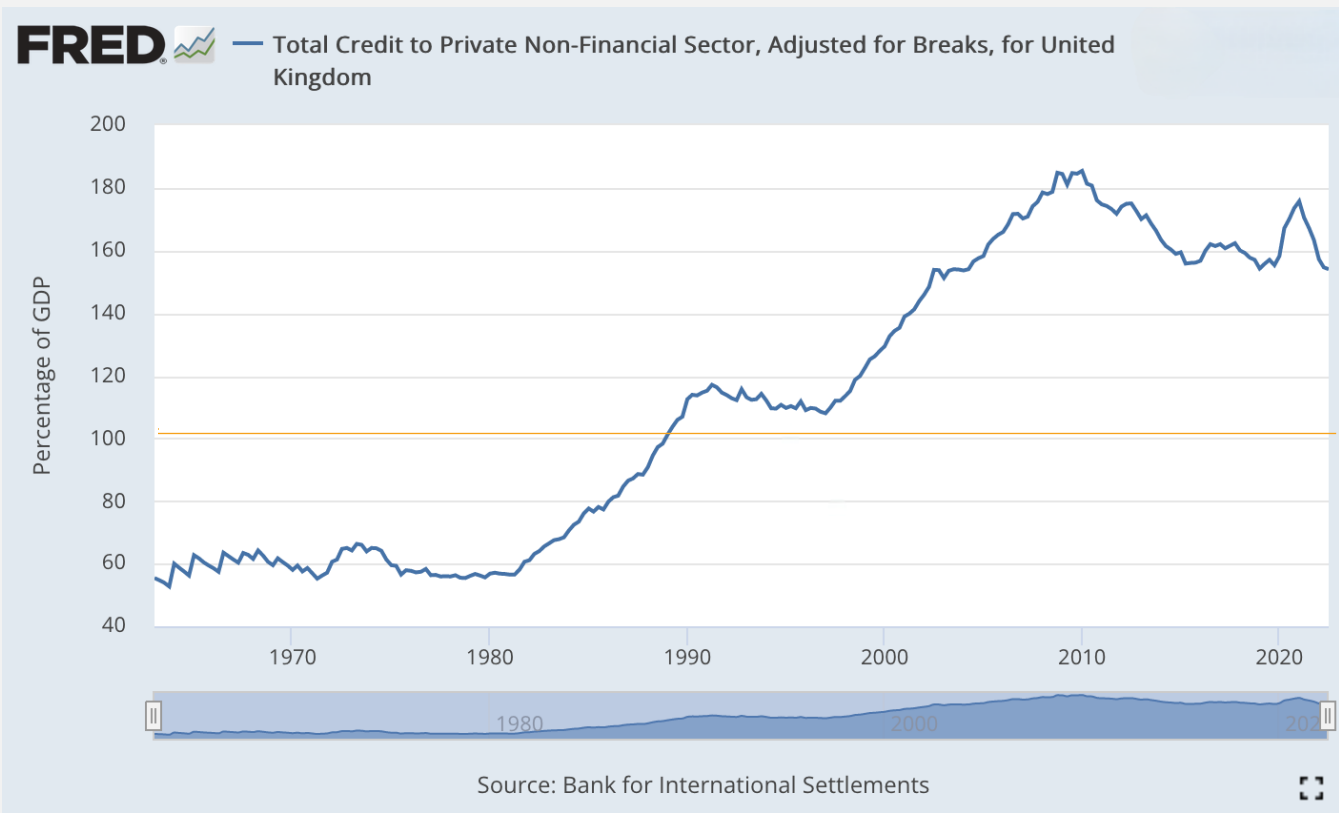
3. SIZE OF COSTS

What are the costs of “excess finance”?

Some estimates

WHAT IS THE OPTIMAL SIZE?

- E.g. [Arcand/IMF](#): “finance starts having a negative effect on output growth when credit to the private sector reaches 100% of GDP.”



