



National Systems of Innovation and the Alternative Energy Innovation Challenge

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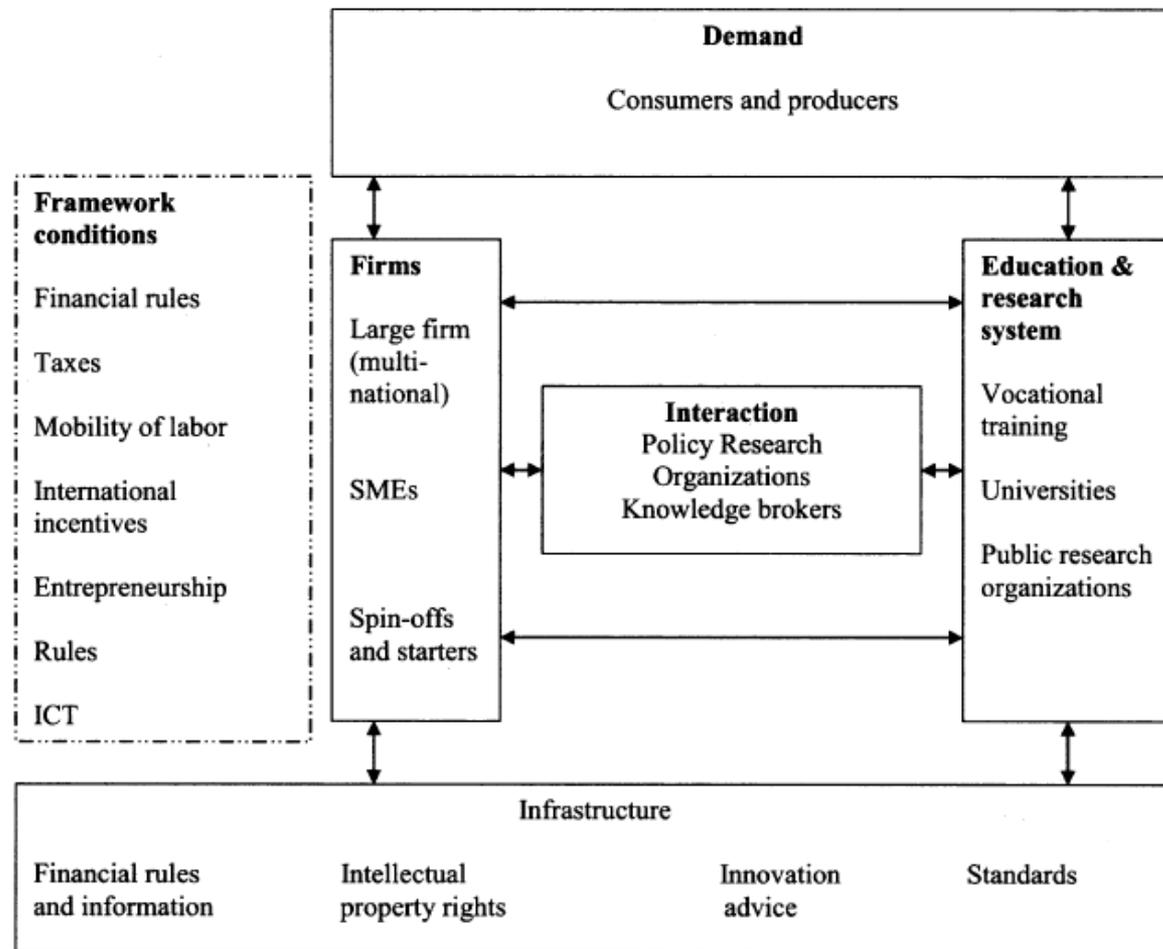
National Bureau of Economic Research

Technological progress: some basic definitions

- Innovation is often defined as the creation of new-to-the-world technology.
 - This can involve the creation of fundamentally new products/processes.
 - Or the minor improvement/refinement of existing products/processes.
 - The world needs fundamental innovation to meet emissions reduction goals.
- Absorption: obtaining a sufficient understanding of a technology developed elsewhere to apply it (without significant change) in a local context.
 - This can be simply a matter of adopting a new machine or “app” that requires little expertise on the part of the user.
 - But successful absorption sometimes requires a serious investment on the part of the firm or country seeking to use the new technology effectively.
- Technological progress, at all levels of economic development, requires a combination of effective innovation and effective absorption.

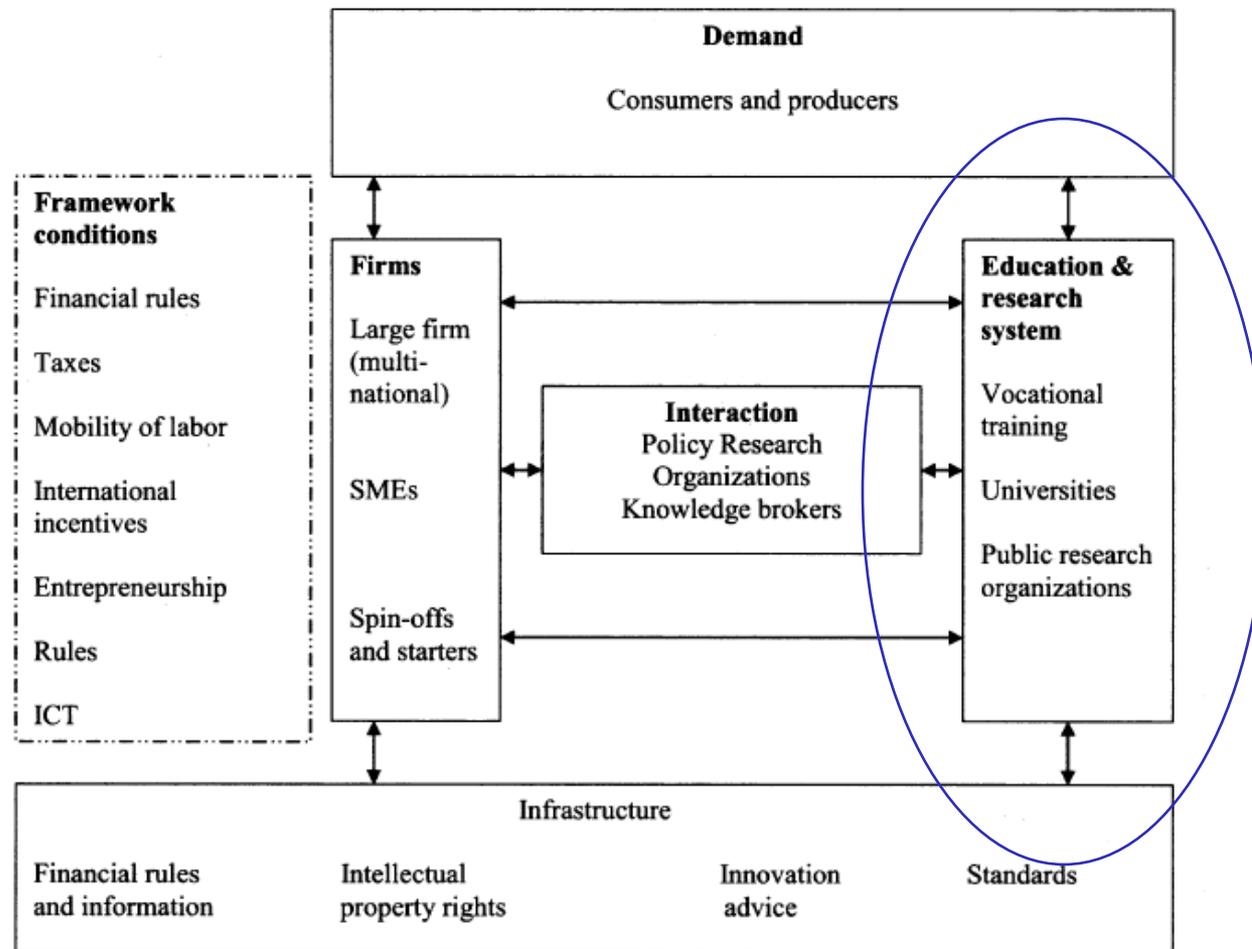
What is a “National System of Innovation?”

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



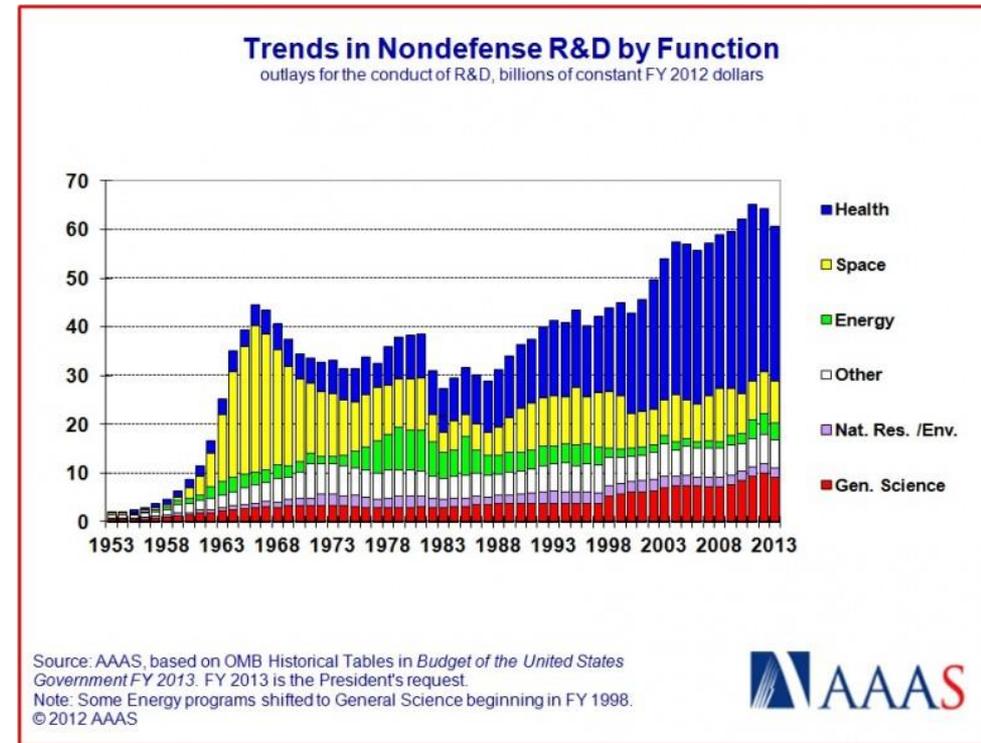
Education and training systems and public research institutes provide an essential foundation...

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



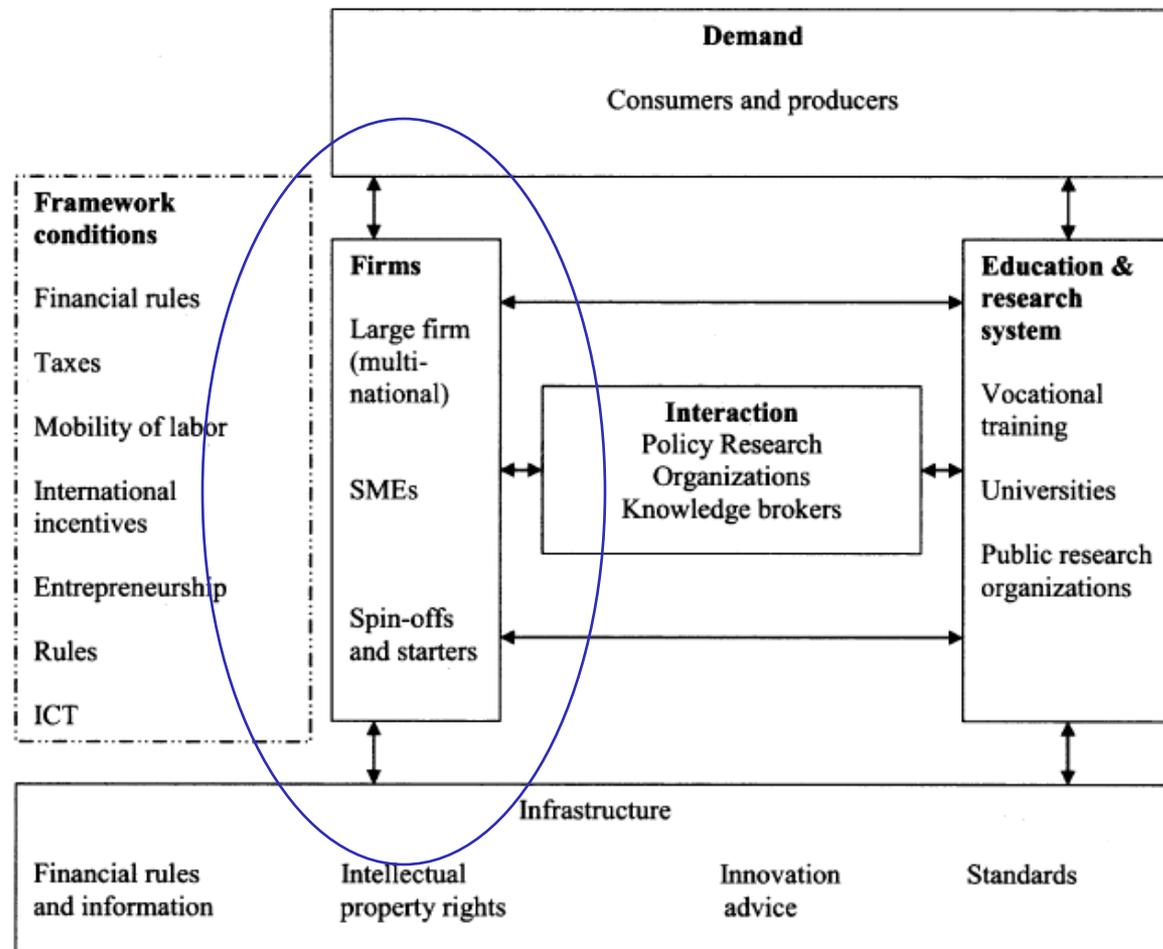
This foundation is weak in the domain of alternative energy, and it cannot be changed overnight...

