## The Value of International Patent Rights

Jonathan Putnam<sup>1</sup>

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#### Abstract

I study an inventor's decision to file for patent protection in each of an arbitrary set of countries, as a means of estimating the global value of patent rights, and the distribution from which patented inventions are drawn. Using oversampled, invention-level data from the 1974 international patent cohort, I estimate a random-coefficient, multinomial probit model for the 18 leading patenting countries. The Monte Carlo simulation results are consistent with those of patent renewal models, except in the right tail of the distribution, where the international model imputes significantly more value (up to \$50 million worldwide) to the most valuable inventions. The international component of annual capitalized patent returns alone represents over \$14 billion in 1974 dollars, or about 21% of annual private business R&D in the countries under investigation. The average internationally protected patented invention generates about \$245,000 in patent rights, with over half the total value captured by the top 5% of inventions. With the exception of Japan, the largest developed countries appear to grant more value in patent rights at home than they hold abroad.

Keywords: patent, technology, trade, valuation, renewal, multinomial probit, discrete choice, sample selection

## 1 Introduction

When an inventor makes an invention, we commonly refer to it independently of its economic and institutional circumstances: Edison invented "the" light bulb; Salk discovered "the" polio vaccine. In formal economics, it is standard practice to note that additional investments may be required to adapt or improve an invention to suit local biological conditions or factor prices,<sup>1</sup> as in the case of hybrid plant varieties or this winter's flu shot. In the absence of such investments, however, formal economics also treats an invention (though of course not its value) without reference to its location or the state of nature.

The same cannot be said, however, of the property right that is most commonly used as an invention indicator, i.e., a patent. A patent grants the right to exclude others within the granting jurisdiction from making, using or selling an invention. Typically, however, the scope of this right varies, both systematically and stochastically, between countries. Some countries, for example, forbid patent protection for medical products. More generally, the definition of an "equivalent" invention, and therefore the boundaries of permissible imitation, has evolved through the quasi-independent legislative, judicial, and technological histories of each country. Thus, holding an invention's *technological* definition constant, its *legal* definition—its claims and their interpretation, its sphere of exclusion, the efficacy of its disclosure, even its probability of issue—shifts with a change in jurisdiction. For this reason, and apart from differences in market size and competitive conditions, the value of holding a patent right on the "same" invention varies from country to country.

While counting patents as indicators of technological change has a long, if somewhat unsatisfying,<sup>2</sup> history, efforts to value them remain novel and relatively uncommon. Pakes and Schankerman (1984) made the key observation that, like R&D itself, patenting is an optimizing process,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The classic exposition of this point is Fei and Ranis (1964).

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$ Cf. Griliches's review (1990) and his epigraphic conversation "overheard in a Catskills resort: 'The food here is terrible.' 'Yes, and the portions are so small.' "

rather than simply an unobserved "propensity" (Scherer 1983). Pakes and Schankerman estimated a model of the decision to renew patent protection in a country that requires the patentee to pay an increasing annual fee to keep his rights in force. Subsequent work by Schankerman and Pakes (1986), Pakes (1986), Pakes and Simpson (1989), Schankerman (1991) and Lanjouw (1993) has refined and generalized the original optimizing model, to allow for more general returns distributions and to compare the behavior of patentees across countries and technology groups.<sup>3</sup>

Though differing in their approach to an inventor's learning during an invention's early years and in the data employed, these studies share two important features. First, they implicitly condition on the filing of an application. That is, the filing cost—typically the first and most expensive part of obtaining patent protection—is assumed sunk in these models, and therefore does not influence the value distribution. This assumption generates an inconsistency, in that the capitalized value of simulated patent returns may fall short of the cost of filing; depending on the model and dataset employed, this inconsistency can afflict up to 20% of the patents in the left tail of the value distribution.<sup>4</sup> Second, each study models the value of patent rights in a single country. In comparing the value of patent rights across countries, these studies implicitly treat the value distributions as independent, and abstract from differences in market size, patent system "strength," or other economic and institutional factors.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>See Lanjouw, Pakes and Putnam (1996) for a review of these models and an evaluation of their utility in policy and other applied settings.

<sup>4</sup>Models that permit returns to evolve stochastically sometimes avoid this inconsistency, in the sense that the expected value of filing is greater than the cost, conditional on information available at the time the cost is incurred. For example, in Lanjouw (1993), the applicant is assumed to know nothing about the value of his particular invention at the time of filing, and therefore his expected value of filing is the unconditional mean of the distribution. On the other hand, in Pakes (1986), the applicant receives an initial draw that determines the conditional evolution of returns and therefore the conditional expected value of filing, which need not be greater than the filing cost. The imposition of a filing fee in his model would have increased the hazard of obsolescence: the large number of early dropouts would have to have been explained by an increased likelihood that a patent drawing an initial return sufficient to cover the filing cost would ultimately prove worthless.

<sup>5</sup>Schankerman and Pakes (1986) compare trends in national GDP over time with changes in the value distribution for the U.K., France and Germany. Schankerman (1991) takes into account the cross-cohort effect of the 1970s oil These features have some limitations. Conditioning inference on the observation of a patent has been a main objection to the use of patent statistics for decades (Griliches 1990). This form of sample selection is actually only one of a number of selection mechanisms that skew the conclusions drawn from patent counts, particularly when international comparisons are made. Most inventions are not patented in every country, so the use of patent counts from any one country is misleading. A related point is that foreign filing choices are not made from the same information set as domestic filings, so comparisons even within a single country are biased. The United States keeps rejected applications secret, so U.S.-oriented researchers observe only that fraction of filings that the patent office deems to be worthy of grant, which is a subset of all those that had private value *ex ante*. On the other hand, many other countries allow the inventor to delay the patent office's grant decision for several years after filing, with the result that a much larger fraction of applications—all of which are observed—fail to mature into patents than in the U.S. Thus, the various selection mechanisms afflict not only optimizing models, but even simple patent counts.

The demand for an international dimension to economic patent analysis has been articulated by economists and policymakers for over 40 years. Penrose (1951) was perhaps the first to point out systematically the possibility that the international patent system operated to the detriment of countries with large markets but poor prospects for inventing. With the creation by the U.S. of a "watch list" of countries that may be threatened with sanctions for inadequate protection of intellectual property rights (e.g., USITC 1988), and the incorporation intellectual property rights into the most recent GATT round, the North-South patent debate has intensified recently, at least in the theoretical and policy literatures.<sup>6</sup> On the empirical side, however, Raymond Vernon's study for the U.S. government prior to an earlier attempt at international consensus remains apt today: shocks on patent values in France. Lanjouw (1993) simulates the effects of various policy changes on the patent value

<sup>5</sup>See e.g. Chin and Grossman (1990), Diwan and Rodrik (1991), Deardorff (1992), and Helpman (1993). Benko (1987) and Gadbaw and Richards (1988) are North-oriented reviews of the debate; Lesser et al. (1989), Primo Braga (1989) and Siebeck et al. (1990) include the South's perspective in their reviews.

distribution for several German technology sectors.

3

But the resolution of issues does not always wait on data. The 1957 Lisbon meeting will reach its decisions to modify the international patent system, with or without facts.<sup>7</sup>

As an initial effort to provide basic data on international patenting patterns, the World Intellectual Property Organization has published data on patent counts by source and granting country, in total and for some technology subaggregates, since the 1970s. Evenson (1984) analyzes these data and finds the source of inventions concentrated in the top five countries; except for the U.S., almost all countries grant more patents to foreigners than to their own citizens. An early effort to explain the pairwise flow of patents, in a manner analogous to explaining export patterns, is found in the gravity-equation model of Slama (1981). Slama concluded that both market size and distance were significant determinants of patent activity, as they are for exports. Recently, Eaton et al. (1996) consider technology-specific explanations for variation in the flows of patents between countries, finding systematic differences in the mobility of technologies between countries. Eaton and Kortum (1996a, 1996b) also employ patent flows in a structural model of the effects of R&D, patenting and imitation on the growth of productivity among OECD countries. They find that the inflow of inventions from abroad explains a significant fraction of observed productivity growth in almost all countries. Each of these studies, however, employs the pairwise flow of patent rights as the unit of observation, analogous to trade in physical goods. In addition to ignoring the statistical and economic dependence of these flows, which is rooted in a common set of originating inventions, this specification does not make use of information embodied in the highly heterogeneous patterns of protection sought by different inventors. Not surprisingly, pairwise studies are also open to the criticism that they fail to count patents properly, because a patent document means different things in different countries.

It is this heterogeneity—both in national patent systems and in international filing choices that I exploit in the present paper. The most important feature distinguishing this paper from earlier efforts is the explicit decomposition of the inventor's returns into components that remain

<sup>7</sup> The International Patent System and Foreign Policy, United States Senate Subcommittee on Patents and Trademarks (1957). constant across national boundaries, reflecting the intrinsic economic quality of the invention, and components that vary both systematically and stochastically by country. This decomposition captures the decision process of an inventor who, having invested in R&D and made an invention in a particular country, must recoup his investment from the opportunities afforded by the world's various intellectual property regimes and market circumstances. By conditioning on market size, and allowing for country-specific opportunities that are observed by the inventor but not the econometrician, we can identify not only the expected contribution of each country's institutional regime, but also the parameters of the world's underlying invention quality distribution. This identification is achieved using only the inventor's binary choice to file for patent protection.

Taking an international, cross-sectional approach to patent valuation yields several other immediate benefits:

- 1. It enables comparison of the level of national R&D expenditures with each nation's worldwide returns to patent protection, shedding light on the patent system's contribution to appropriating returns to R&D.
- 2. It provides a quantitative answer to the question, Which countries benefit most from the international patent system?
- 3. It offers more precise information about the right tail of the quality distribution, where most of the value is concentrated, because only a tiny fraction of all inventions are patented in all countries.
- 4. Because it treats an observed application as coming from a truncated distribution, it also sheds light on the *left* tail of the distribution, i.e., on those inventions that are not patented due to the cost of patenting.
- 5. It facilitates the construction of firm-level time series, because each invention contributes an observation for each *possible* country in which it could be patented, greatly increasing efficiency.

The present study makes use of a dataset that, while not previously employed in econometric work, is widely available and extends back in some fields as far as 1963. It is, however, relatively costly to access for samples of the size that applied researchers typically require. For this among other reasons, I also implement an oversampling strategy that increases the information obtainable from a given number of inventions.

There are two principal tradeoffs involved in taking an international approach, apart from the cost of the data.<sup>8</sup> The first is the absence—at least in the present model—of renewal, or any other time-varying, data on the patents, with which to bound the implied returns sequences. Second, the institutional differences in national patent systems substantially increase the complexity of both the applicant's decision problem and the data generating process, which in turn increase the complexity of the model, relative to single-country models. While I attempt to justify the particular modeling decisions made based on the data and computational considerations, these are open to further refinement and generalization.

Before laying out the model itself, I describe the institutional and legal regimes that generate the data, in Section 2. Section 3 introduces the data themselves: the 1974 invention cohort. These sections provide the reader with important background for the modeling choices presented in Section 4. Sections on estimation results and their robustness (5), and a comparison of Monte Carlo simulations with the data and with earlier work (6) follow. In the final section I offer a critical evaluation of the model's performance and outline a program of further research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>To be fair, patent renewal data are typically even more costly to gather, on an invention-by-invention basis. The data employed in Pakes and Schankerman (1984), Schankerman and Pakes (1986) and Pakes (1986) were aggregated over all inventions and published by the national patent offices in the countries they studied. The data used in Pakes and Simpson (1989), Lanjouw (1993) and Putnam (1991) were collected manually; the patent offices waived the usual per-patent fees.

## 2 The Patent System as a Data Generating Process

At its most intuitive level, the patent system functions as a screening device: only new, non-trivial inventions are patentable. We might hope, therefore, that by counting patents we could obtain at least rough indices of technological change, without constructing R&D "stocks" or otherwise confronting the problems posed by total factor productivity estimation. Unfortunately, the resulting indices turn out to be so rough that they may fail to convey any new information, and in fact may badly mislead. Both temporal and cross-sectional problems arise in constructing these indices. Because both patent renewal models and the model presented in Section 4 try to extract information from the byproducts of the screening process, it helps to understand the basics of that process in order to evaluate each model's strengths and weaknesses.

#### 2.1 National and International Rules

Temporally, the filtering process operates through a dynamic, non-market feedback loop among the patent office, the inventor, and rival inventors. The date that defines the information set against which an application will be judged is the date of filing the application. Following this date, the applicant may accumulate significant additional information, from his own labs, from the marketplace, and from the patent office. One frequent consequence of his learning is that he abandons his application rather than continue to incur legal and administrative fees. The patented inventions that survive examination constitute a highly selected, highly heterogeneous set.

Cross-sectionally, the patent screening process differs markedly across countries. In the U.S. and Canada, a patent application is published only if it is granted; otherwise its contents and existence are kept secret. Once the patent is granted, the inventor begins a 17-year period during which he may exclude others from "making, using or selling" the invention. No further fees are required; naturally, this precludes the use of renewal models in these countries.<sup>9</sup> Although the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Both the U.S. and Canada began to require renewal fees in the mid-1980s; the model developed below employs

observed inventions are quite heterogeneous in quality, there is nothing, economically speaking, to distinguish one granted patent from another.<sup>10</sup>

The patent screening process affords different windows in other countries. In most countries, all patent applications are published, 18 months after filing, independent of the patent office's decision to accept or reject them. In many countries, the applications are published again if and when they are granted, to reflect any changes, such as withdrawing some claims or augmenting the disclosure, that may have been required by the patent office. This process implies that both "failures" and "successes" are observed-events that might, in principle, be explained. In some countries, notably Germany and Japan, a separate, optional fee is required in order to initiate formal examination proceedings, with the inventor having up to seven years to decide whether to request examination. After allowance by the patent office, some countries permit formal opposition to the allowed application by any interested party, before the patent is actually granted. Following the grant, most countries require that the patentee continue to pay increasing annual renewal fees in order to keep the patent alive. All of these events are observable, all require the payment of a known fee in order to proceed to the next stage, and all provide discrete occasions for the applicant to abandon his rights. Thus, the "screening" that occurs also reflects endogenous choices by the applicant, which are more readily observed in other countries than in the U.S. The diversity of practice around the world implies a corresponding diversity in optimal responses during the patent prosecution period, which has further stymied efforts to draw meaningful inferences directly from international comparisons of observed "patent" counts.

The "international patent system," which essentially consists of the provisions of the Paris data from 1974, however, which were grandfathered into the pre-renewal-fee regime. At this writing, the U.S. is in the process of changing its patent term from 17 years after grant to 20 years after application, which is the standard in most of Europe and Japan.

<sup>10</sup>For these reasons, U.S.-oriented researchers have been limited to the inference that all the economic information contained in a patent exists in the fact of its having been granted: because only granted patents are observed, this fact cannot be econometrically "explained." Instead, empirical researchers have counted patents, treating counts endogenously or exogenously depending on the focus of their study.

