

# The Entrepreneurial State from Market Fixing to Market Making

#### **Mariana Mazzucato**

R.M. Phillips Professor in Economics of Innovation Science Policy Research Unit (SPRU), University of Sussex, UK

www.marianamazzucato.com @MazzucatoM

# 3 big battles

- Smart growth (more innovation)
- Sustainable growth (more green)
- Inclusive growth (less inequality)

# Biggest battle: what is State's role?

Set 'level' playing field then get out of the way

Solve market 'failures'

De-risk (and 'facilitate') private sector

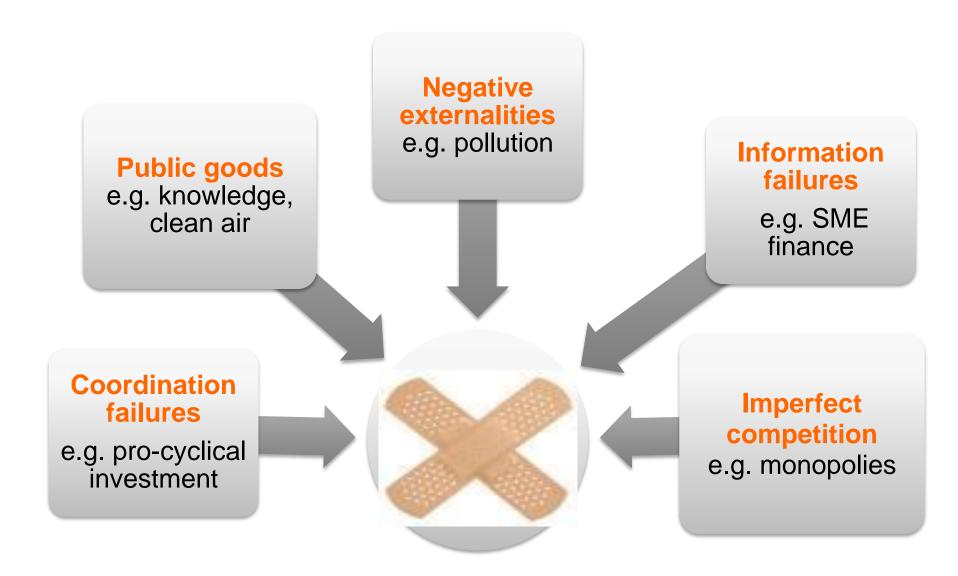
Something ... more interesting?



"Governments have always been lousy at picking winners... As the revolution rages, governments should stick to the basics: better schools for a skilled workforce, clear rules and a level playing field for enterprises of all kinds... Leave the rest to the revolutionaries."

('The Third Industrial Revolution', *The Economist*, April 21, 2012).

# Policy as (just) fixing market failures?

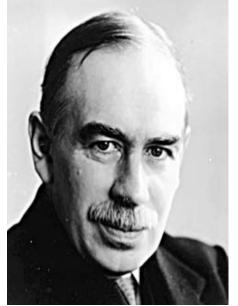


# A different view: market shaping & creating



"The road to free markets was opened and kept open by an enormous increase in continuous, centrally organized and controlled interventionism... Administrators had to be constantly on the watch to ensure the free working of the system."

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation, 1944



"The important thing for Government is not to do things which individuals are doing already, and to do them a little better or a little worse; but to do those things which at present are not done at all."

John M. Keynes, The End of Laissez Faire, 1926







the

#### ENTREPRENEURIAL

# STATE

"ONE OF THE MOST INCISIVE ECONOMIC BOOKS IN YEARS." -JEFFERY MADRICK, NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS



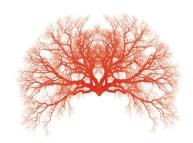
DEBUNKING PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE SECTOR MYTHS

REVISED EDITION

MARIANA MAZZUCATO



#### MARIANA MAZZUCATO



#### DAS KAPITAL **DES STAATES**

Eine andere Geschichte von Innovation und Wachstum

KUNSTMANN

## **MARIANA MAZZUCATO**

L'impresa privata è considerata da tutti una forza innovativa, mentre lo Stato è bollato come una forza inerziale, troppo grosso e pesante per fungere da motore dinamico. Lo scopo del libro che avete tra le mani è smontare questo mito.