- In the U.S. and around the world, investments in alternative energy in the 1970s and early 1980s were sharply curtailed as fossil energy prices dropped...
- Leading many universities (including mine) to disband research and graduate programs in the mid-1980s
- The increase in R&D investment in the 2000s has not gone nearly far enough
- And it will take time to train a new generation of scientific experts in these fields



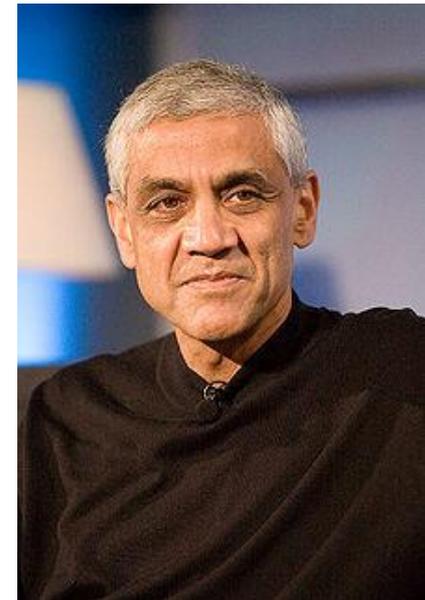
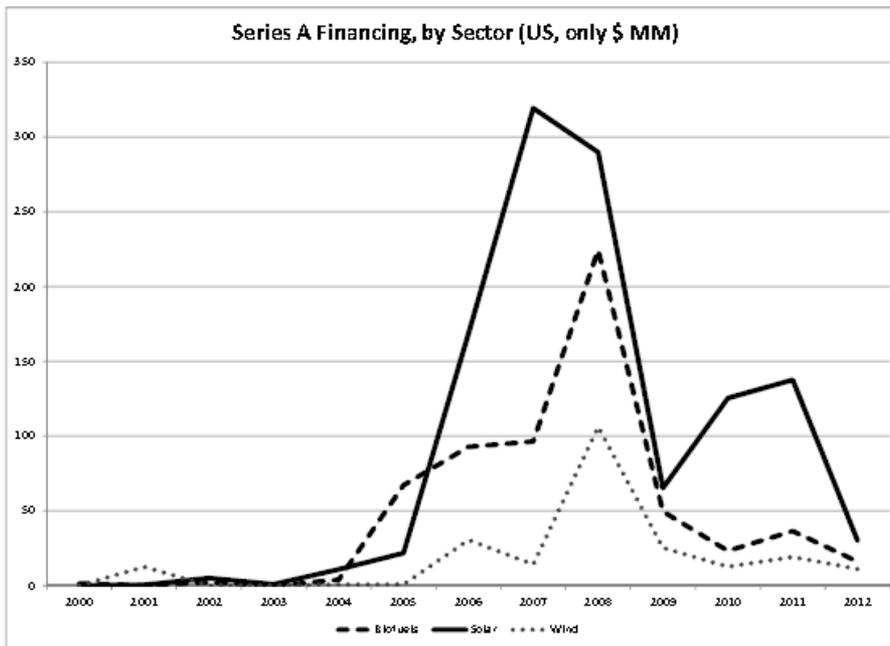
Firms, of different types and sizes, build on this foundation, creating new products and services

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



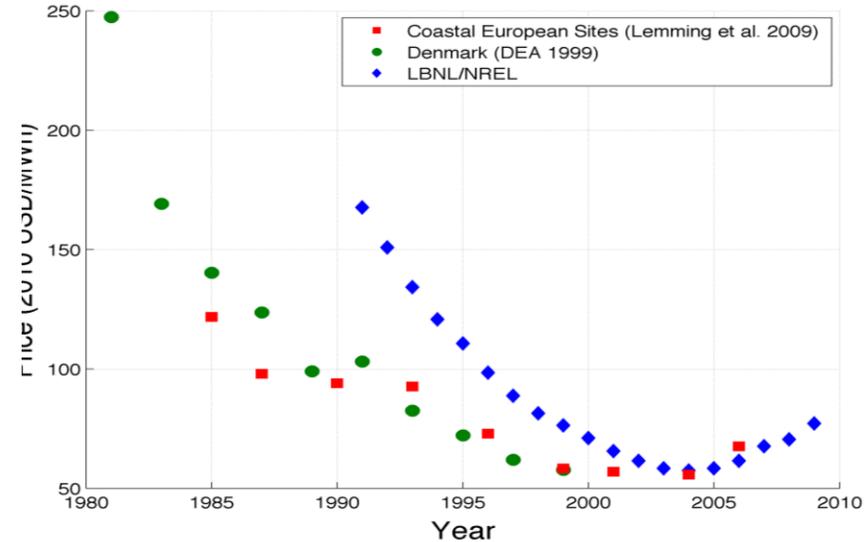
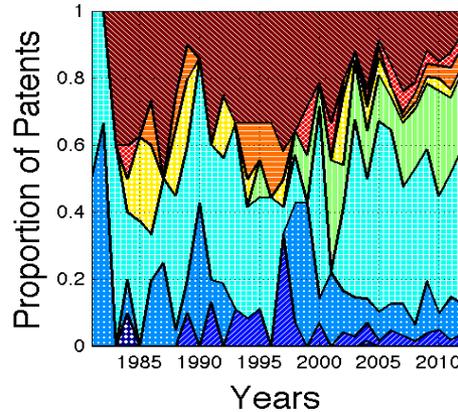
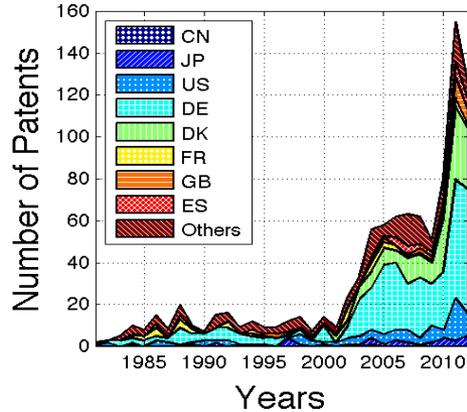
Silicon Valley has struggled to deliver alternative energy breakthroughs...

Figure 5A: Series A Financing for US-based startups in Solar, Wind and Biofuels



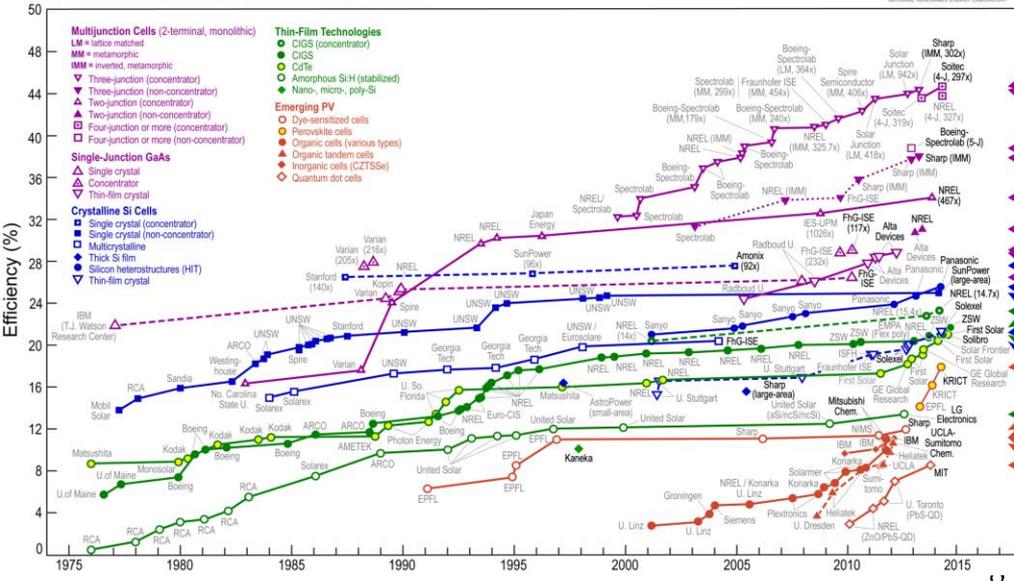
Leading Venture Capitalist
Vinod Khosla

Long established Western firms have also struggled to deliver needed breakthroughs...



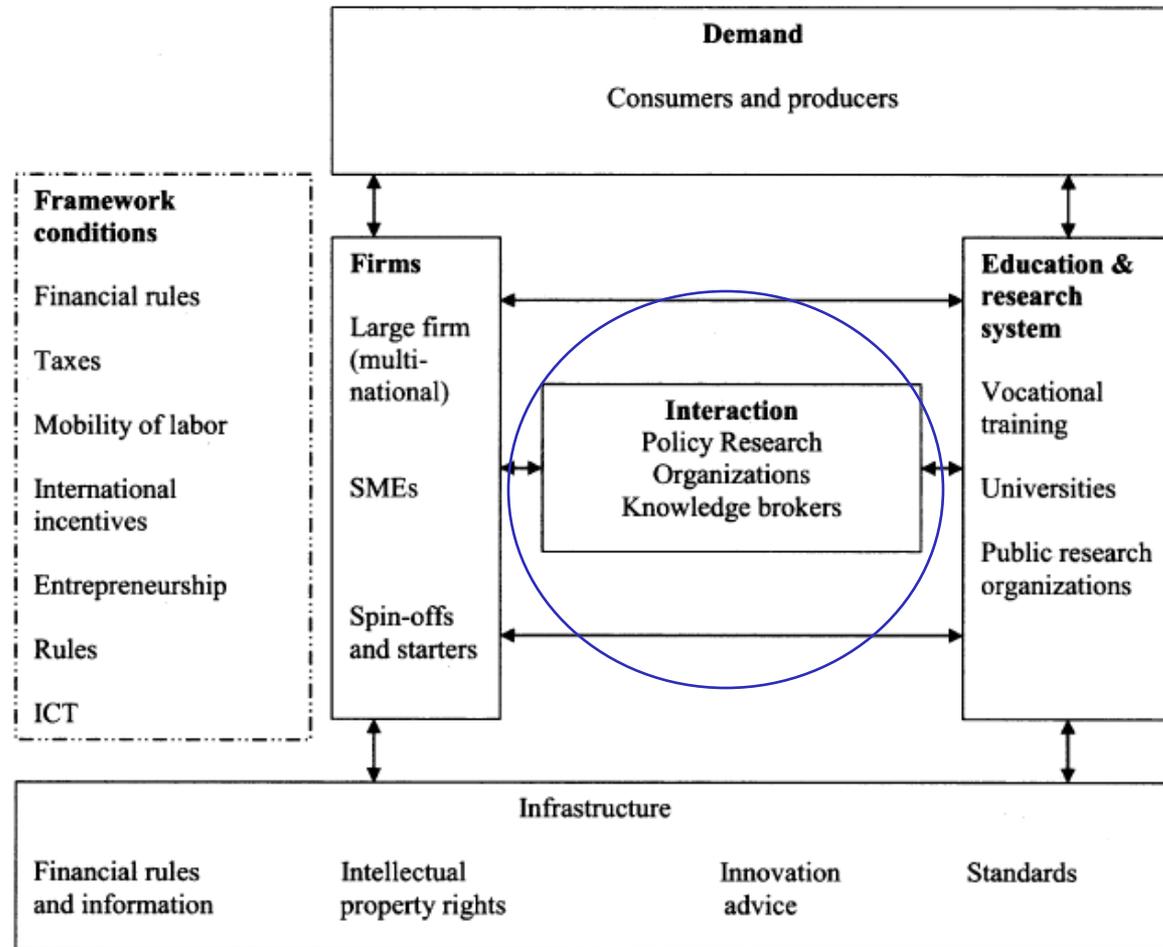
Lantz et al. (2012)

Best Research-Cell Efficiencies



Effective innovation requires individuals and institutions that bring the two main poles of the NSI together...