Convention, imposes a bit of further structure in both the temporal and cross-sectional dimensions. Temporally, the Paris Convention imposes a one-year limit for filing foreign applications after the initial filing date, if they are to retain that date as the reference point against which their invention will be judged. The initial filing becomes the "priority filing," and the date it was filed the "priority date." Applications filed in another signatory country of the Paris Convention before the onevear deadline retain the "priority" of the initial application, i.e., they are judged in the queue of applications against the state of the art prevailing on the priority date rather than their actual filing date in the signatory country. This latitude allowed under the Paris Convention removes the major cost of delay in filing (foreign) patent applications: the risk of losing the race to the patent office.

Cross-sectionally, Convention rules require a policy of non-discrimination: whatever the country's particular patent rules (about which the Convention makes minimal stipulations), they must apply equally to domestic and foreign inventors.<sup>11</sup> The level procedural field, coupled with the transactions costs of foreign filing (e.g., mandatory translation of the application) generally imply that domestic filing is cheaper.<sup>12</sup>

Costless delay for foreign applications, the policy of non-discrimination as between foreign and domestic inventors, and the high cost of filing abroad, help to explain two empirical regularities: (1) most priority patent applications are filed in the inventor's home country;<sup>13</sup> (2) among the

<sup>12</sup>Putnam (1996) develops a model that explains the choice of priority country by the dynamics introduced under the one-year Paris Convention rule. Because delay is costless, the applicant's initial filing may show negative returns, net of the cost of filing, with probability 1.

<sup>13</sup>While these statements are generally true, there are exceptions. Data from the U.S., 1975-95, show that about 98% of all inventions whose first inventor resides in the U.S. are also filed first in the U.S. In this dataset, the percentage of inventors filing first in their home country ranges downward to just under 90% for the major European

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The European Patent Office, which began issuing patents in 1978, administers a single examination procedure valid in all designated countries, but leaves enforcement of the resulting patent rights to member countries. (In addition to application and examination fees, the applicant pays a fee according to the number of European countries in which he seeks protection; the additional complexity implied by the EPO's application fee schedule is another reason to restrict the model initially to the pre-1978 regime.)

inventions for which foreign applications are also filed, the vast majority of foreign applications are not filed until the one-year anniversary of the home country (priority) filing. Together, these two regularities foreshadow another important feature of the data: (3) the large majority of inventions are protected only in their home country.

Patent offices do not grant patents based on their economic value, but on their technical merit.<sup>14</sup> Overall, this distinction is useful, because it keeps subjective claims of private value from contaminating the objective determination of non-trivially new technology. Unfortunately, it is the lack of correlation between technical merit and private value that complicates the formulation of patent policy, as well as the valuation of patent rights.<sup>15,16</sup> Because the patent office rewards technical countries, 70-80% in the minor European countries, and about 25% in Belgium and Canada. Unfortunately, in the data to be analyzed below the inventor's country of residence is not identified.

<sup>14</sup>Over time, U.S. courts have come to accept certain "secondary factors" as indirect evidence of the technical merit of an invention (beginning with *Graham v. John Deere*, 383 U.S. 1 (1966)). Some of these, such as "long-felt need" and "commercial success," are explicitly demand-related; others, such as "evidence of the failure of others" and "acquiescence" [by rivals to the patent right] depend on supply choices. Explicit market considerations are generally introduced only in subsequent litigation, in defense of a patent's validity, rather than during the application process.

<sup>15</sup>There are varied reasons for the imperfect correlation between private value and technical merit. (1) Patent rights are specific assets, for which markets are thin and transactions costs are high, and so have value that depends in general on their owner (Teece 1986). (2) Successful inventions are often complementary; a technically superior product, isolated from a feasible manufacturing process, has little private value. (3) Perhaps most importantly, the value of a *patent right* depends, not only on the market conditions that determine the profitability of the *invention*, but on the ability of the patentee to claim exclusive use of the information he has discovered and must disclose. This ability depends on both the state of related arts and on the *inventor's* awareness of his invention's permutations. Particularly with breakthrough inventions, an inventor has imperfect information at the time of filing about how best to claim uses of his new discovery. As a result, inventions with great technical merit may yield relatively low economic value, as the new information disseminates and opportunistic imitators (who may have complementary private information) exploit interstices in the claims.

<sup>16</sup>At one extreme, a putative "patent right" would be very valuable even if it disclosed no new information (e.g., it simply claimed the same device claimed by another patent, creating a "duopoly"); at the other, an application that disclosed important technical information, but that failed to claim any patentable device, would fail to provide any grounds for market exclusion (e.g., it simply disclosed the results of a scientific experiment). Between these extremes, neither of which would issue as a granted patent, lies a vast territory where the economic value and the merit rather than private value, it may reject applications that have positive private value. In most cases, the grounds for rejection are "insufficient merit" (in legal terms, both novel and non-obvious).

Applications may also fail to mature into patents for many other reasons, such as better information about their true private value. Because we will eventually wish to compare the capitalized value of expected patent returns with the cost of filing, and because we have no information on the applicant's valuation of returns subsequent to his filing decision, we may ask the basic question, Do patent returns start on the filing date, or the grant date? Perhaps even more than most capital goods, intangible property generates rents that are difficult to identify with any particular flow of cash.<sup>17</sup> There is little evidence, or even conceptual agreement, on what constitutes a "current return" to patent protection, so the Bellman-type separability of the value function into current returns and an option on future returns rests almost entirely on the specification and assumptions of the model, rather than on data. Putnam (1996) investigates the issue in more depth; his principal conclusions are that patent returns actually comprise several distinct components, whose onsets cannot be observed:

- 1. Returns to search. The applicant need not be fully informed about the state of the art, nor about his invention's relative novelty. Filing an application is one (depending on the fee, government-subsidized) way of becoming fully informed, but this investment may never generate returns to patent protection per se. In fact, a fully informed applicant might never have filed the application.
- 2. Returns to signalling. In some countries (the U.S.), a patent application has no legal effect. In particular, the patentee cannot recover damages for infringement during pendency; in other countries (e.g., Germany), some recovery is possible. A pending application has at least one real effect, however, that may generate current returns: it is a credible signal of research

technical merit of a grantable application may vary almost independently, and occasionally (because of the "creative destruction" (Schumpeter 1947; Caballero and Jaffe 1993) caused by the disclosure) inversely.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>For example, most firms do not report the capitalized value of their patent returns as an asset on their balance sheets (although income from licensing is reported on their income statements).

success. This may affect the firm's ability to raise capital, for example, or induce additional spending by rivals, thereby raising their costs.

3. Returns to delay. In the U.S., examination is automatic; its cost is included in the application fee, and a final decision is typically rendered within three years. In Japan and Germany, the applicant may delay requesting examination up to seven years while he accumulates additional information; as previously noted, he may be eligible for patent damages during the pendency interval. In general, we would be mistaken to conclude that a patent granted in the U.S. (say) must generate current returns, particularly if we were to observe that it was eventually abandoned without examination in other markets where the applicant had filed.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the receipt of a granted patent is neither necessary nor sufficient for realizing returns. A model that ignores renewal data in computing capitalized *ex ante* asset values has the advantage of abstracting from most of these temporal issues in comparing the present value of the *option* on future returns—all unrealized on the filing date—with the cost of filing. Even though we observe the date of grant in the dataset, we cannot identify the commencement of returns with this date, or with any other observable date. Inevitably, a degree of arbitrariness must accompany any blanket assumption. I illustrate the effects of changing assumptions about when returns start for a given renewal fee schedule and depreciation rate in the next section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>For similar reasons, one cannot rely on the ratio of grants to applications as an index of the stringency of examination, from which one might infer the quality of information possessed by each patent office.

## 3 The 1974 International Patent Application Cohort

The data discussed in this section were selected from Derwent Ltd.'s World Patent Information online database. The data were chosen so that their priority application was filed in 1974; this was the first year that Derwent covered all technologies.<sup>19, 20</sup> In 1974, Derwent effectively monitored 24 national patent offices. Among these, the relevant application, renewal, translation and legal fees could be obtained for 18.<sup>21</sup>

A typical database entry records the patentee, various technological classifications (both the standard International Patent Classification  $codes^{22}$  and proprietary Derwent codes), and various document numbers corresponding to applications and publications (which comprise both unexamined applications and granted patents, depending on the country). There is thus some temporal information implicitly available, in the sense that the final status of some applications can be tracked. In order to simplify the analysis, I only recorded the publication of a document as an

<sup>21</sup>Countries covered by Derwent but omitted from this study include the former Soviet Union (which published about 35,000 applications in 1974), the former East Germany (7,000), Brazil (6,700) the former Czechoslovakia (6,000), Romania (1,600) and Israel (1,400). With the exception of East Germany, the former Soviet bloc countries were not significant sources or targets of patenting activity for the West. Intra-bloc patenting among these countries was fairly common, however.

 $^{22}$ It is both helpful and interesting to reclassify patents by their industrial, as opposed to technological, classification. Doing so, however, raises a whole host of issues that must remain beyond the scope of the present paper, such as whether one wishes to classify the industry of origin of the invention (say, to compare the value of patented output with R&D inputs), or the industry of use (in order to explain interindustry differences in productivity growth, for example). For a discussion of these issues and a concordance between the IPC and SIC classification systems, see Kortum and Putnam (1992) and Evenson and Putnam (1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Derwent's data collection began in 1963, covering agricultural chemicals in 11 countries, expanding in 1965 to pharmaceuticals and in 1970 to all chemical inventions. The only omission from the expansion to all technologies in 1974 is Japanese electronic inventions, which were not included apparently due to their sheer volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>The year 1974 is also the latest cohort (as of 1995) for which complete renewal data might be observed, given the 20-years-from-filing patent lifetime available in most countries, plus the one-year delay permitted under the Paris Convention. Unfortunately, renewal data are not available from Derwent. Their eventual collection and incorporation into the model remains the subject of future research.

indicator of an application's having been filed.<sup>23</sup>

The sample selected for analysis consists of approximately 28,400 patent families, of which about 20,700 are international patent families. "Large" international families were oversampled.<sup>24</sup> Using the sampling weights, we can estimate the total number of inventions for which protection was sought in the 18 countries under study as approximately 168,000, generating a total of about 377,000 patent applications, or an average filing rate of just over two countries per invention. An estimated 58,100 of the 168,000, or about 35%, were international families, averaging about 4.6 countries per family.

Tables 1, 2 and 3 presents summary information on the 1974 cohort for the 18 countries that constitute the sample. <sup>25</sup> Table 1 views each country as a grantor of patent rights, i.e., in an

<sup>23</sup>The Derwent database contains fields for both applications and publications. The application field gives the country of origin of the first (priority) application, as well as evidence of amended applications in other countries. The availability of this additional data means that, for example, if a U.S. applicant files in the United States, where ungranted applications are not published, and then files in Germany, which automatically publishes applications, the record will note the presence of the U.S. application and give the application number, even if no U.S. patent ever issues. In the summary tabulations below, I exploit this additional source of information on the inventor's filing patterns. In the econometric model, however, I omit the information available from the application field because the question of whether one observes an application, and the appropriate correction for sample selection, then becomes a function of the source-destination country pair (in this case, U.S.-Germany), rather than of the destination country alone.

<sup>24</sup>More precisely, the organization of the Derwent database permitted stratification on the number of *documents* in the family, rather than on the number of countries (a constraint that no longer appears in current versions of the database). This results in oversampling countries that publish the patent document more than once, such as Japan, Germany and the Netherlands, but does not bias the inferences. The sampling rule was to choose 26 of every 500 families having one document, 51 of every 500 families having two documents, and 501 of every 1000 families having three or more documents.

<sup>25</sup>The data were drawn from two sources: the Derwent sample, and annual publications of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). WIPO reports aggregate statistics collected from the national offices, such as the total number of applications in countries that do not publish individual applications, and subtotals by resident/nonresident inventors, that are not available from the Derwent sample. The WIPO data are averaged over the period 1973-76; for various reasons, mostly related to differences in the definition of an annual cohort, direct year-to-year international context, as a potential "target" for patent protection. Countries in the table are ranked by their average number of patents granted, according to the WIPO definition, during 1973-76. Column 1 presents each country's share of the world total (where the "world" comprises the 18 countries under investigation). The "Big Five"—the U.S., Japan, (West) Germany, France and the U.K.—account for nearly 70% of applications filed in the sample. The endogenous sample attrition due to delayed examination by the patent office is particularly noticeable in Germany and Japan: Column 2 shows that each has a much larger share of world applications than world patent grants.

Columns 3 and 4 give the percentage of world patent families (Column 3) and world international patent families (Column 4) that show a filing in the indicated country. It is readily apparent that no country is an automatic target for patent protection. Even the U.S., with a GDP about three times that of Germany's or Japan's during this period, appears to have generated positive *ex ante* net returns for only about 64% of all families filed internationally; for over half the countries, the figure is less than 20%.<sup>26</sup>

Column 5 shows the fraction of each country's applications that originate from domestic inventors. Most countries grant significantly more *numbers* of patents to foreigners, particularly to inventors from the Big Five, than they do to their own citizens. This observation has led to the claim that significant trade imbalances exist between some country pairs, particularly between North and South, in the *value* of patent rights.

Columns 6 and 7 present each country's patent granting rate for all inventions and for that subset filed by foreigners, taken as the ratio of patents granted to patents filed during the interval 1973-76. The success rates of foreign patents are generally higher than those for patents as a whole. This might be expected, given the one-year delay permitted to foreigners, and their higher cost

comparisons between the WIPO and Derwent data are not possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>In the case of the U.S., this figure is biased downward considerably, because the U.S. does not publish applications unless they are granted.

	Pe	ercent of	world	totals	Share of domestic applications			
	Origina	ating	Families with		Filed by	Granted,		
	in <i>j</i> (	(%)	members in $j$ (%)		domestic	by source		
	Patents	Apps.	All Int'l		inventors	All	Foreign	
Country $j$	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
US	25.2	19.0	40.9	63.9	.613	.692	.630	
JP	14.6	27.7	30.2	27.7	.825	.275	.352	
GB	13.7	9.9	20.2	53.1	.385	.720	.904	
FR	8.1	7.7	22.4	53.9	.290	.547	.521	
CA	7.3	4.9	13.1	35.8	.068	.780	.786	
DE	7.3	11.3	36.9	69.7	.492	.333	.338	
BE	4.9	2.5	7.6	20.8	.079	.994	.995	
CH	4.3	3.1	8.2	20.1	.333	.727	.767	
SE	3.2	2.8	7.5	19.0	.276	.597	.655	
AT	2.5	1.8	4.3	10.9	.237	.710	.778	
IT	2.3	1.5	11.7	30.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
ZA	2.2	1.4	0.8	2.2	.311	.809	.757	
NL	1.2	2.9	8.5	23.4	.124	.218	.220	
DK	0.9	1.1	3.0	8.7	.117	.386	.393	
NO	0.8	0.8	2.3	6.3	.167	.498	.530	
HU	0.6	0.6	1.4	2.3	.375	.608	.647	
FI	0.5	0.7	1.7	4.8	.287	.338	.359	
PT	0.4	0.3	0.8	2.4	.050	.670	.675	

 Table 1: Summary Characteristics of Sample Country Patent Systems

 Patents/Applications Published in the Home Country

Notes to Table 1:

 Data for Columns (1), (2), (5), (6) and (7) are taken from annual publications of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), averaged over the years 1973-76. Data for Columns (3) and (4) are estimated from the Derwent sample described in the text.

