



Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment

## Climate change policy, innovation and growth

#### **Antoine Dechezleprêtre**

*Séminaire PSL de recherches en économie de l'énergie – Paris – 16 Mars 2016*  Assessing the impact of climate change policies on innovation: Why is it important?

### **Global emissions scenarios**



Source: IPCC 2014

## Europe's commitments

- EU leaders have committed to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 40% by 2030, compared with 1990 levels
- Next steps: 60% by 2040; 80% by 2050

## The challenge

- Stabilizing global emissions in 2050 requires 60% reduction in carbon intensity of GDP (Assuming 2.5% annual GDP growth)
- To achieve long term decarbonization we need a large change in the mix of technology we use
  - (or dramatic social and cultural changes)

## Europe's Energy Roadmap 2050

#### Ref. scenario 2005



Ref. scenario 2050



Geothermal and other renewables

## Innovation is key

- Climate change mitigation requires massive investments in innovation
  - Developing new breakthrough technologies (hydrogen)
  - Reducing the cost of existing technologies (wind, solar)
  - 3. Making the transition possible with enabling technologies (smart grids, storage)
- Ability of climate change policies to encourage innovation is critical

# Innovation as a co-benefit from green policies?

- Innovation = one of the benefits of policies, along health improvements etc, to be evaluated against the policy's costs
- Major concerns around competitiveness effects of environmental policies
- Porter hypothesis
  - Environmental regulations might lead private firms and the economy as a whole to become more competitive by providing incentives for environmentally-friendly innovation that would not have happened in the absence of policy

The impact of climate change policies on innovation: Recent econometric evidence

 Philippe Aghion, Antoine Dechezleprêtre, David Hemous, Ralf Martin, and John Van Reenen. "Carbon Taxes, Path Dependency and Directed Technical Change: Evidence from the Auto Industry" (Journal of Political Economy, 2016)

## Research question 1

- Do firms respond to policies by changing the direction of innovation ("induced" innovation)?
- When firms face higher price on emissions relative to other costs of production, this provides an incentive to reduce the emissions intensity of output
- Hicks (1932): part of this investment will be directed toward developing and commercializing new emissions-reducing technologies

## Research question 2

- How important is lock-in/path dependence in types of "clean" or "dirty" technologies?
- Some recent papers assume path-dependence in the direction of innovation (e.g. Acemoglu et al, 2012 AER)
- A crucial aspect in terms of policy consequences: this is consistent with a "tipping point" view of the world
  - Final resting point is complete dominance of one technology by another
- If this is true, clean policies only need to be temporary

## **Economics of Tipping Points**



## The government's problem



## Temporary policies: An example



Source: Acemoglu, Akcigit, Hanley & Kerr. "Transition to Clean Technology" (JPE)

## This paper

- Look at both induced innovation hypothesis and path-dependence
- Econometric case study: auto industry
  - Contributor to greenhouse gases
  - Distinction between dirty (internal combustion engine) & clean (e.g. electric vehicles) innovations/patents by OECD

## Simple model: basic idea

- Firms can invest in 2 types of R&D (clean or dirty)
- Previous firm/economy specialization in either clean or dirty influences direction of innovation
  - Path-dependence
- If expected market size to grow for cars using more clean technologies (e.g. electric/hybrid) then more incentive to invest in clean (relative to dirty)
- Higher fuel prices (a proxy for carbon price) increase demand for clean cars
  - Induces greater "clean" R&D and patenting

#### Explaining innovation

#### Clean Innovations (patents) for company *i* at time *t*



#### Innovation Equations – Cont.

#### Dirty Innovations (patents) for assignee *i* at time *t*

 $DIRTY_{it} = \exp(\alpha^{D} \ln P_{it-1} + \beta_{1}^{D} \ln SPILL_{it-1}^{C} + \beta_{2}^{D} \ln SPILL_{it-1}^{D} + \gamma_{1}^{D} \ln KCLEAN_{it-1} + \gamma_{2}^{D} \ln KDIRTY_{it-1} + \delta^{D} X_{it-1} + \eta_{i}^{D} + T_{t}^{D} + u_{it}^{D})$ 