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



A key role is played by individuals who move between the worlds of academia and industry

- Jay Whitacre is a celebrated engineering professor at Carnegie Mellon University.
- He is also the founder of Acquion Energy, a start-up seeking to create important innovations in energy storage technology.
- Knowledge is embodied in people, and technology transfer requires people who can move across national and organizational boundaries.
- Even in innovation systems that rely less on start-up firms, researchers like Jay play a critical role in bringing new science into commercial practice.
- Globally, there are too few Jay Whitacres!

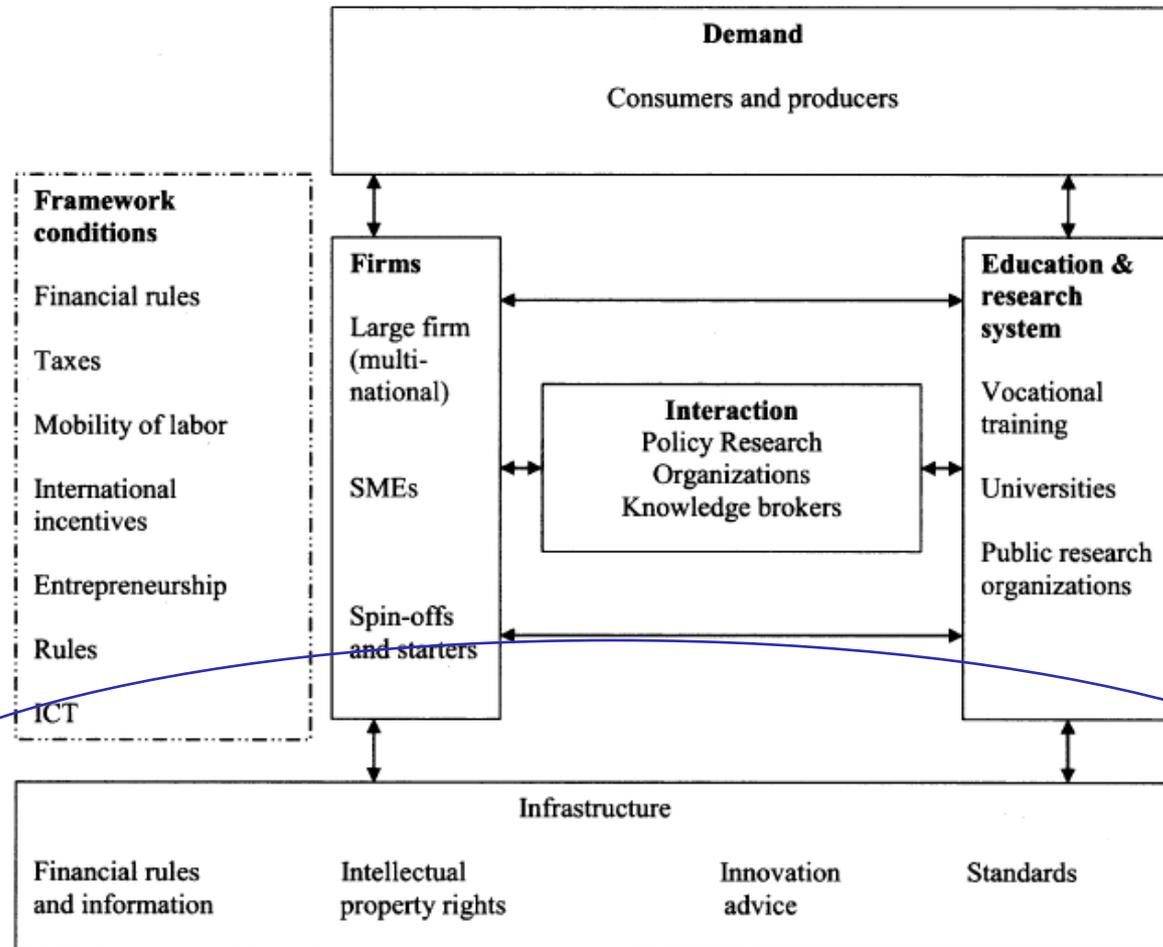


Jay Whitacre, Associate Professor
Materials Science and Engineering
Carnegie Mellon University



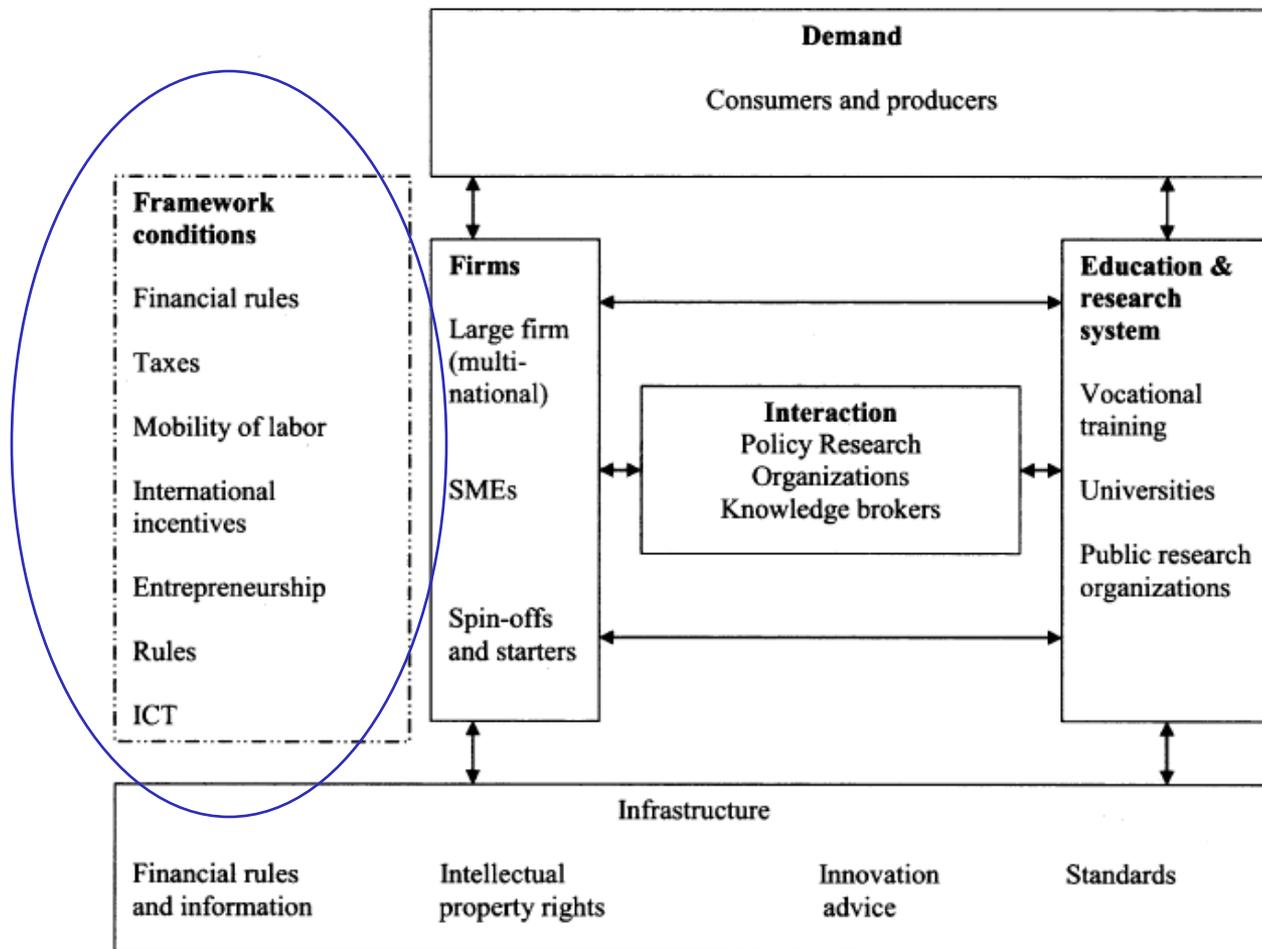
Successful innovation requires a broader set of institutional and legal arrangements

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



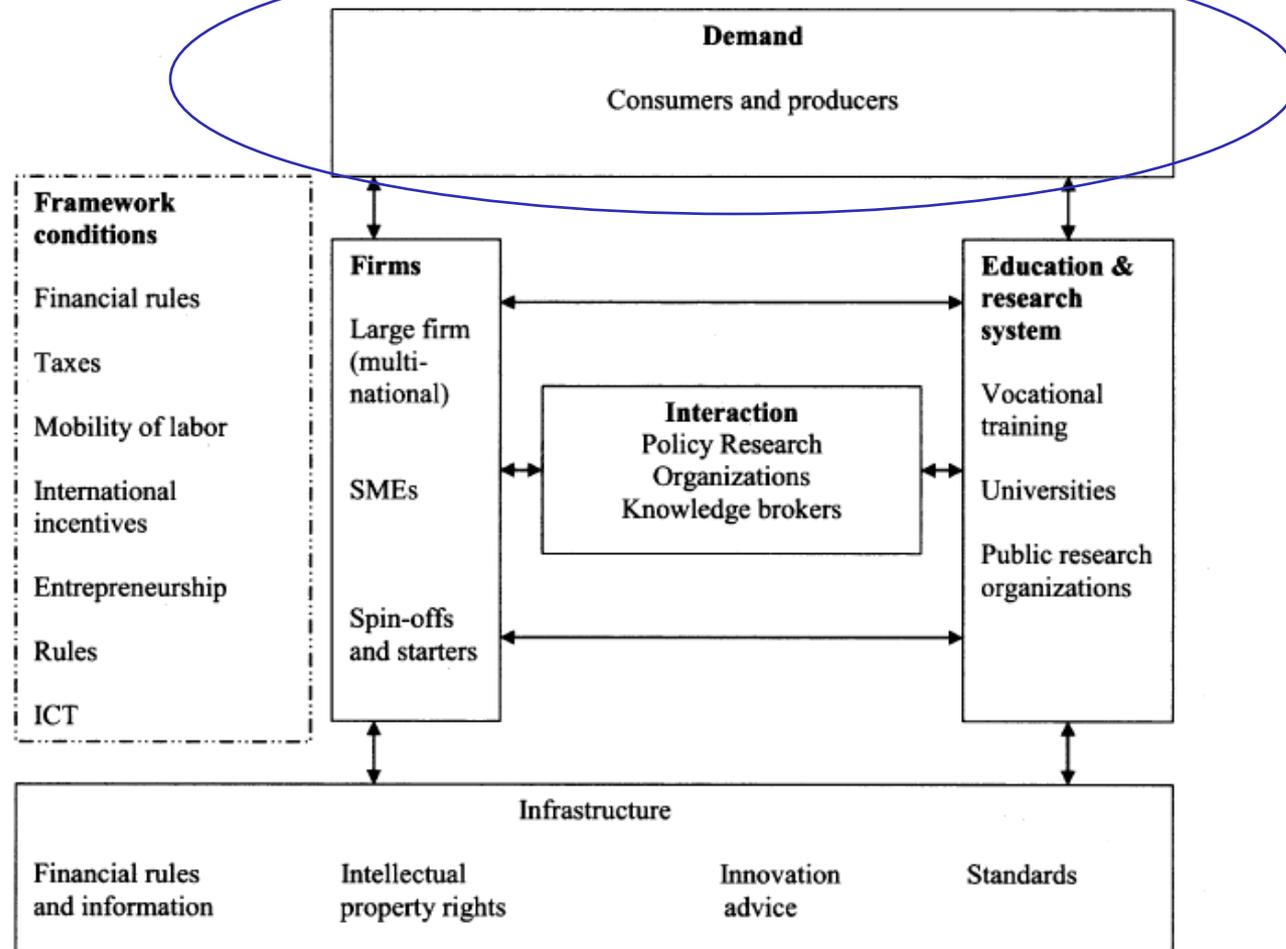
...And an even broader set of institutional arrangements that support business in general

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



In market economies, innovating firms respond to market demand...

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



Energy innovation responds to market demand...