2. The WIPO breakdown of applicants by source and their granting rate was unavailable for Italy. In the estimations, the success rate was assumed to be 0.80. of filing. Note, for example, the large discrepancies between countries that automatically examine patent applications (the U.S., U.K.) and countries that permit the applicant to delay examination (Japan, Germany). While one might expect that, within a country, the probability of acceptance by the patent office would be a positive function of the patent's technical quality, which should in turn be positively correlated with the patent's economic value, Figure 1 shows that even this simple inference is complicated by each office's rules. In the U.S., the probability of grant is uncorrelated with patent family size,<sup>27</sup> while in Germany and Japan the probability of grant increases with family size. On the other hand, Putnam (1996) shows that the average pendency of German and Japanese patents also increases with family size; discretionary delay and information acquisition thus appear to influence the success probabilities.

Table 2 inverts the perspective and views each country as a source of patentable technology. Columns 1 and 2 give the share of inventions in the Derwent sample originating in each country: first the share of all patent families (Column 1), then the share of international families only (Column 2). Considered from their source, the concentration of inventions into the Big Five countries is even more pronounced: together these countries account for more the 75% of the inventions in the sample, with the U.S. and Japan responsible for more than half.

Column 3 shows the percentage of inventions originating in each country that are subsequently filed abroad. Again, fairly wide differences emerge. At least three factors may explain why the relative frequency of foreign filing is higher for some countries: (1) sample selection—inventors only file *domestically* if they are likely also to file abroad, since domestic returns alone will not cover the cost of the domestic (priority) filing; (2) differing distributions—inventors from some countries systematically draw higher quality inventions; (3) differing export opportunities—inventors having in place more distribution networks and other infrastructure abroad are more highly integrated into world markets, which increases the returns to foreign patent protection. Some support for the

 $<sup>^{27}</sup>$ These estimates are computed by observing the fraction of internationally filed families originating in the respective countries that do not show a granted patent from that country. Thus, we can construct a success rate for (internationally filed) U.S.-origin applications even though the U.S. keeps its applications secret.

	World families		Domestic families			
	% originating in $j$		% filed abroad	Mear	n number of filings	
	All	Int'l		All	Int'l	
Country $j$	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
US	29.5	31.0	36.1	2.4	4.7	
JP	24.7	11.6	16.2	1.5	4.1	
GB	5.3	9.7	63.2	3.5	5.0	
$\mathbf{FR}$	6.4	7.4	39.7	<b>2.6</b>	5.1	
CA	1.4	1.7	43.0	2.2	3.7	
DE	19.9	20.3	35.1	2.5	5.2	
BE	0.8	1.0	44.0	1.8	2.9	
CH	3.1	5.4 ·	59.2	3.3	4.9	
SE	2.0	3.0	52.3	3.2	5.2	
AT	1.2	2.0	57.6	<b>2.7</b>	4.0	
IT	2.2	2.8	43.9	2.9	5.3	
ZA	0.9	0.2	8.2	1.5	6.2	
NL	1.2	2.1	60.1	4.2	6.3	
DK	0.2	0.5	100.0	5.1	5.1	
NO	0.3	0.4	49.9	2.8	4.6	
HU	0.7	0.3	16.2	1. <b>9</b>	6.3	
FI	0.2	0.5	96.3	4.4	4.5	
РТ	0.0	0.1	67.3	2.9	3.8	

Table 2: Summary Characteristics of Sample Country Patent SystemsPatents Held Worldwide by Inventors from the Home Country

Note to Table 2:

1. All data are estimated from the Derwent sample described in the text.

first hypothesis can be found in the generally inverse relationship observed in Column 3 between foreign filing frequency and the size of the domestic economy. Support for the second and third hypotheses might be found, for example, in a relationship between the level and mix of research projects in a country and its returns to patent protection, or a relationship between the level of exports and patent protection.

Finally, Columns 4 and 5 provide the mean "family size," as indicated by the number of country filings per invention, for all patent families (Column 4) and for international families only (Column 5). These figures are obviously influenced by the same factors that underlie Column 3, the share of inventions on which foreign applications are filed. For the same reasons, one cannot tell whether countries having higher mean filings are populated by better, luckier or more globally integrated inventors, or whether regional agglomeration and lower transactions costs between patent offices account for the difference. Although the mean family size has been proposed as an indicator of the value of a patent family (e.g., Mogee et al. 1993), simple inter-country and inter-firm comparisons are fraught with sample selection and multiple causality problems that make inferences from this statistic misleading.

Columns 1 through 4 present several items that characterize the patent system of each country in the sample. The first column indicates whether the Derwent sample contains published applications (A) or granted patents (P). Note that our observing only granted patents in some countries constitutes a source of measurement error in the dependent variable. Column 2 shows the maximum patent lifetime available in each country. In Canada and the U.S., patent lifetimes are defined with respect to the date of grant; elsewhere they are defined with respect to the date of application. Columns 3 and 4 of Table 3 provide two indications of the cost of filing in each country. Column 3 shows the maximum renewal fee in each country, which is invariably assessed in the last permissible year of patent life.

To illustrate the effects of the renewal fee schedule on the fixed cost of filing, I present in Figure 2 the minimum level of initial returns,  $\underline{r}_1$ , required by an applicant in Germany in order to cover the

	-				· · ·	
			Patent/			
			Application	$T^{\max}$	$c_{T^{\max}}$	<u><i>r</i></u> <sub>1</sub>
	Symbol	Country	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	US	United States	Р	17	0	164
2	JP	Japan	A,P	20	1142	383
3	GB	United Kingdom	P	16	196	269
4	FR	France	A	20	254	408
5	CA	Canada	Р	17	0	231
6	DE	Germany	A,P	18	990	355
7	BE	Belgium	A	20	125	311
8.	CH	Switzerland	A	20	226	387
9	SE	Sweden	A	20	259	411
10	AT	Austria	Р	18	641	264
11	IT	Italy	P	20	248	386
12	ZA	South Africa	A	20	8	236
13	NL	Netherlands	A,P	18	500	683
14	DK	Denmark	A	20	237	560
15	NO	Norway	A	20	274	437
16	HU	Hungary	Р	20	158	272
17	FI	Finland	A	20	411	397
18	PT	Portugal	Р	15	6	303
-	the second s					

Table 3: Summary Characteristics of Sample Country Patent Systems

Note to Table 3:

1. All monetary values (Columns 3 and 4) are expressed in 1974 U.S. dollars.

fixed cost of filing, and the renewal fees that he must pay along the way. In this figure, based on the German application and renewal fee schedules, the solid lines show the breakeven combinations of fixed costs  $C_0$  and initial returns r, given an assumed annual depreciation in returns of 15%. For example, if  $C_0 = $2000$  and we assume that returns begin in year 1, then  $\underline{r}_1 = $600$ . Alternatively, if we assume that the applicant's returns do not begin until age 7, the figure shows that he must forecast an initial return  $\underline{r}_7$  of at least \$1625 in order to justify an application.

Column 4 of Table 3 lists  $\underline{r}_{1j}$  for each country j, based on the estimated out-of-pocket costs of filing an application, again assuming an annual depreciation rate of 15% and optimal patentee renewal behavior given the country's renewal fee schedule.<sup>28,29</sup> The governmental costs of filing are taken from publications of the national patent offices; estimates of legal and translation fees associated with filing are taken from Helfgott (1993) and deflated using each country's implicit price deflator. The relatively low values for the U.S. and Canada reflect, in part, the absence of renewal fees in both countries; for each of these countries, under the assumption that patent returns depreciate at a constant rate, all patents are "renewed" out to their statutory maximum and earn returns over the entire interval.

Figure 2 also plots the year l that a patent earning the breakeven return is allowed to lapse as a function of its fixed costs and minimum initial return. Lapse occurs when current returns have depreciated to a level lower than the cost of renewal. If lapse occurs in year n then the region is delimited by dotted lines and denoted by l = n. To return to our examples, a patent that cost \$2000 and earned the breakeven return of \$600 beginning in year 1 would be renewed through year 8, then allowed to lapse in year l = 9; if returns did not begin until year 7, the patent would lapse in year l = 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>I assume that the inventor expects this schedule to remain constant, in real terms, throughout the life of his patent.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>The reported figure for each country is an average of the minimum returns required by inventors from each of the countries in the sample, weighted by the frequency of applications observed in 1974 from each country. In this case, the only source of variation across origin countries is the cost of translating the application if the languages of the source and destination countries are different.

An important empirical *irregularity* in international patent application data can be found in the pattern of protection sought, which cannot be explained by differences in filing costs, or simple filing rules. Note that for J countries, there are  $2^{J} - (J + 1)$  possible observable combinations of international patent protection. For J = 18 countries, this number is about  $2.6 \times 10^{5}$ . While only a small subset of these combinations is actually observed, it is nevertheless a large number in absolute terms, when compared to the number of choices that must be modelled in a single-country renewal model. Among the sample of 20,700 international families, 5810 unique combinations of application countries can be observed. The top 50 of these accounted for about 50% of the estimated weighted total of 58,100, with the U.S.-Canada pair accounting for 9% alone.

Table 4 illustrates this source of variation among the top five patenting countries, by ranking the 32 possible combinations of these countries according to their estimated frequencies in the population of international families. Each combination is indicated by a string of letters corresponding to the first letter of each country's international symbol (so Germany is denoted by "D" and the U.K. by "G"). Countries outside the top five are disregarded, except that an international family having no members among the top five is denoted by the word -none-. (Using this notation, each country can appear singly, which implies that it has been paired with at least one other country outside the top five.)

The most likely combinations are those covering all of the top five countries (having probability .12) and the top five sans Japan (.15) (Column 1). Twenty-three of the 32 combinations occur at the rate of at least .01 in the population. About 3% of all international families are filed in none of the top five countries. Column 2 of Table 4 shows the corresponding probabilities for the entire (domestic-only as well as international) population. Because of their large percentage of domestic-only families, the U.S., Japan and Germany dominate this column.

Columns 4, 5 and 6 of Table 4 indicate the relationship between the truncated combination shown and the actual number of filings observed in the 18 countries. Column 4 shows the average number of filings for each combination; an invention filed in each of the top five is filed on average

		Probability of		ility of	Mean Size of	Percent Filed in	
:		Combination			Combination	$\geq n$ Countries	
		Int'l	Ail	Multinomial	(# countries)	n = 6	n = 10
Combination		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	U DFG	.1521	.0527	.0889	7.1	69.1	15.7
2	UJDFG	.1213	.0420	.0336	9.0	91.5	35.7
3	U	.1054	.2248	.0314	2.1	0.1	0.0
4	Ď	.0740	.1546	.0407	2.3	1.5	0.0
5	DFG	.0630	.0218	.0518	5.4	36.9	6.7
6	DF	.0610	.0211	.0465	3.5	11.8	0.8
7	UD	.0389	.0135	.0699	2.7	2.4	0.2
8	U G	.0381	.0132	.0350	2.7	1.4	0.0
9	UJ	.0356	.0123	.0119	2.2	0.5	0.0
10	-none-	.0316	.0837	.0183	2.3	0.7	0.0
11	UDG	.0316	.0110	.0779	4.2	11.2	0.4
12	UDF	.0298	.0103	.0798	4.9	28.0	2.5
13	F	.0240	.0468	.0209	2.3	0.6	0.0
14	DG	.0225	.0078	.0454	2.8	4.1	0.2
15	JDFG	.0221	.0077	.0195	7.8	74.7	23.8
16	UJD	.0206	.0072	.0264	3.4	3.2	0.0
17	UJD G	.0188	.0065	.0294	5.0	23.7	1.1
18	FG	.0152	.0053	.0233	2.9	5.9	-0.5
19	G	.0147	.0235	.0204	2.2	0.9	0.0
20	JD	.0132	.0046	.0154	2.3	0.8	0.3
21	U FG	.0120	.0042	.0400	4.7	23.4	3.4
<b>22</b>	UJDF	.0106	.0037	.0301	6.5	58.7	11.6
23	υF	.0100	.0035	.0359	2.9	4.1	0.0
24	JDF	.0080	.0028	.0175	5.4	43.9	4.3
25	UJ G	.0065	.0022	.0132	3.7	4.8	0.0
26	JD G	.0052	.0018	.0171	3.5	5.3	0.0
27	JG	.0033	.0011	.0077	2.3	1.0	1.0
28	J	.0031	.2078	.0069	2.5	6.6	0.0
29	UJ FG	.0030	.0010	.0151	5.6	46.5	1.2
30	UJ F	.0020	.0007	.0135	3.9	10.2	0.0
31	J FG	.0014	.0005	.0088	4.0	14.4	2.4
32	JF	.0012	.0004	.0079	3.2	8.7	2.9

Table 4: Density of Combinations for the Top Five Countries

Note to Table 4:

1. All data are estimated from the Derwent sample described in the text. Column 3 is the predicted probability from the multinomial model, based on the probability of filing an international patent application in 23ch of the 18 countries (Column 4 of Table 1).

in nine of the 18 countries. Column 5 shows that patenting in *only* the top five countries is also quite rare: over 91% of all families having the UJDFG combination are also patented in at least one other country. Given that these countries account for such a large fraction of the world total, it seems rather surprising that so few inventors choose to patent only in them.

We formalize this query as the null hypothesis of complete independence across countries in a multinomial model of international patent filing, tested against the alternative of dependence, which we will attribute in the next section to the common economic quality of patents in different institutional settings. If we use the notation  $y_j = 1$  to indicate that an applicant files in country j,  $y_j = 0$  otherwise, then the probability of observing any particular vector of patent filings  $\bar{y}$  is given by:

$$Prob[\tilde{y}] = \prod_{j=1}^{J} (\pi_j)^{\tilde{y}_j} \times (1 - \pi_j)^{1 - \tilde{y}_j}$$

Employing as estimates of  $\pi_j$  the percentages given in Column 4 of Table 1 (which gives the unconditional probability that an international patent family has a member in each of the 18 countries), we can compute these probabilities straightforwardly. Column 3 of Table 4 shows the sum of these probabilities for all families having the truncated five-country combination shown, as predicted by a multinomial model. While the results show some similarity, indicating that there is a significant independent component to returns across countries,  $\chi^2$  tests reject the equivalence of the distributions even for very small samples. Consistent with our suppositions, the multinomial model predicts a 50% larger share of all families filed in each of the Big Five are filed only there (14%, as against 8.5% in the data).

The economic significance of rejecting a multinomial model can be made somewhat more emphatically by comparing the actual and estimated densities of patent families distributed by the number of countries in which filings are observed. The multinomial model predicts that we should observe essentially zero families with filings in 10 or more countries. The data, on the other hand, show approximately 8% of all patent families having at least 10 filings. Column 6 of Table 4 shows the large variability in this likelihood across different patterns of protection in the Big Five countries. If we equate these large families with the upper tail of the value distribution, and accept the Lorenz curve estimates, we can infer from Pakes's (1986) Monte Carlo simulations that the top 8% of all patents account for about 40% of the total value of the population. Thus, an error in this part of the distribution has much greater significance in value terms than its simple frequency suggests.