#### DATA

- World Patent Statistical Database (PATSTAT) at European Patent Office (EPO)
  - All patents filed in 80 patent offices in world (focus from 1965)
- Extracted all patents pertaining to "clean" and "dirty" technologies in the automotive industry (follows OECD definition)
- Tracked applicants and extracted all their patents. Created unique firm identifier
  - 4.5m patents filed 1965-2005

#### International Patent Classification codes

B60L 11
B60L 3
B60L 15
B60K 1
B60W 10/08, 24, 26
B60K 6
B60W 20
B60L7/1
B60L 7/20
B60W 10/28
B60L 11/18
H01M 8
F02 (excl. C/G/ K)

"Clean"

"Dirty"

#### AGGREGATE NUMBER OF TRIADIC CLEAN AND DIRTY PATENTS PER YEAR



#### POLICY VARIABLES: FUEL PRICES & TAXES

- Fuel prices vary over countries and time (e.g. because of different tax regimes)
- International Energy Agency EA (fuel prices & taxes)

#### EVOLUTION OF AVERAGE (TAX INCLUSIVE) FUEL PRICES OVER TIME



Source: International Energy Agency, 25 countries unweighted average

## Residuals from a regression of fuel prices on country and year dummies



Source: International Energy Agency, 25 countries

Residual log fuel price

#### POLICY VARIABLES: FUEL PRICES (FP) & TAXES

- Firms are affected differentially by fuel prices as (expected) market shares different across countries
  - Autos differentiated products: affected by national tastes
  - Government policies discriminate (e.g. tariffs & subsidies)
- Weight country prices & taxes by firm's expected future market shares in different countries
  - Use information on where patents filed (use in presample period & keep these weights fixed)
  - Compare with firm *i* sales by country *c*

$$\ln FP_{it} = \sum w_{ic}^P \ln FP_{ct}$$

#### Reasonable correlation between geographical market shares based on auto sales vs. Patent filings for major vendors (correlation = 0.95)

		Car Sales shares	Patent Weights
Toyota	2003-2005		_
	Japan	0.43	0.42
	North America	0.40	0.34
	Europe	0.17	0.23
VW	2002-2005		
	Germany	0.35	0.57
	UK	0.13	0.08
	Spain	0.11	0.03
	Italy	0.09	0.05
	France	0.09	0.09
	US	0.13	0.15
	Mexico	0.05	0.00
	Canada	0.04	0.00
	Japan	0.02	0.02
Ford	1992-2002		
	US	0.66	0.61
	Canada	0.04	0.01
	Mexico	0.02	0.00
	UK	0.09	0.08
	Germany	0.07	0.15
	Italy	0.03	0.03
	Spain	0.02	0.02
	France	0.02	0.04
	Australia	0.02	0.00
	Japan	0.01	0.05
Peugeot	2001-2005		
-	Western Europe	0.82	0.83
	Americas	0.04	0.13
	Asia-Pacific	0.13	0.04
Honda	2004-2005		
	Japan	0.28	0.31
	North America	0.62	0.48
	Europe	0.10	0.20

# Reasonable correlation (0.95) between geographical market shares based on auto sales vs. Patent filings: e.g. Ford

1992-2002	Car Sales shares	Patent Weights
US	0.66	0.61
Canada	0.04	0.01
Mexico	0.02	0.00
UK	0.09	0.08
Germany	0.07	0.15
Italy	0.03	0.03
Spain	0.02	0.02
France	0.02	0.04
Australia	0.02	0.00
Japan	0.01	0.05

#### Source: Annual Company Accounts and PATSTAT

#### **OWN & SPILLOVER INNOVATION STOCKS**

#### **OWN LAGGED INNOVATION STOCKS (K)**

- Standard Griliches perpetual inventory formula (baseline  $\delta = 0.2$ , robust to alternative levels of depreciation, )
- z = {CLEAN, DIRTY}

$$K_{zit} = PAT_{zit} + (1 - \delta)K_{zit-1}$$

#### SPILLOVERS (SPILL)

- Country's clean (dirty) innovation stock is aggregate of clean (dirty) patents of inventors located in the country
- Firm's exposure to spillovers is average of country with weights based on where firm's inventors located