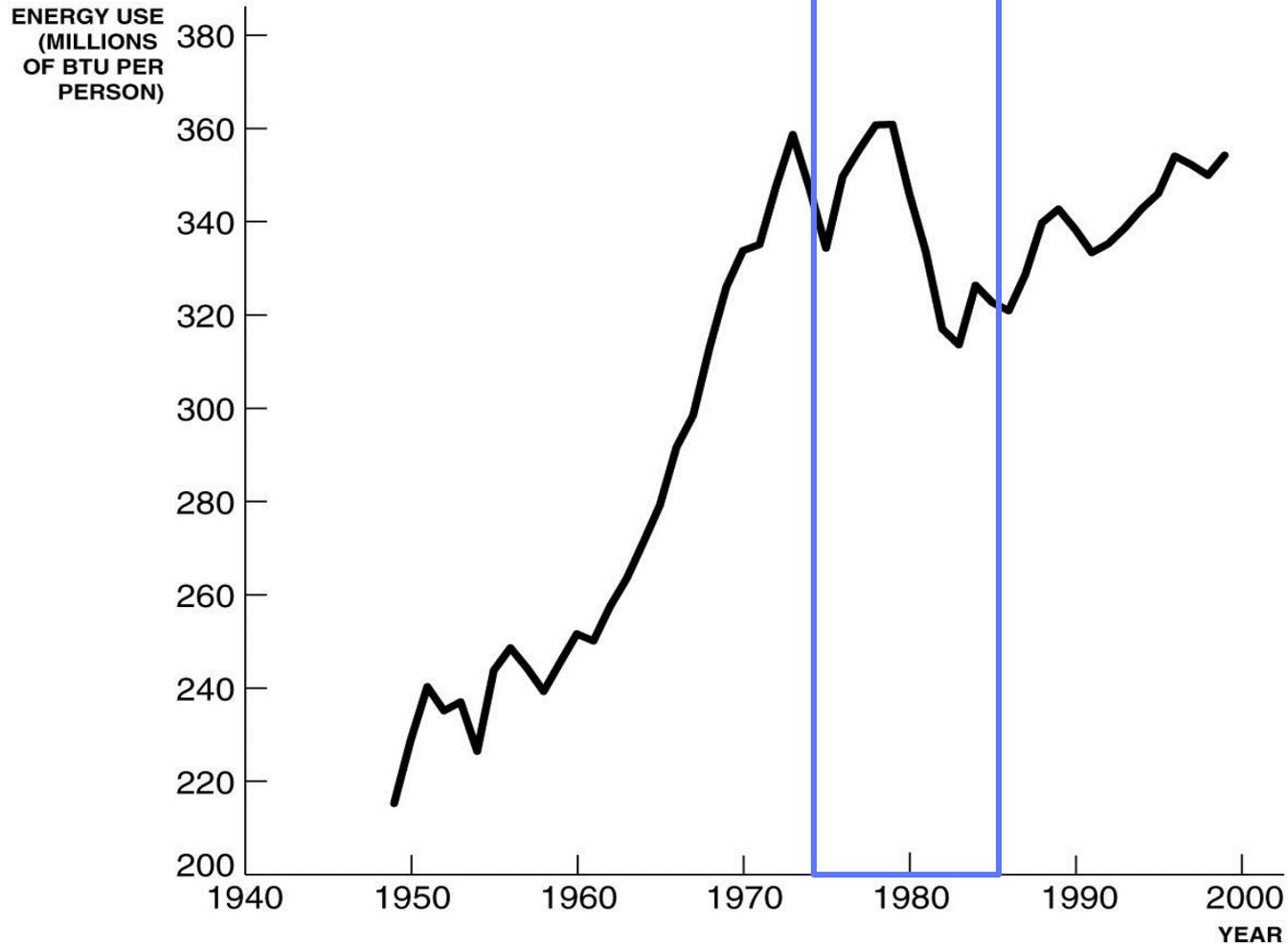
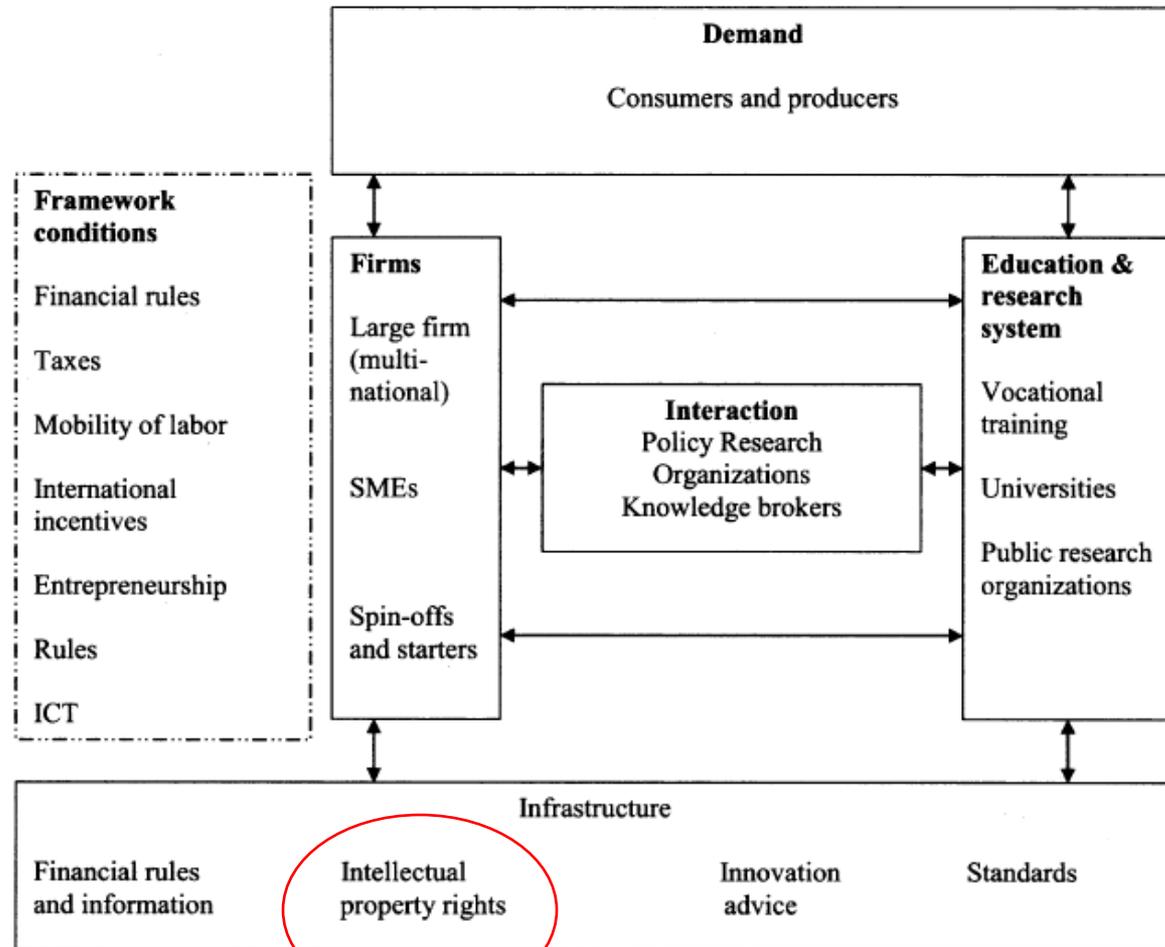


FIGURE 9.4 PER CAPITA ENERGY USE IN THE U.S. ECONOMY, 1949–99

Economic Growth, 2nd Edition
Copyright © 2004 W. W. Norton & Company

IPR is only one small piece of the institutional framework that enables innovation...

Figure 1. The Benchmark NIS Model



A Western fixation with strong IPR is the least of our worries right now...

- The story one sometimes hears at international conferences:
 - Great alternative energy technology has been developed in the West.
 - If only Western nations would not insist on patenting and licensing this technology...
 - Then developing countries could easily deploy this technology to escape environmental disaster.
- The inconvenient truth regarding the state of green technology:
 - Western alternative energy innovations fall far short of what is needed.
 - And even if we gave away what we have invented for free...
 - The new technologies would still cost more to operate than standard technologies.
 - So developing nations would not use them anyway.
- Complaints about IP as a barrier to the diffusion of alternative energy technology are largely misplaced – these are *not* the main barriers.

The inventor of “fracking” did not bother to take out patents to protect his inventions...

- George Mitchell developed new techniques for fossil energy extraction known as “fracking.”
- These techniques significantly increased American natural gas production.
- Combined with modest policy interventions, this could significantly reduce U.S. energy-related carbon emissions.



George F. Mitchell

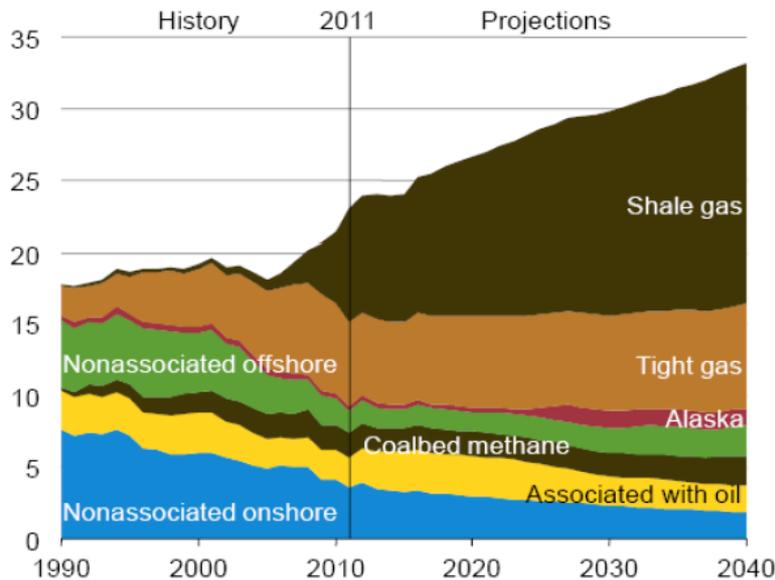
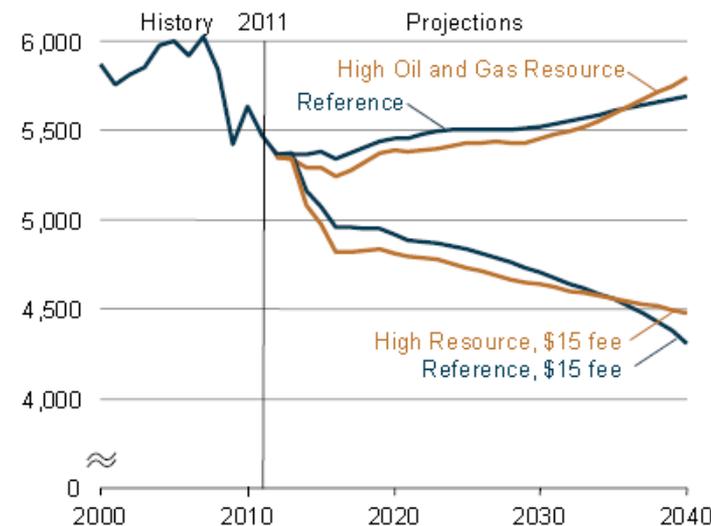


Figure 5. Energy-related carbon dioxide emissions in four cases, 2000-2040 (million metric tons)

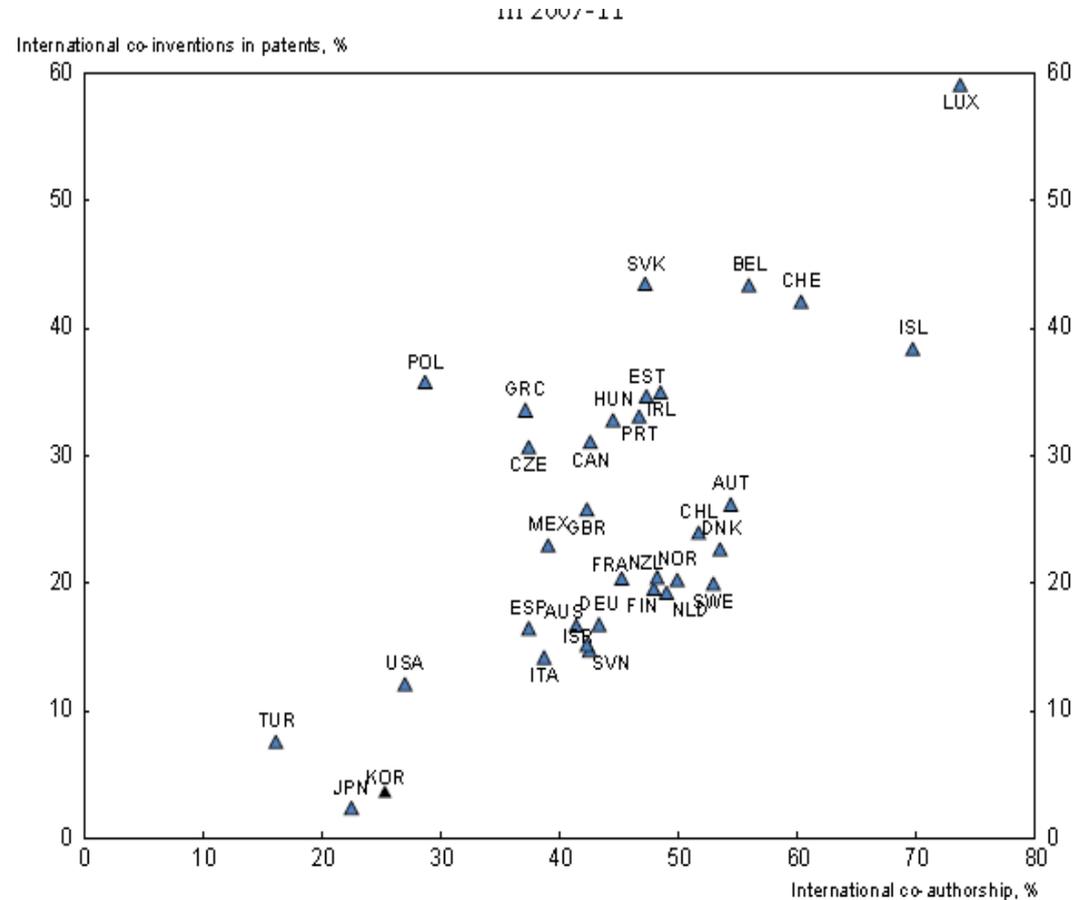


But there is very little use of this technology outside the United States...