## Lo Stato innovatore

43 anticorpi GF Laterza

# the assumption



# New questions for economic policy

- ◆DIRECTIONS. Policy as actively setting direction of change. How to foster a more dynamic debate about possible directions (and stop useless worry about 'picking winners').
- ◆EVALUATION. How to evaluate public sector market creating investments (pushing market frontiers)?
- ◆EXPLORATIVE ORGANIZATIONS. How to build explorative public sector organizations that welcome trial and error?
- ◆RISKS AND REWARDS. How to socialize both risks and rewards, with revolving fund for future innovation and welfare.

(discussed in Mazzucato, 2015)

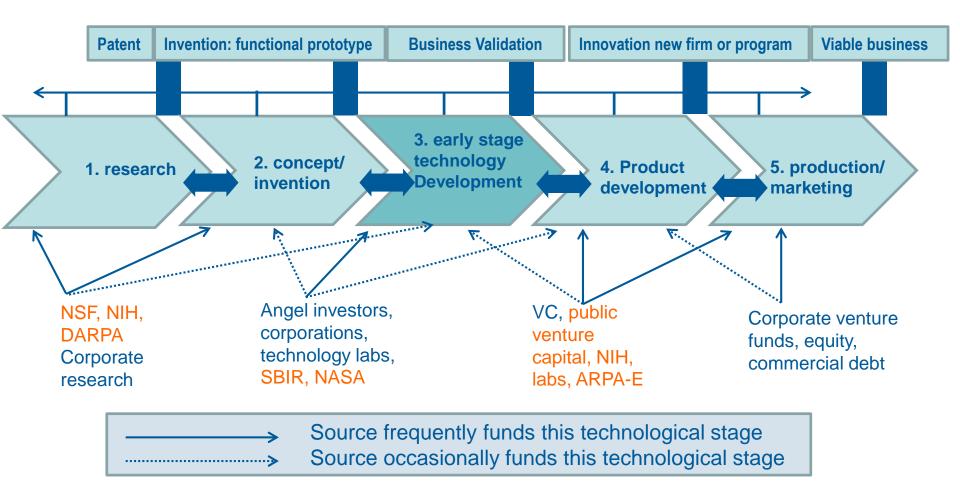
# 3 big battles

- Smart growth (more innovation)
- Sustainable growth (more green)
- Inclusive growth (less inequality)

# Market failure policies don't explain General Purpose Technologies

- 'mass production' system
- aviation technologies
- space technologies
- IT
- internet
- nuclear power
- nanotechnology
- green technology

# Missions and risk-taking along entire innovation chain



# Creating missions not fixing markets

**NASA's mission** is to "Drive advances in science, technology, aeronautics, and space exploration to enhance knowledge, education, innovation, economic vitality, and stewardship of Earth." NASA 2014 Strategic Plan

