

15.357 — Economics of Ideas and Innovation

Tuesdays 6:00-9:00pm
E62-450

Professor Pierre Azoulay	pazoulay@mit.edu	E62-487
Professor Scott Stern	sstern@mit.edu	E62-476
Randol Yao (TA)	hyyao@mit.edu	E62-485

This course begins with an introduction to the economics of ideas and uses the economics of ideas to evaluate the origins of invention and discovery, innovation, entrepreneurship, and the diffusion of new technology. The focus throughout is on the microeconomic and institutional foundations for phenomena that have been studied mostly at an aggregate level. The course focuses on (a) the micro-foundations of the knowledge production function (including the role of creativity and the impact of science), (b) the impact of institutions and strategic interaction on the commercialization of new technology, and (c) the diffusion and welfare impact of ideas and technology. The course emphasizes how the unusual characteristics of ideas can result in social inefficiency, and how the microeconomic and institutional environment influences the gap between private and social welfare. The course includes a mixture of (and explicit comparisons between) theoretical and empirical research.

Requirements:

- Two group homework assignments (due October 14th and November 25th);
- Two individual “referee” reports (out of the working papers we have designated as eligible on the syllabus); this report will be due by 9pm the night before the class session for which they are listed as part of the readings. For example, if you choose to do a referee report on one of the potential referee papers from Class 2, it is due by 9pm on September 16th. To submit, please e-mail the TA;
- A succinct individual paper proposal, three to five pages, on a topic germane to the class, due during the last week of class (December 9th).

Administration:

- Readings, the current version of the syllabus, assignments, and class slides are available through Canvas;
- Please contact the TA for access to Canvas or other questions about course logistics;

- There are no “official” office hours; please feel free to make individual appointments with Scott and/or Pierre.
- The class will take place in person, except for Class 10 and Class 11 since we have outside speakers on zoom for these class sessions.

Schedule at a Glance

Class 1	Ideas, Innovation, and Economic Growth	September 9	Scott
Class 2	The Nature of Ideas and Innovation	September 16	Scott
Class 3	Open Science as an Economic Institution	September 23	Scott
Class 4	The Rate and Direction of Scientific Progress	September 30	Pierre
Class 5	The Supply of Innovators	October 7	Pierre
Class 6	Incentives for Innovators: Contracting and Control Rights	October 14	Pierre
Class 7	Incentives for Innovators: Market-level Rewards	October 21	Pierre
Class 8	Measuring Innovation and the Impact of Innovation Policy	October 28	Adam Jaffe
Class 9	Measuring the Returns to R&D Investments	November 4	Pierre
	No Class	November 11	
Class 10	The US Patent System and Innovation Policy	November 18	Bhaven Sampat
Class 11	Innovation Policy	November 25	Heidi Williams
Class 12	Measuring Entrepreneurship and the Impact of Entrepreneurship Policy	December 2	Scott
Class 13	The Economics of Ideas and Innovation Policy—Wrap-Up	December 8	Scott

Note: The last session will take place on a MONDAY night to accommodate Scott's schedule

- Jones, Charles I. 2001. Chapter 4 and 5, pp. 78-86 and 96-122 in *Introduction to Economic Growth*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Bryan, Kevin A., and Heidi L. Williams. 2021. "Innovation: Market Failures and Public Policies." In Kate Ho, Ali Hortaçsu, and Alessandro Lizzeri (Eds.), *Handbook of Industrial Organization*, pp. 281-388. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Varian, Hal R. 2004. "Review of Mokyr's 'Gifts of Athena'." *Journal of Economic Literature* **42**(3): 805-810.
- Nelson, Richard R. 1962. "The Link Between Science and Invention: The Case of the Transistor." In *The Rate and Direction of Inventive Activity: Economic and Social Factors*, pp. 549-583. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Romer, Paul M. 2018. "On the Possibility of Progress." Nobel Prize Lecture. Available at: <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/economic-sciences/2018/romer/lecture/>