- Many nations, including China, have extensive deposits of natural gas that could be extracted by “fracking” – some nations have deposits much larger than the United States.
- But even in 2014, there is relatively little commercial activity taking place outside the United States.
- The key technologies were not patented, but their application requires skilled labor currently found only in Western energy companies.
- Western companies do not find the regulatory and business environment nearly as welcoming outside the United States, and few large-scale investments have yet been made.

We are moving toward increasingly international systems of innovation!

- The innovation systems driving technological advance are no longer just “national” in scope.
- Great universities draw students and faculty from around the world.
- Leading MNCs increasingly do R&D outside their home country.
- Rising international co-invention of patents and international co-authorship of scientific papers.



International research collaboration can help shore up our basic research foundation...

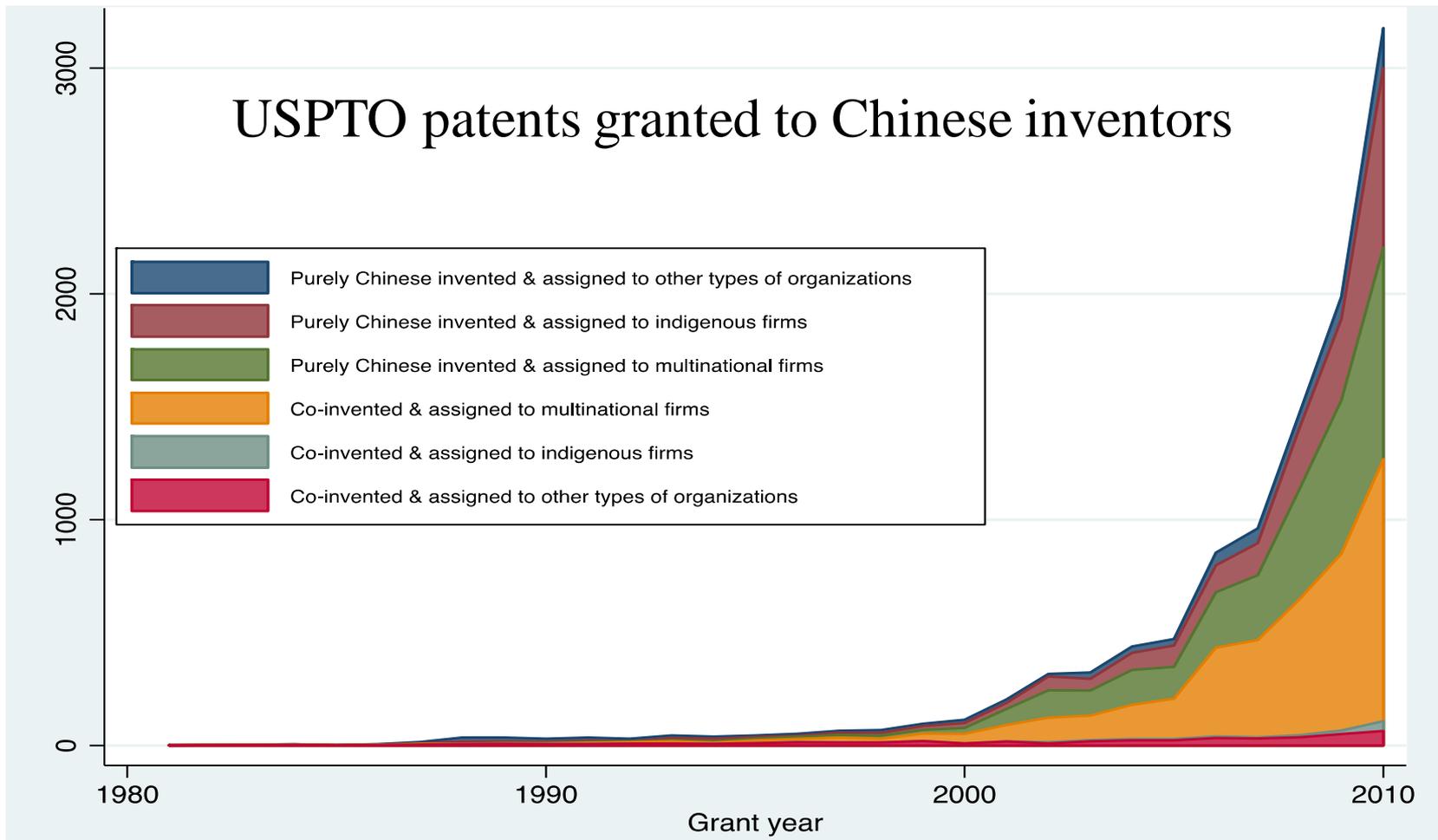
Exhibit 6 : Shares of International Co-authorship US and Major Collaborators with US

	Share of S&E articles internationally co-authored		US share of Country's Intl Collaborations		Country's Share of US Int'l Collaborations	
	1997	2012	1997	2012	1997	2012
World	15.7%	24.9%	43.8	43	---	--
US	19.3	34.7	--	--	---	--
China	25.7	26.7	35.1	47.5	3.2	16.2
UK	31.0	55.1	30.0	35.2	12.4	14.3
Germany	35.5	55.5	29.9	31.0	13.3	13.3
Canada	33.5	50.2	53.0	48.9	12.1	11.4
France	37.3	58.2	28.4	28.5	8.9	8.8
Italy	36.1	51.1	32.2	34.0	6.8	7.4
Japan	16.4	30.0	44.4	37.1	9.9	6.8
Australia	29.4	52.4	36.1	32.9	4.3	6.0
South Korea	27.6	30.8	51.5	53.9	2.8	6.0

Source: Tabulated from Indicators 2014, Appendix table 5-41 and 5-56

<http://www.cmu.edu/global/presence/>

Multinational R&D allows poor nations to collaborate in frontier research and development



Further expansion of MNC R&D could bring significant benefits in alternative energy innovation

- By connecting the impressive talent of emerging economies to the well developed global R&D programs of major MNCs, international co-invention could raise R&D productivity...
- And allow researchers in less developed countries to participate in the advancement of the global technology frontier...
- And help ensure that multinationals create technology appropriate for emerging markets.
- To realize this potential, emerging markets need to have investment regimes that attract and retain multinationals.

Think globally, act locally – but don't insist on buying locally...

- Trade frictions have emerged, limiting trade in alternative energy hardware.
- The best way to develop these industries at a global level may involve a concentration of *innovation* in the West and a concentration of *production* in developing countries, where manufacturing costs are lower.
- Developing countries may also become a critical test bed for the deployment of new technologies.
- Realizing the benefits of this potential partnership requires open markets and open investment regimes around the world.
- The transition to cleaner energy technologies will be hard enough without policies that raise the price of these alternatives.

A central role for local innovation in adaptation!

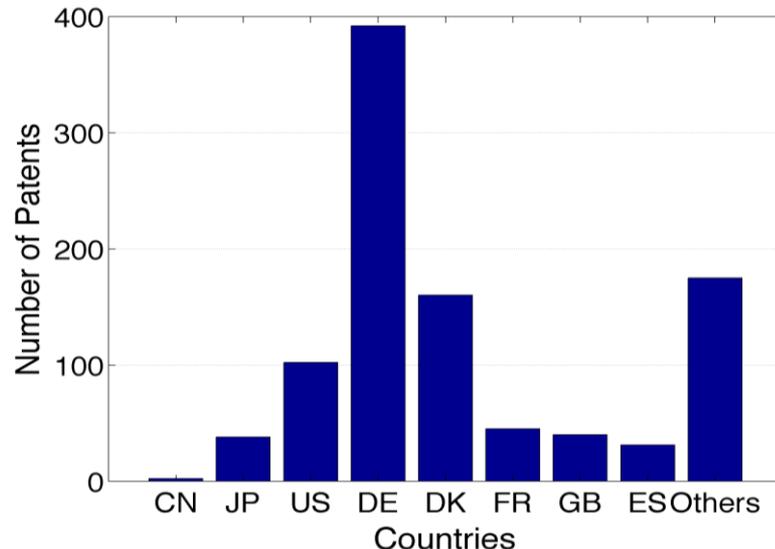
- Agriculture is among the most climate-sensitive activities.
- And agriculture is a much bigger component of GDP in poor, tropical developing countries.
- Genetic engineering could develop crop varieties that resistant to temperature changes, drought, etc.
- But that will require important potential export markets to get over their irrational aversion to GMOs.
- Plenty of scope for international cooperation here, too – and a significant amount of the innovation will have to be undertaken in developing countries.

The key learnings

- National systems of innovation are complex and multifaceted.
- No one country's national system of innovation is currently meeting the alternative energy innovation challenge with much success.
- A deeper international integration of systems of innovation may be the key to greater success moving forward.
- This will require building an environment attractive to Western multinationals, productive for host countries, and open to trade in alternative energy hardware.

China's rise as a manufacturer of cleantech hardware has brought lower prices, but not (yet) fundamental innovation

Wind Turbine Patent Grants in EPO Member States

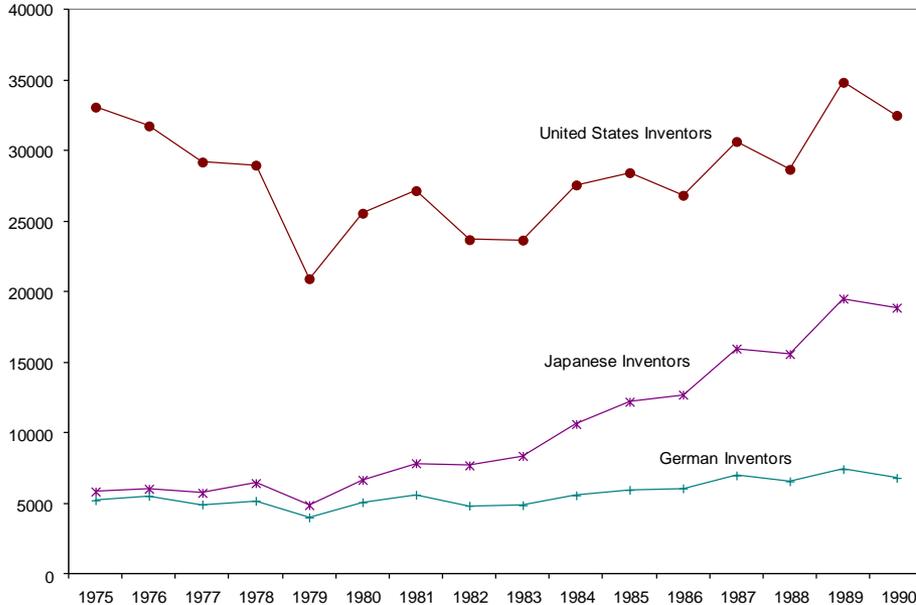


Shi Zhengrong
施正荣
Founder of Suntech



Interest in this framework grew in the 1980s, as Japan appeared to be on an unstoppable rise...

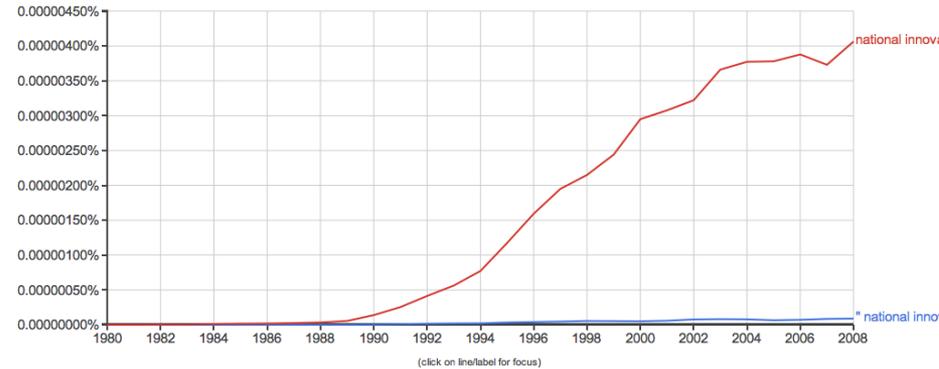
Japanese, US, and German corporate patenting in the US, 1975-1990



Google books Ngram Viewer

Graph these comma-separated phrases: "national innovation system",national innovation system case-insensitive
 between 1980 and 2008 from the corpus English with smoothing of 3 Search lots of books

Replaced "national innovation system" with " national innovation system " to match how we processed the books.