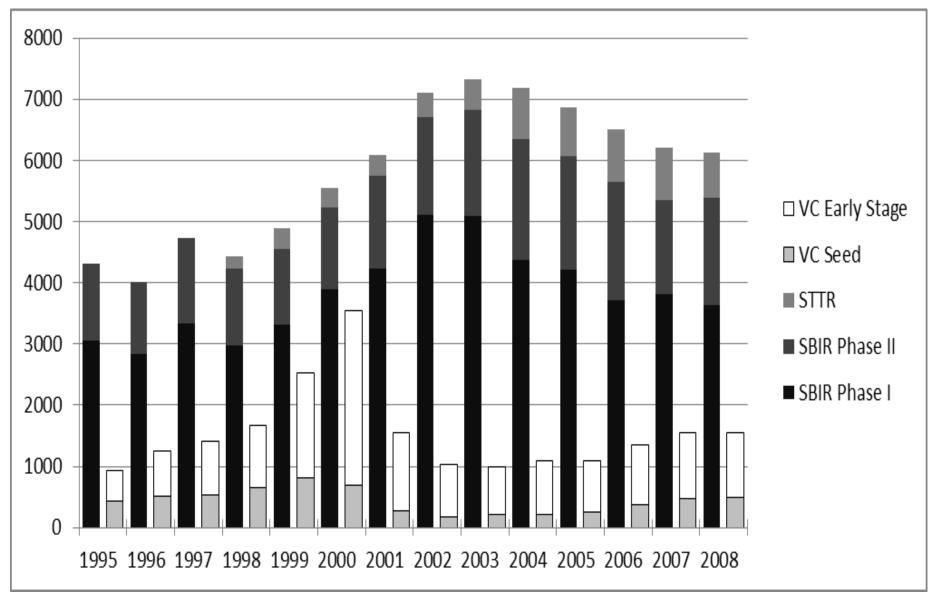
"Creating breakthrough technologies for national security is the mission of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)."

"The **ARPA-E** mission is to *catalyze* the development of transformational, high-impact energy technologies."

"NIH's mission is to seek fundamental knowledge about the nature and behavior of living systems and the *application* of that knowledge to enhance health, lengthen life, and reduce illness and disability."

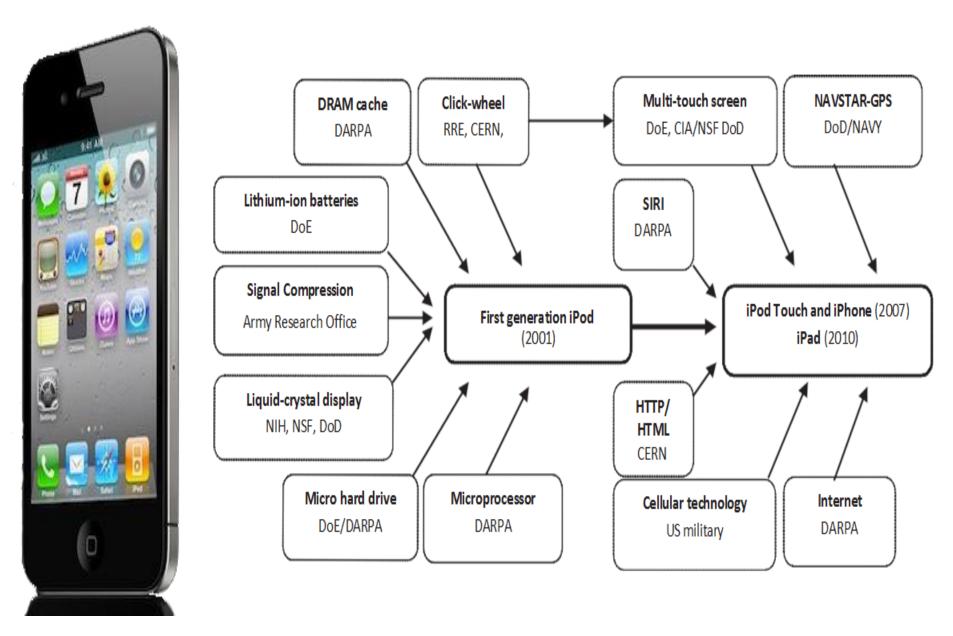
"The mission of the KfW Group is to support change and encourage forward-looking ideas – in Germany, Europe and throughout the world."

