Looking at Innovation from a Uniquely Canadian Perspective

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THECIS Innovation Breakfast Calgary

2 October 2012

A "Canadian Paradox"?

- Canada has had top five status on the UN-HDI for over 30 years
- Canada is one of the most prosperous countries on earth
- Canada has weathered successive economic storms far better than the US and most OECD countries
- Canada produces first rate human capital
- Canada punches way above its weight in world science
- Relative to its size, Canada has a large number of globally competitive MNCs in a variety of sectors

A "Canadian Paradox"?

However:

- Canada appears to have chronically <u>lower productivity</u> than the US
- Canadian companies do not appear to invest as much in <u>R&D</u> as US companies

Obvious, but contradictory conclusion:

- if growth and prosperity depend on productivity
- and productivity is correlated strongly with R&D
- then Canada cannot possibly be prosperous!

Is this really a paradox, or simply the product of misplaced emphasis; on inputs like R&D rather than on outcomes like innovation?

Seven Questions

- 1. What is innovation and why should it concern policy-makers?
- 2. How has innovation been conceptualized in policy?
- 3. What is the problem with this conceptualization?
- 4. Is Canada good or bad at innovation?
- 5. Do existing innovation policies work?
- 6. Why is it important for Canada to think about innovation policy in a different way?
- 7. What needs to be done?

Q1:

What is innovation and why should it concern policy-makers?

Q1a: What is innovation?

- Any new combination of factors that produces new sources of value
 - New products and services
 - New processes and methods
 - New resources and/or resource supplies
 - New organizational forms
 - New markets

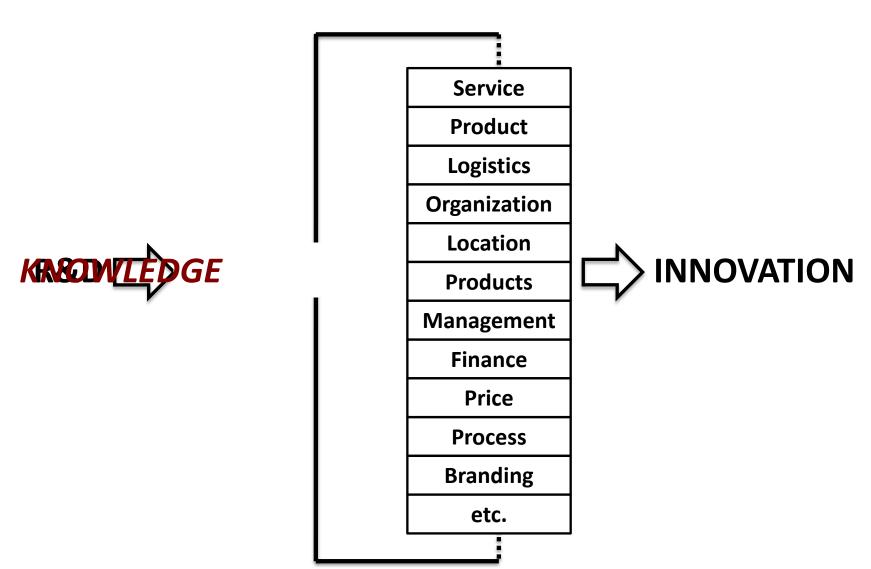
[Schumpeter, Theory of Economic Development (1912), and Oslo Manual (OECD/Eurostat 2005)]

Q1b: What is R&D?

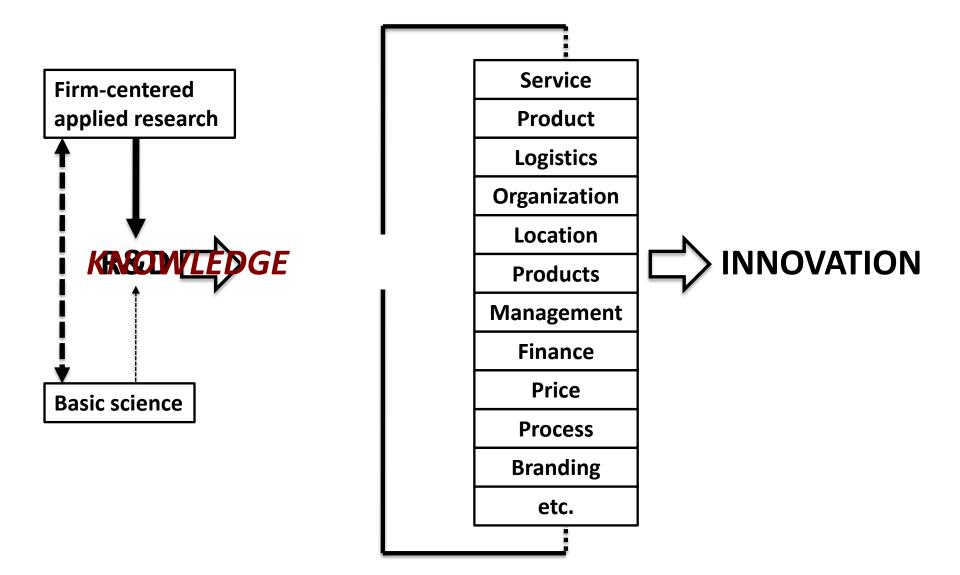
"...creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge, including knowledge of man (sic), culture and society, and the use of this stock of knowledge to devise new applications."