If we accept the alternative hypothesis that patents have a common quality across countries, we come to the problem of defining what we mean by "quality" and its relationship to economic value. In the case of single-country models, quality is indistinguishable from the value of the patent right. On the other hand, in an international context we must confront the fact that patents on the same invention, having therefore the same technical merit, will have different values in different countries, depending not only on the market size but on such institutional factors as the average scope of patent protection, the maximum permitted lifetime, and the rigor of enforcement, as well as any unobserved stochastic component.



Figure 1: Probability of Grant by Source Country and Family Size



Figure 2:  $\underline{r}$  as a function of  $C_0$  in Germany

### 4 Modeling the International Filing Decision

Inventors decide whether to file a patent application on invention i, i = 1, ..., N, in country j, j = 1, ..., J, given a known fixed cost of filing,  $C_{j0}$ , and a belief that their invention is "patentable" (i.e., the probability of rejection by the patent office is less than 1). In each year after application the inventor confronts a sequence of renewal fees in each country,  $\{c_{jt}\}_{t=1}^{T_j}, c_{jt} \ge 0, \{c_{jt}\}$  non-decreasing, where  $T_j$  is the maximum permissible patent lifetime in the  $j^{th}$  country. Both  $C_0$  and  $c_1$  are assumed to be paid at the beginning of period 1, i.e., when the inventor files.<sup>30</sup>

Let  $1_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}) = 1$  indicate that the inventor chooses to pay the fee on invention *i* in country *j* at the beginning of period *t*, and that therefore the patent (or pending application) is in force. That is,  $1(\mathcal{R})$  is an indicator of a policy or *rule*  $\mathcal{R}$  for deciding whether or not to keep the patent right alive in the current period. If  $1_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}) = 1$ , the inventor receives  $r_{ijt}$  at the end of period *t*; otherwise, he receives 0. The random return *r* may depend in general on other factors.

The inventor's decision-making under rule  $\mathcal{R}$  is constrained under national and international rules to require that

$$\mathbf{1}_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}) = 0 \to \mathbf{1}_{ijs}(\mathcal{R}) = 0 \ \forall \ s > t \tag{1}$$

That is, the inventor may not file an application in a country where he failed to file initially, nor may he (except for a short grace period and with the payment of a penalty) reactivate a patent right or pending application that he has previously allowed to lapse.

We may therefore describe the inventor's initial problem in general as:

$$\overset{\text{max}}{\mathcal{R}} \quad \sum_{j=1}^{J} \sum_{t=1}^{T_j} E\left[\mathbf{1}_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}) \{\beta^{t-1}(\beta r_{ijt} - c_{jt})\} - C_{j0} \mid \Omega_1\right]$$
(2)

<sup>30</sup>In some countries, the patent office does not require the applicant to pay renewal fees until the patent is granted. Thus  $C_0$  and  $c_1$  can be paid at different times. Because I will end up ignoring the endogeneity of the granting date in the structural model, I also ignore this complication, and assume that all renewal fees—which, in any event, are small in the early years—are paid at the beginning of the period regardless of the status of the pending application. subject to (1), where  $\beta \in (0, 1)$  is the discount factor, and  $\Omega_1$  is the inventor's initial information set.

Pakes and Schankerman (1984) solve and estimate a problem similar to (2), given an assumed functional form for  $r_{ijt}$ , for the case of J = 1 and  $1 \le t \le T_j$ . They treat  $C_0$  as a sunk cost and omit it from(2). Pakes and Schankerman's renewal rule is determined by their choice for the evolution of  $r_{ijt}$ . Following them, I assume that:

A1  $r_{ijt} = \delta^{t-1} r_{ij1}$ 

where  $\delta$  is a parameter to be estimated. Al implies that the applicant possesses full information about the value of his invention as of the date of filing. It follows from Al and the fact that the sequence  $\{c_t\}$  is non-decreasing that the deterministic renewal rule (3) is optimal, given that an application has been filed:

$$\mathbf{1}_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}^R) = 1 \text{ iff } \beta \delta^{t-1} r_{ij1} - c_{jt} \ge 0, \ t \ge 2$$

$$\tag{3}$$

Under this rule, the applicant pays the renewal fee if and only if current returns are positive. Since returns are non-increasing and renewal fees are non-decreasing, there exists a unique optimal lapse date for every patent, which automatically satisfies the rules embodied in (1).

For t = 1, however, a different decision rule is required, since the inventor faces the fixed cost of filing  $C_{j0}$ .<sup>31</sup> We depart from the Pakes-Schankerman framework by introducing a "feasibility constraint" for the inventor:

# A2 $\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1$ iff $\sum_{t=1}^{T_j} \mathbf{1}_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}^R) \{ \beta^{t-1}(\beta \delta^{t-1} r_{ij1} - c_{jt}) - C_{j0} \} \ge 0$

<sup>31</sup>While I assume that the inventor expects renewal fees to remain constant in real terms, and does not anticipate any changes in  $T_j$ , during the life of his patent, many countries have in fact raised real  $\{c_{jt}\}$  and/or lengthened  $T_j$  since 1974. As long as these changes were unanticipated at the time of filing, they do not affect the applicant's decision problem. A2 is a filing rule  $\mathcal{R}^F$  that requires the asset to have positive capitalized value *ex ante*, net of application and renewal costs.

The probability of observing an application in j is then defined as the probability of satisfying A2, given A1 and equation (3):

$$\Pr[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1] = \Pr\left[\sum_{t=1}^{T_j} \mathbf{1}_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}^R) \{\beta^{t-1}(\beta \delta^{t-1} r_{ij1} - c_{jt})\} \ge C_{j0}\right]$$
(4)

Define

$$\underline{r}_{j} = \overset{\min}{r} \left( r \mid \sum_{t=1}^{T_{j}} \mathbf{1}_{ijt}(\mathcal{R}^{R}) \{ \beta^{t-1} (\beta \delta^{t-1} r_{ij1} - c_{jt}) \} \ge C_{j0} \right)$$

to be the minimum initial return that produces a nonnegative present value of filing a patent application. Then (4) is just the probability that the initial return exceeds this threshold,  $\Pr[r_{ij1} > r_j]$ . Let

$$T_j^* = \overset{\max}{t} (t \mid \beta^t \delta^{t-1} \underline{r}_j - c_{jt} \ge 0)$$

be the maximum lifetime under renewal rule (3) for a patentee drawing  $r_{ij1} \equiv \underline{r}_j$ . In other words,  $T_j^*$  is the minimum lifetime for a patent to have nonnegative expected present value, given the depreciation rate  $\delta$ , and  $\sum_{t=1}^{T_j^*} \beta^{t-1} c_{jt}$  is the present value of renewal fees that must be paid on a such a breakeven patent.<sup>32</sup>

It is convenient at this point to introduce the functional form assumptions, to lay the groundwork for subsequent distinctions between the value of a *patent* and the quality of the *invention*, and to develop the analogy with the single-country renewal models. As previously noted, the data suggest that the choices  $\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^F)$  are correlated across the *j* countries, and that this correlation is driven in part by the common quality of invention *i*. Note that it is the distribution of this unobserved heterogeneity in patent quality that lies at the heart of the line of research begun by Pakes and Schankerman, rather than explaining the countries chosen in any particular case. Because explaining the choice of countries is required in order to identify the quality distribution properly, and because that choice is of independent interest, I will have to modify these specifications later.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Note that, because the model is formulated in discrete time, there is no closed form expression for  $T_j^*$ , which must instead be computed iteratively.

The following distributional assumptions generalize their specification by decomposing  $r_{ij1}$  into common (across countries) and idiosyncratic (to each country) orthogonal components.

$$r_{ij1} = \exp(\alpha_i + \xi_{ij}) \tag{5}$$

I maintain their log-normality specification (6a,b) because of the discrete-choice nature of the problem, and because Schankerman and Pakes (1986) found that, among the distributions they tried, the log-normal fit the renewal data best.

(a) α<sub>i</sub> ~ N(μ<sub>α</sub>, σ<sub>α</sub><sup>2</sup>)
(b) ξ<sub>ij</sub> ~ i.i.d. N(μ<sub>j</sub>, σ<sub>ξ</sub><sup>2</sup>)
(c) E [α<sub>i</sub> ξ<sub>ij</sub>] = 0

(6)

Employing the decomposition given in (5), conditioning on  $\alpha$ , and taking logarithms gives:

$$\begin{aligned} \Pr[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^F) &= 1] \\ &= \Pr\left[\xi_{ij} \geq \log\left(\frac{C_{j0} + \sum_{t=1}^{T_j^*} \beta^{t-1} c_{jt}}{\sum_{t=1}^{T_j} \beta^t \delta^{t-1}}\right) - \alpha_i \mid \alpha_i\right] \\ &= F\left[-(\log \underline{r}_j - \alpha_i) \mid \alpha_i\right] \end{aligned}$$

where F is a normal c.d.f. and

$$\underline{r}_{j} = \frac{C_{j0} + \sum_{t=1}^{T_{j}^{*}} \beta^{t-1} c_{jt}}{\sum_{t=1}^{T_{j}^{*}} \beta^{t} \delta^{t-1}}$$

So

$$\Pr[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1] = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \Phi\left[-(\log \underline{r}_j - \mu_j - z_i)\sigma_{\xi}^{-1}\right] d\Phi(z_i) dz_i \tag{7}$$

where  $\Phi(\cdot)$  is the standard normal c.d.f., and

$$z_i = \frac{\alpha_i - \mu_\alpha}{\sigma_\alpha}$$

For an individual invention, the contribution to the likelihood is therefore:

$$L_{i} = \prod_{j=1}^{J} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \Phi[\kappa(S; C_{j0}, \{c_{jt}\})]^{\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F})} \times \{1 - \Phi[\kappa(\cdot)]\}^{[1 - \mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F})]} d\Phi(z_{i}) dz_{i}$$
(8)

which is the usual probit term for  $\Phi(\cdot)$  the standard normal c.d.f., the parameter vector  $\theta = (\mu_{\alpha}, \sigma_{\alpha}, \mu_j, \sigma_{\xi}, \beta, \delta)$ , and

$$\kappa(\cdot) = -(\log \underline{r}_j - \mu_j - z_i)\sigma_{\xi}^{-1}$$
(9)

Note that, unlike the usual probit case, both  $\sigma_{\xi}$  and  $\sigma_{\alpha}$  are identified, due to the presence of  $C_{j0}$  in the expression for  $\underline{r}_{j}$ . For the same reason,  $\delta$  is also identified. Equation (8) represents the cross-sectional analogue to a deterministic single-country renewal model. I turn next to elements that are unique to the international data generating process and some possible means of addressing them, beginning with the multiple sample selection issues.

The imposition of a feasibility requirement via A2 explicitly introduces sample selection into the model. Selection takes four forms:

- 1. The cost of filing induces a country-specific returns threshold  $r_j$  below which no application is observed. Single-country models thus are truncated in the sense that researchers only observe patent applications having positive expected value *ex ante*. In an international model of the filing decision, however, we *require* inter-country variation in patent filing choices, in order to identify the parameters governing the filing choice and the underlying quality distribution.
- 2. Across all countries, the set of thresholds  $\{\underline{r}_j\}_{j=1}^J$  jointly excludes entire *inventions* from observation. This is analogous to the single-country truncation problem, but I explicitly allow for truncation in the likelihood function.
- 3. Among observed inventions, an application is observed by definition in the priority country, which by definition (given our data) is the home country. The subset of inventions about which I observe variation in the filing decision is therefore only those that are filed abroad. In a purely cross-sectional model, therefore, the differential value of filing at home and abroad cannot be estimated.

4. In some countries, only granted patents are observed, which means that I have mismeasured the dependent variable.

I correct for these potential sources of error as follows. Invention *i* only enters the sample if a priority application is filed. Therefore, I treat the probability of observing a patent application as conditional, not only on  $\alpha_i$ , but on the presence of a home application, i.e.,  $\mathbf{1}_{iH1}(\mathcal{R}^F) \equiv 1$ . That is,

$$\Pr[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1] = \Pr\left[\xi_{ij} \ge -(\log \underline{r}_j - \mu_j - z_i)\sigma_{\xi}^{-1} \mid \alpha_i, \{\mathbf{1}_{iH1}(\mathcal{R}^F) \equiv 1\}\right]$$
(10)

where H is the home country. Of course, for j = H, this probability is 1. For the  $i^{th}$  invention, the term corresponding to j = H cancels out of (8) when I condition on the presence of a home country application. Therefore, this modification effectively eliminates the home country application decision from the model.

A purely cross-sectional model cannot distinguish inventions that exhibit zero foreign filings because their idiosyncratic value is high only at home (i.e.,  $\xi_{iH}$  is large) from inventions that have experienced a sharply downward revision in  $\alpha_i$  in the interval between the domestic and foreign application decisions.<sup>33</sup> While it is attractive to introduce dynamic optimization in order to distinguish these effects, it also complicates the model, and I wish to focus on what can be learned from the cross-section. Therefore, I restrict the sample still further, by requiring the presence of at least one foreign application, and assuming that the inventor is fully informed as of the one-year priority anniversary.

Conditioning on the value of  $\alpha_i$  as of the Paris Convention filing deadline, the probability of at <sup>33</sup>A substantial fraction of patents may be abandoned during this interval. On the other hand, particularly in the larger economies, the incidence of inventors who can generate positive net returns by filing only in their home country (and whose inexperience with foreign filing may increase the implicit costs doing so), may also be significant. I report Monte Carlo simulations of the value of patents filed only in Germany in Section 6. least one foreign filing is 1 minus the probability of no foreign filings:

$$\Pr\left\{\sum_{j=1,j\neq H}^{J} \left[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F}) = 1\right] > 0\right\} = 1 - \prod_{j=1,j\neq H}^{J} \left\{1 - \Phi[\kappa(\cdot)] \mid \alpha_{i}, \mathbf{1}_{iH1}(\mathcal{R}^{F}) = 1\right]\right\}$$
(11)

The probability of observing an application in any given foreign country is therefore conditioned on (1) the common quality of the invention,  $\alpha_i$ ; (2) the presence of a home country application; (3) at least one foreign application:

$$\Pr[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F}) = 1] = \Pr\left\{\xi_{ij} \ge -(\log \underline{r}_{j} - \mu_{j} - z_{i})\sigma_{\xi}^{-1} \mid \alpha_{i}, \{\mathbf{1}_{iH1}(\mathcal{R}^{F}) = 1\}, \sum_{j=1, j \neq H}^{J} \left[\mathbf{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F}) = 1\right] > 0\right\}$$
(12)

In those countries  $K, k \in K$ , that only publish granted patents, those events that lead to abandonment or rejection of the application cause us to mismeasure the indicator function,  $\mathbf{1}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F)$ . Because we might expect that higher quality inventions are more likely to be granted, and therefore observed, we potentially face the problem that mismeasurement of the application decision is correlated with  $\alpha$ , the quality of the patent. As Figure 1 showed, however, the evidence on this point is mixed. In the U.S., the probability of grant appears to be unrelated to patent family size, while in Japan and Germany, where the applicant has more control over the timing of the examination, there is a strong positive relationship between family size and grant. Given that the mismeasurement problem occurs most frequently in the U.S., I adopt the simplest solution: in countries that publish granted patents only, the failure to observe an application, given that one has been filed, is an independent (of  $\alpha_i$  and across j) event.