# Private and Public (SBIR) Venture Capital



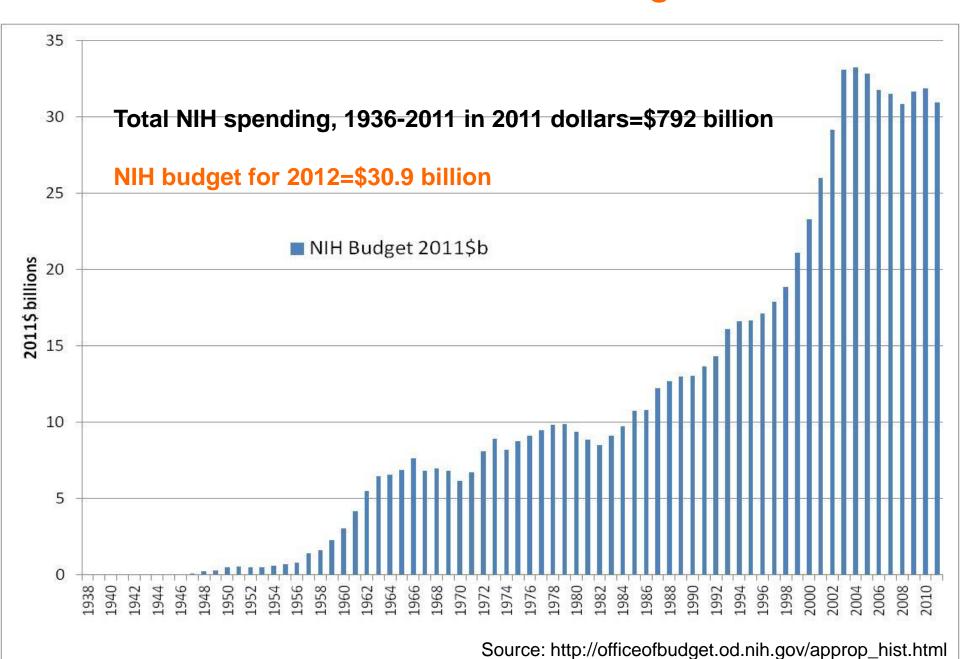
`Source: Block and Keller, 2012

# What makes the iPhone so 'smart'?



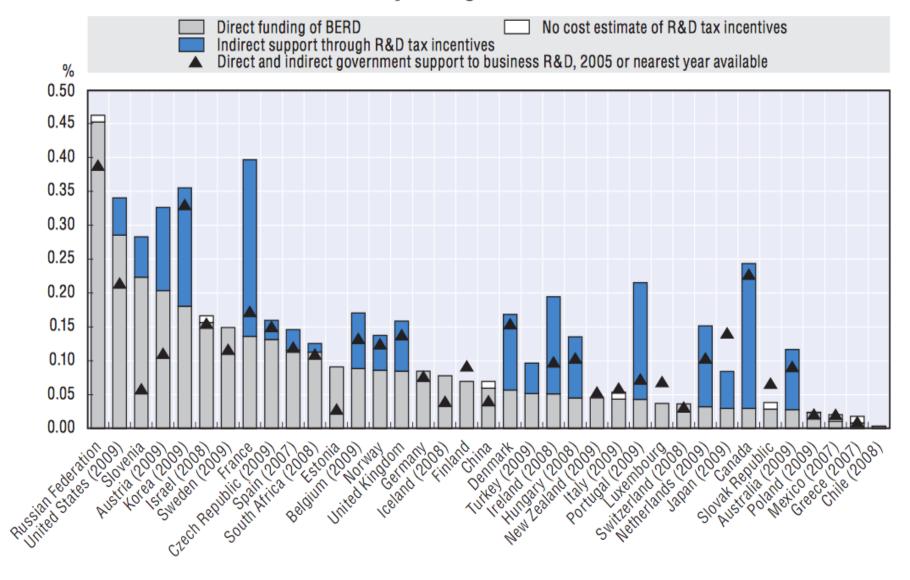
Source: Mazzucato (2013), p. 109, Fig. 13

