

State investment banks: investors of first resort

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

What is State's role?

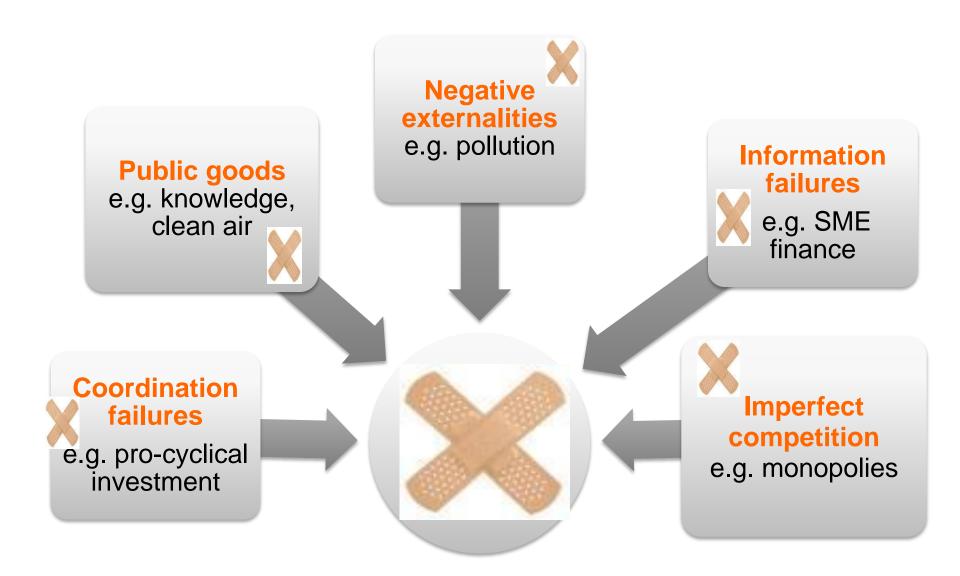
Set rules of the game and 'level' the playing field

De-risk, incentivise and 'facilitate' private sector

Solve market and system 'failures'

or....something more interesting?

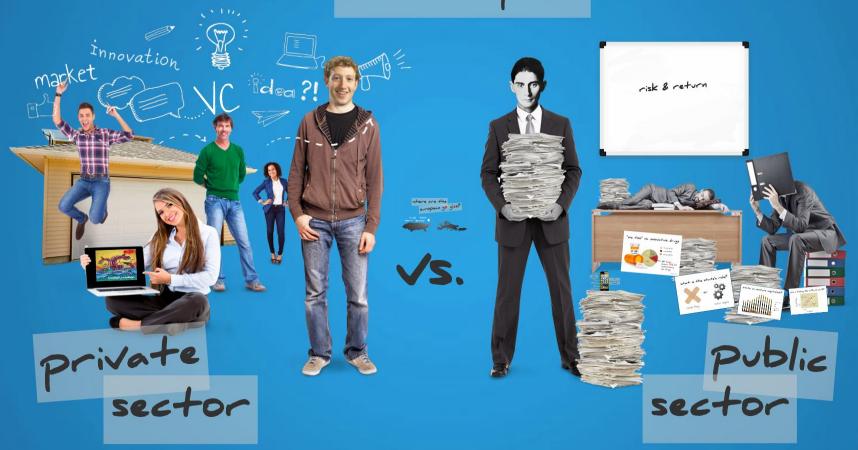
Fixing failures





"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).

the assumption

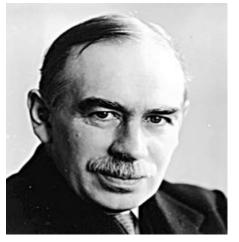


A different view: market shaping & creating



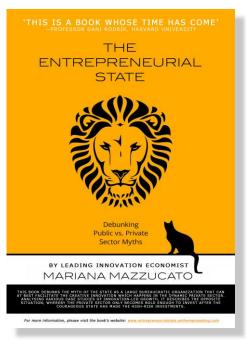
"The road to free markets was opened and kept open by an enormous increase in continuous, centrally organized and controlled interventionism... Administrators had to be constantly on the watch to ensure the free working of the system."