[OECD Frascatti Manual for R&D Statistics (2006)]

Q1c: What is the role of R&D in innovation?



Q1d: Where does knowledge for R&D come from?



Q1e: Why should any of this concern policy-makers?

- Innovation induces <u>competitiveness</u>, <u>employment</u>, <u>productivity and growth</u>
- Policies can promote or impede innovation
 - Structural interventions
 - e.g. legislation, regulation, procurement, education, basic research
 - Non-structural
 - e.g. finance, brokerage, networking
- <u>Positive</u> innovation policies should generate sustainable competitive advantages in their own jurisdictions
- So why is it so difficult to demonstrate that they do this, in Canada or in any other OECD country?

Q2: How has innovation been conceptualized in policy?

Innovation policy??

Historically in the OECD region, <u>Innovation</u> <u>Policy</u> is basically <u>Technology Policy</u>:

- Innovation defined narrowly in terms of <u>technical</u>
 <u>change</u>
- Policies aimed only at R&D: producing and applying <u>more technology</u>
- <u>Dominated by the linear model</u>:
 - science => technology => growth

Policy imprinting

ca 1970 - ca 1985

- Transition of policy interest from defense, public welfare and public works to innovation in commercial sectors
- Imprinting on IT the perfect "political" technology
 - Rapid growth from minimal investment
 - High positive externalities
 - Low political risk
- Transferring expectations from the IT model to other industries

Q3:

What is the problem with this conceptualization?

Why is technology policy a conceptual problem?

- Innovation scholarship has moved on
 - Innovation is <u>much more than technology</u>
 - Technology (and R&D) is related to growth, but
 <u>differently</u> than previously thought
 - There is <u>no linear relationship</u> between science and R&D, or between R&D and growth
 - Proxy <u>input</u> indicators (R&D, patents, start-ups etc.) <u>cannot be generalized</u> as innovation measurements
 - <u>Broader definitions</u> and more precise exploration of more diverse innovation phenomena

Why is technology policy a practical problem?

- There is <u>no shortage</u> of technology
- Focuses public resources on <u>"technology</u> <u>producer goods"</u>
 - Policies, actions and statistics heavily biased towards R&D-intensive industries with patentintensive business models
- Most companies that "innovate" <u>do not</u> <u>produce</u> technology, and <u>never</u> do "R&D" (Statscan Survey of Innovation, EU-CIS etc.)

What does *R&D-oriented* policy ignore?

- Innovation in <u>90%+</u> of the economy
 - Fewer than a dozen sectors are R&D intensive (reinvesting > 3% of revenues in R&D)
 - About 800 *large* firms worldwide perform roughly 80% of global R&D
 - Only 75 companies perform 50% of R&D in Canada and no Canadian company is one of "the 800"
- <u>Capital-intensive</u> industries (primary industries and services)
 - most capital-intensive innovation activities fall outside the "innovation" policy net, and outside the measurement framework

Q4:

Is Canada good or bad at innovation?

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- National comparisons mean very little
- Need for an assessment of how and where we innovate, free of abstract performance norms and idealized outcomes
- National systems of innovation are unique products of distinct economic and industrial histories
- We have a suggestive outline of the Canadian system, but limited empirical capabilities

Q5:

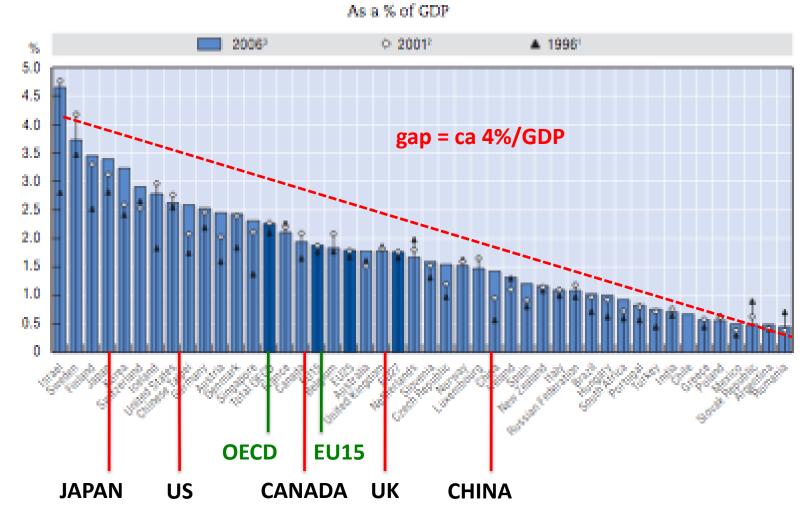
Do existing innovation policies work?

Main proxies for policy success

- 1. Increase investment in R&D
 - Industry
 - Higher education
 - Government
- 2. Gain ground on competitor jurisdictions in R&D investment

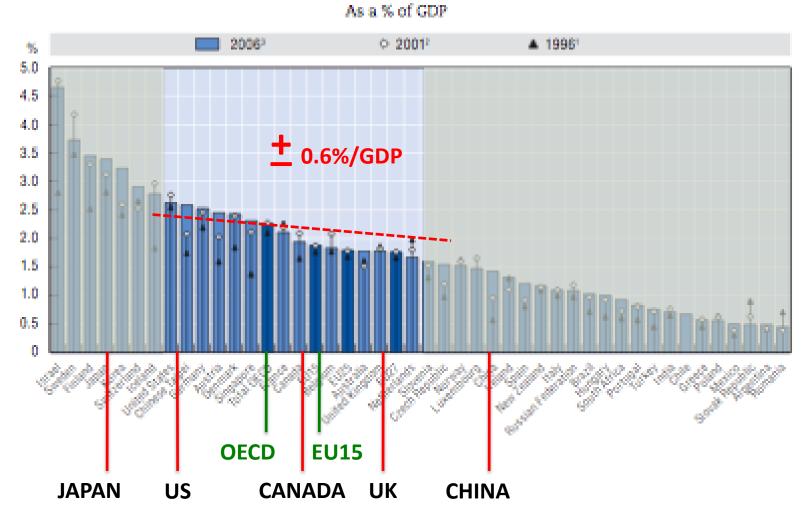
Interpreting GERD

Figure 1.4. GERD Intensity by country, 1996, 2001 and 2006



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Figure 1.4. GERD Intensity by country, 1996, 2001 and 2006



Do technology policies actually work?

- OECD R&D average has not budged in 25 years (just under 2% of GDP)
- Minimal change in relative positions of countries over 25 years
- Only ever two genuine "gazelles" Israel and Korea
- No consistent statistical correlation between table positions and economic performance over 20 year span:
 - Japan high R&D : low growth
 - US high R&D : slowing growth
 - NL low R&D : accelerating growth
 - Israel, Korea, Austria high R&D: high growth

CONCLUSION:

If the aims of technology-oriented innovation policy are to boost R&D, then they all seem to have failed!

So are the statistics worthless?

NO!

- They give us invaluable knowledge about the role of technology producers in the Canadian economy
- They signal important challenges for the R&Dintensive sectors
- They indicate that along with most OECD countries,
 Canada's innovators are widely diverse
- They show us what we don't know about the innovation system in Canada
- But they do not in themselves provide a comprehensive image of Canada's innovation landscape

Q6:

Why is it important for Canada to think about innovation policy in a different way?