# National Institutes of Health budgets 1936-2011



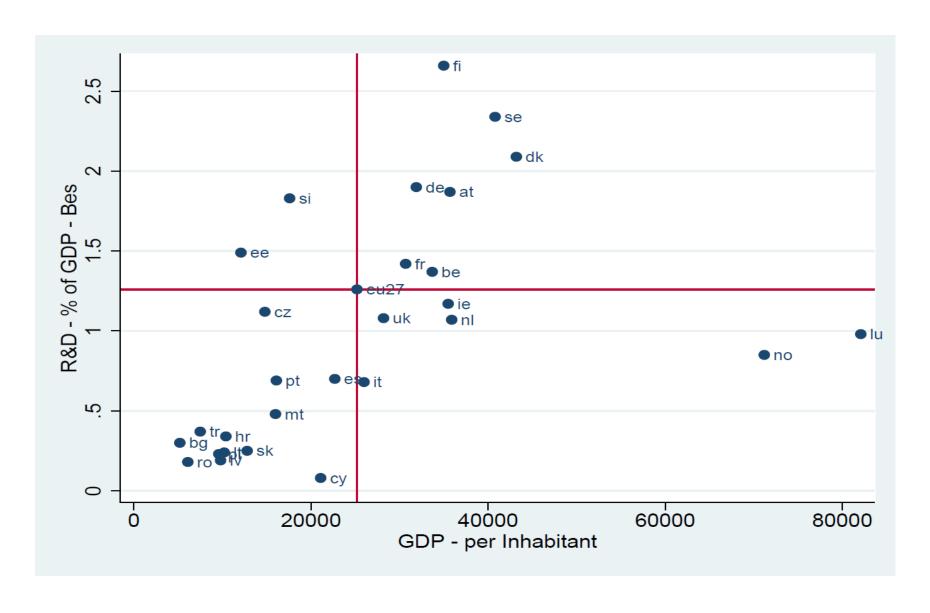
#### Direct government funding of business R&D and tax incentives for R&D, 2010

As a percentage of GDP



Source: OECD 2012 http://www.oecd.org/sti/sti-outlook-2012-financing-business-rd.pdf

# Business R&D spending (BERD)



Businessmen have a different set of delusions from politicians, and need, therefore, different handling. They are, however, much milder than politicians, at the same time allured and terrified by the glare of publicity, easily persuaded to be 'patriots', perplexed, bemused, indeed terrified, yet only too anxious to take a cheerful view, vain perhaps but very unsure of themselves, pathetically responsive to a kind word. You could do anything you liked with them, if you would treat them (even the big ones), not as wolves or tigers, but as domestic animals by nature, even though they have been badly brought up and not trained as you would wish....

**John M. Keynes's** private letter to **Franklin D. Roosevelt** Feb 1, 1938

# 3 big battles

- Smart growth (more innovation)
- Sustainable growth (more green)
- Inclusive growth (less inequality)

# Capital intensity of project

# Technology risk in clean tech

(venture capital will ride the wave, who will kick/push?)

High

- Wind farms
- Utility-scale solar
- 'First-gen' biofuel refineries
- Fabs for solar cells using established technologies
- Wind and solar components of proven technologies
- Internal combustion engines
- Insulation / building material
- Energy efficiency services