$$\ln SPILL_{zit} = \sum w_{ic}^{S} SPILL_{zct}$$

#### MAIN RESULTS

	Clea	n Dirty
Fuel Price	0.992	-0.539***
ln(FP)	(0.41	(0.177)
Clean Spillover	0.399	-0.160***
SPILL <sub>C</sub>	(0.08	(0.049)
Dirty Spillover	-0.331	*** 0.231***
SPILL <sub>D</sub>	(0.07	(0.054)
Own Stock Clean	0.505	*** 0.212**
K <sub>C</sub>	(0.11	(0.107)
Own Stock Dirty	0.246	*** 0.638***
K <sub>D</sub>	(0.05	4) (0.080)
<b>#Observations</b>	68,24	40 68,240
<b>#Units (Firms and individuals)</b>	3,41	2 3,412

Notes: Estimation by Conditional fixed effects (CFX), all regressions include GDP, GDP per capita & time dummies. SEs clustered by firm.

# Disaggregating dirty patents into fuel efficiency (grey) and purely dirty

			· · ·
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Dependent Variable	Clean Patents	Grey Patents	Purely Dirty Patents
Fuel Price	0.848*	0.282	-0.832***
	(0.461)	(0.398)	(0.214)
R&D subsidies	0.031	$0.081^{**}$	-0.02
	(0.047)	(0.034)	(0.030)
Clean Spillover	0.333**	-0.171*	-0.014
	(0.165)	(0.098)	(0.094)
Grey Spillover	0.215	0.173	0.235**
	(0.228)	(0.112)	(0.102)
Purely Dirty Spillover	-0.509	0.045	-0.208
	(0.377)	(0.136)	(0.161)
Own Stock Clean	0.379***	-0.005	0.047
	(0.090)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Own Stock Grey	$0.185^{*}$	0.418***	-0.141***
	(0.106)	(0.035)	(0.025)
Own Stock Purely Dirty	-0.011	0.192***	0.544***
	(0.066)	(0.038)	(0.026)
Observations	68240	68240	68240
Firms	3412	3412	3412

#### **ROBUSTNESS TESTS**

- Use fuel tax instead of fuel prices
- Alternative estimators (HHG, BGVR, OLS)
- Other policy variables R&D, Emissions, electricity price
- Condition on firms with some positive pre-1985 patents
- Construct fuel price using only the largest countries
- Estimate 1991-2005 (instead of 1985-2005) & use weights 1965-1990 (instead of 1965-1985)
- Use biadic patents (or all patents) instead of triadic
- Drop individuals & just estimate on firms
- Cite-weighting patents
- Allow longer dynamics reaction, different depreciation rates, etc.

#### SIMULATIONS

- Take estimated model & aggregate to global level taking dynamics into account (spillovers & lagged dependent variables)
- Simulate the effect of changes in fuel tax compared to baseline case (where we fix prices & GDP as "today", 2005)
- At what point (if ever) does the stock of clean innovation exceed stock of dirty innovation
- Just illustrative scenarios sense of difficulty & importance of path dependence

#### **BASELINE: NO FUEL PRICE INCREASE**



Price increase of 0%

#### **ALTERNATIVE: 10% INCREASE IN THE FUEL PRICE**



Price increase of 10%

#### **ALTERNATIVE: 20% INCREASE IN THE FUEL PRICE**



Price increase of 20%

#### **ALTERNATIVE: 30% INCREASE IN THE FUEL PRICE**



Price increase of 30%
### **ALTERNATIVE: 40% INCREASE IN THE FUEL PRICE**



Price increase of 40%

### SWITCHING OFF SPILLOVER EFFECTS IN THE NO PRICE INCREASE SCENARIO – KNOWLEDGE STOCKS GROW MORE SLOWLY



### Baseline (with spillovers)

# Alternative (No spillovers)

### SWITCHING OFF SPILLOVER EFFECTS IN THE 40% PRICE INCREASE SCENARIO – CLEAN DOESN'T OVERTAKE DIRTY NOW



Baseline (40% price Increase with spillovers)