I introduce the following assumption to govern the relationship between observed and actual applications:

A3 In those countries  $K, k \in K$ , which do not publish rejected patent applications, the observation of an application is governed by realizations of a Bernoulli random variable  $\chi_k$  having success
parameter  $(1 - \rho_k)$ , which is taken from Column 7 of Table 1. The probability of observing an application on invention i,  $\mathbf{\tilde{1}}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F)$ , is

$$Pr\left[\tilde{\mathbf{1}}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1\right] = Pr\left[\mathbf{1}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1\right] \times (1 - \rho_k)$$

while the probability of failing to observe an application is

$$Pr\left[\mathbf{\tilde{1}}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 0\right] = Pr\left[\mathbf{1}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 1\right] \times \rho_k + Pr\left[\mathbf{1}_{ik1}(\mathcal{R}^F) = 0\right]$$

As Section 2 pointed out, the observed distinction between abandonment and rejection of an application has a great deal to do with the applicant's discretion over the timing of his examination. As a result, the observation of a granted patent is neither a necessary nor a sufficient indicator for positive current returns to a patent application. At the same time, we cannot impute the same ignorance to the applicant, who must instead be presumed to hold expectations regarding whether and when his application will be granted, as well as the time path of returns. Lacking guidance from the data as to when returns actually begin, we are therefore forced to make some simplifying assumptions about the onset of returns and that subset of applications that actually generates returns.

In all countries, I therefore assume that one of two outcomes occurs: either the patent fails to generate any returns at all, or it generates them beginning in year 1. For countries where we observe only successful applications, I assume that the applicant's expectations of failure are the same as those implied by the measurement error correction. For those countries where all applications are observed, i.e., where no correction for measurement error is necessary, I compute the probability of failure in the same way as in the measurement error case, using data on the failure rate for foreign applications.

If we assume, as in A3, that  $\chi_j$  is independent of  $r_{ij1}$ , then the expected value of the patent,

conditional on filing, is:

$$EV[r_{ij1}] = E\left[\chi_j \; \sum_{t=1}^{T_j^*} \beta^{t-1} (\beta \delta^{t-1} r_{ij1} - c_{jt}) \; | \; \alpha_i, \; r_{ij1} \ge \underline{r}_j \right] - \tilde{C}_{j0}$$

The foregoing discussion has concentrated on addressing the problems peculiar to the international data generating process. Given the investment in disentangling those issues, it is comparatively easy to introduce cost and demand parameters.

The cost of filing the application,  $C_{j0}$ , includes the application fee and an estimate of average legal fees required to file an application in country j.<sup>34</sup> In reality, these fees vary substantially across *i*, and do so in ways that may be correlated with  $r_{ij1}$ .<sup>35</sup> Despite the provisions of the Paris Convention, the cost of filing abroad, particularly in 1974 (when international communications were relatively costly), may vary depending on the country pair. Both physical distance and differences

<sup>34</sup>The data on the fees charged by the governments were obtained directly. Estimates of attorney fees are taken from Helfgott (1993). This survey asked only for the cost of filing the application, rather than of prosecuting it until grant, with the result that costs are underestimated in countries for which only granted patents are observed. I return to this problem below.

<sup>35</sup>Legal fees vary for many reasons: the transactions costs of filing in foreign languages and under unfamiliar rules; differences in the competence and experience of legal counsel (and also, perhaps, of the examiner); differences in the difficulty of ascertaining the prior art against which the invention will be judged; differences of opinion between the inventor and the patent examiner as to the patentability of certain claims, which lengthen the bargaining process; different marginal costs of using in-house rather than outside counsel; and so on.

Perhaps the most troubling source of variation is the possible complementarity between the unobservable technical quality of the *invention* and the level of legal effort employed to create value in the *patent right* (i.e., increased effort increases  $\alpha_i$ , in which case the cost is endogenous). If the invention-specific cost of filing,  $C_{ij0}$ , were treated endogenously, however, then the minimum returns threshold  $\underline{r}_{ij}$  would become a function of the initial draw,  $r_{ij1} = r(\alpha_i, \xi_{ij})$ . Its identification could only be accomplished by introducing a second equation that explained  $\underline{r}_{ij}$  as a function of  $\alpha_i$  and/or  $\xi_{ij}$ , in addition to at least one other exogenous factor. This possibility complicates the estimation considerably. It also requires invention-specific application cost data that are not easily observable. For both these reasons, I ignore the possibility of a relationship between  $C_{ij0}$  and  $r_{ij1}$ .

in language are imperfect proxies for the variation in transactions costs between countries, but they are readily observable.<sup>36</sup> I therefore permit  $C_{j0}$  to vary with invention *i*:

## A4 $\tilde{C}_{ij0} = C_{j0} + Z_{ij}\psi$

where  $Z_D$  is the distance in kilometers between the patent offices of each country, and  $Z_T = 1$  if the documents must be translated.

Two costs are incurred by the decision to allow  $C_{j0}$  to vary: (1)  $T_{ij}^*$ , the minimum feasible lifetime satisfying A2, varies with  $Z_{ij}\hat{\psi}$ , and so must be computed iteratively for each observation; (2) in the expression for  $\underline{r}_{ij}$ ,  $\delta$ , the depreciation rate, is no longer identified separately, but only the ratio  $\psi/\delta$ . For this reason, I choose to fix the depreciation rate at  $\delta = \overline{\delta}$  based on previous estimates, rather than to estimate it.

A realization of the random variable  $\xi_{ij}$  reflects the particular opportunities available for exploiting invention *i* in country *j*. As mentioned above, it is not difficult to imagine that the value of these opportunities varies systematically depending on the size of and trade with the target market.<sup>37</sup> While some of these factors may be observed by the econometrician, others are not. To account for these sources of variation, I assume, first, that the value of patent protection can be expressed as a fraction of the size of the domestic market, and second, that this fraction depends on institutional and market factors exogenous to the inventor, on the invention's quality, and on country-specific investment opportunities. These assumptions are formalized by modifying equations (5) and (6):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Note that  $C_{j0}$  already incorporates an estimate of the cost of translating the application, which is required by law, taken from Helfgott (1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Maskus and Penubarti (1995) make the slightly different point that, across a broad range of countries and industrial sectors, the level of imports varies positively with their measure of patent strength, an instrumented version of the subjective scale given in Rapp and Rozek (1990).

A5 Let  $\mu_j = \nu \cdot M_j$  be the expected "market share" in of a patent in country j, where  $M_j$  is the GDP of country j, and  $\nu$  is a parameter to be estimated. Let  $X_{ij}$  be a vector of exogenous linear shifters of the returns distribution, having parameter vector  $\gamma$ . Then

$$r_{ij1} = \nu M_j \exp(X_{ij}\gamma + \alpha_i + \xi_{ij})$$

I choose current exports from H to j,  $E_{Hj}$ , as an appropriate shifting variable X,<sup>38</sup> having parameter  $\gamma_E$ .<sup>39</sup> A5 transforms this formulation into a random-coefficient model. In contrast to  $M_j$  (a share of which is directly drawn by the patentee), however, the role of exports is to proxy for the plethora of bilateral institutions and investments that determine both trade in goods and the value of patent protection.

There are many possible sources of invention-level returns heteroskedasticity, for both  $\alpha_i$  and  $\xi_{ij}$ . One frequently discussed source is differences in the share of GDP devoted to R&D: higher R&D intensities might reflect a greater likelihood of success at research; on the other hand, they might also reflect the positive payoffs to marginal research projects when spread over a larger (domestic) economy. A structural model of the returns to research would identify the specific form of the heteroskedasticity; since such a model is not our primary concern, I treat R&D intensity as another element of X, the vector of returns shifters, having parameter  $\gamma_{RD}$ .<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup>While current exports are likely to be correlated with past R&D and patenting success, they should not be correlated with realizations of the current patent cohort except perhaps indirectly, through the choice of the R&D projects that gave rise to them.

<sup>40</sup>This specification introduces "heteroskedasticity" into the model because the variance of a lognormal random variable depends on  $\mu$ , and  $\mu$  now depends on R&D intensity. Similar efforts to induce the dependence of  $\sigma_{\alpha}$  on R&D resulted in convergence to lower likelihood values.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$ In principle, elements of Z may appear in X also (entering non-linearly through the amortization of the fixed cost), as they may affect returns directly, in addition to their indirect effect on costs. For example, we could identify separate effects both for the higher filing costs of small inventors, and for lower expected foreign returns. I ignore this possibility.

Finally. I assume that there exist country-specific fixed effects, most notably the strength and cost of enforcing patent protection, that are independent of market size.<sup>41</sup> These are captured by country-specific indicators  $D_j$ . Thus, the maintained distributional assumptions are gathered in Assumption A6:

A6

(a) 
$$\alpha_i \sim N(0, \sigma_\alpha^2)$$
  
(b)  $\xi_{ij} \sim i.i.d. \ N(D_j, \sigma_\xi^2), \ \sum_{j=1}^J D_j = 0$   
(c)  $E[\alpha_i \ \xi_{ij}] = 0$ 

I compare the estimated fixed effects with the Maskus and Penubarti estimates in section 5.

Incorporating these modifications to (8), I obtain the following contribution by invention i to the likelihood function:

$$L_{i} = \prod_{j=1, j \neq H}^{J} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \Phi[\kappa(\theta; \ \tilde{C}_{j0}, \{c_{jt}\}, X_{ij}, Z_{ij}, \rho_{j})]^{\tilde{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F})} \\ \times \{1 - \Phi[\kappa(\cdot)]\}^{[1 - \tilde{1}_{ij1}(\mathcal{R}^{F})]} \\ \times \left\{1 - \prod_{j=1, j \neq H}^{J} (1 - \Phi[\kappa(\cdot)])\right\}^{-1} d\Phi(z_{i}) dz_{i}$$
(13)

where  $\kappa(\cdot)$  is

$$\kappa(\theta; \ \tilde{C}_{ij0}, \{c_{jt}\}, X_{ij}, Z_{ij}, \rho_j) = -(\log \underline{r}_{ij} - z_i - \log \nu - \log M_j - \gamma_E E_{Hj} - \gamma_{RD}(\frac{RD_i}{M_i}) - \sum_{j=1}^J D_j)\sigma_{\xi}^{-1}$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Obviously, legal institutions constitute only part of the fixed effect attributable to each country. Economists have made some attempts to distinguish more from less valuable patent regimes (e.g., Rapp and Rozek (1990), Maskus and Penubarti (1995), and Ginarte and Park (1996)).

and  $\frac{RD}{M_i}$  is the research intensity of the country in which the  $i^{th}$  invention originated. The inventionspecific returns threshold  $\underline{r}_{ij}$  is

$$\underline{r}_{ij} = \frac{\bar{C}_{ij0}(1-\rho_j)^{-1} + \sum_{t=1}^{T_{ij}} \beta^{t-1} c_{jt}}{\sum_{t=1}^{T_{ij}} \beta^t \bar{\delta}^{t-1}},$$

With these modifications, and the assumption that  $\overline{\delta} = .85$  (taken from the midrange reported by Pakes (1986) and Schankerman and Pakes (1986)), the vector  $\theta$  then becomes

$$\theta = (\sigma_{\alpha}, \sigma_{\xi}, \nu, \gamma_E, \gamma_{RD}, \psi_D, \psi_{TR}, \{D_j\}).$$

# 5 Estimation and Results

In order to produce a random sample, the sampling rule was inverted, with inventions randomly drawn at progressively decreasing rates from the larger subset. This procedure produced a maximum effective sampling rate of 5.2% of the estimated world total of 58,133 international patent families. or 3023 inventions. Given that there are J - 1 = 17 observable foreign filing decisions for each invention, the random sample consists of 51,391 observations. Among these, the fraction having an observed application was approximately 0.20.

The model was estimated using maximum likelihood.<sup>42</sup>

The estimation results for the random sample are presented in Column 1 of Table 5. All of the main parameters are estimated precisely, which is encouraging but unsurprising given the sample size.

The unconditional mean share of GDP represented by the initial return for each patent can be estimated by multiplying the estimate for  $\nu$  by the implied mean of a lognormal random variable formed from the product of  $e^{\alpha}$  and  $e^{\xi_j}$ , which is  $\exp[(\hat{\sigma}_{\alpha}^2 + \hat{\sigma}_{\xi_j}^2)/2]$ . This calculation implies a mean share of GDP of approximately  $9.05 \times 10^{-9}$ , which would in turn imply a mean initial return of about \$3,800 in Germany. The conditional (on filing) mean share of GDP depends on the degree of truncation induced by the non-zero cost of filing. In these and all other calculations, the reader must bear in mind that, because the observations are further conditioned on the filing of at least one foreign patent application, we are sampling from the upper tail of the unconditional patent value distribution, hence the estimated values are not directly comparable with those found by

 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$ An advantage of assuming deterministic returns, in the absence of renewal data, is that only a single integral must be evaluated in order to isolate the distribution of  $\alpha$ , which can be approximated using quadrature methods. More general specifications, and the introduction of additional time periods, require higher-dimensional integration and the use of simulation estimation.

	Variable Means	Random	Weighted	Weighted	Weighted	Pharmaceutical
_	(Units)	Sample	Sample	Sample	Sample	Wtd. Sample
Parameter		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
logν	214	-20.02	-19.77	-20.00	-20.12	-19.95
	$(\text{\$GDP} \times 10^9)$	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.001)	(0.02)	(0.18)
σε		1.39	1.36	1.27	1.23	1.47
		(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.03)
$\sigma_{\alpha}$		1.61	1.72	1.59	1.53	2.50
		(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.08)
$\psi_D$	3.98	1388.81	$14\overline{43.27}$	785.28	723.65	394.94
	(1000 km)	(38.77)	(68.12)	(6.07)	(8.29)	(35.85)
$v_{TR}$	0.95	683.30	967.81	615.24	592.51	98.42
		(98.65)	(0.01)	(58.76)	(14.18)	(96.74)
∛'ENG	0.22			161.29	-221.91	3.45
	_			(98.07)	(66.96)	(96.25)
VPUB	0.39			-478.86	-142.93	-191.36
				(35.99)	(68.73)	(99.66)
$\gamma_E$	1.15	0.36	0.15	0.13		
	$(\$ \times 10^9)$	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)		
ŶRD	0.0125	27.40	22.43	18.17	34.41	28.29
	(R&D per GDP)	(2.13)	(6.14)	(0.35)	(0.57)	(5.36)

#### Table 5: Estimation Results for the Structural Econometric Model

Note to Table 5:

1. Fixed effects  $\{D_j\}$  are omitted.

## earlier investigators.43

The two parameters that shift fixed costs  $C_{j0}$ —additional fixed translation costs  $(\psi_{TR})$  and the implicit per-kilometer cost of physical distance  $(\psi_D)$ —are both large in magnitude. On average, differences in language imply an increase in costs of about \$683, which is about the same level as the reported average cost of translating the application itself. The effect of distance on filing is also surprisingly large: a 1000 km increase in the distance between countries increases the implied fixed cost of filing by almost \$1400. In both cases, these inferences may mistakenly attribute to patenting costs what are in fact reduced opportunities for returns; for example, the patentee's costs of establishing a distribution network for his invention may be affected by language differences and physical distance, leading him not to file applications even when the cost of doing so is unaffected directly by these factors. Because our only means of disentangling cost-based explanations (the Z

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>In the case of Germany, I simulate a sample of domestic-only patents and add these to the international patents in order to compare the resulting value distribution with prior research.

vector) from returns-based explanations (the X vector) comes from the identification achieved by the non-linear entry of Z into the likelihood, rather than from any independent information, and because the level of exports from one country to another reflects at least indirectly the costs of distance and language barriers between the countries, I have chosen the parsimonious representation that imputes all costs to the patent filing decision.