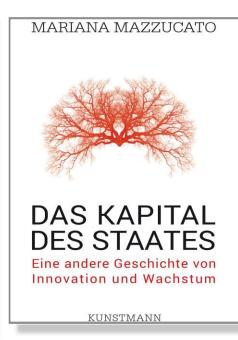
Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation, 1944



"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













Mazacato argumenta que o investimento governamental, paciente e de borgo prazo, é um pré-requisito indispensível para a inovação de impacto, [...] Mesmo se discontar do ponto de vista dela, você deve ley o seu fivo. Vai desafar seu medo de pensar." Fente.





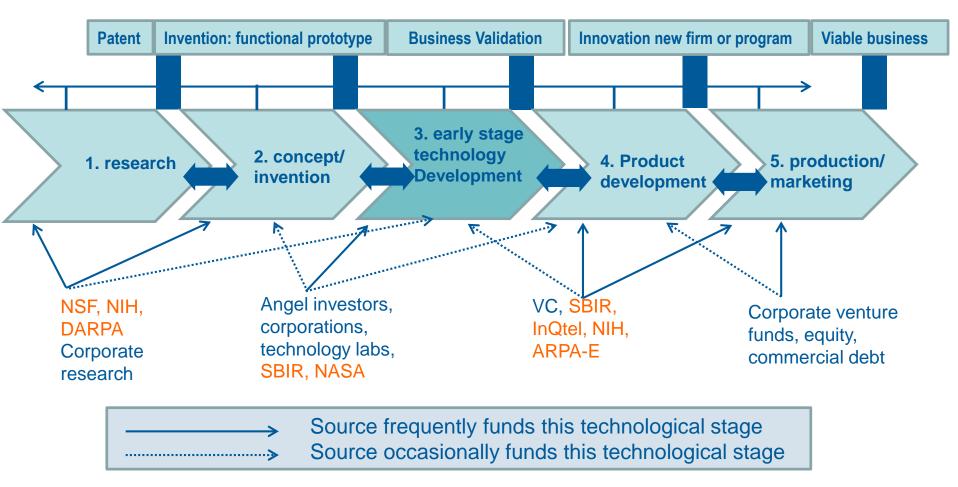




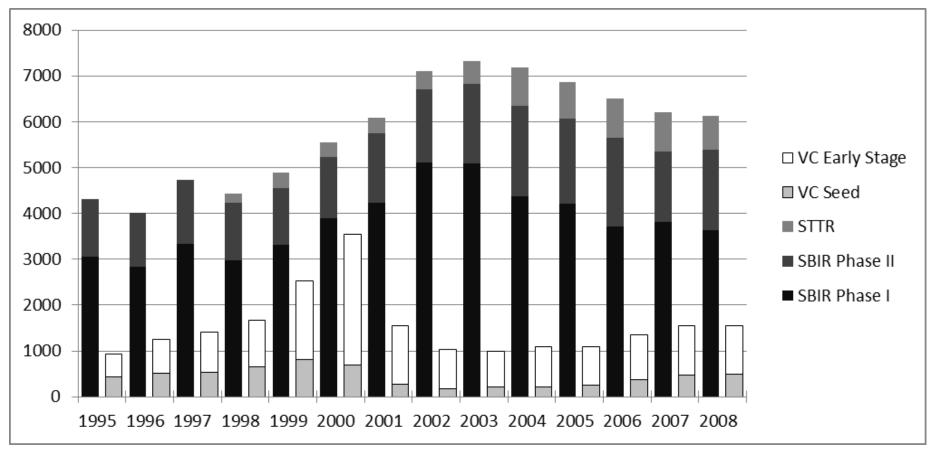
Market failure policies don't explain General Purpose Technologies