### Alternative (40% price Increase without spillovers)

### CONCLUSIONS

- Economics works! Technical change can be <u>directed</u> towards "clean" innovation through price mechanism
- Path dependence important: firm-level & spillovers
  - Bad news that clean stocks may never catch up with dirty without further policy intervention
  - Good news is that early action now can become selfsustaining later due
- Simulations suggest that FP rises of ~40% cause clean to overtake dirty

The economic consequences of switching to clean innovation

### Green policies as growth policies?



"Green policies can boost productivity, spur growth and jobs"

### Angel Gurría, OECD Secretary-General

# Climate policies and induced technical change

- Climate policies such as carbon pricing induce a switch of innovation activities away from dirty technologies and towards clean technologies
  - [Aghion, Dechezleprêtre, Hemous, Martin & van Reenen (2016), Noailly & Smeets (2014), Popp & Newell (2012), Hottenrott & Rexhaüser (2013)]
- What is the impact on the economy?

# **Clean R&D push & private benefits**





### In addition to private benefits...



# Adding in public benefits



# **Double dividend?**

### If Clean > Dirty Spillovers

- A policy-induced redirection of innovation from dirty to clean technologies will reduce the net cost of environmental policies...
- ... and can even lead to higher economic growth
  - One of the theoretical motivations for the Porter hypothesis [Mohr (2002); Smulders & de Nooij (2003); Hart (2004, 2007); Ricci (2007)]

# The paper

- Antoine Dechezleprêtre, Ralf Martin & Myra Mohnen. "Knowledge spillovers from clean and dirty technologies" (Working paper, 2014)
- Compare relative degree of spillovers between clean and dirty technologies
  - Measure knowledge spillovers using patent citations
  - 2 sectors: transportation and electricity production
- Measure the economic value of these spillovers for potential growth impacts

# **Technology groups**





Dirty	Group	Clean	
Fossil fuel based (coal & gas)	Electricity generation	Renewables	
Internal combustion vehicles	Automotive	Electric, Hybrid, Hydrogen	

# Measuring knowledge spillovers

> Count citations made by future patents

- Trajtenberg (1990), Cabellero and Jaffe (1993), Jaffe and Trajtenberg (1996, 1998), Jaffe et al. (1998), Jaffe et al. (2000)
- Advantages
  - Mandatory for inventors to cite "prior art"
  - Data availability
  - Technological disaggregation

### Data

- World Patent Statistical Database (PATSTAT)
   @ EU Patent Office
- 1.2 million inventions filed in 107 patent offices from 1950 to 2005, 3 million citations made to these inventions



CONNECTION TO OPTOCOUPLER 33

33

# Spillover from US 5369324



#### United States Patent [19]

#### Sengel

#### [11] Patent Number: 5,690,185 [45] Date of Patent: Nov. 25, 1997

#### [54] SELF POWERED VARIABLE DIRECTION WHEELED TASK CHAIR

- [75] Inventor: Michael P. Sengel, 110 S. Lorraine Rd., Wheaton, EL 60187-5833
- [73] Assignee: Michael P. Sengel, Wheaton, Ill.
- [21] Appl. No.: 410,685
- [22] Filed: Mar. 27, 1995
- [51] Int. CL<sup>6</sup> ...... B60K 1/02

- 24.07, 224, 255; 280/647, 648, 650, 250, 250.1, 304.1

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FC	REIGN	PATENT DOCUMENTS
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Primary Examiner-Brian L. Johnson Assistant Examiner-Prank Vanaman

[57]

#### ABSTRACT

A Self Powered Variable Direction Wheeled Task Chair, and a personal mobility device, providing additicnal ranges of motion in that it has an electrically powered height adjustable seat allowing the operator's seating position to range from standard table height seating to work bench or counter top seating. Additionally and more importantly, the chair, will have directional movement capabilities well beyond typical wheel chairs, or other wheel driven personal mobility devices in that it will utilize electro-mechanical directionally pivoting propulsion, capabilities, but also sideways movement or more precisely, movement in any direction, and a rotational movement as may be required by the operator.