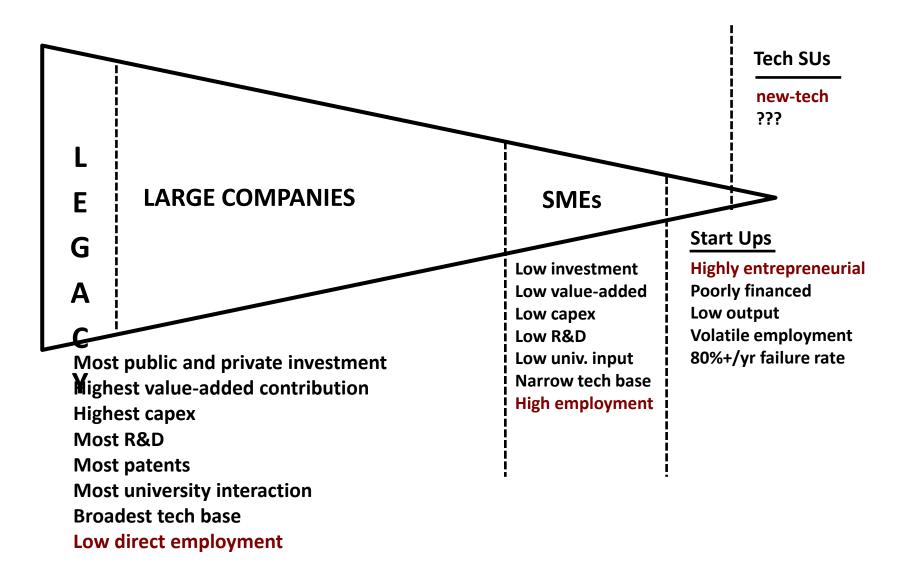
Canada has a unique asset base

- one of only four OECD countries that is <u>both a</u> knowledge economy and a resource economy (with the US, Australia and NZ)
- most of our large structural industries are <u>capital intensive</u> – technology users rather than technology producers
- most of our large structural industries are also <u>human capital intensive</u> and technologically sophisticated

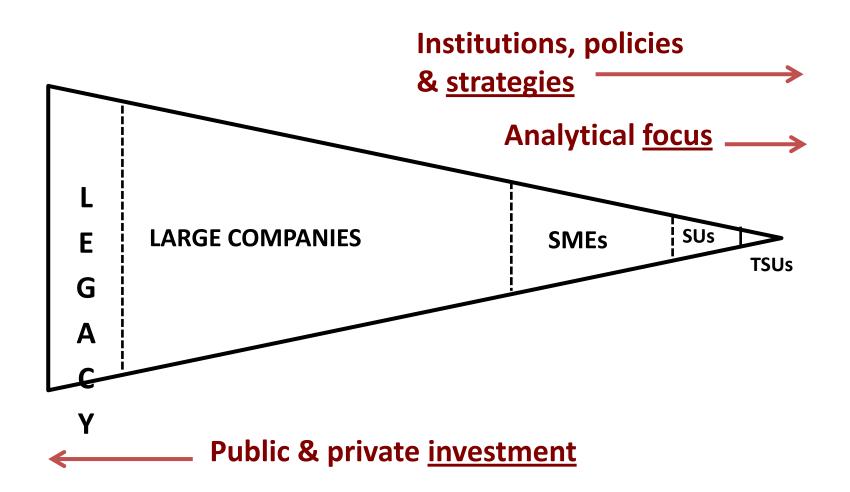
What does this mean for innovation in Alberta?

- Our most <u>HUGELY</u> significant innovations have emerged <u>from within our capital-intensive</u> <u>sectors</u>
 - oil & gas
 - agriculture
 - bio-mass
 - financial & business services
- Manufacturing oil from sand is the <u>most</u> <u>significant innovation</u> in Canadian history!
- Sustainable diversification is a product of <u>asset</u> <u>transformation</u> NOT <u>investment transfer</u>

The wedge problem



The innovation policy wedge



highest value-added

Value Chain

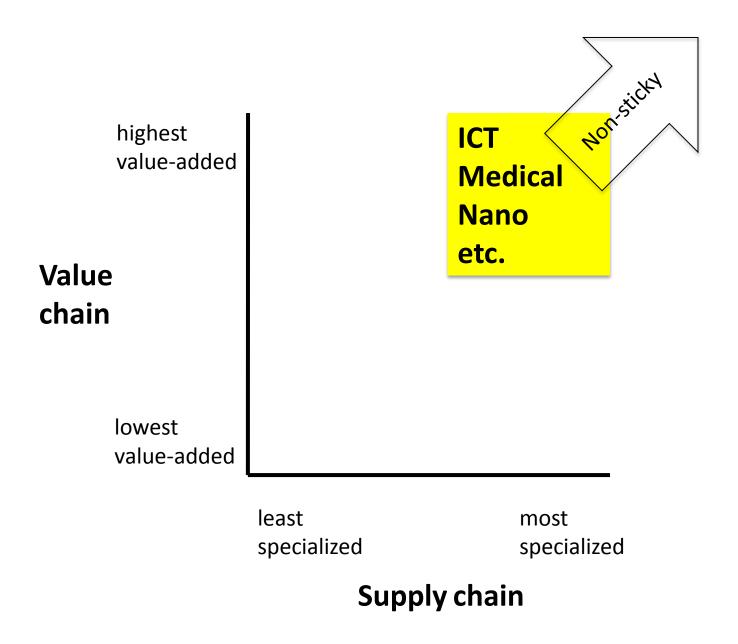
"make"