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

Missions and risk-taking along entire innovation chain

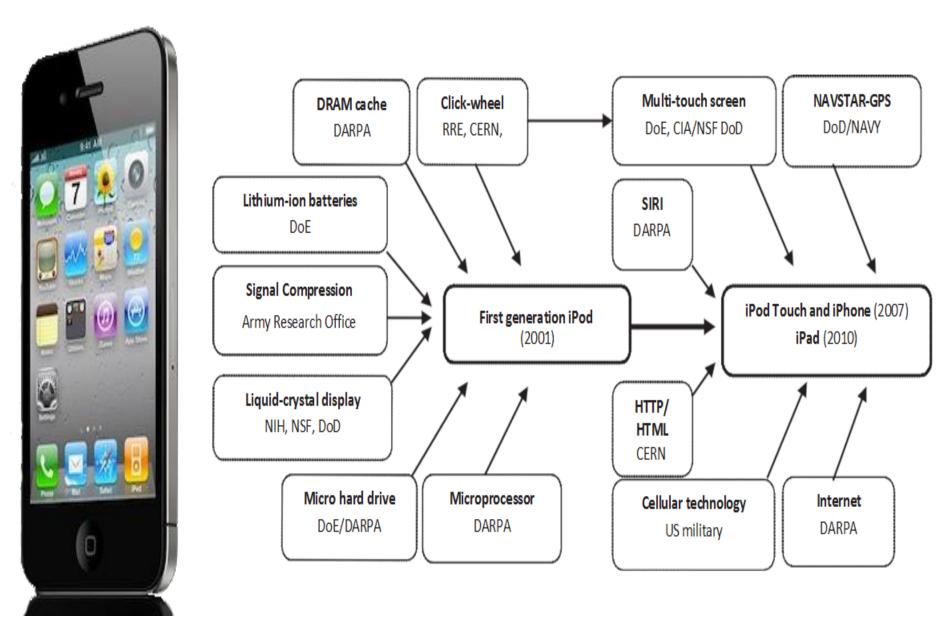


Private and Public (SBIR) Venture Capital



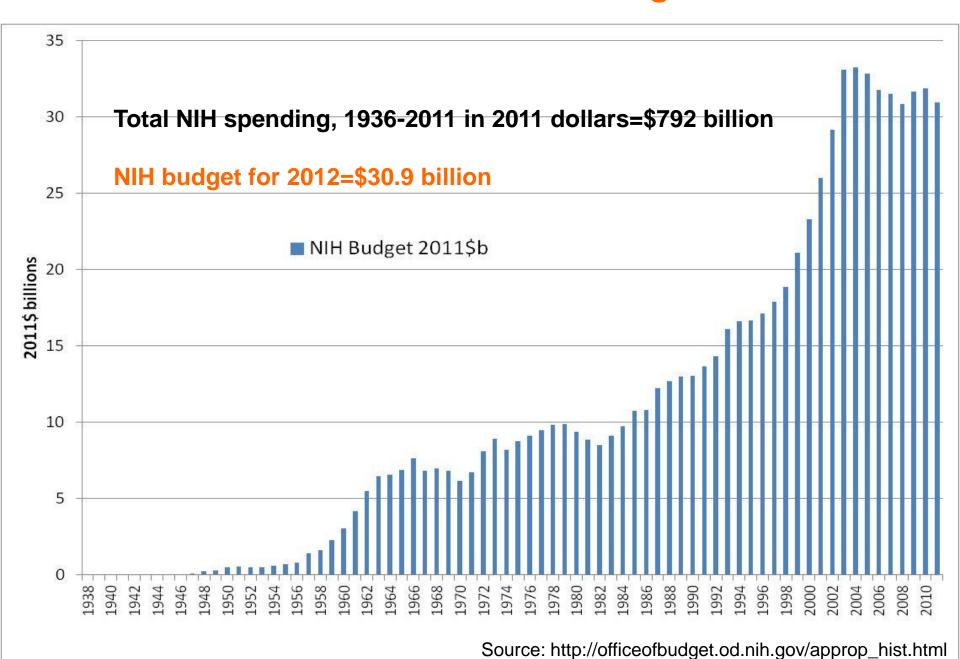
`Source: Block and Keller, 2012

What makes the iPhone so 'smart'?



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

National Institutes of Health budgets 1936-2011



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

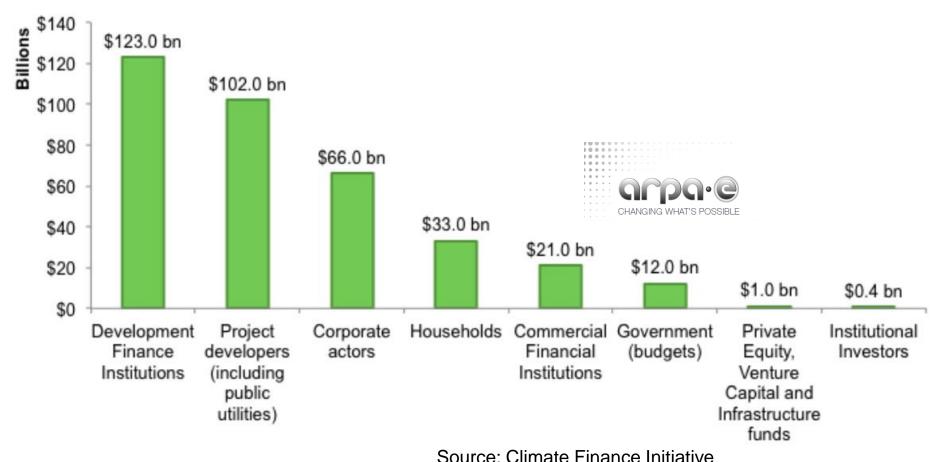
Technology risk

High



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.