COSTS OF OVERSIZED FINANCE? *UNITED STATES*

“Overcharged” - Epstein + Montecino, Roosevelt Institute, 2016:

Total costs of ‘excess finance,’ 1990-2023:

(1) rents, or excess profits; US\$ **3.6-4.2 trillion**, 1990-2005

(2) misallocation costs: diverting resources + people from non-financial activities;
US\$ **2.6-3.9 trillion**, 1990-2005

(3) crisis costs: lost output due to crisis, (Federal Reserve estimates: **\$6.5-14.5 trillion**, 2008-2023),

Total cost of excess finance: 1) + 2) + 3) :

\$12.9 - \$22.7 trillion, 1990-2023

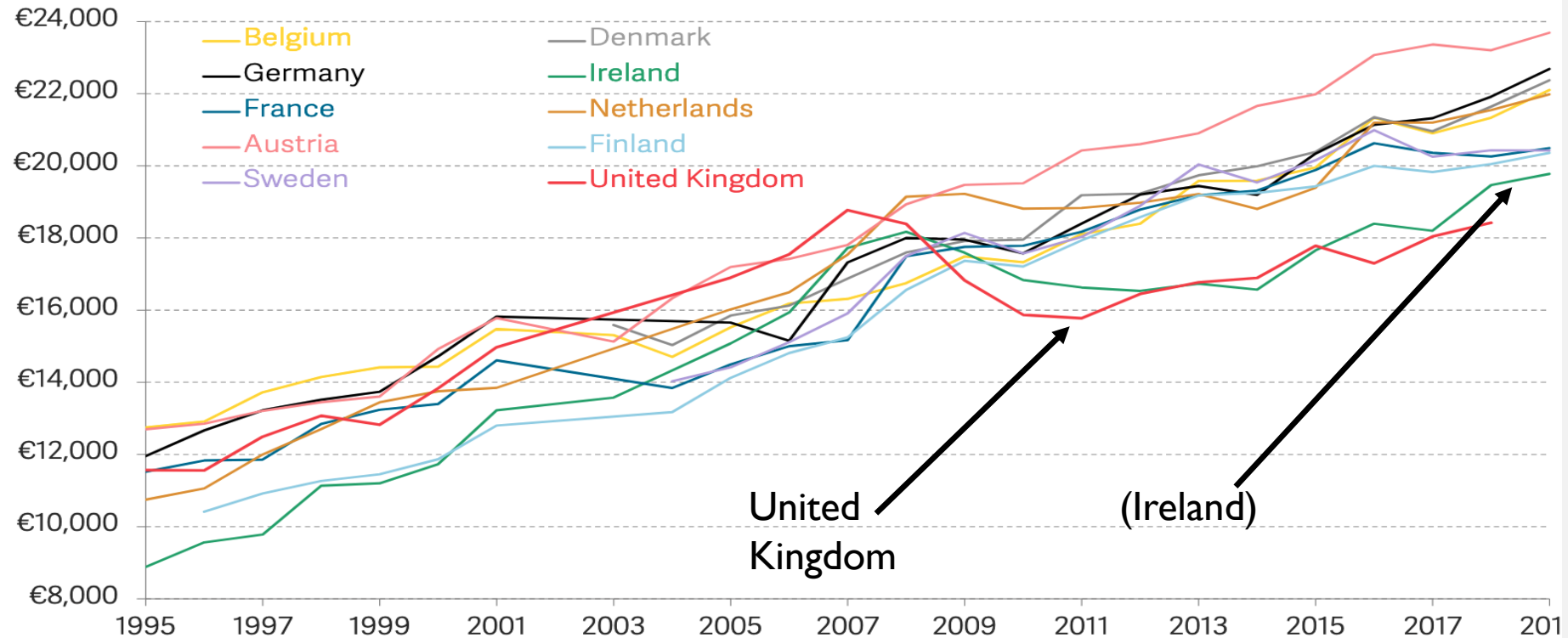
COSTS OF OVERSIZED FINANCE? UK

- [The UK's Finance Curse? Costs and Processes](#) (Baker, Epstein, Montecino,) Oct 5, 2018
- **Misallocation costs** (rent extraction, gravitational pull / brain drain, “Dutch Disease” spillovers) **£2,700 bn** (€1 = £0.88, current)