Supplementary Papers

- Aghion, Philippe, and Peter Howitt. 1992. "A Model of Growth through Creative Destruction." *Econometrica* **60**(2): 323-351.
- Romer, Paul M. 1990. "Endogenous Technological Change." *Journal of Political Economy* **98**(5): S71-S102.
- Rosenberg, Nathan. 1979. "Technological Interdependence in the American Economy." *Technology and Culture* **20**(1): 25-50.
- Mokyr, Joel. 2005. "The Intellectual Origins of Modern Economic Growth." *Journal of Economic History* **65**(2): 285-351.
- Mokyr, Joel. 1992. *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rosenberg, Nathan. 1974. "Science, Invention, and Economic Growth." *Economic Journal* **84**(333): 90-108.
- Jones, Charles I. 2022. "The Past and Future of Economic Growth: A Semi-Endogenous Perspective." *Annual Review of Economics* **14**: 125-152.
- Schmookler, Jacob. 1966. *Invention and Economic Growth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Potential Referee Reports

Kim, Soomi. 2025. "Navigating the Rugged Data Landscape: The Impact of Data-Extrapolation Technologies on Knowledge Production." Working Paper, Columbia University.

Required Readings

Arrow, Kenneth. 1962. "Economic Welfare and the Allocation of Resources for Invention." In *The Rate and Direction of Inventive Activity: Economic and Social Factors*, pp. 609-625. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jones, Charles I. 1999. "Growth: With or Without Scale Effects?" *American Economic Review* **89**(2): 139-144.

Jones, Benjamin F. 2009. "The Burden of Knowledge and the 'Death of the Renaissance Man': Is Innovation Getting Harder?" *Review of Economic Studies* **76**(1): 283-317.

Wuchty, Stefan, Benjamin F. Jones, and Brian Uzzi. 2007. "The Increasing Dominance of Teams in Production of Knowledge." *Science* **316**(5827): 1036-1039.

Jones, Benjamin F. 2010. "Age and Great Invention." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **92**(1): 1-14.

Bresnahan, Timothy F., and Manuel Trajtenberg. 1995. "General Purpose Technologies: Engines of Growth?" *Journal of Econometrics* **65**(1): 83-108.

Bloom, Nicholas, Charles I. Jones, John Van Reenen, and Michael Webb. 2020. "Are Ideas Getting Harder to Find?" *American Economic Review* **110**(4): 1104-1144.

Supplementary Papers

Akcigit, Ufuk, Douglas Hanley, and Nicolas Serrano-Velarde. 2021. "Back to Basics: Basic Research Spillovers, Innovation Policy, and Growth." *The Review of Economic Studies* **88**(1): 1-43.

Jones, Benjamin F., and Xiaojie Liu. 2024. "The Human Capital Stock: a Generalized Approach." *American Economic Review* **114**(5): 1448-1487.

Agrawal, Ajay, Avi Goldfarb, and Florenta Teodoridis. 2016. "Understanding the Changing Structure of Scientific Inquiry." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **8**(1): 100-128.

David, Paul. 1990. "The Dynamo and the Computer: An Historical Perspective on the Modern Productivity Paradox." *American Economic Review* **80**(2): 355-361.

Henderson, Rebecca, and Kim Clark. 1990. "Architectural Innovation: The Reconfiguration of Existing Product Technologies and the Failure of Established Firms." *Administrative Science Quarterly* **35**(1): 9-30.

Kortum, Samuel. 1997. "Research, Patenting, and Technological Change." *Econometrica* **65**(6): 1389-1419.

Murray, Fiona. 2002. "Innovation as Co-Evolution of Scientific and Technological Networks: Exploring Tissue Engineering." *Research Policy* **31**(8-9): 1389-1403.

Ó Gráda, Cormac. 2016. "Did Science Cause the Industrial Revolution?" *Journal of Economic Literature* **54**(1): 224-239.

Nelson, Richard R. 1959. "The Simple Economics of Basic Scientific Research." *Journal of Political Economy* **67**(2): 297-306.

Rosenberg, Nathan, and Manuel Trajtenberg. 2004. "A General-Purpose Technology at Work: The Corliss Steam Engine in the Late-Nineteenth-Century United States." *Journal of Economic History* **64**(1): 61-99.

Stokes, Donald. 1997. *Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Weitzman, Martin L. 1998. "Recombinant Growth." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **113**(2): 331-360.