Search in Google Books:

1980 - 1994	1995 - 2004	2005 - 2004	2005 - 2006	2007 - 2008	"national innovation system"	English
1980 - 1994	1995 - 2004	2005 - 2004	2005 - 2006	2007 - 2008	" national innovation system "	English
1980 - 1996	1997 - 2005	2006	2007	2008	national innovation.system	English

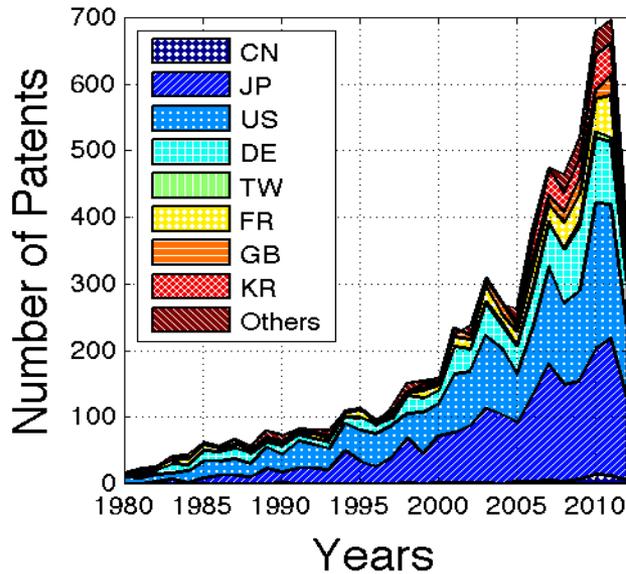
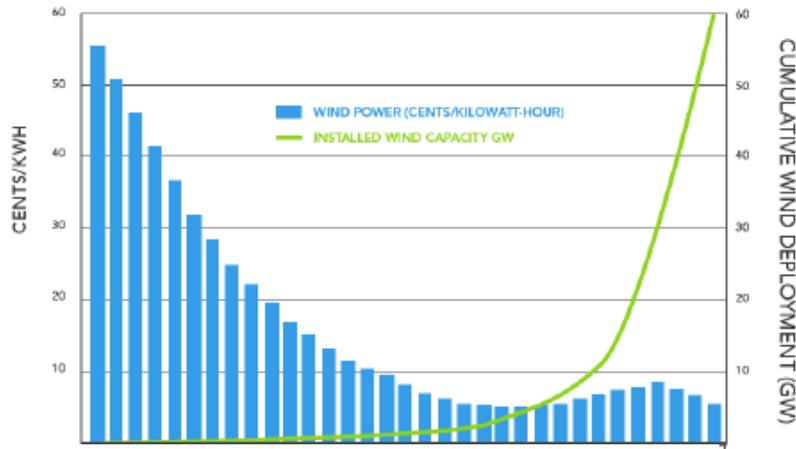
Run your own experiment! Raw data is available for download [here](#).

The alternative energy innovation challenge will require a global effort

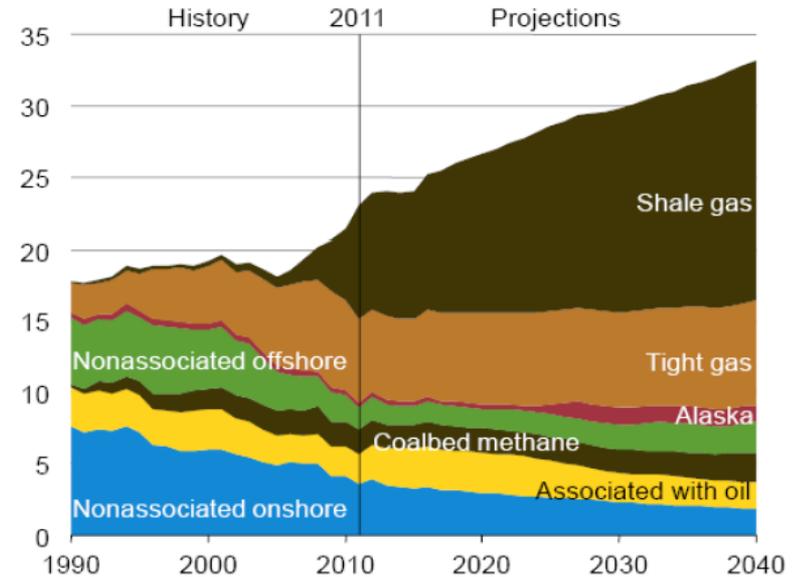
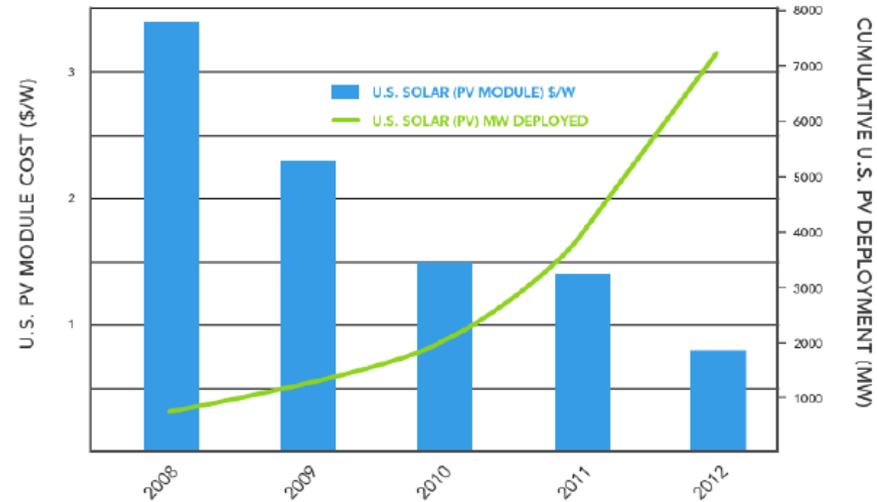
- To meet global environmental emissions reduction goals, we need radical innovation *and* rapid adoption/absorption.
- The capabilities for significant innovation are mostly concentrated in developed countries – but the challenges are great, progress has been slow.
- We need a stronger global basic research foundation.
- The major innovations that come will not be easy or cheap to use – effective adoption/absorption will require significant investments by developing countries and a price on carbon.
- A greater degree of international cooperation will be required to achieve our technological goals.
 - Open global markets for clean technology goods
 - Open investment regimes in developing countries
 - A greater degree of international technological collaboration

First, the good news...

Deployment and Cost for U.S. Land-Based Wind 1980-2012

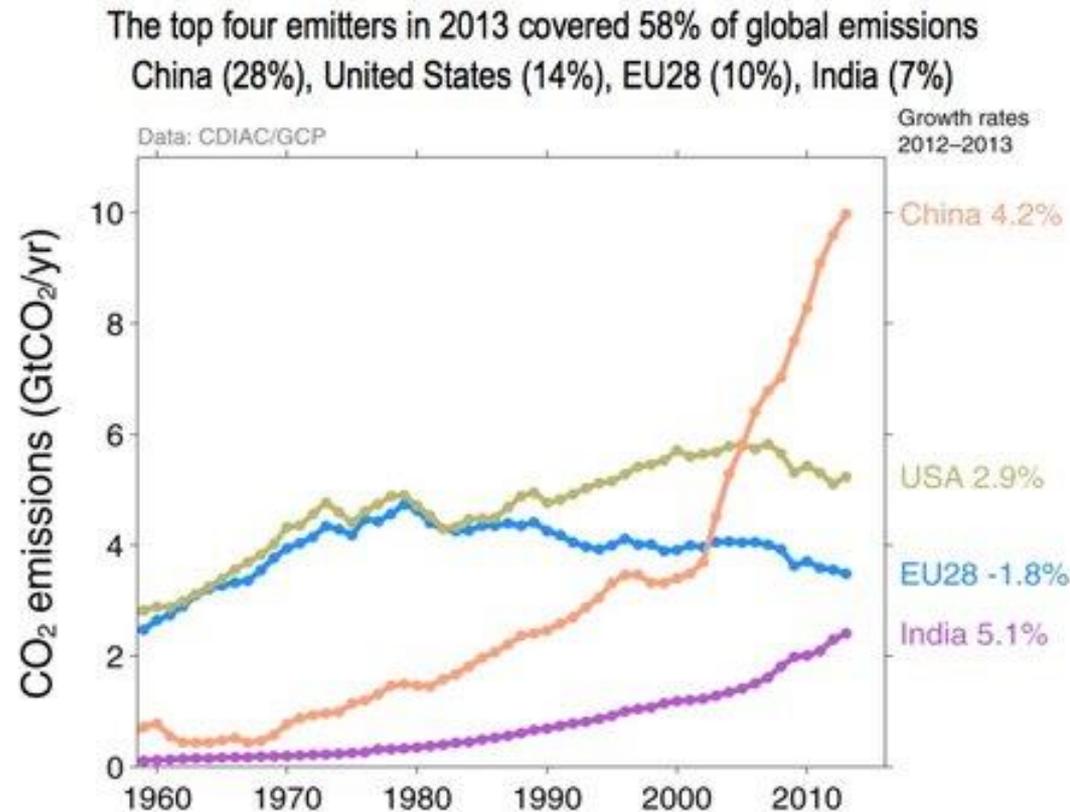


U.S. Deployment and Cost for Solar PV Modules 2008-2012



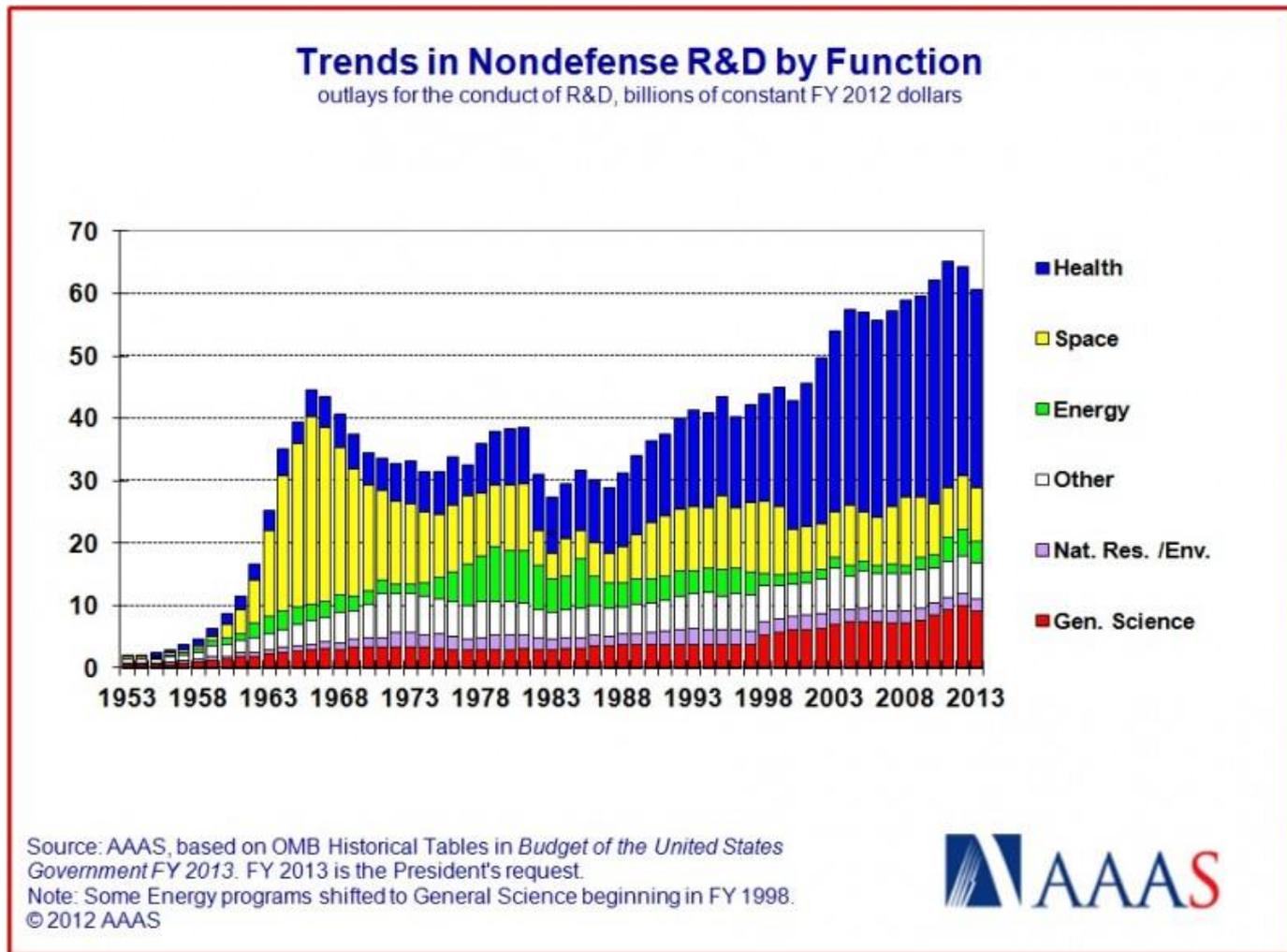
The critical role of China...