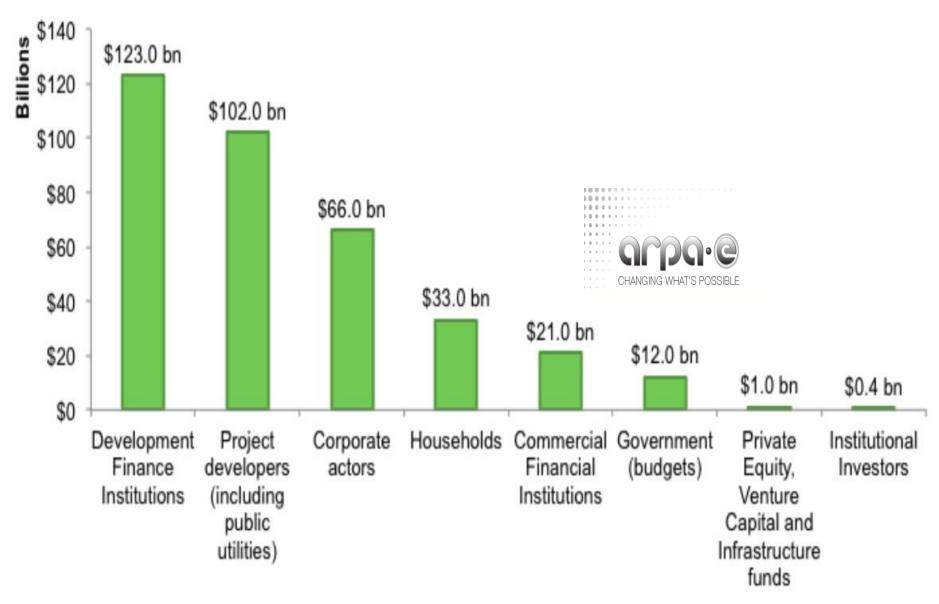
- First commercial plants for unproven solar cell technologies
- Advanced biofuel refineries
- Offshore wind farms
- Carbon sequestration
- Energy efficiency software
- Lighting
- Electric drive trains
- Fuel cells / power storage
- Wind and solar components of unproven technologies

Low

Technology risk

High

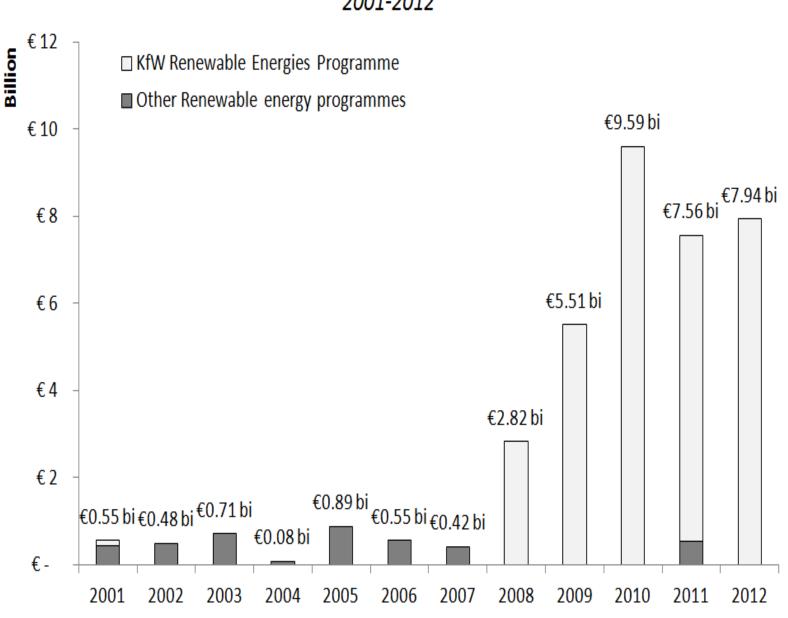
# Green tech public & private investments (2011)



Source: Climate Finance Initiative

#### KfW funding for industrial environmental and climate protection projects in Germany

2001-2012



## The German lessons for Greece!

- Middle sized firms (small is NOT beautiful)
- Patient long-term finance (e.g. KfW)
- Strong well funded science-industry links (e.g. Fraunhofer) – & not just pushing on a string.
- High R&D/GDP
- 'Mission oriented' R&D (e.g. Energiewende)

# China Development Bank

China's 2020 goal of producing 20% energy from renewables. 5 year plan includes \$1.7 trillion dollars in 5 new (green) sectors.

CDB founded CDB Capital, a 'public equity' fund with \$US 5.76 bn to finance innovative start-ups from the energy and telecom sectors.