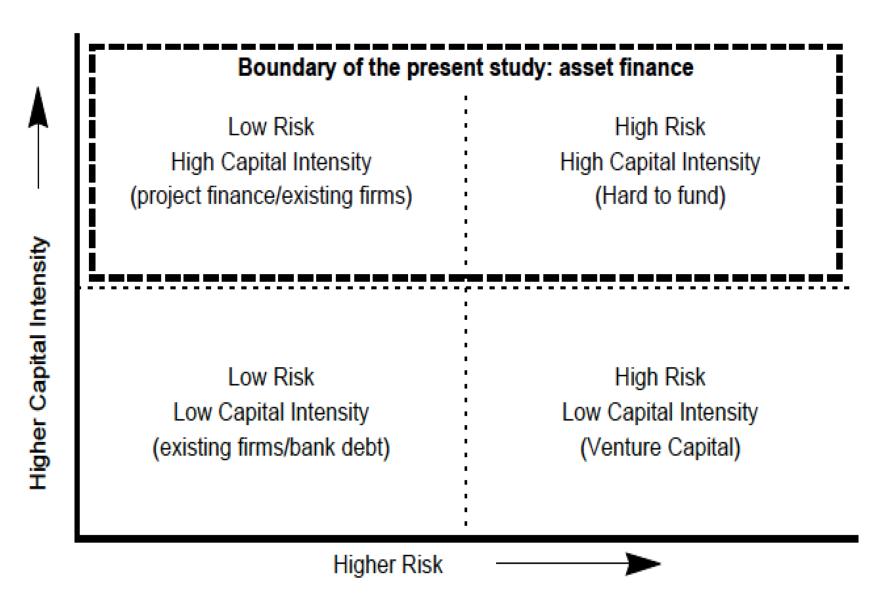
Green tech public & private investments (2011)



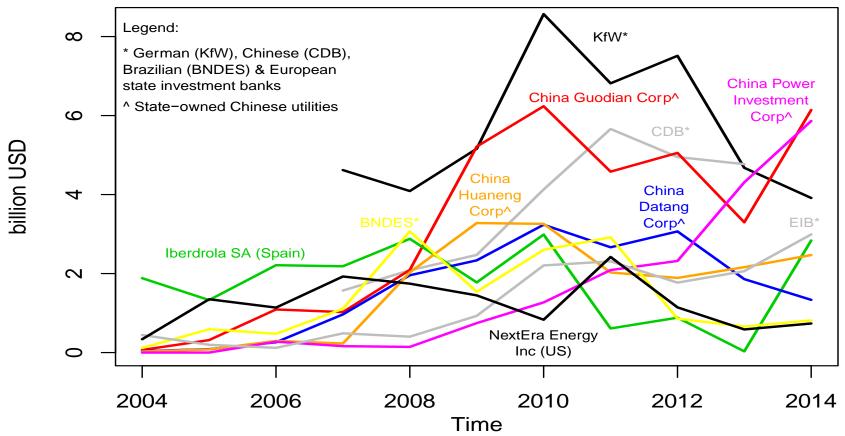
The roles of state investment banks

- Countercyclical lending to offset the 'credit crunch' during economic recessions → countercyclical role (1940/50s-)
- funding for long-term projects, industrialization and capital development of the economy → capital development role (1940s/50s-)
- 3. targeting investments in high-risk R&D, innovative start ups, and lengthy innovations, areas that private capital has proved to be too short-termist and risk-averse to venture into → venture capitalist role (1950s/60s-)
- Promotion of investments that help address complex societal problems such as climate change → mission oriented role (2000s-)