#### 6 Claims, 16 Drawing Sheets



### Spillovers from spillovers...

(12) INTERNATIONAL APPLICATION PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATENT COOPERATION TREATY (PCT)

(19) World Intellectual Property Organization International Bureau

2 March 2006 (02.03.2006)

(54) Title: HOME CARE EQUIPMENT SYSTEM

(25) Filing Language:

(30) Priority Data:

60/601.924

60/611,407



#### (10) International Publication Number PCT WO 2006/023539 A3

(51) International Patent Classification: (71) Applicants and A61G 5/10 (2006.01) (72) Inventors: KRAMER, Kenneth, L. [US/US]; 712 N. County Road 850 E., Greensburg, IN 47240 (US). DAHNEKE, Marshall, S. [US/US]; 69 Morton Way, Batesville, IN 47006 (US). WILCOX, Reed, N. [US/US]; (21) International Application Number: PCT/US2005/029229 Ten Keeler Court, Ridgefield, CT 06877 (US). GAAG, Franz [DE/CH]; Route de Collex, 22, CH-1294 Genthod (CH). SCHWANEMANN, David, T. [US/US]; 1305 Hillcrest Road, Cincinnati, OH 45224 (US). TEUFEL, (22) International Filing Date: 16 August 2005 (16.08.2005) Rainer, B. [DE/US]; 490 Tucker Drive, Worthington, OH 43085 (US), KOLOSKI, Peter, A. [US/US]; 2719 Donna Drive, Upper Arlington, OH 43220 (US). LOTHROP, English Thornton, K. [US/US]; 77 West South Street, Worthington, OH 43085 (US). BERGER, Ryan, R. [US/US]; 1587 Grandview Avenue, No.B., Columbus, OH 43212 (US). (26) Publication Language: English (74) Agent: CONRAD, Richard, D.; Barnes & Thornburg LLP, 11 South Meridian Street, Indianapolis, IN 46204 (US). 16 August 2004 (16.08.2004) US (81) Designated States (unless otherwise indicated, for every 20 September 2004 (20.09.2004) US kind of national protection available): AE, AG, AL, AM,

[Continued on next page]

(57) Abstract: A system for assisting a person of limited mobility in moving from room to room within a home and performing essential daily activities includes a personal mobility device (40, 100, 1700, 1800, 2000) which includes transfer drivers (164) which engage a transfer system (210) to transition from a first elevation to a second elevation.

### **Ground-breaking spillovers from clean tech**

COMBINED SOLAR POWERED FAN AND HAT ARRANGEMENT FOR MAXIMIZING AIRFLOW THROUGH THE HAT



#### SOLAR POWERED, SILENT, ENERGY EFFICIENT BABY ROCKER



# **Counting citations received by clean & dirty patents**

 Table 2: Mean number of citations

	Clean	Dirty	Diff.	
Citations received	3.399 (8.256)	$2.295 \\ (5.921)$	1.104*** [0.016]	
		50% hig	gher	

## **Patent citations flowers**

Citations to 1000 dirty.... ...and 1000 clean innovations



## **Econometric analysis**

- Potential issues:
  - Recent increase in citations (web searches)
  - Clean patents younger
  - Differences across patent offices
  - Citation pool larger for dirty
- Regression approach

$$Cites_i = \exp(\beta Clean_i + \gamma X_i + \epsilon_i)$$

# Not all citations are equal

- Economic value of citations vary greatly
  - Weight citing patents on the basis of how many times they are themselves cited
    - Based on Google's "Page rank" algorithm

## Results

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Dep. var.		Ci	tations recei	ived		PatentRank	
Clean invention		0.398***	0.392***	0.430***	0.267***	0.264***	0.292***
Number of potents		(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(1.014)
Number of patents			(0.002	(0.007)		(0.006)	.005)
Family size				0.073***			)67***
				(0.004)			).003)
Triadic				$0.456^{***}$		/	0.41***
Granted -	-43%	6 spillov	vers	(0.030) $0.947^{***}$	+29%	6 spillo	vers *
				(0.031)			
Patent office-by-year-by-	sector	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Month fixed effect		yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Obs.		1,149,988	1,149,988	1,149,988	1,149,988	1,149,988	1,149,988

*Notes:* Robust standard errors in parentheses (\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001). The dependent variable is the total number of citations received excluding self-citations by inventors (columns 1 to 3) and the PatentRank after 20 iterations (columns 4 to 6). All columns are estimated by fixed-effects Poisson pseudo-maximum likelihood.