Potential Referee Reports

- Baruffaldi, Stefano and Fabian Gaessler. 2021. "The Returns to Physical Capital in Knowledge Production: Evidence from Lab Disasters." Max Planck Institute for Innovation & Competition Research Paper No. 21-19. Available at <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3912401>.
- Cristelli, Gabriele. 2025. "Funding the Ivory Tower: The Effects of NSF Institutional Grants on Universities and Local Innovation." Working Paper, Stanford University.

Required Readings

- Merton, Robert K. 1957. "Priorities in Scientific Discovery: A Chapter in the Sociology of Science." *American Sociological Review* 22(6): 635-659.
- Merton, Robert K. 1968. "The Matthew Effect in Science." *Science* 159(3810): 56-63.
- Aghion, Philippe, Mathias Dewatripont, and Jeremy C. Stein. 2008. "Academic Freedom, Private Sector Focus, and the Process of Innovation." *RAND Journal of Economics* 39(3): 617-635.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Toby Stuart, and Yanbo Wang. 2014. "Matthew: Effect or Fable?" *Management Science* 60(1): 92-109.
- Bikard, Michaël. 2018. "Made in Academia: The Effect of Institutional Origin on Inventors' Attention to Science." *Organization Science*, 29 (5):818-36
- Fleming, Lee, and Olav Sorenson. 2004. "Science as a Map in Technological Search." *Strategic Management Journal* 25(8-9): 909-928.
- Murray, Fiona, Philippe Aghion, Mathias Dewatripont, Julian Kolev, and Scott Stern. 2016. "Of Mice and Academics: Examining the Effect of Openness on Innovation." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 8(1): 212-252.
- Stern, Scott. 2004. "Do Scientists Pay to Be Scientists?" *Management Science* 50(6): 835-853.
- Dasgupta, Partha, and David. Paul. 1994. "Towards a New Economics of Science." *Research Policy* 23(5): 487-521.
- Furman, Jeffrey, and Scott Stern. 2011. "Climbing Atop the Shoulders of Giants: The Impact of Institutions on Cumulative Knowledge Production." *American Economic Review* 101(5): 1933-1963.

Broad Surveys

- Stephan, Paula. 2013. "The Endless Frontier: Reaping What Bush Sowed?" NBER Working Paper #19687.
- Stephan, Paula E. 2010. "The Economics of Science." In Bronwyn H. Hall and Nathan Rosenberg (Eds.), *Handbook of The Economics of Innovation*, pp. 217-273. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Nelson, Richard R. 2016. "The Sciences Are Different and the Differences Matter." *Research Policy* 45(9): 1692-1701.
- Hess, David J. 1997. *Science Studies: An Advanced Introduction*. New York: NYU Press.
- Varmus, Harold. 2009. *The Art and Politics of Science*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

What is Science?

- Brooks, Harvey. 1994. "The Relationship Between Science and Technology." *Research Policy* 23(5): 477-486.
- Gieryn, Thomas F. 1983. "Boundary-work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists." *American Sociological Review* 48(6): 781-795.
- Stokes, Donald. 1997. *Pasteur's Quadrant: Basic Science and Technological Innovation*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

- Murray, Fiona. 2010. "The Oncomouse that Roared: Hybrid Exchange Strategies as a Source of Productive Tension at the Boundary of Overlapping Institutions." *American Journal of Sociology* **116**(2): 341-388.
- Balconi, Margherita, Stefano Brusoni, and Luigi Orsenigo. 2010. "In Defence of the Linear Model: An Essay." *Research Policy* **39**(1): 1-13.

Science as a Social Institution

- Dasaratha, Krishna. 2023. "Innovation and Strategic Network Formation." *Review of Economic Studies* **90**(1): 229-260.
- Merton, Robert K. 1973. *The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Nagaoka, Sadao, and Hideo Owan. 2014. "Author Ordering in Scientific Research: Evidence from Scientists Survey in the US and Japan." IIR Working Paper #13-23, Hitotsubashi University, Institute of Innovation Research.
- Zuckerman, Harriet A. 1968. "Patterns of Name Ordering Among Authors of Scientific Papers: A Study of Social Symbolism and Its Ambiguity." *American Journal of Sociology* **74**(3): 276-291.
- Gans, Joshua S., and Fiona Murray. 2013. "Credit History: The Changing Nature of Scientific Credit." NBER Working Paper #19538.
- Leahey, Erin, Christine M. Beckman, and Taryn L. Stanko. 2017. "Prominent but Less Productive: The Impact of Interdisciplinarity on Scientists' Research." *Administrative Science Quarterly* **62**(1): 105-139.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1975. "La Spécificité du Champ Scientifique et les Conditions Sociales du Progrès de la Raison." *Sociologie et Sociétés* **7**(1): 91-118.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. "The Peculiar History of Scientific Reason." *Sociological Forum* **6**(1): 3-26.
- Latour, Bruno, and Steven Woolgar. 1979. *Laboratory Life*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Owen-Smith, Jason. 2001. "Managing Laboratory Work Through Skepticism: Processes of Evaluation and Control." *American Sociological Review* **66**(3): 427-452.