Figure 4: Risk-capital intensity classification of RE finance

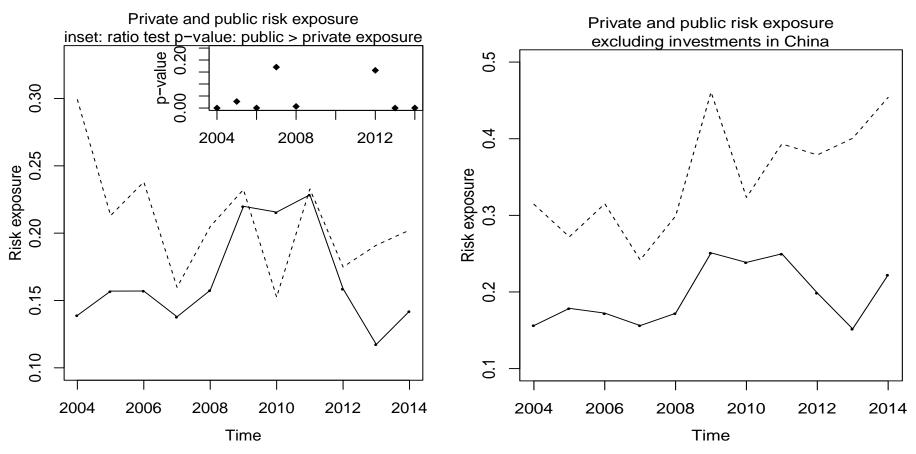


Public banks and RE investment



Source: Mazzucato and Semieniuk (forthcoming 2017), based on data by Bloomberg New Energy Finance.

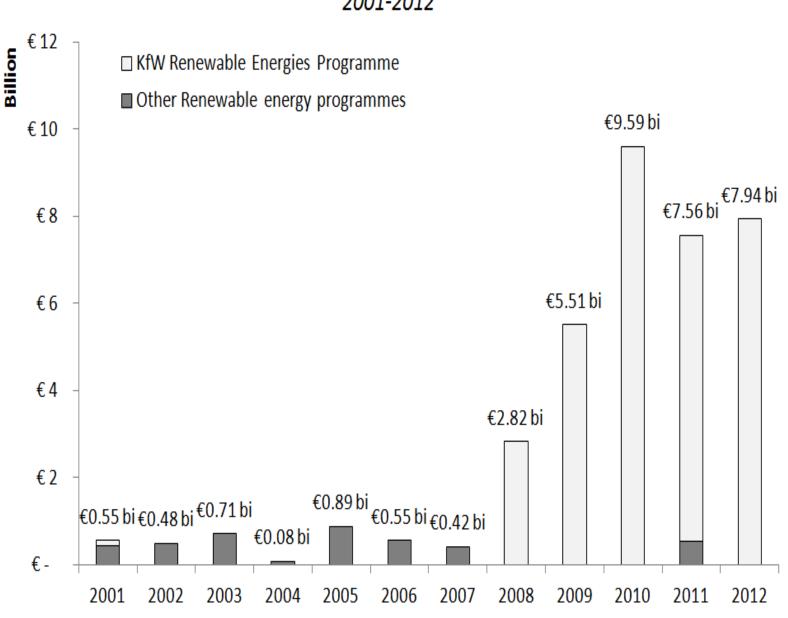
Green entrepreneurial state



Source: Mazzucato and Semieniuk (2016), based on data by Bloomberg New Energy Finance.

KfW funding for industrial environmental and climate protection projects in Germany

2001-2012



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.

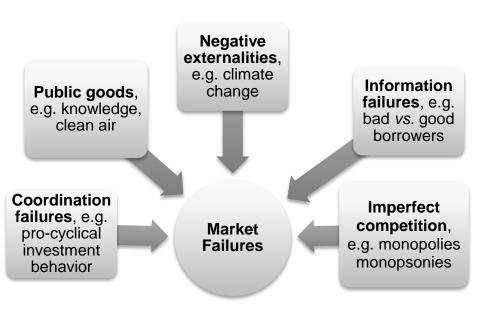
CDB founded CDB Capital, a 'public equity' fund with **\$US 5.76 bn to finance innovative start-ups** from the energy and telecom sectors.

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

The role of the SIBs in the economy: via market failure lens

Types of market failures



Limitations of MFT

- Concerned with steady state situations
 → patches on existing trajectories.
- No justification for the directionality needed for great transformations.
- Evaluation toolbox: static cost-benefit analysis, based on ex-ante assumptions that do away with uncertainty.
- Ignores issues of distribution of risks/rewards.
- Practical consequences and criticisms:
 - Minimal state: organised to insulate public sector from private interest.
 - Crowding out: anything beyond fixing failures unwarranted.
 - Cannot pick winners: rent seeking and inefficiency.

So, what about the criticisms then?