# **Regressions results by sector**

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Sector	Transport	Electricity	Transport	Electricity
-	Dep. var.	Citatio	n count	PatentRank	
	Clean invention	0.347***	0.488***	0.219***	0.333***
		(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.014)	(0.023)
	Number of patents	-0.068*	-0.047***	-0.048***	-0.019**
		6)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.007)
			$0.067^{***}$	$0.062^{***}$	0.060***
Stronger effects in electricity			(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.004)
			0.432***	0.279***	$0.252^{***}$
		(0.056)	(0.050)	(0.045)	(0.041)
	Granted	1.134***	$0.725^{***}$	0.620***	$0.381^{***}$
		(0.034)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.017)
	Observations	419,959	748,918	419,959	748,918

# Spillovers higher in all clean technologies



*Source: Dechezleprêtre et al (2014). Knowledge spillovers from clean and dirty technologies* 

# Clean, grey & dirty

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sample	Clean vs.	Clean vs.	Grey vs.	Clean vs.
	Grey and true Dirty	Grey	True Dirty	True Dirty
Dep. var.				
Clean/Grey invention	0.430***	0.191***	0.307***	0.502***
	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Number of patents	-0.057***	-0.051***	-0.114***	-0.060***
	(0.007)	$(0.00^{\circ})$	(0.005)	(0.007)
Family size	0.	0.		$0.071^{***}$
	(Clean >	Grey > Dir	ty <sub>004</sub> )	(0.004)
Triadic	$0.456^{***}$	$0.481^{***}$	$0.454^{***}$	$0.441^{***}$
	(0.036)	(0.055)	(0.037)	(0.035)
Granted	$0.947^{***}$	$0.997^{***}$	$0.977^{***}$	$0.868^{***}$
	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.027)
Observations	1,149,988	326,942	$978,\!179$	1,006,996

## Robustness

- Compare clean & dirty patents developed by same inventor / company
- Look at university/company/individuals patents
- Control for R&D subsidies
- Citations made by *applicants* only (not by *examiners*)
- Different subsamples (triadic patents, US, EPO)
- Correct for self-citations within applicant
- Adding controls (# IPC codes, # inventors, # claims, # citations made, etc)

# The drivers – comparing clean to other emerging technologies





### Tobin's Q equation



### Decomposing knowledge spillovers



### Data

- Firm-level patent data + financial data
- 8735 firms, 2000-2011

- Market value, assets, R&D, patents

Citations between firms to capture knowledge spillovers

### Results

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dep. var.	ln Tobin's Q				
R&D / assets	0.438***	0.436***	0.427***	0.433***	0.428***
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Patent / R&D	-0.097**	-0.070	-0.062		-0.062
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.045)		(0.045)
Fwd citations / patent		$0.074^{***}$	0.031***		0.029***
		(0.006)	(0.010)		(0.010)
Knowledge spillovers			0.059***		
ratewieage spinover	0		(0.011)		
Closp spillovors				0.146***	0.125***
Clean spillovers				(0.037)	(0.037)
Dirty spillovors				0.053	0.041
Dirty spinovers				(0.033)	(0.033)
Other spillovers				0.080***	0.056***
Other spinovers				(0.007)	(0.011)

# Where do spillovers occur?

- Who captures these spillovers and the benefits that go with them?
- On average, 50% of knowledge spillovers in clean occur within the country of the inventor
  - The figure is smaller for small open economies (ex: UK 20%)

Good news from unilateral policy perspective

### Where do spillovers occur?


## **Conclusion & policy implications**

- Clean innovations generate significantly more spillovers than dirty technologies; the marginal value of clean spillovers is also greater
  - This comes from the relative novelty of clean technologies
  - Climate policies that induce a switch away from dirty and towards clean innovation can have economic co-benefits
  - Crowding out of dirty is key
- Spillovers are localized
  - This might lower concerns that unilateral climate policies lead to negative competitiveness effects
  - The share of benefits from innovation will be larger than benefits from avoided climate damage

## Thanks

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http://personal.lse.ac.uk/dechezle/