The parameters that are assumed to shift the returns distribution, the R&D intensity of the home country  $(\gamma_{RD})$  and the exports from the home to the foreign country  $(\gamma_E)$ , are also economically as well as statistically significant. The estimates imply that a patent originating in the U.S. is on average worth about 47% more in world markets than one originating in Italy, given that the U.S.'s R&D intensity is about three times Italy's. This inference is especially noteworthy given that it excludes from the calculation the domestic value of patent rights; adding domestic values to the U.S. and Italy, given the size of their respective economies, would increase this disparity. One interpretation of this result is that U.S. inventors choose higher risk projects with higher expected returns, and can, in effect, insure themselves by conducting more projects that earn positive returns even on some marginal research outcomes due to the larger scale of the economy. On the other hand, because R&D intensity is employed in a reduced-form fashion as a returns shifter, rather than structurally, this interpretation should not be overstressed: R&D intensity proxies well for the general level of development in the source economy, and is highly correlated with education, capital and infrastructure investment (and, of course, with both R&D levels and the R&D stock), all of which might similarly explain systematic differences in the quality of inventions produced. The finding that even similarly developed countries apparently do not draw from the same value distribution is suggestive, however, and deserves further investigation.

The impact of exports on the returns distribution is both large, and complicated by an artifact of the data. The U.S.-Canada bilateral trading relationship is far and away the largest in the world (in 1974, U.S. exports to Canada exceeded \$21 billion; the next largest pairwise trade was Japan's exports to the U.S., which amounted to about half that). U.S.-Canada patents are also the most common patent combination (as noted previously, about 9% of all international families). Because U.S.-Canada trade explains U.S.-Canada patenting much better than the countries's gross domestic products, and because U.S.-Canada patent families constitute a large fraction of the sample, trade may assume an undeservedly prominent role in shifting the returns distribution. This role can be seen in the magnitude of the implied impact on the value of U.S.-Canada patenting: exports increase the mean value of patents by about 1000 times over that implied by the the unconditional mean level of trade between all sample country pairs. Since the volume of U.S.-Canada exports is only about 19 times the sample mean, this estimate seems implausibly high. I use this puzzle to introduce a more general discussion of robustness issues and alternative specifications.

Two-country families are quite frequent: over the entire sample, they constitute more than one-third of the observed international families. Given the size of the U.S. market, the proximity of Canada to the U.S., their common language, and the fact that most Canadian applications are filed first in the U.S., it is not surprising that we observe such a frequent pairing. The broader question these figures raise is whether or not the estimates of the  $\alpha$  distribution are unduly influenced by relatively low-value patent families, when, as an economic matter, the upper-tail mass is the most critical to estimate precisely.

An obvious approach to mitigating the U.S.-Canada problem, and to improving estimation efficiency generally, is to oversample larger patent families. This implies, of course, that the sampling rule is choice-based, which in turn implies in general that parameter estimates are inconsistent. Coslett (1981b) discusses this problem and proposes a minimax pseudo-likelihood estimator that incorporates sample information into the estimation of Lagrangian multipliers  $\lambda_s$  to assign to observations in each choice class,  $s = 1, \ldots, S$ , where S is the total number of choices. In effect, these multipliers optimally reweight the observation by compensating for its endogenous selection into the sample. As a preliminary estimate, Coslett suggests a consistent but inefficient weight that is derived from the expected and observed frequencies of each choice in the sample, given the endogenous sampling rule.

In the present case, we are confronted with a large number of observations, a very large number of

possible choices, and a full information estimation algorithm that requires minimizing with respect to  $\lambda$ , then maximizing with respect to  $\theta$ , at each iteration (which is computationally costly). Moreover, in this problem the choices (to file or not in each country, and therefore the choice of the patent family combination) are independent, conditional on  $\alpha$ . By oversampling on large families (i.e., those with stochastically larger  $\alpha$  draws), we preserve this most of this independence, and therefore do not introduce the same potential for bias that would be present if we were to oversample on patent families that did not originate in the U.S. or Canada. Therefore, I construct a second sample of patent families using the following rule, which generates what Coslett terms an "augmented" sample: a random sample one-third the size of the original was drawn; in addition, a sample two-thirds the size of the original was drawn randomly from patent families with filings in 10 or more countries.<sup>44</sup> In other words, for sampling purposes I assume that the endogenous "choice" made by inventors is binary: to file in 10 or more, or 9 or fewer, countries. The weights assigned to each are determined by the expected frequency of each choice in the combined sample, which is assumed to be known with certainty.<sup>45</sup> The result is a dataset of the same size as the random sample, but the fraction of observations in which a filing is observed more than doubles, from 0.20to about 0.50. Coslett (1981a) shows that estimates of  $\theta$  derived from this procedure are consistent but inefficient. Given the large sample, the further gains from efficient estimation would seem to be outweighed by the additional computational burden of the full-information method; moreover, the limited-information method is still significantly more efficient in its use of filing information, for a given sample size, than is maximum likelihood on the random sample.

The results of estimating the model on the choice-based sample are shown in Column 2 of Table 5. The most significant change is that the coefficient on exports falls by nearly two-thirds. As applied to U.S.-Canadian trade, the implication is that the increase in the value of patent rights

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>It must be noted that we may not eliminate bias completely: this sampling rule slightly favors inventions originating in Europe, where the shorter distances between countries increase the expected family size, conditional on  $\alpha$ . Over the entire sample, about 8% of all families are filed in 10 or more countries; among European-origin families, the share is 9.7%.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Since the original dataset sampled 50.1% of all families having 10 or more filings, this assumption appears to be reasonable.

exchanged between the two countries is about 15 times the value implied by trade between the mean country pair, an estimate that is in line with the ratio of U.S-Canadian to mean pairwise trade.

Column 3 of Table 5 explores two changes to the method of estimating the cost of filing a patent application. The first tests for any evidence that there is an implicit benefit to filing in English-language countries; both the U.S. and the U.K. receive a large number of priority applications from non-English-speaking countries, and English is in some ways the modern *lingua franca* of international commerce. The second change tests indirectly for a problem introduced by measurement error and sample selection: in countries where only granted patents are published, the applicant had to expend additional resources in order to reach the granting stage. The observation of a granted application should imply unmeasured costs that were incurred in the course of its prosecution.

The English-language fixed affect does not have the expected sign and is statistically insignificant. Somewhat surprisingly, the correction for the effects of sample selection on the cost of filing shows significantly *lower* costs for filing in countries that only publish granted patents. There are two possible explanations for this estimate: (1) the naive measurement error correction (A3) now overstates the likelihood of filing low-value patents, since the probability that an application is filed but not observed is assumed to be independent of  $\alpha$ ; (2) applicants derive an unobserved benefit, in the form of early information about the true value of their patents, from filing in countries (like the U.S.) that automatically examine the patent as part of the application process.<sup>46</sup>

There are several sources of measurement error that could lead to incorrect inferences. Probably the weakest source of data appears also to be the most crucial: estimates of the legal and translation fees, which are based on a small sample and which, in any event, vary from patent to patent. As a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>In Putnam (1996) I find that, in a dynamic model of learning during the Paris Convention interval, the "better informed" the patent office, as measured by the number of patents it issues, the more attractive it is as a choice of priority country. Typically, the "first action on the merits" in the U.S. occurs before the one-year Paris Convention filing deadline.

gross check on this potential problem, I also estimated the model using  $2C_{ij0}$  and  $C_{ij0} + $2000$  as alternative estimates of the fixed cost. In both cases, the parameter estimates were similar to those reported in Column 1, except for a slight increase in  $\nu$ , but the value of the likelihood function was lower.<sup>47</sup> Because the expected value of the lognormal distribution varies linearly with  $\nu$ , but quadratically with  $\sigma_{\alpha}$ , the effects of this small change in  $\nu$  are minor compared with, for example, sampling variation in Monte Carlo simulations. Accordingly, I ignore this possible source of error in the following discussion, while continuing to search for better data sources and better methods of incorporating endogenous sources of cost variation into the model.

Although a detailed investigation of sectoral differences in the value of patent protection lies beyond our present concerns, we can compare the results for the entire sample with those for the sector that traditionally places the greatest importance on patent protection, namely pharmaceuticals. The 1974 cohort contained 1119 international pharmaceutical families,<sup>48</sup> averaging about 7.0 filings each, or about 2.4 more filings than the unconditional sample average.

The model was estimated after eliminating exports as a returns shifter; preliminary estimates suggested the export coefficient was insignificant or negative, and pharmaceutical trade data could not be observed for all country pairs. The results are shown in Column 5 of Table 5. In conformity with both small- and large-sample results obtained by others, the most critical change is the sharp increase in  $\sigma_{\alpha}$  from about 1.5 to about 2.5, which implies a sharply increased mean and variance in the value distribution. The change in  $\sigma_{\alpha}$ , coupled with the increase in  $\nu$ , imply that the unconditional share of GDP obtained by an initial pharmaceutical draw was about  $1.58 \times 10^{-8}$ , or about \$6626 in Germany. It is noteworthy that in this sample both the implicit cost of translation and

<sup>43</sup>These were defined as all families classified with a Derwent "B" ("Farmdoc", or pharmaceutical document) code.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Note that a doubling of  $C_{ij0}$  does not imply a doubling of the minimum required return  $\underline{r}_{ij}$ , nor does it greatly affect the critical parameters of the returns distribution,  $\sigma_{\alpha}$  and  $\sigma_{\xi}$ . First, it is the present value of the minimum initial return  $\underline{r}_{ij}$  that must double. Because patents with higher returns are also renewed longer, they have additional years with which to recoup the additional fixed cost. Second, and more importantly, only marginal patents are affected by the perturbation in costs; the model compensates for the increase in costs via a slight increase in  $\nu$ , which increases the expected share of GDP received by a patent. in order to restore the probability of filing to the level it had been prior to the increase in  $C_{ij0}$ .

the implicit cost of distance are about half their level in the overall sample. Since the vast majority of these patents are filed by large pharmaceutical companies, it may be the case that such firms have found that their large volumes of inventions and large number of filings per invention justify investments in cost-reducing infrastructure, like translators, telexes and retainer relationships with foreign patent agents.

## 6 Monte Carlo Simulation

The Monte Carlo simulations reported in this section consist of draws that attempt to duplicate the sample of patents observed for the 1974 patent cohort. In order to duplicate the entire cohort of international patent families, I need to generate 58,133 inventions having positive net value in at least one country. I draw separately for each country according to the number of inventions it generated in the cohort, in order to reflect the different costs and opportunities available to inventors from different countries.

For each invention *i*, then, I draw an  $\alpha_i$  and a set  $\{\xi_{ij}\}$ , and determine whether an invention having these attributes would have been filed anywhere, given its country of origin. On average, this requires about 25% more draws than there are inventions, because of the truncation induced by the cost of filing. In these simulations, I assumed that, in each country, applications independently matured into patents at the same rate did foreign applications in the U.S., which was about 0.63.<sup>49</sup> Only "granted" patents, thus defined, enter into the following value calculations.

Despite the apparently favorable reduction in the export coefficient that results from oversampling and thereby de-emphasizing U.S.-Canadian trade, Monte Carlo simulations using estimates from Column 3 of Table 5 produce questionable results.<sup>50</sup>

In order to generate more plausible estimates, I re-estimate the model, omitting exports. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Although this method neglects the information on patent granting rates that is available for the individual countries, the countries are not comparable because of the endogenous attrition that results from the option of delaying examination. Because the U.S. examines a high percentage of all international families, and because it does so automatically rather than at the discretion of the applicant, its rate of foreign granting seems to be the closest estimate we have to a common granting standard across countries. Therefore, in each country, I drew an independent random variable that determined whether the application was "granted".

 $<sup>^{50}</sup>$ The most suspect of these is the value of patent rights held in Canada, which, in unreported simulations, averages about 20% of the total world value of patent rights. This value is almost entirely attributable to U.S. patenting and the protection of U.S. exports. The value of U.S. patent rights held in Canada is estimated to exceed 25% of its total value of exports to Canada.

	% World	% World	R&D/	Exports/		
_	GDP	R&D	GDP	Imports	$\hat{C}_0$	$\hat{\underline{r}}_j$
Country $j$	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
US	39.9	47.9	.021	1.10	9995	2638
JP	12.9	12.9	.018	1.30	15,426	4301
DE	10.9	12.5	.020	1.21	5894	1761
FR	8.8	7.9	.016	0.97	6140	1751
GB	6.0	5.9	.017	0.82	4943	1418
IT	5.0	2.1	.007	0.98	5706	1637
CA	4.3	2.1	.009	1.05	9925	2619
NL	2.3	2.3	.018	1.01	6021	2072
SE	1.9	1.5	.014	0.98	6504	1865
BE	1.6	1.1	.012	0.94	5446	1532
CH	1.4	1.7	.021	0.71	6243	1777
AT	1.0	0.2	.004	0.67	4805	1430
DK	1.0	0.5	.009	0.88	6469	1895
ZA	1.0	0.6	.012	0.71	14,423	3799
NO	0.7	0.5	.011	0.73	6146	1822
FI	0.7	0.3	.008	0.77	6280	1861
PT	0.4	0.1	.003	0.61	5986	1604
HU	0.3	0.1	.005	0.67	5174	1491

Table 6: Summary Characteristics of Sample Country Economiesand Estimated  $\hat{C}_0$  and  $\hat{\underline{r}}_j$ 

Notes to Table 6:

1. All monetary values (Columns 5 and 6) are expressed in 1974 U.S. dollars.

2. Values for the "world" are means or totals taken over the 18 countries in the sample.

3. GDP figures are taken from the International Financial Statistics of the IMF. R&D data is from the UNESCO Annual Yearbook, and is private, non-military R&D. Imports and exports are from the U.N.'s world trade tables.

results are shown in Column 4 of Table 5. The principal change from the previous model is the near-doubling of the effect of R&D intensity—which is correlated with the level of exports.

Data that assist in interpreting the Monte Carlo results are found in Columns 1-6 of Table 6. Countries are ranked by Column 1, which gives each country's share of total GDP among the 18 countries in the sample; Column 2 gives the corresponding share of R&D. Note that in 1974 the U.S. was responsible for almost half of all R&D undertaken by these countries. Column 3 shows the R&D intensity—the ratio of R&D to GDP—in each country. Although exports do not enter the estimates in the model selected for simulation, for comparison purposes I present the ratio of total exports to total imports within the 18-country sample in Column 4.