Financial repression/crowding out:

- a matter of empirical investigation → SIBs should do what the private sector is/will not.
- Full employment, crowd in, 'dynamize in', and envisioning

Misallocation of resources

- public sector structure: not in opposition to market forces, but complementary to them → making choices and coordinate the socio-techno-economic system.
- Maximization of absorptive capacity

Incapacity to pick winners

- MFT says little about state as lead investor and risk taker.
- Picking winners requires adoption of portfolio approach: (a) success from few projects can cover losses from many projects and (b) the state learns from its losing investments.

Inefficient governmental structures

- A key limitation of MFT: inability to justify or explain the state as shaper and creator of markets – not just fixing them when they fail → promoting 'great transformations'.
- Economic development and transformation of socio-techno-economic landscape as: (i) non-probabilistic risk-taking uncertain process; (ii) a process of experimentation and discovery; and (iii) as a continuous process of learning → the strict focus on the *economic efficiency* is misleading.

ROAR

ROUTES & DIRECTIONS. How to use policy to set direction of change and enable bottom up experimentation?

ORGANIZATIONS. How to build explorative public sector organizations that learn-by-doing, and welcome trial and error?

ASSESSMENT. How to evaluate public sector market creating investments (pushing market frontiers beyond 'crowding in')?

RISKS AND REWARDS. How to form new deals between the public and private sectors, socializing both risks and rewards?

"From Market Fixing to Market-Creating: A new framework for innovation policy", Special Issue of *Industry and Innovation:* "Innovation Policy – can it make a difference?" Volume 23, Issue 2, 2016, M. Mazzucato

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."

IPD workshop paper:

China Development Bank: Born Bankrupt, Born Shaper by Qiyuan Xu

"Our **mission** is not merely to support social and economic development, but to drive the formation of sound markets and institutions that underpin such development." (Chen, 2013)

We measure success by how many risks we have been willing to take (with inevitable failures) and whether the successes actually matter.

Cheryl Martin, ex-Director ARPA-E



from Government Failure to Government Learning (from failure)

Organizational Experimentation

"The design of a good policy is, to a considerable extent, the design of an <u>organizational structure capable of learning</u> and of adjusting behavior in response to what is learned" **Dick Nelson and Sydney Winter**, 1982

Policy as Process

"shift from total confidence in the existence of a fundamental solution for social and economic problems to a more questioning, pragmatic attitude –from ideological certainty to more <u>open-ended</u>, eclectic, skeptical inquiry"

Albert Hirschman, 1987

The Hiding Hand (Serendipity)

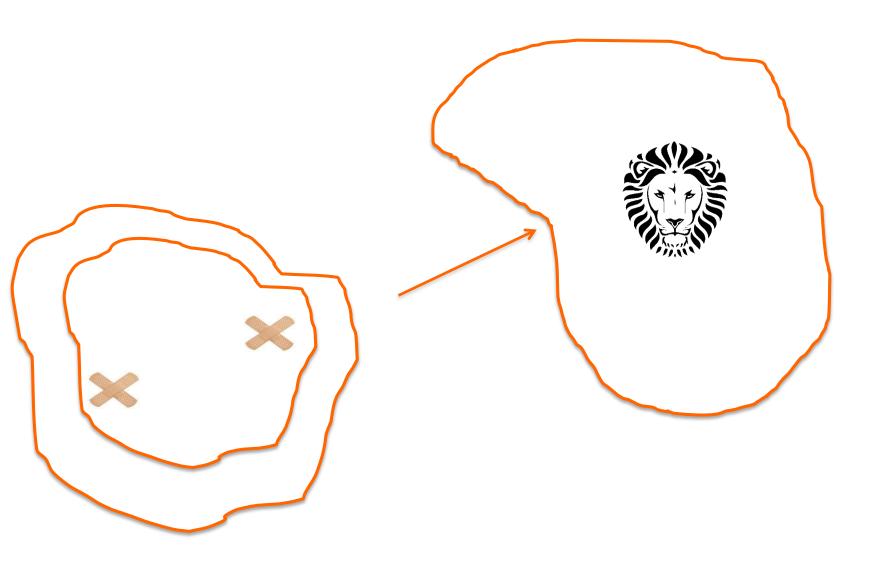
history's generous tricks, silver linings and "felicitous and surprising escapes from disaster"

More than crowding-in: creating animal spirits

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

Measuring the *dynamising in* process



- BBC Charter Review: why not soap operas?
- Do public banks crowd out private ones?
- Health: why many drugs and so little life-style?

from Public Goods to Public Value

"Public values are those providing normative consensus about (1) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (2) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; (3) and the principles on which governments and policies should be based" (Barry Bozeman, 2007, 13).