Yingli Green Energy received \$1.7 bn from 2008 through 2012 with a \$5.3 bn line of credit opened for it. LDK Solar (\$9.1 bn); Sinovel Wind (\$6.5 bn); Suntech Power (\$7.6 bn); and Trina Solar (\$4.6 bn),

Patient committed finance has "allowed Chinese companies to further ramp up production and drive down costs" of renewable energy technologies

Source: Sanderson and Forsythe, 2013

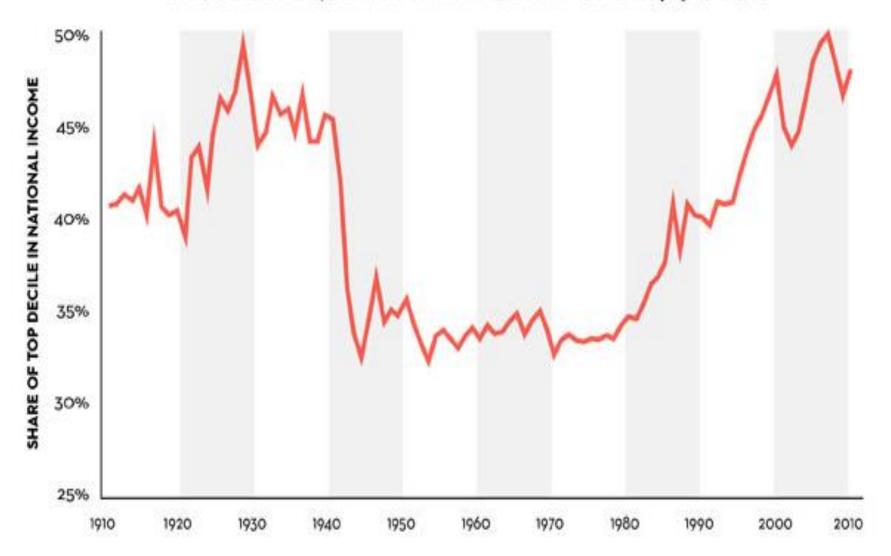


A key element to get an energy breakthrough is more basic research. And that requires the government to take the lead. Only when that research is pointing towards a product then we can expect the private sector to kick in.

# 3 big battles

- Smart growth (more innovation)
- Sustainable growth (more green)
- Inclusive growth (less inequality)

#### **INCOME INEQUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1910-2010**



Source: Piketty, 2013

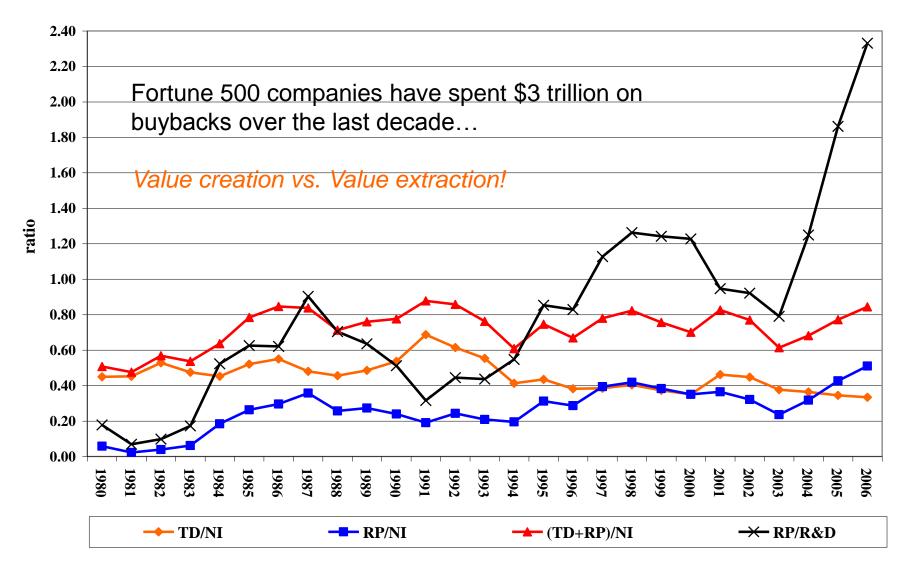
# Warren Buffet

"I have worked with investors for 60 years and I have yet to see anyone — not even when capital gains rates were 39.9 percent in 1976-77 — shy away from a sensible investment because of the tax rate on the potential gain. People invest to make money, and potential taxes have never scared them off. And to those who argue that higher rates hurt job creation, I would note that a net of nearly 40 million jobs were added between 1980 and 2000. You know what's happened since then: lower tax rates and far lower job creation."