- **Crisis costs: £1,800 billion**
- **TOTAL COST OF OVERSIZED FINANCE 1990-2015:
UK£4,500 billion 1995-2015**
- This is just one study, but still.

UK GROWTH / INCOME

FIGURE 4: UK incomes have fallen behind those in neighbouring countries

Median equivalised disposable income, before housing costs, adjusted for purchasing power



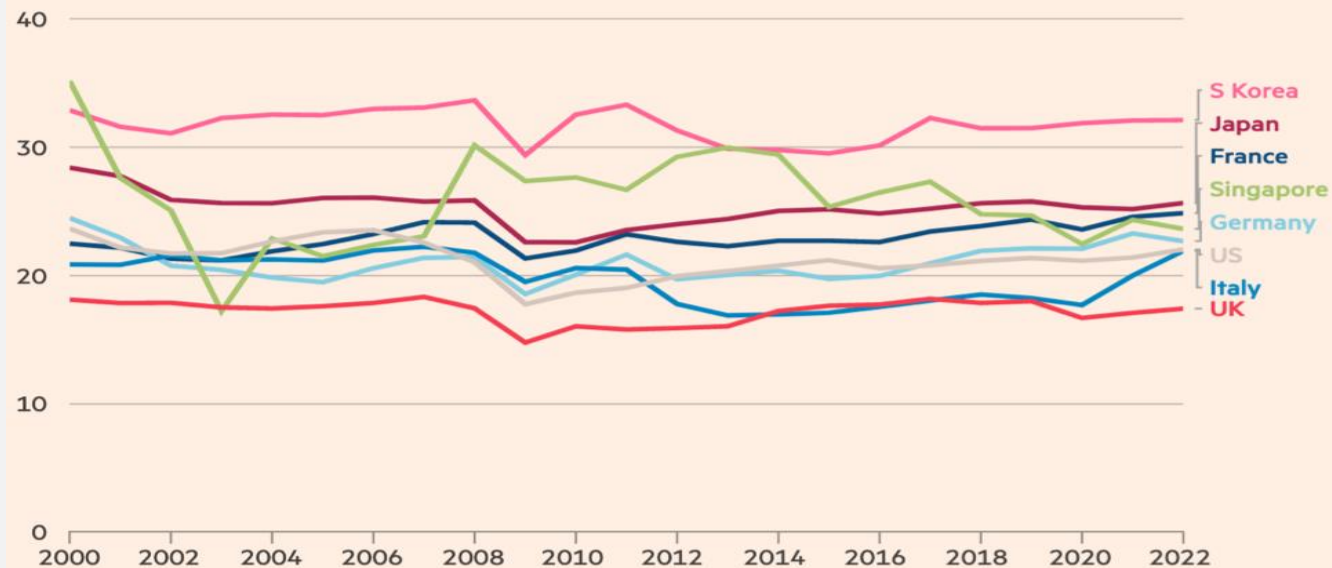
NOTES: Some gaps are interpolated, including all countries in 2002, and UK in 2003 and 2004.
SOURCE: Eurostat dataset ilc_di04.

FINANCE-DEPENDENT = LOW INVESTMENT

A financial sector is supposed to support investment. So what is going on here?

The UK has a lower share of investment in GDP relative to high-income peers

Total investment as a % of GDP



Source: [Martin Wolf / FT](#), 2023

4. CAUSES?

What are the “excess” activities and causes that may contribute to a ‘finance curse’?