Columns 5 and 6 present two indicators of the cost of filing in each country. Column 5 shows the unweighted mean cost of filing for inventors seeking to file in each country, averaged across inventors from each of the countries in the sample, using the estimates from Column 4 of Table 5. The average implicit cost of filing ranges from \$4,800 in Austria to \$15,400 in Japan. Relative to recent estimates of filing costs, (such as those found in Helfgott (1993) expressed in 1974 U.S. dollars), these estimates appear somewhat high. On the other hand, they take into account shadow costs, such as distance and language differences, that are not normally represented in out-of-pocket cost estimates. Distance is the largest component of costs (although in the model used for Monte Carlo simulation the shadow cost of a 1000 km increase in distance is actually about half the estimate from the random sample). Column 6 gives the estimated  $\underline{r}_j$  for each country, again averaged over all *i*, which ranges from \$1418 in the U.K. to \$4301 in Japan.

In general, the simulated counts of patent applications conform to the actual totals reasonably closely. Columns 1 and 2 of Table 7 present the actual and estimated number of applications, as percentages of the world total, filed *in* each country; Columns 1 and 2 of Table 8 present the corresponding percentages of total applications filed by inventors *from* each country. The model tends to overestimate the share of applications filed in the United States by about one percentage point, and overpredicts the number of filings made by some European countries, while

	% World Patents		% World Value/	Mean	$\exp(\xi_j)$	Maskus &
	Actual	Estimated	% GDP	Value	(%)	Penubarti
Country $j$	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
World (1000s)	(267)	(285)		44.8		-
US	13.9	15.1	0.90	75.7	-15.2	5.329
JP	6.0	5.9	0.35	38.7	-56.1	4.444
DE	15.1	15.0	1.89	69.0	76.2	4.549
$\mathbf{FR}$	11.7	11.6	1.22	46.3	22.1	4.844
GB	11.6	10.9	1.60	39.8	61.6	5.180
IT	6.5	6.6	0.95	28.8	2.2	4.309
CA	7.7	7.5	1.22	27. <b>3</b>	32.8	5.036
NL	5.1	4.8	0.91	69.8	23.0	4.345
SE	4.1	3.8	0.73	18.1	1.5	4.805
BE	4.5	4.8	0.81	13.9	10.1	4.537
СН	4.3	4.2	0.81	13.6	11.7	4.852
AT	2.3	2.9	0.49	6.5	-22.4	4.372
DK	1.9	1.8	0.55	14.6	-14.5	4.375
ZA	1.9	1.6	0.88	26.7	-53.1	n.a.
NO	1.4	1.5	0.43	10.7	-12.4	3.392
FI	1.0	1.3	0.40	11.4	-19.0	4.332
PT	0.5	0.5	0.26	6.4	-31.4	2.766
HU	0.5	0.5	0.22	4.3	-25.0	2.684

Table 7: Summary Statistics on the Value of Patent Rights Granted by Country

Notes to Table 7:

1. All monetary values (Column 4) are expressed in thousands of 1974 U.S. dollars.

2. Maskus & Penubarti did not report a value for South Africa.

				Value	e Ratios		
	% World Patents		Mean	Value	% Granted/	Held/	Held/
	Actual	Estimated	Patent	Family	% R&D	Held	R&D
Country $j$	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
World (1000s)	(267)	(285)	44.8	245		-	.209
US	30.5	27.9	49.9	259	0.68	0.90	.143
JP	10.0	9.6	63.1	282	1.02	2.90	.214
DE	21.4	23.0	41.4	249	1.63	0.99	.340
FR	7.8	7.9	43.8	246	0.94	0.69	.196
GB	10.1	10.7	<b>39.1</b>	227	1.54	0.95	.323
IT	3.0	2.8	37.1	199	1.10	0.48	.231
CA	1.4	1.3	40.1	173	0.59	0.24	.124
NL	2.7	2.3	38.0	217	0.81	0.88	.169
SE	3.3	3.2	43.5	241	1.95	2.15	409
BE	0.6	1.1	48.8	276	1.07	0.88	.225
CH	5.4	6.0	40.0	238	3.02	4.54	.633
AT	1.7	1.9	25.9	132	4.69	2.27	.982
DK	0.5	0.4	36.0	182	0.71	0.63	.149
ZA	0.4	0.4	58.4	233	0.60	0.47	.127
NO	0.4	0.4	48.1	257	1.00	1.42	.208
FI	0.5	0.5	30.7	148	1.03	1.09	.216
PT	0.1	0.1	17.1	101	0.47	0.28	.098
HU	0.4	0.3	24.6	123	2.13	2.61	.445

Table 8: Summary Statistics on the Value of Patent Rights Held by Country

Note to Table 8:

1. All monetary values (Columns 3 and 4) are expressed in thousands of 1974 U.S. doilars.

underpredicting those from the U.S. and Canada.<sup>51</sup>

The ratio of the world share of patent rights granted by each country to its world share of GDP is shown in Column 3 of Table 7. Value was calculated as the present discounted value of  $r_{ij1}$ , assuming  $\overline{\delta} = .85$ ,  $\beta = .9$ , and optimal renewal behavior, and is net of actual and implicit filing and renewal costs. In general, these percentages conform closely to the relative size of the domestic economy. There are two or three notable exceptions: Japan's share of granted patent rights is about one-third its share of GDP; on the other hand, Germany's share is almost twice its share of GDP. The U.K. also generates significantly more value in patent rights than would be expected from its size.

The mean value of international patents granted in and held by each country are shown in Columns 4 of Tables 7 and 3 of Table 8. The unconditional mean worldwide is about \$44,800. It is interesting to note that although Japan is about the same size as Germany, the value of an international patent right held there (\$38,700) is only a little over half that in Germany's (\$69,000), which is close to the mean value in the U.S. (about \$75,700). Japanese inventors do, however, hold patent rights that have high value on average: about \$63,100 per filing, as shown in Column 4 of Table 8. Among other things, this estimate appears to be due to the high proportion of Japan's international patent portfolio held in the U.S. On the other hand, the average value held by U.S. inventors is not much greater than the world average, in part because of the much lower filing threshold ( $t_{US}$ ) for domestic inventors (about \$435, vs. about \$4200 for an inventor from Japan). In general, the dispersion in the average value of rights held is not as great as the dispersion of the average rights granted, although countries like Portugal, which have low R&D intensities, are estimated to generate inventions of significantly lower mean value. Finally, there is no evidence of correlation ( $\rho = .01$ ) between the mean *value* of patent families held abroad by each country, and the mean *number of countries* in those patent families (cf. Column 5 of Table 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>This result may, or may not, be due to the sample variation introduced by the inefficient limited-information method of compensating for endogenous sampling, which favored the inclusion of large European families and which might understate the implicit cost of distance.

In Columns 6 and 7 of Table 7 I compare two measures of the country-specific factors that contribute to the value of patent rights. Column 6 gives the percentage increase or decrease from the mean attributable to the fixed effect in each country, expressed as the exponential its fixed effect  $D_j$ . While Germany and the U.K. are estimated to be especially conducive environments for patent protection, the U.S. and, to a much greater extent, Japan, are seen as less valuable than should be expected given their size and location.<sup>52</sup> All of the countries running substantial trade surpluses exhibit lower-than-average fixed effects of domestic patent protection, with the exception of Switzerland, although some of these are not significantly different from zero.

Column 7 presents Maskus and Penubarti's (1995) predicted value of the rating given by Rapp and Rozek (1990) to countries based on objective criteria of the scope and strength of their intellectual property regime. Maskus and Penubarti use instruments, such as the size of the market and level of trade, to predict the Rapp and Rozek measure. As one might expect, by this measure the U.S. has the "strongest" regime on an absolute scale. Since the measure of interest is the value of the regime *relative to the size of the country*, however, the estimates given in Column 6 provide a truer picture of the institutional incentives governing patent application and protection. While an unweighted correlation of Columns 6 and 7 shows that they are somewhat related ( $\rho = .55$ ), a weighted correlation, using as weights the number of filings in each country, indicates that the two measures are statistically uncorrelated ( $\rho = .07$ ).

Column 5 of Table 8 shows the ratio of each country's share of the total world value that its inventors *hold* to its share of world R&D. Inventors from Germany, Switzerland and the U.K. appear to be especially successful at recouping their investments in R&D via international patent rights, while, relative to its investments, the U.S. is much less so. Part of this imbalance may be compositional: for example, Switzerland's R&D is conducted disproportionately by large pharmaceutical firms, which generate high-value patent rights.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Apparently, inventors under-file in the U.S. relative to its size: according to Column 4 of Table 1, the U.S. is actually the second most popular target country, after Germany. Note that these estimates do not take into account the creation in 1982 of the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit which, by all accounts, has significantly strengthened and unified the treatment of patent rights in the U.S.

Column 6 of Table 8 expresses each country's "trade balance" as the ratio of the value of patents held worldwide to the value granted at home. In addition to Japan, countries running substantial surpluses include Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Hungary. Canada is the largest debtor, although Italy also shows a large disparity between the values granted and held. While we might expect a positive correlation "patent trade surplus" (Column 6) with its current account surplusm, (Column 4 of Table 6) to be positive, in this sample they show no statistical relationship ( $\rho = .11$ ).

In this sample, the simulated value of just international families amounts to about 21% of world R&D (Column 7 of Table 8). For Germany and the U.K. the ratio is close to one-third, while in Switzerland it is nearly two-thirds. On the other hand, in the U.S. only about one-seventh the value of R&D can be ascribed to international patenting. The discrepancy is due in part to the larger U.S. economy, and the correspondingly larger fraction of patents that are filed in the U.S. only (see Column 5 of Table 1), and therefore omitted from the simulations. Also, the U.S. may conduct a larger fraction of research that is not amenable to patent protection (e.g., more basic or more military-oriented research). Previous investigators have found a smaller fraction of total R&D is appropriated through patent rights, with the stock of patents granted nationally ranging from 5–6% of R&D (Pakes (1986) and Schankerman and Pakes (1986)) to 10–15% of R&D in certain sectors (Lanjouw (1993) and Schankerman (1991)). Column 7 refines previous estimates by computing directly the global patent returns to R&D, rather than imputing them from each country's pattern of exports.

Turning to the value distribution itself, in Column 4 of Table 8 I present the mean value of patent families held by inventors from each country. The world mean value of an international patent family is approximately \$245,000. It is important to recognize the difference in the order of magnitude between the expected returns in one country to a patent on a single invention, as provided by patent renewal models, and the sum of expected returns among all countries. Noting that the mean value in a single country of an international filing averages about five times that found in previous research (i.e., about \$44,800 vs. about \$5-16,000), and that the global mean

value of patent rights on a single international *family* is another five times the single-country value ( $2245,000 \ vs. \$  44,800), we can reasonably infer that the returns to patent protection provided by the international patent system cover a much larger scale of research project than might have been inferred from single-country estimates.

In Table 9 I provide the simulated pairwise trade balances for each of the countries in the sample, along with each country's total surplus (deficit) as a percentage of the value of patent rights it holds in international patents. Here we can easily contrast the dominance of the Big Five countries in the *number* of patents they obtain worldwide with the *value* these patents create in each market. Among the Big Five countries, only Japan is estimated to run a surplus, but this surplus is quite large, amounting to 65% of its total stock of international patent rights. The U.S., Germany and the U.K. operate deficits ranging from 1 to 11% of their total stock; France's percentage deficit is substantially greater. The U.S.'s deficit with Japan accounts for about 90% of its total deficit. If we were to include more countries in the sample, the U.S. might show a surplus in non-Japanese patent trade, although even relatively small countries like Sweden generate substantially greater benefits from their patenting in the U.S. than vice versa.

## 6.1 The Distribution of Patent Values and its Fit to the Data

An ongoing theme of research on R&D returns and the private value of patent rights is the extreme variance and skew of the value distribution. One of the limitations of patent renewal models in this regard has been that a large share of the total value distribution is contained in its tail, which is unobserved due to the statutory maximum lifetime imposed on patents.<sup>53</sup> The unobserved tail of the distribution must be inferred from the observable dropout rates. By adding a cross-sectional dimension to the data, we obtain an additional fix on the tail of the distribution through our estimate of  $\alpha$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>Pakes and Simpson (1989) present nonparametric evidence on the unobserved portion of the value distribution.

										Gran	ting C	ountry							]
Priotity	Surplus	As % of																	
Country	(Deficit)	Value Held	AT	8E_	_CA_	СН	DE	DK	FI	FR	GB	HU	_ IT _	JP	NL	_NO_	PT	SE	_US
λľ	87	56		-	_						·								
8E	(22)	(13)	-1																
CA	(564)	(322)	-7	-2															[
CII	573	78	2	11	30														1
DE	(36)	(1)	-8	9	111	-105													
DK	(29)	(61)	-1	0	1	-4	-7												- 1
FI	4	9	0	0	2	-2	2	0											
FR	(480)	(46)	-14	ι	22	-85	-94	1	-2										
GB	(66)	(5)	-11	6	46	-58	-29	3	-1	62									
HU	14	60	0	0	1	-1	. 2	0	0	1	3								1
١T	(350)	(108)	-6	ť	4	-40	-65	a	-1	3	-45	- 1							
JP	1236	65	-2	18	100	-17	302	5	2	148	122	-1	63						ŀ
NL	(35)	(13)	-2	1	9	-16	-3	0	0	7	~6	0	5	-28					Į.
NO	19	30	0	0	8	-2	-3	0	0	2	0	0	1	-3	. 0				1
(*C	(01)	(250)	0	0	0	-1	-2	0	0	·-)	-1	Û	0	-2	0	0			
SE	226	54	1	4	15	-3	22	2	0	29	14	0	17	-9	5	0	ų		[
US	(504)	(11)	-36	-28	203	-191	-69	7	0	61	1	-6	115	-445	2	-16	2	-127	[
ZA	(64)	(114)	-1	0	L	-6	-14	0	0	-3	-4	0	-2	-12	-1	-1	<u> </u>	0	-22

Note to Table 7.5:

1. All monetary values are expressed in millions of 1974 U.S. dollars.

Table 9: Pairwise "Trade" Balances in International Patent Rights

An efficient means of summarizing the distribution of the value of patent families is to compare the sizes of families generated by the Monte Carlo simulations with those actually found in the data. Figure 3 compares the actual density with that generated by the simulations and with that implied by the multinomial (complete independence) model. In general, the simulated fit is close: the model underpredicts two-country families, slightly overpredicts medium-sized families, and again slightly underpredicts the very largest families. The underprediction of two-country families probably occurs because of the omission of exports as a returns shifter; simulations made using Column 3 rather than Column 4 of Table 5, which include exports and which, in particular, account for the exceptionally large number of U.S.-Canadian patent families, do not exhibit this discrepancy. Of course, the significance of this error in value terms depends on the proportion of total value assigned to small families.

Table 10 augments the actual and estimated densities distributed by the size of the patent family with the value density, and provides the corresponding the Lorenz coefficient. The error in two-country families does not appear to affect significantly the value distribution, since the estimates imply that only 2.5% of the value distribution is contained in families of this size. The value density is actually quite flat across family sizes, with families of between 7 and 16 countries each accounting for between 6.8 and 8.2% of the distribution. In other words, over this range the implied increment to value from adding a country is approximately offset, in the aggregate, by the decreased frequency of observing families with the additional country.

