Innovation Policy and the Invisible Hand of the State

Fred Block IPEA, Brasilia, September 3, 2014

Which U.S. Model ?

What the U.S. tells other nations to do.

OR

What the U.S. practices at home—a decentralized and aggressive set of industrial policies.

Inspired by Karl Polanyi

- Research funded by Ford Foundation when Leonardo Burlamaqui was a program officer.
- Carried out in collaboration with other researchers including Linda Weiss and Mariana Mazzucato.
- Goal has been to document and understand the peculiar nature of the U.S. developmental state.

Long History of U.S. Developmentalism

- Alexander Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures* (1791)
- Government role in building canals and railroads
- Department of Agriculture and land grant universities

Two key inflection points

• The first was World War II

• Manhattan Project and the federalization of science

 Many ongoing government laboratories

The Second happened between 1978-84

• In response to

- Japanese competition
 - Success of Apple and Genentech

The Key Features of this Model

- Mobilize university and federal laboratory based researchers to focus on critical technology challenges.
- Encourage and support new small firms that will compete directly with established firms.
- Highly decentralized; multiple initiatives to overcome key technological barriers co-exist often with little coordination.

Key role of federal laboratories

- Department of Energy laboratories
 - Lawrence Berkeley
 - National Renewable Energy Laboratory
 - Sandia
 - Oak Ridge
- National Institutes of Health laboratories
- National Nanotechnology Infrastructure Network 14 User Facilities at research universities
- National Institute of Standards and Technology (previously National Bureau of Standards)

What happens at these laboratories?

- Collaborations between public and private scientists and engineers
- Big and small corporations sometimes pay the laboratories to help overcome technological barriers
- Government scientists and engineers are encouraged to spin off new firms
- Many of these new firms get support from SBIR— Small Business Innovation Research

Program Descriptions

- SBIR: Set-aside program for small business concerns to engage in federal R&D --with potential for commercialization.
- STTR: Set-aside program to facilitate cooperative R&D between small business concerns and U.S. research institutions -- with potential for commercialization.

SBIR/STTR: 3-Phase Program

PHASE I

- Feasibility study
- \$100K and 6 months (SBIR) or 12 months (STTR)



• <u>PHASE II</u>

- Full R/R&D
- 2-Year Award and \$750K (SBIR) or \$500K (STTR)



PHASE III

Commercialization Stage

Use of non-SBIR Funds



SBIR Grants and Shift of Ph.D Scientists



Figure 2 Trends in SBIR awards and PhD technologists employed by firms with fewer than 500 employees. *Note*: Data for 1983–1984 are for firms with fewer than 1000 employees; see note 7.



Awards to Fortune 500 Companies



Awards to Public and Mixed Entities



Winners with federal funding



Global rules have been shaped to support the U.S. Model

- WTO Agreement outlaws export subsidies but initial language permits governments to fund 50% of precompetitive R&D.
- That language expired in 1999, but with the exception of the ongoing litigation pitting Boeing against Airbus, there have been few cases in which nations have taken action against pre-competitive R&D.
- Entities receiving 50% of their pre-competitive funding could be worker owned or nonprofit firms as long as they are able to raise some nongovernment financing.

Why these programs work: Overcoming Network Failures

Occur in decentralized production systems when:

- 1. Firms cannot find the partners they need.
- 2. The potential partners lack the needed competence.
- The potential partners lack integrity and honesty.
 Public programs can help participants with all of these issues.

Source: Josh Whitford and Andrew Schrank.