HARMS / CAUSES I

- **Extraction:** e.g.
 - Risk-taking at taxpayers' expense, GFC
 - Some private equity activities, derivatives, etc.
- **National security:** Handling organised crime, oligarch ££)
- **Tax / law avoidance** (e.g. banks facilitating tax schemes)
- **Increasing inequality** (e.g. high finance rewards + rent-seeking)
- (more)

HARMS / CAUSES 2

- “**Dutch Disease**” price / exchange rate effects, harms other sectors
- “**Brain drain**” as cancer researchers, engineers, are attracted into better-paid finance
- **Political capture** (see below)
- Monopolisation / damage to **SMEs** (as TTF knows! See below)

POLITICAL “CAPTURE”

- The usual **lobbying, revolving doors**, cultural influence, etc.
- **International competitiveness** – threat to relocate (to e.g. Geneva, Singapore, Dubai) if finance does not receive support (e.g. tax, regulatory, secrecy and other subsidies).

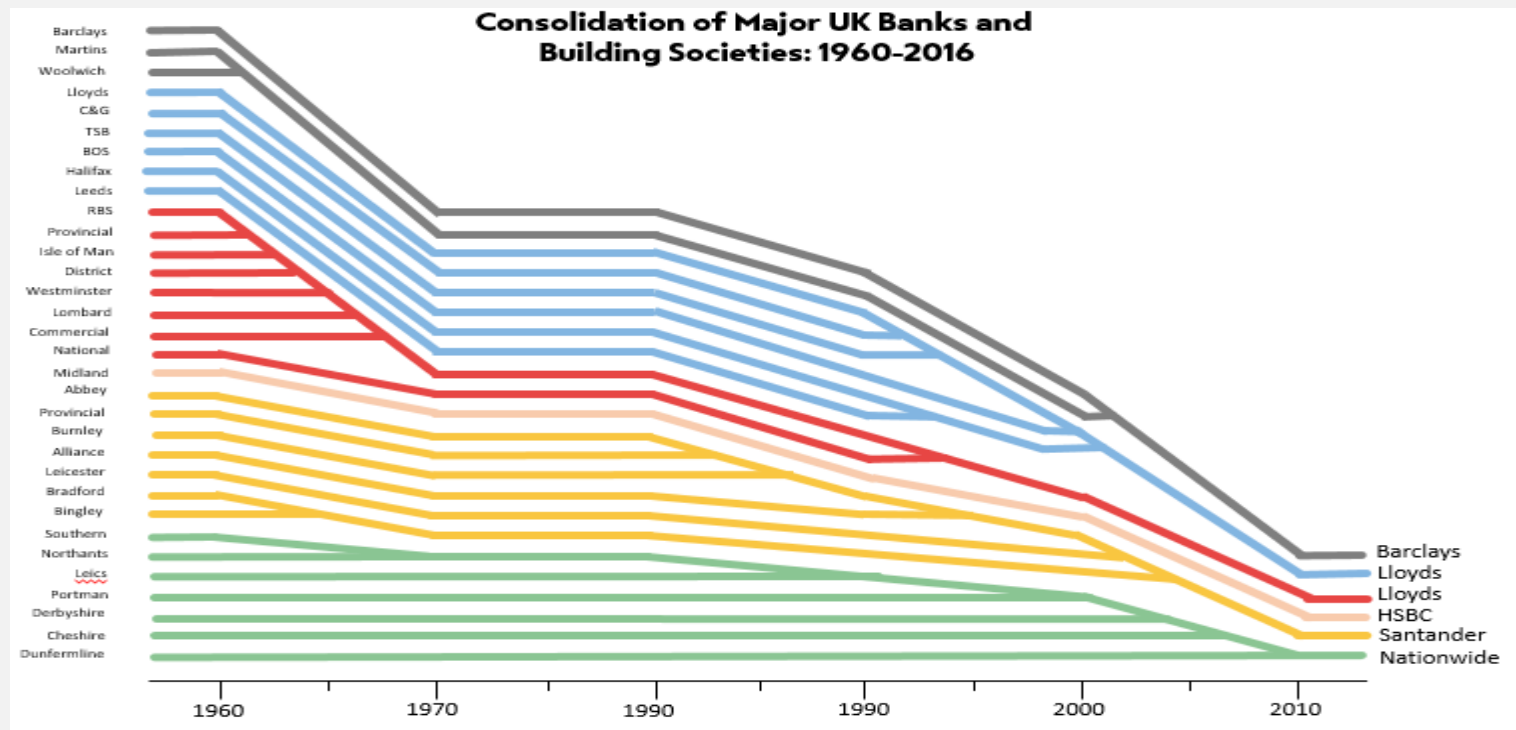
EXAMPLE: DAMAGE TO COMPETITION

“Excess finance” elements [promote monopolisation](#), reduce competition:

- M&A dealmaking often builds market power
- Cheap finance for monopolists, “kill zones” or “valleys of death” for competitors
- Finances predatory pricing
- Private equity roll-ups in niches: market power → Rent-seeking
- Finance cartels e.g. Libor, old U.S. “money trusts”
- Big Tech merging with finance (leading to Big Tech dominating finance?)

DAMAGE TO COMPETITION II

- Consolidation / M&A in finance, e.g. asset managers, banks, builds market power:



5: FROM COMPETITION TO COMPETITIVENESS