As previously noted, researchers sometimes suggest that the number of countries in a patent family be used as an indicator of its value. They do not, however, indicate how larger families should be weighted relative to smaller families. In Column 7 of Table 10 I present the simulated mean value for each patent family size, which ranges from about \$20,000 for inventions filed in two countries to about \$11.2 million for inventions filed in all 18 countries. The means increase at a regular rate as countries are added to the family. A regression, weighted by the percent of the value distribution (Column 5), of the log of the mean value for a family of size n on the log mean of size n-1 fits well:

Size of	%	World	Families	3	% World	Value	Conditio	nal on n:
Family	Act	ual	Estimated					Std.
(countries)	%	lc	%	lc	%	lc	Mean	Dev.
n,	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
World	(58.1)		(58.1)	-	(14.3)	-	245	1000
2	35.2	35.2	29.8 <sup>2</sup>	29.8	$2.5^{3}$	2.5	28	59
3	14.0	49.2	14.8	44.6	2.9	5.3	48	80
4	11.1	60.3	12.1	56.7	4.1	9.5	84	158
5	9.6	69.9	9.9	66.6	5.5	14.9	135	274
6	8.1	78.0	8.0	74.7	6.0	20.9	185	274
. 7	6.2	84.2	6.3	80.9	6.8	27.7	266	442
8	4.4	88.6	4.7	85.7	6.8	34.5	354	493
9	3.4	92.0	3.9	89.6	7.9	42.4	496	741
10	2.4	94.4	2.9	92.4	7.2	49.6	617	885
11	1.7	96.1	2.3	94.8	7.8	57.4	820	1163
. 12	1.2	97.2	1.7	96.5	7.6	65.0	1064	1269
13	0.9	98.1	1.3	97.8	7.4	72.4	1397	1605
14	0.7	98.8	1.0	98.8	8.2	80.6	2083	3006
15	0.5	99.3	0.6	99.4	7.4	88.0	2905	3378
16	0.3	99.6	0.4	99.8	7.0	95.0	4336	5361
17	0.3	99.9	0.2	10 <b>0.0</b>	3.5	98.5	5588	8315
18	0.1	100.0	0.0	100.0	1.5	100.0	11,160	21,812

Table 10: Monte Carlo Simulated Distributions of Family Size

Notes to Table 10:

1. Columns 1-6 are expressed as percentages of the world total. The world total is given in thousands of families (Columns 1 and 3), and in billions of dollars (Column 5). Columns 7 and 8 are expressed in thousands of 1974 U.S. dollars. lc is the Lorenz coefficient for families of size n or less.

2. Includes 13.5% from families filed in 1 country.

3. Includes 0.67% from families filed in 1 country.

$$\log m_n = 0.774 + 0.967 \log m_{n-1} + 0.432 D18$$
(0.222) (0.017) (0.176)
$$\overline{R}^2 = .9958$$

The close fit should be expected, given the "trend" in the data. The parameter estimates imply that each additional country increases the expected value of the patent family by about 44%, evaluated at the mean.<sup>54</sup> Of course, there is still extreme variation within families of a given "size"; Column 8 of Table 10 presents the standard deviations. For example, patent families having 12 countries have an expected value of about \$1.06 million, with a standard deviation of about \$1.27 million; within the simulated sample, 12-country families ranged in value from about \$29,000 to about \$13.5 million. Analysis of variance shows that the size of the patent family, as indicated by the number of countries, accounts for about 55% of the variance in the log of patent family values.

#### 6.2 Comparisons with Patent Renewal Models

In order to construct a sample that is comparable to those reported in earlier studies, I generate a set of domestic-only patents by separately drawing a simulated sample of patents for Germany,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>The regression includes a dummy variable for families patented in 18 countries. The coefficient on the 18-country dummy is large (about half the size of the slope coefficient), and statistically significant. This dummy reflects (crudely) the truncation problem implied by observing only a subset of the possible countries in which inventors might seek protection. The role of this dummy variable is analogous to similar regressions in the patent renewal literature designed to determine the rate at which patent values rise as a function of the date of lapse; some of those lapsing in the final year are "truncated" observations in the sense that they would have been renewed longer but for the statutory maximum. Typically, the coefficient on a dummy variable for the value in the final year of lapse is large and positive, reflecting the concentration of *all* tail values in the final year. In a patent application model, where there is both a common and an idiosyncratic component to patent value, it is not the case that only families with applications in all 18 observed countries are subject to this type of truncation: low country-specific opportunities open the possibility that families with very high  $\alpha$  values might not have been filed in some of the countries in the sample, even though they were also filed in many countries outside the sample (and in that sense are subject to truncation). In this simulated sample, for example, the most valuable invention was filed in 13 countries.

	Patent Renev	wal Mode	ls	Patent Application Model							
	Schankerman			All patents		All families		All international			
	& Pakes (1986)	Pakes (	1986)	granted by DE		held by DE		families worldwide			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)		
%ile	(pc)	( <i>pc</i> )	(lc)	( <i>pc</i> )	(lc)	(pc)	(lc)	$(\underline{p}c)$	(lc)		
.25	1564	1236	2.2	1444	0.5	1946	0.2	10,334	0.4		
.50	4956	3863	7.3	4529	2.4	7706	0.8	44,912	2.9		
.75	14,313	12,094	25.3	14,876	8.1	44,511	5.0	168,473	12.2		
.90	36,452	27,332	52.7	48,800	19.3	216,060	18.1	518,795	30.2		
.95	61,889	40,621	69.2	11 <b>1,42</b> 0	30.2	485,560	30.8	982,285	44.7		
.99	167,138	73,117	90.3	505,290	53.8	1,870,160	60.7	3,225,687	72.1		
.999	-			3,072,390	82.4	8,602,500	85.2	$12,\!117,\!200$	92.2		

Table 11: Distribution Percentiles of the Value of Patent RightsPatent Application and Renewal Models

Note to Table 11:

1. All percentile values (pc) are expressed in 1974 U.S. dollars.

accepting only draws for patents that are filed in Germany but not elsewhere. These are then added to the sample of international families with patents filed in Germany in order to produce a one-year sample that mimics the size and characteristics of the annual cohorts studied in Pakes (1986) and Schankerman and Pakes (1986).

The results of this comparison are shown in Table 11. Column 1 gives the percentile estimates (pc) from Schankerman and Pakes (1986); Columns 2 and 3 given the percentiles and Lorenz coefficients (lc) from Pakes (1986). In Columns 4 and 5 I present the estimates from the combined sample of domestic-only and international patents filed in Germany. Note that the domestic-only patents added only about \$150 million, or about 5%, to the total simulated value of patents held in Germany.

Given the differences in methods, the percentile estimates are remarkably close among the two

classes of models. The estimated distribution for the international model actually lies between that found for the two renewal models through about the 75th percentile. At that point, however, the international model's estimates become even more skewed than the renewal models's; the estimate for the 99th percentile is about three times that of Schankerman and Pakes (1986) and about seven times that of Pakes (1986). While Pakes reported a maximum draw of less than \$400,000, the maximum occuring in the simulated dataset used here was about \$40 million, or over 100 times as great. Needless to say, this sharp divergence in the extreme tail values implies increasingly divergent Lorenz coefficients: while Pakes found that about 10% of the value of the distribution was concentrated in the top 1% of all patents, these estimates attribute nearly half the total value to the top 1%. In fact, the top one-tenth of one percent—about 21 patents—are estimated to account for about 17.6% of the entire value of the distribution.

By way of comparison, I also present the simulated distribution of all patent families held by Germans worldwide, including those filed only at home. Columns 6 and 7 give the percentiles and Lorenz coefficients. While the median patent family generates only \$7,706 worldwide, the top 2% (about 700 families) are each worth more than \$1 million, and the top one-tenth of one percent are worth more than \$8.6 million.

Finally, Columns 8 and 9 present the percentiles and Lorenz coefficients for the international sample. Because this sample does not include domestic-only patents, it is not comparable to the others. The median international patent family is estimated to be worth about \$45,000, or just over one-sixth the mean. About 5% of all international patent families, or about 3000 inventions, are worth more than \$1 million. The top 1% of all international families—fewer than 600—are estimated to account for more than a fourth of the entire value of the distribution.

I began this investigation by noting the importance both of sample selection in the international patent data generating process, and of the distinction between an invention's common quality and its idiosyncratic legal boundaries. I close this section with two calculations derived from the reported simulations. Inventions that do not justify patent protection in any single country are omitted from both the simulations and the model. The mean value these inventions would have generated if the cost of filing and renewal had been free is about \$7900 worldwide; the maximum is about \$70,000. While the mean is only about 3% of the mean of filed inventions, it is about the same as the mean estimated by Schankerman and Pakes for patents filed in France.

I also argued that the patterns of international patenting that are observed could not be explained by a purely independent model of the international filing decision, and instead formulated a model that estimated the distribution of the common quality of the invention across countries. We may now ask what fraction of the variance in patent values is attributable to this common quality, and what fraction is idiosyncratic. A regression of the log of the patent family value on  $\alpha$  shows that  $\alpha$  explains about 61% of the variation in the value of patent families. The elasticity of value with respect to  $\alpha$  is approximately 1.24; higher quality inventions are patented in more countries and are renewed longer, each of which implies a greater than proportionate increase in global returns to patent protection.



Figure 3: Actual and simulated number of countries

## 7 Conclusion

The model presented here addresses most of the concerns raised in the review of the current literature. although it does not put them to rest. Rather than being invalidated by international differences in patent systems, it exploits these differences in order to recover the common distribution of patent quality across countries. It is relatively efficient, and its efficiency can be increased by adding observations from additional countries. The model's greater efficiency permits the use of invention- and even patent-level explanatory variables, in addition to firm and industry variables. It treats the application decision endogenously rather than exogenously, which corrects a misspecification in some earlier models and extends the scope of an inventor's behavior that is assumed to be economically rational. It produces estimates for the U.S., for which significant, accessible firm-level datasets already exist. Because the model is estimated on a single cross-section, however, its performance in explaining time series variation in variables of interest is not yet known.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the present approach to modelling patent protection decisions is that it strips the time dimension from a decision process in which the resolution of uncertainty is arguably the most interesting economic phenomenon at work. The particulars of the learning process—as manifested in the optimal mix, level and abandonment of a portfolio of uncertain R&D projects—are still quite poorly understood. They is also hard to study: because project-level R&D expenditure and return data are not only very sensitive but are also difficult to standardize and measure properly, the possibility that individual patent decisions might provide significant insights into otherwise unobservable decision-making is quite attractive. While patent data may one day provide an important and tightly-focused view into a firm's allocative decisionmaking under uncertainty, they will ultimately require the inclusion of an intertemporal dimension to the model and data in order to understand more completely how the firm transforms research investments into profitable products and processes.

A second area of fundamental economic and policy interest is the definition, measurement and

control of the rate of technical advance. In this paper I have used the world "quality" to signify the common value of a patent across different economic and institutional regimes, but this value may still be only poorly correlated with the degree of technical advance made by any particular invention, and with the value of the information it discloses. For the purpose of understanding the degree to which the patent system accomplishes its stated mission of promoting "the progress of the useful arts." it is necessary to observe the correspondence between the social contribution of the invention and the private reward received by the inventor. In this regard, the work of Trajtenberg (1990a, b) and colleagues on patent citations holds out the hope that invention-level patent citation data can be deployed in future versions of the model in the effort to distinguish economic from purely technical progress, and to disentangle the social and private returns to invention.

Therefore, this study represents only an intermediate step in the comprehensive modeling of patent applicant behavior. It is obvious, for example, to imagine combining the renewal decision with the international filing decision in one large general model. Such a marriage, however, expands the number of *ex ante* choices from  $T_j$  in a single-country renewal model, and  $2^J - (J+1)$  in the international model, to a truly huge combinatoric function of  $T_j$  and  $J_{-}^{55}$ 

Even without patent renewal data, the cross-sectional patent data used in the present study have not been fully exploited. We have expressly neglected the majority of the world's inventions, namely those filed in only their home country, in formulating the international model. The evidence presented here indicates that the excluded inventions do not account for much of the total value of the world's patent rights, but the results cannot be considered conclusive. Beyond that, we have collapsed all application and grant data into a single indicator of filing; the raw data contain, however, the results of the applicant's subsequent decisions, including the division of the application

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>Given J possible application countries, there are  $\sum_{j=2}^{J} {J \choose j} \equiv 2^{J} - (J+1)$  different observable international combinations. If we simplify the calculation by assuming that every country permits  $T_{j} \equiv \overline{T}$ ,  $\forall j$  different lapse dates, then for *each* combination of size j, there are  $\overline{T}^{j}$  different possible lapse outcomes (where the superscript j means, "to the j<sup>th</sup> power"). The total number of possible outcomes for a single invention is therefore  $\sum_{j=2}^{J} {J \choose j} \times \overline{T}^{j}$ ; for J = 18 and  $\overline{T} = 15$ , this number is of the order  $10^{21}$ .

into parts and, ultimately, whether or not a patent issued on the application.

At the international level, the results presented here should stimulate additional theoretical and empirical inquiry into the flows of information and technology among countries. While it is often asserted that the international patent system works to the detriment of developing countries, the evidence presented here shows that the largest developed countries do not necessarily generate surpluses in "trade" with smaller developed countries, leading one to question whether the benefits of exclusive rights granted in the developing world are really so much greater than the reciprocal value created in the large developed economies.

An obvious avenue of exploration, which has been completely suppressed in this study, is the role of competition among firms, both in research and in product markets. Like all earlier studies, we have treated each patent application as an independent draw from a common distribution, when we know from theoretical, empirical and anecdotal literature that inventions are not independent and that the identity of its owner matters to its prospects for commercial success.<sup>56</sup> In an international context, we might begin to apply the methods developed here by observing that firms may not patent in certain markets because they do not expect to face competition in those markets over the life of the patent. More generally, a model developed by Lanjouw (1992), which expresses the value of patent protection as a function of the equilibrium number of imitators expected in the market, could be employed to refine the estimates of returns to patent protection, and to disentangle the value conferred by each country's institutional regime from the quality of the competition offered by its firms.

A perhaps more fundamental question is the extent to which inventors are able to appropriate the full value of their inventions through international patent protection. While the simulations here indicate that a substantially higher fraction of each country's R&D expenditures may be appropriated through patent protection than has been estimated previously, on the whole this

 $<sup>^{56}</sup>$ A promising start in the direction of using patent data to infer firm-level research strategies has been made by Lerner (1995).

value still appears small. Macroeconomic evidence (e.g., Eaton and Kortum (1996a)) suggests that international flows of technology, as proxied by patent counts, contribute greatly to domestic productivity growth in OECD economies; thus, an important macroeconomic question is the degree to which the benefits of this growth are captured by the technology's inventors, and an important microeconomic question is the fraction of benefits that are captured through patents compared with other appropriation mechanisms.

Finally, it should be observed that although there appear to be substantial levels of international purchases of property rights, these purchases cannot be termed "trade," in the usual sense of exchange. Moreover, there are no countervailing factors, such as depreciation of the exchange rate, that impinge on a chronic "deficit" in patent rights, except insofar as these rights influence trade in real goods and services. Even at the relatively simple level of the regressions reported by Coe and Helpman (1993), we face complex problems in the timing and realization of returns to patent protection if these are ever to account empirically for observed patterns of trade and growth. Expanding the number of cohorts and countries, in order to generate complementary panels to be used in such macroeconomic investigations, becomes a priority for the future.

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