The Relationship Between Science and Technology

- Murray, Fiona and Scott Stern. 2007. "Do Formal Intellectual Property Rights Hinder the Free Flow of Scientific Knowledge?: An Empirical Test of the Anti-Commons Hypothesis." *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* **63**(4): 648-487.
- Rosenberg, Nathan, and Richard R. Nelson. 1994. "American Universities and Technical Advance in Industry." *Research Policy* **23**(3): 323-348.
- Ahmadpoor, Mohammad, and Benjamin F. Jones. 2007. "The Dual Frontier: Patented Inventions and Prior Scientific Advance." *Science* **357**(6531): 583-587.
- Krieger, Joshua L., Monika Schnitzer, and Martin Watzinger. 2024. "Standing on the Shoulders of Science." *Strategic Management Journal* **45**(9): 1670-1695.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Christopher C. Liu, and Toby Stuart. 2017. "Social Influence Given (Partially) Deliberate Matching: Career Imprints in the Creation of Academic Entrepreneurs." *American Journal of Sociology* **122**(4): 1223-1271.

Science in the Private Sector

- Rosenberg, Nathan. 1990. "Why Do Firms Do Basic Research (with their own money)?" *Research Policy* **19**(2): 165-174.
- Sauermann, Henry, and Michael Roach. 2014. "Not All Scientists Pay to Be Scientists: PhDs' Preferences for Publishing in Industrial Employment." *Research Policy* **43**(1): 32-47.
- Arora, Ashish, Sharon Belenzon, Konstantin Kosenko, Jungkyu Suh, and Yishay Yafeh. 2021. "The Rise of Scientific Research in Corporate America." NBER Working Paper #29260.

Arora, Ashish, Belenzon, Sharon, and Andrea Pataconi. "Killing the Golden Goose? The Decline of Science in Corporate R&D." NBER Working Paper #20902.

Science and its Institutions

- Iaria, Alessandro, Carlo Schwarz, and Fabian Waldinger. 2018. "Frontier Knowledge and Scientific Production: Evidence from the Collapse of International Science." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **133**(2): 927-991.
- Adda, Jérôme, and Marco Ottaviani. 2023. "Grantmaking, Grading on a Curve, and the Paradox of Relative Evaluation in Nonmarkets." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **139**(2): 1255-1319.
- Tripodi, Giorgio, Xiang Zheng, Yifan Qian, Dakota Murray, Benjamin F. Jones, Chaoqun Nie, and Dashun Wang. 2025. "Tenure and Research Trajectories." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **122**(30): e2500322122.
- Hager, Sebastian, Carlo Schwarz, and Fabian Waldinger. 2024. "Measuring Science: Performance Metrics and the Allocation of Talent." *American Economic Review* **114**(12): 4052-4090.
- Andrews, Michael. 2023. "How Do Institutions of Higher Education Affect Local Invention? Evidence from the Establishment of U.S. Colleges." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* **15**(2): 1-41.
- Li, Danielle. 2017. "Expertise vs. Bias in Evaluation: Evidence from the NIH." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **9**(2): 60-92.
- Li, Danielle, and Leila Agha. 2015. "Big Names or Big Ideas: Do Peer-review Panels Select the Best Science Proposals?" *Science* **348**(6233): 434-438.
- Boudreau, Kevin J., Eva C. Guinan, Karim R. Lakhani, and Christoph Riedl. 2016. "Looking Across and Looking Beyond the Knowledge Frontier: Intellectual Distance, Novelty, and Resource Allocation in Science." *Management Science* **62**(10): 2765-2783.
- Azoulay, Pierre, and Wesley H. Greenblatt. 2025. "Does Peer Review Penalize Scientific Risk Taking? Evidence from NIH Grant Renewals." NBER Working Paper #33495.
- Gentil-Beccot, Anne, Salvatore Mele, and Travis C. Brooks. 2009. "Citing and Reading Behaviours in High-Energy Physics: How a Community Stopped Worrying about Journals and Learned to Love Repositories." Working Paper, CERN, arXiv:0906.5418.
- Furman, Jeffrey L., Kyle Jensen, and Fiona Murray. 2012. "Governing Knowledge in the Scientific Community: Exploring the Role of Retractions in Biomedicine." *Research Policy* **41**(2): 276-290.
- Card, David, and Stefano DellaVigna. 2020. "What Do Editors Maximize? Evidence from Four Leading Economics Journals." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* **102**(1): 195-217.
- Waldinger, Fabian. 2016. "Bombs, Brains, and Science: The Role of Human and Physical Capital for the Creation of Scientific Knowledge." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **98**(5): 811-831.
- Helmers, Christian, and Henry G. Overman. 2017. "My Precious! The Location and Diffusion of Scientific Research: Evidence from the Synchrotron Diamond Light Source." *The Economic Journal* **127**(604): 2006-2040.