- Competitiveness and competition are not the same thing.
 - Competition: private firms compete in markets
 - “Competitiveness” whole countries “compete.”

“Edinburgh Reforms” / UK Financial Services and Markets Bill 2023:
regulators get a **statutory objective to promote “competitiveness and growth.”**

But this kind of “competitiveness” is economic nonsense.

COMPETITIVENESS II: WARNINGS FROM THE UK

- “The competitiveness of countries, on the model of the competitiveness of companies, is nonsense” – **Martin Wolf**.
- “A government wedded to the ideology of competitiveness is as unlikely to make good economic policy as a government committed to creationism is to make good science policy.” – **Paul Krugman**
- **Massive opposition** to **UK competitiveness objective from former UK finance regulators etc**: Andrew Bailey, Adair Turner, Howard Davies, John Kay, Vince Cable, Martin Wolf, John Vickers.
- **59 economists** (e.g. Admati, Rodrik, Stiglitz, Tooze): “there is no place for “competitiveness” anywhere in the financial regulatory toolkit.”

WHAT IS COMPETITIVENESS IN FINANCE?

- 59 economists:

“The **main purpose** of a financial sector is to support the economy as an intermediary.

It can have **secondary purposes**, including as a source of export earnings. But these should not undermine the primary purpose.”

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

What can we do with “Finance Curse?”

FC OVERTURNS THE DOMINANT NARRATIVE

Predominant narrative: City of London is the 'goose that lays the golden eggs.'