The Value of

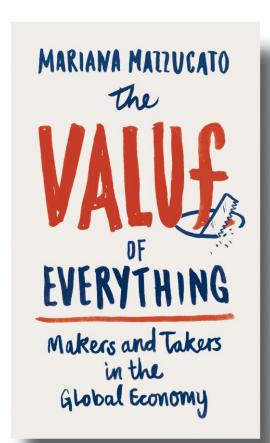
EVERYTHING

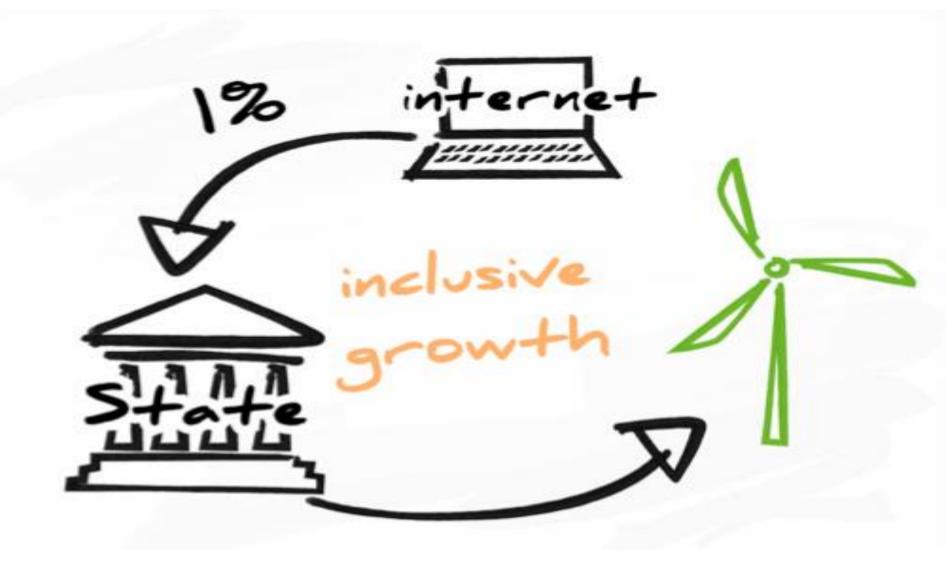
WHO MAKES and WHO TAKES

from the REAL ECONOMY

MARIANA MAZZUCATO

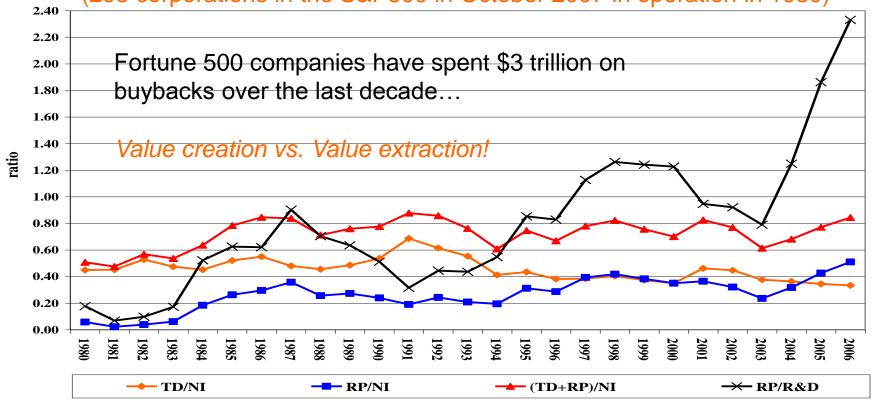






Repurchases, dividends, net income, R&D 1980-2006





Source: Lazonick & Mazzucato, 2013; Lazonick, 2014

THE TOP 10 STOCK REPURCHASERS

2003-2012

At most of the leading U.S. companies below, distributions to shareholders were well in excess of net income. These distributions came at great cost to innovation, employment, and—in cases such as oil refining and pharmaceuticals—customers who had to pay higher prices for products.

Fortune 500 companies have spent \$2.3 trillion on buybacks from 2003-2012 (54% of their earnings), with another 37% on dividends.