And....why did capital gains fall in 1976?

#### Repurchases, dividends, net income, R&D 1980-2006

(293 corporations in the S&P500 in October 2007 in operation in 1980)

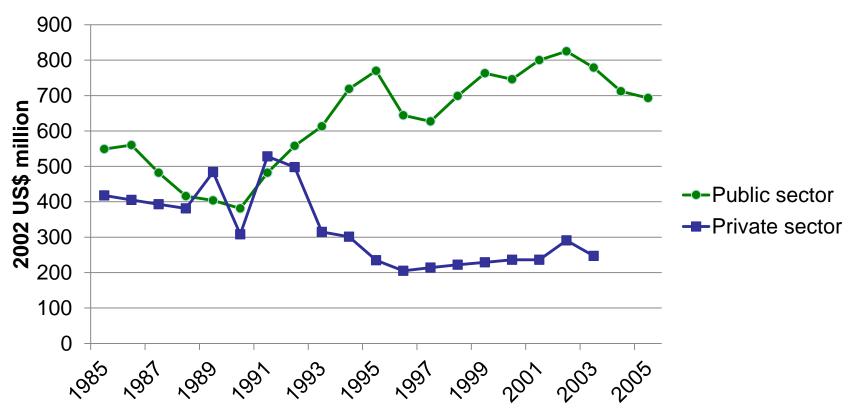


Source: Lazonick & Mazzucato, 2013; Lazonick, 2014

# Where are energy's **Xerox Parcs &** Bell Labs?

#### Renewable energy R&D investments in the U.S.

in million 2002 dollars



Source: Nemet and Kammen (2007), "U.S. energy research and development: Declining investment, increasing need, and the feasibility of expansion", *Energy Policy*, 35 (1), 746-755

# Better 'deal' between public & private

- >reforming tax system
- ➤ limiting share buybacks
- >retaining golden share of IPR
- capping prices (Bayh Dole act allows it)
- >income contingent loans
- >retain some equity (Tesla & Solyndra lesson)
- >% payback into an 'innovation fund'
- ➤State investment banks

and more...(but where is the conversation?)

internet

# New questions for economic policy

- ◆DIRECTIONS. Policy as actively setting direction of change. How to foster a more dynamic debate about possible directions (and stop useless worry about 'picking winners').
- ◆EVALUATION. How to evaluate public sector market creating investments (pushing market frontiers)?
- ◆EXPLORATIVE ORGANIZATIONS. How to build explorative public sector organizations that welcome trial and error?
- ◆RISKS AND REWARDS. How to socialize both risks and rewards, with revolving fund for future innovation and welfare.

(discussed in Mazzucato, 2015)

# think again!



#### References

The Entrepreneurial State: debunking private vs. public sector myths Anthem Press: London, UK, 2013

Innovation Systems: From Fixing Market Failures to Creating Markets, Intereconomics, Vol. 50 (3);120-125, 2015

The risk-reward nexus in the innovation-inequality relationship: Who takes the risks? Who gets the rewards? *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 22:4:1093-1128, with <u>Bill Lazonick</u>, 2013

Beyond market failures: "The market creating and shaping roles of state investment banks, SPRU Working Paper Series, 2014-21, with Caetano Penna, 2014

Accounting for productive investment and value creation, *Industrial and Corporate Change*, with Alan Shipman, 2014

Innovation policy: smart and inclusive? in New Perspectives on Industrial Policy for a Modern Britain. D. Bailey, K. Cowling and P.R. Tomlinson (eds.) Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2015

Innovation as Growth Policy (2015), in *The Triple Challenge: Europe in a New Age*. J. Fagerberg, S. Laestadius, and B. Martin (eds.) Oxford University Press: Oxford, with Carlota Perez, 2015