- We can only mitigate climate change at a global level if China slows its emissions growth...
- China does not (yet) have the capability to innovate in a fundamental way in this space.
- But it has established itself as the cheapest place in the world to manufacture and deploy certain kinds of new energy technologies.



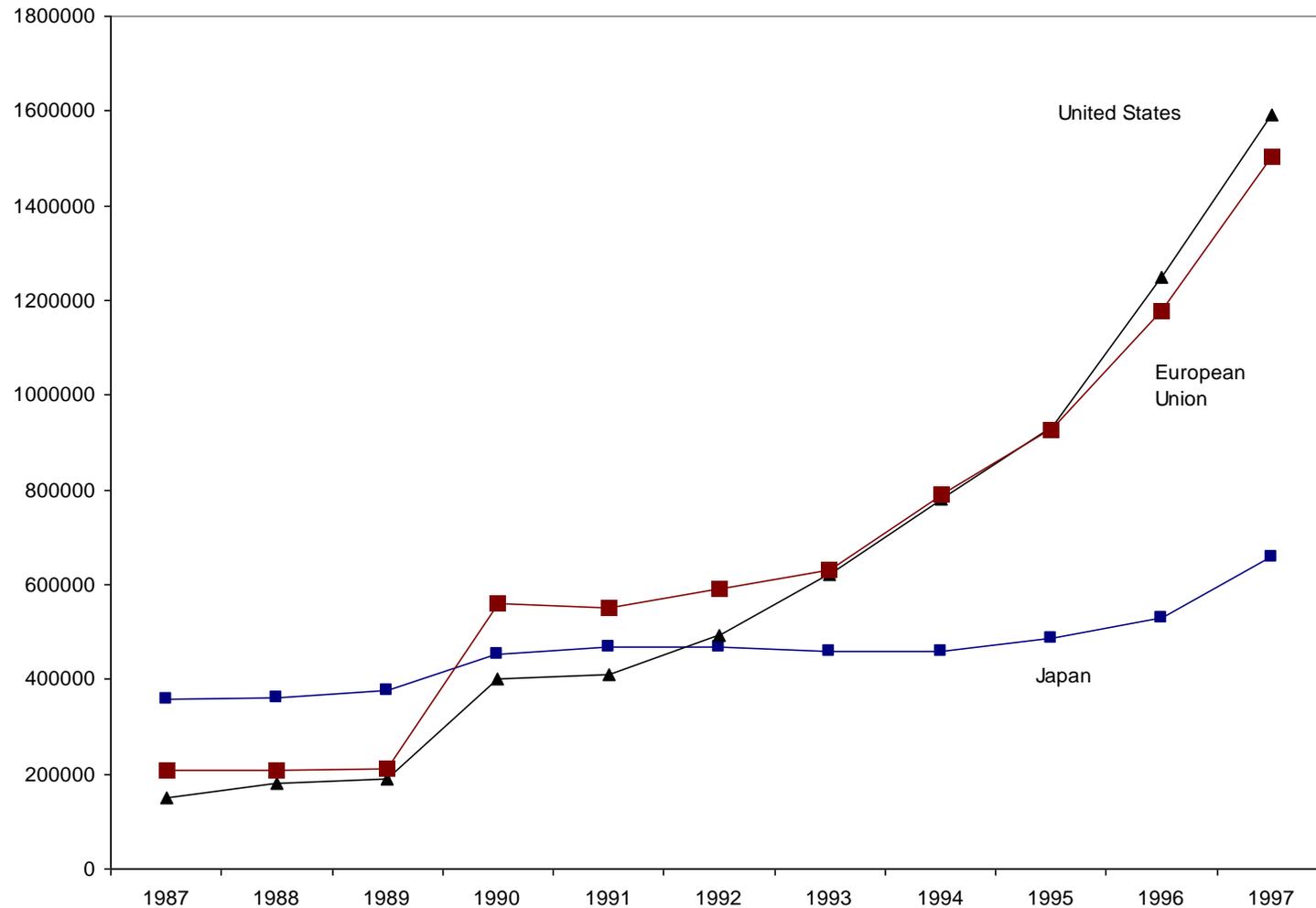
Source: Global Carbon Project

The innovation we need will require a broader, deeper science base...

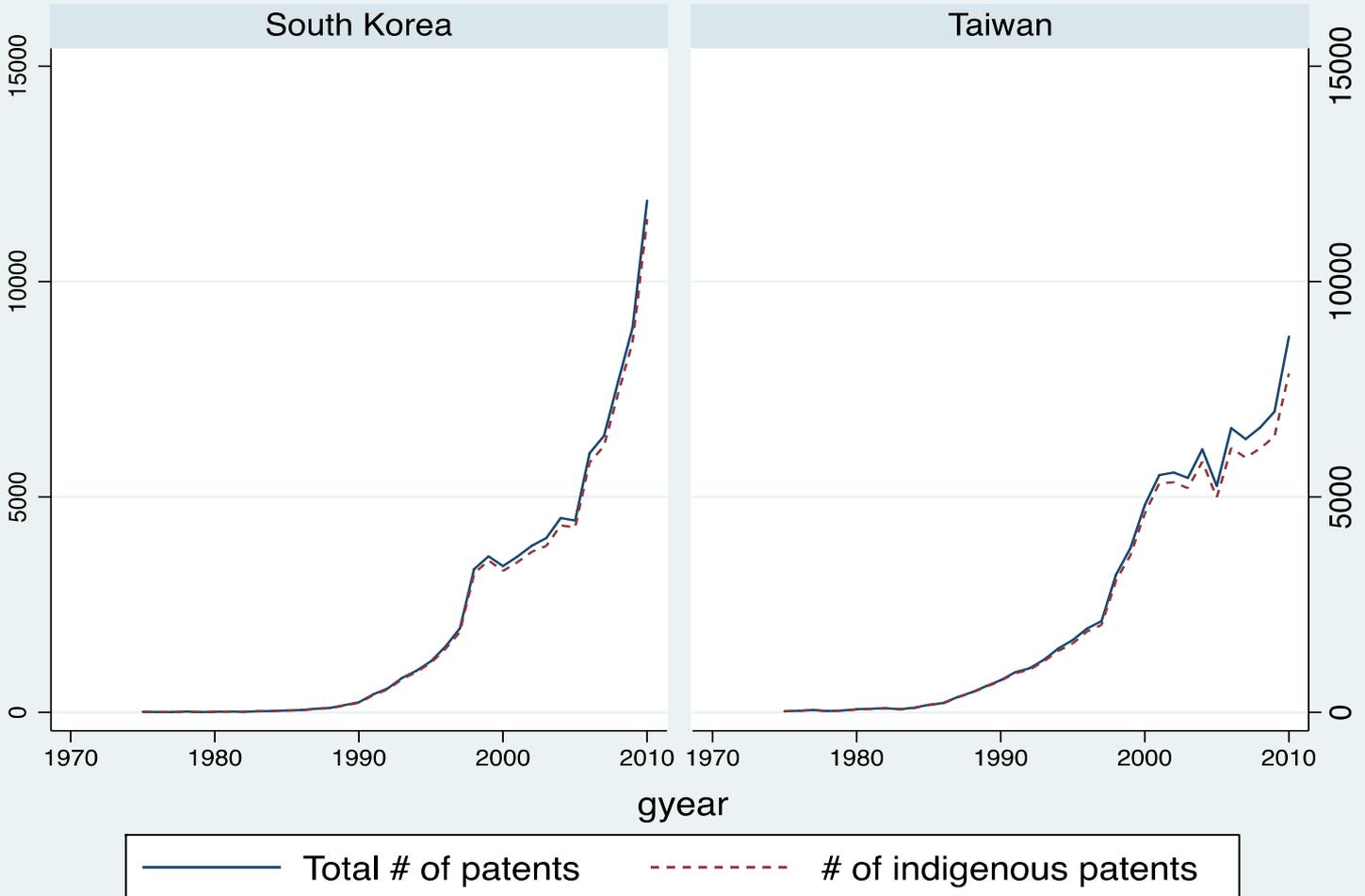


As Japan's innovative strength receded, this idea has also undergone some rethinking

Patent Applications by Nationality of Inventor, 1987-1997



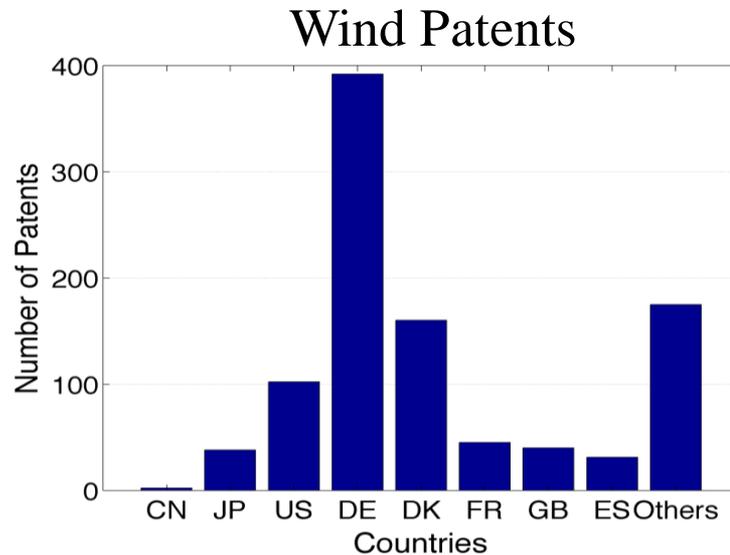
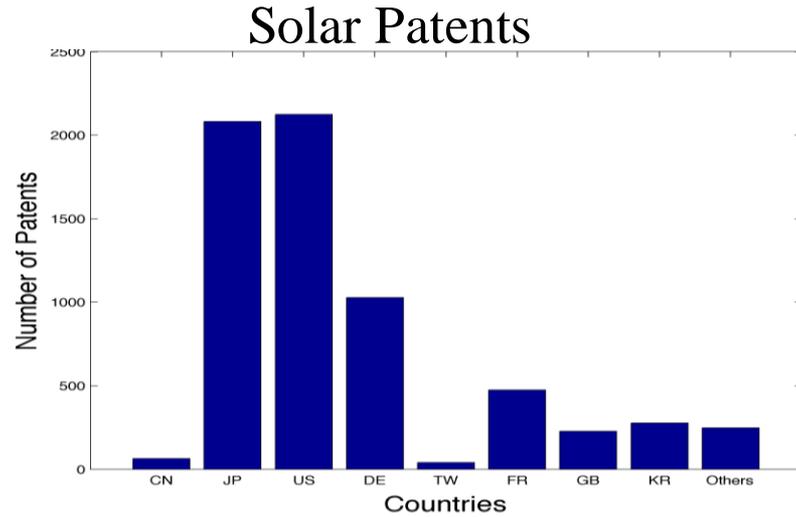
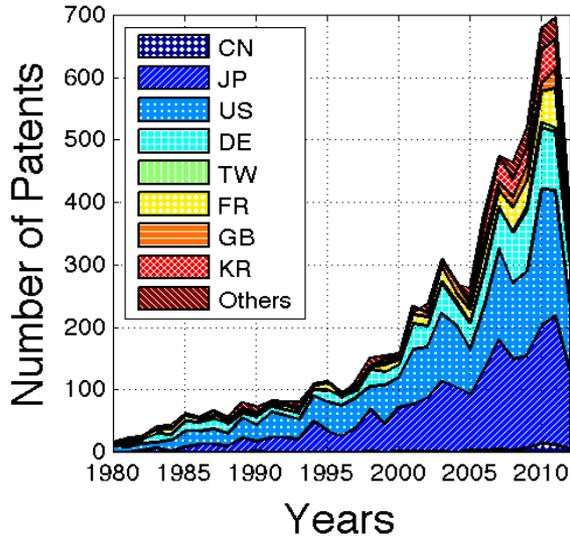
This is quite different from the technological “great leaps forward” in East Asia in the 1980s and 1990s.



Think globally, act locally – but don't insist on buying locally...