(**William Lazonick**, HBR 2014)

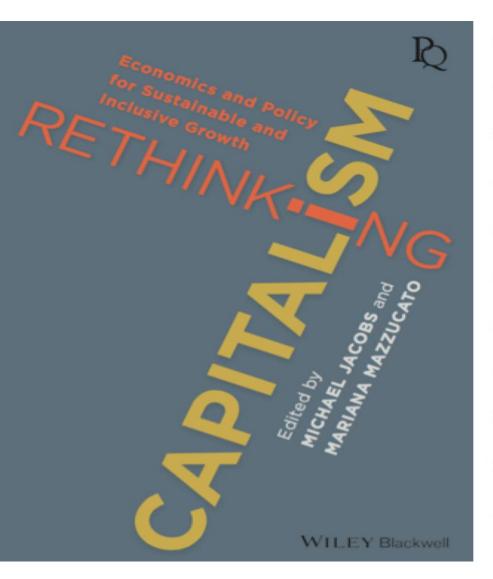
#1	#2	#3	#4	#5 PROCTER & GAMBLE
EXXON MOBIL	MICROSOFT	IBM	CISCO SYSTEMS	
NET INCOME	NET INCOME \$148B REPURCHASES DIVIDENDS \$114B TOTAL \$185B 125% of NI	NET INCOME \$117B REPURCHASES \$107B DIVIDENDS \$23B TOTAL \$130B 111% of NI	NET INCOME \$64B REPURCHASES \$75B DIVIDENDS \$2B TOTAL \$77B 121% of NI	NET INCOME \$93B REPURCHASES \$66B DIVIDENDS \$42B TOTAL \$108B 116% of NI
CEO PAY \$289M	CEO PAY \$12M % STOCK BASED 0% \$0*	CEO PAY \$247M	CEO PAY \$297M	CEO PAY \$90M
% STOCK BASED 73%		% STOCK BASED 64%	% STOCK BASED 92%	% STOCK BASED 16%
\$211M		\$158M	\$273M	\$14M

#6	#7	#8	#9	#10
HEWLETT-PACKARD	WALMART	INTEL	PFIZER	GENERAL ELECTRIC
NET INCOME \$41B REPURCHASES \$64B DIVIDENDS \$9B TOTAL \$73B 177% of NI	NET INCOME \$134B REPURCHASES \$62B DIVIDENDS \$35B TOTAL \$97B 73% of NI	NET INCOME \$79B REPURCHASES \$60B DIVIDENDS \$27B TOTAL \$87B 109% of NI	NET INCOME \$84B REPURCHASES \$59B DIVIDENDS \$63B TOTAL \$122B 146% of NI	NET INCOME \$165B REPURCHASES \$45B DIVIDENDS \$87B TOTAL \$132B 81% of NI
CEO PAY \$210M	CEO PAY \$189M	CEO PAY \$127M	CEO PAY \$91M	CEO PAY \$126M
% STOCK BASED 37%	% STOCK BASED 62%	% STOCK BASED 62%	% STOCK BASED 25%	% STOCK BASED 25%
\$78M	\$117M	\$79M	\$23M	\$32M

Better 'deal' between public & private

- >reinvesting profits
- >retaining golden share of IPR
- capping prices (Bayh Dole act allows it)
- negotiating conditions (generics)
- retain some equity (Tesla & Solyndra lesson)
- ➤% payback into an 'innovation fund'
- ➤ State investment banks

(discussed in Mazzucato, 2015; 2016)



- 1 Rethinking capitalism: an introduction Michael Jacobs and Mariana Mazzucato
- 2 The failure of austerity: rethinking fiscal policy Stephanie Kelton
- 3 The theory of money and macroeconomic policy Randall Wray and Yeva Nersisyan
- 4 The costs of short-termism Andrew Haldane
- 5 Innovative enterprise and the theory of the firm William Lazonick
- 6 Innovation, the state and patient capital Mariana Mazzucato
- 7 Investment-led growth: a solution to the EU crisis Stephany Griffith-Jones and Giovanni Cozzi
- 8 Inequality and economic growth Joseph Stiglitz
- 9 Paradoxes of privatisation & public-service outsourcing Colin Crouch
- 10 Innovation and the economics of climate change Dimitri Zenghelis
- 11 Capitalism, technology and a green golden age Carlota Perez

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The risk-reward nexus in the innovation-inequality relationship: Who takes the risks? Who gets the rewards? (2013), *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 22:4:1093-1128, **W. Lazonick & M. Mazzucato.**

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