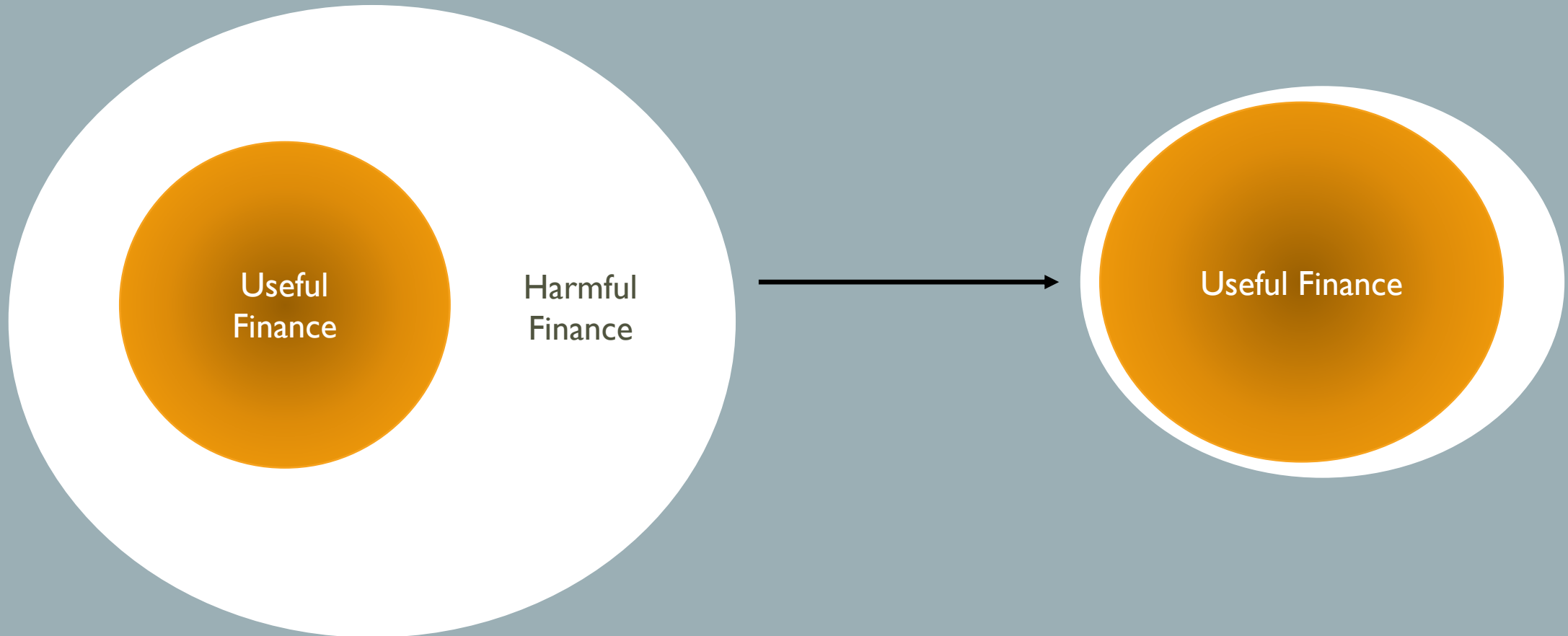
TheCityUK: Finance provides x jobs, y trade surplus, z tax revenues.

“Don't tax / regulate / police the City too much or you'll weaken the golden goose / it will fly away to Geneva or Singapore.”

Finance curse NARRATIVE overturns this.

TheCityUK outlines gross contribution, FC looks at net contribution – minus costs.

“SHRINK FINANCE FOR PROSPERITY”



ALTERNATIVE FRAMING

“Right-Sized Finance?”

HOW TO SHRINK FINANCE? UPGRADE, INSTEAD OF COMPETE

- **Protect consumers** better from scams
 - Promote **regional / SME lending**
 - **Tax finance actors** properly (=> health + education + public order + infrastructure)
 - **Tackle conflicts of interest** e.g. break up “Too Big To Fail” banks, or Big 4 ,
 - **Promote healthy competition** (e.g. work closely with DG COMP)
 - **Enforce** public-interest laws across the board
- Etc.

None of these involve winning any “race” with e.g. the UK or Switzerland.

Upgrading is a win-win (richer EU Citizens buy more UK cultural exports, Swiss cheese etc.)

Upgrading is good on its own terms, not usually known as “competitiveness”.

MEASUREMENT / STUDY

Further studies:

- X axis: not just credit to the economy, but a variety of measures of financial sector size / quality, different definitions
- Y axis: other measures of performance and wellbeing: not just GDP growth, but also inequality, sectoral productivity, political polarisation / democratic measures, innovation, etc.
- Better data overall (of course)

THANK YOU



**THE
FINANCE
CURSE**

**How Global Finance Is
Making Us All Poorer**

NICHOLAS SHAXSON