- Trade frictions have emerged, limiting international trade in alternative energy hardware and raising prices in importing countries
- It is neither politically feasible nor strategically sensible for the United States to always turn the other cheek when other nations violate trade rules...
- But the best way to develop these industries at a global level may involve a concentration of *innovation* in the West and a concentration of *production* in developing countries.
- The transition to cleaner energy technologies will be hard enough without policies that raise the price of these alternatives.

But this effort has failed to yield significant innovation...



Shi Zhengrong

施正荣



It is hard to shift the global scientific center of gravity...but it did happen (once) in the 20th century!

Figure A1: Nobel Prizes

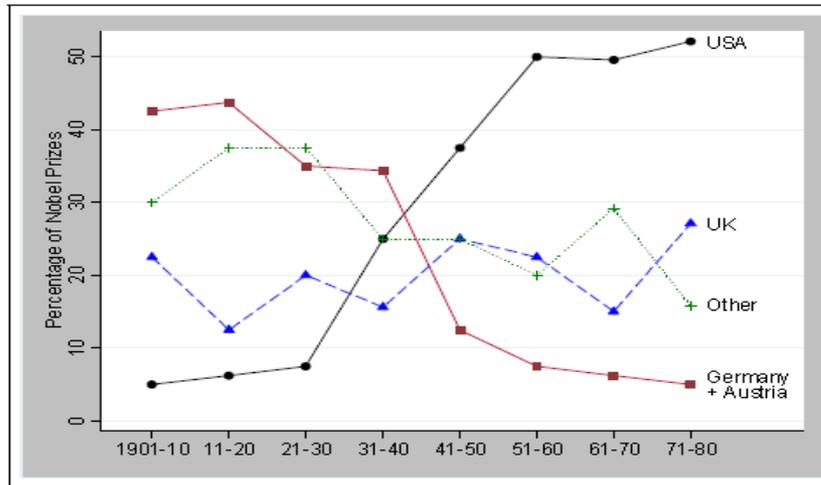


Figure A1: Nobel Prizes in physics and chemistry



Wilhelm von Humboldt

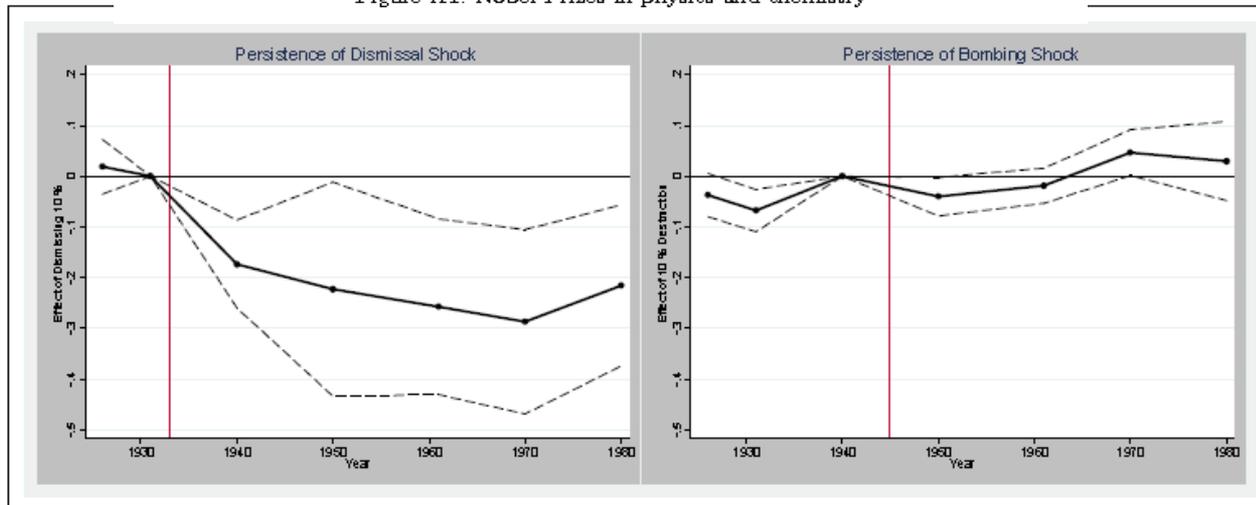


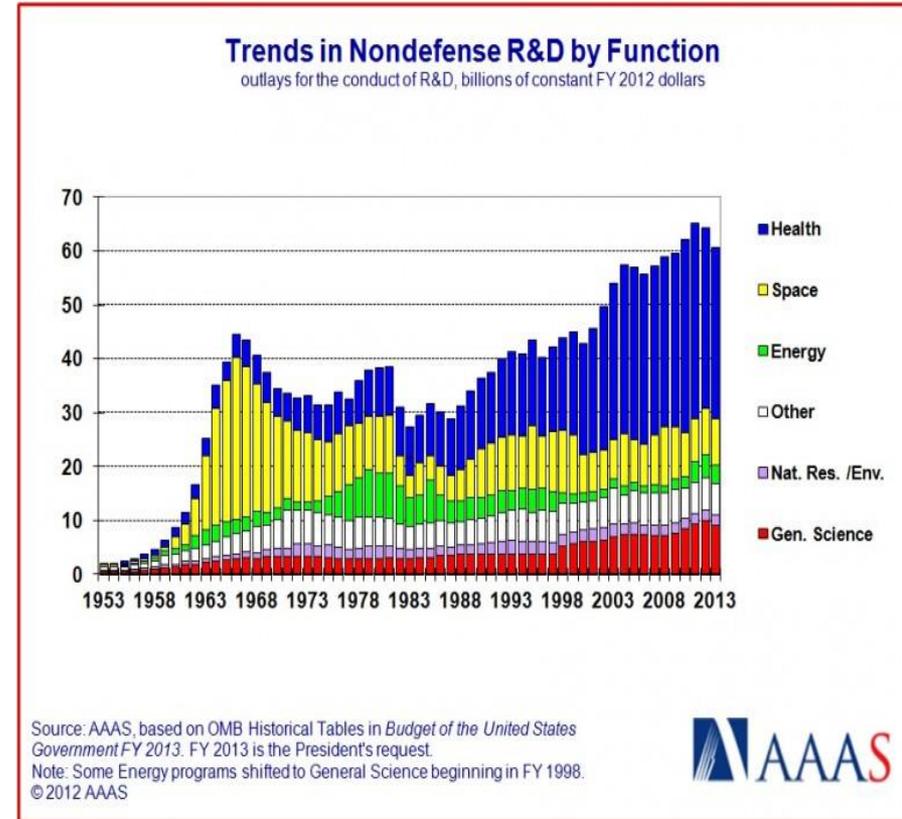
Figure 3: Persistence of 10% shocks - publications



Fabian Waldinger

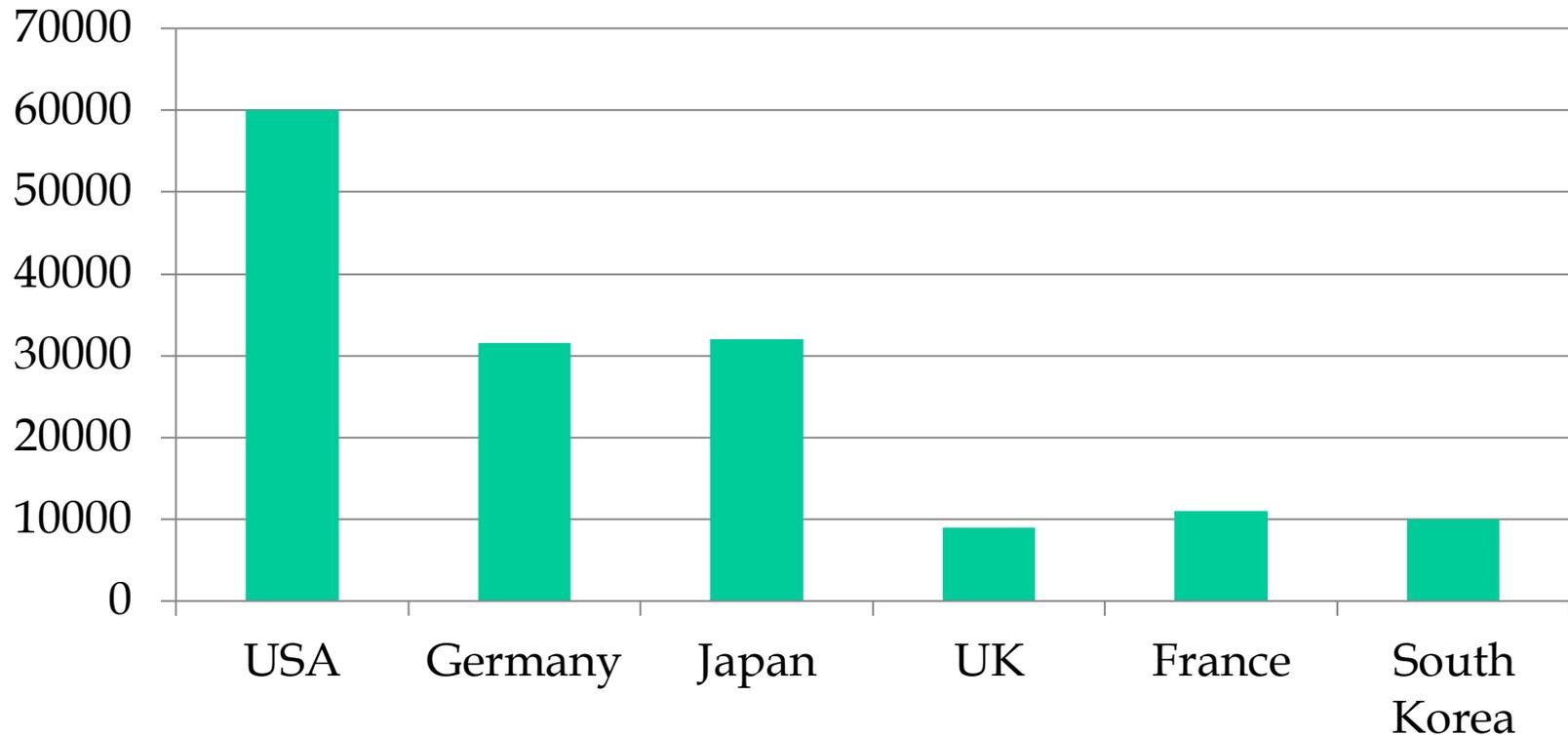
An inadequate foundation of basic research...

- Universities and public research institutes will create the basic scientific foundation upon which alternative energy innovation will build
- The developed world (still) possesses the world's top universities and research institutes...
- But the governments of many advanced nations face financial strains that will limit their ability to invest for the foreseeable future...
- Rising nations are investing in their own universities, but these are unlikely to displace the current Western centers of global science.
- This leaves us with an inadequate foundation of basic research.



Invention seems to be highly concentrated in a small number of (mostly) developed economies

Transnational Patent Applications



The traditional concept of a “national” system of innovation is almost certainly too broad...

- There is limited knowledge spillover between the aircraft industry and the pharmaceutical industry in any country
- More generally, “national” systems of innovation tend to work quite differently in different industries, with limited connections across industries



Innovation systems differ substantially, even among countries at similar levels of development



- Research Universities: MIT, Stanford, Carnegie-Mellon University
- A strong IPR regime
- Silicon Valley/Venture Capital
- Immigrant entrepreneurs, engineers, and programmers



- Research Universities: Technische Universität Berlin, Universität Heidelberg
- A strong IPR regime
- Apprenticeship systems for vocational education
- Fraunhofer and Max-Planck Institutes
- Mittelstand

The German and American systems possess some common elements...



- Research Universities: MIT, Stanford, Carnegie-Mellon University
 - A strong IPR regime
 - Silicon Valley/Venture Capital
 - Immigrant entrepreneurs, engineers, and programmers
- Research Universities: Technische Universität Berlin, Universität Heidelberg
 - A strong IPR regime
 - Apprenticeship systems for vocational education
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 - Mittelstand

But America's "Silicon Valley" has proven difficult for Germany to imitate...



- Research Universities: MIT, Stanford, Carnegie-Mellon University
- A strong IPR regime
- Silicon Valley/Venture Capital
- Immigrant entrepreneurs, engineers, and programmers



- Research Universities: Technische Universität Berlin, Universität Heidelberg
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And America has been unable to transplant key German institutions into its system...



- Research Universities: MIT, Stanford, Carnegie-Mellon University
- A strong IPR regime
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- Research Universities: Technische Universität Berlin, Universität Heidelberg
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- Mittelstand

This shows that national systems of innovation are hard to develop and hard to change!



- Research Universities: MIT, Stanford, Carnegie-Mellon University
- A strong IPR regime
- Silicon Valley/Venture Capital
- Immigrant entrepreneurs, engineers, and programmers



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Slow progress on solar energy...

Best Research-Cell Efficiencies