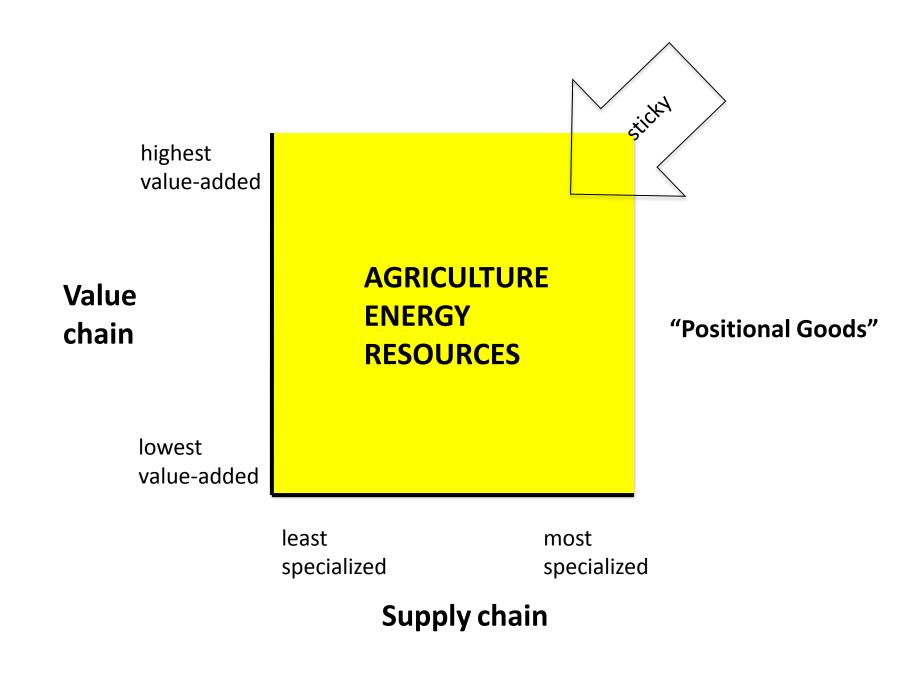
lowest value-added

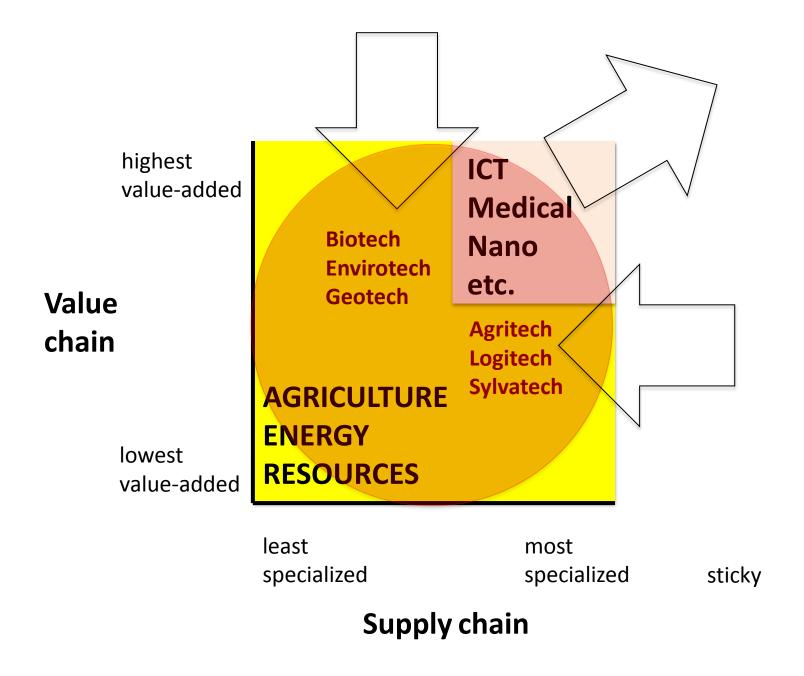
least specialized

most specialized

Supply chain "buy"







Q7: What needs to be done?

Three proposed initiatives

- Reconnect policy with state-of-the-art knowledge about innovation – "An Innovation Manifesto for Canada"
- Reconstruct the "lost knowledge" of Canadian innovation – establishing an historically grounded reference model
- <u>Re-examine</u> the role of Canada's structural industries in the innovation system – *targeted prospective studies*

What happens if we do nothing?

- Risk inefficient allocation of diminishing public resources for basic and applied research
- Risk research investment becoming alienated from our strongest structural industries
- Risk becoming a net exporter of human capital and associated revenues
- Risk of becoming genuinely a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the first time in our history