Class 4 The Rate and Direction of Scientific Progress

September 30

Potential Referee Reports

- Bertolotti, Fabio, Kyle R. Myers, and Wei Yang Tham. 2025. "Productivity Beliefs and Efficiency in Science." NBER Working Paper #34000.

Boudou, Justine and John McKeon. 2025. "Innovation Under Resource Constraints: Supercomputing in Scientific Research." Working Paper, Harvard University and Boston University.

Required Readings

Carnehl, Christoph, and Johannes Schneider. 2025. "A Quest for Knowledge." *Econometrica* **93**(2): 623-659.

Gans, Joshua S. 2025. "A Simplified Quest for Knowledge." NBER Working Paper #33815.

Azoulay, Pierre, Christian Fons-Rosen, and Joshua S. Graff Zivin. 2019. "Does Science Advance One Funeral at a Time?" *American Economic Review* **109**(8): 2889-2920.

Myers, Kyle. 2020. "The Elasticity of Science." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **12**(4): 103-134.

Hill, Ryan, Yian Yin, Carolyn Stein, Xizhao Wang, Dashun Wang, and Benjamin F. Jones. 2025. "The Pivot Penalty in Research." *Nature* **642**(8069): 999-1006.

Hill, Ryan, and Carolyn Stein. 2025. "Scooped! Estimating Rewards for Priority in Science." *Journal of Political Economy* **133**(3): 793-845.

Hill, Ryan, and Carolyn Stein. 2025. "Race to the Bottom: Competition and Quality in Science." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **140**(2): 1111-1185.

The Direction of Science

Kuhn, Thomas S. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Rosenberg, Nathan. 1982. "How Exogenous is Science?" In *Inside the Black Box*, pp. 141-158. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hopenhayn, Hugo, and Francesco Squintani. 2021. "On the Direction of Innovation." *Journal of Political Economy* **129**(7): 1991-2022.

Bryan, Kevin A., and Jorge Lemus. 2017. "The Direction of Innovation." *Journal of Economic Theory* **172**: 247-272.

Bramoullé, Yann, and Gilles Saint-Paul. 2010. "Research Cycles." *Journal of Economic Theory* **145**(5): 1890-1920.

McMahan, Peter, and Daniel A. McFarland. 2021. "Creative Destruction: The Structural Consequences of Scientific Curation." *American Sociological Review* **86**(2): 341-76.

Akerlof, George A., and Pascal Michailat. 2018. "Persistence of False Paradigms in Low-power Sciences." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **115**(52): 13228-13233.

Rubin, Amir, and Eran Rubin. 2021. "Systematic Bias in the Progress of Research." *Journal of Political Economy* **129**(9): 2066-719.

Scientific Competition

Wade, Nicholas. 1981. *The Nobel Duel: Two Scientists' 21-year Race to Win the World's Most Coveted Research Prize*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Bobtcheff, Catherine, Jérôme Bolte, and Thomas Mariotti. 2017. "Researcher's Dilemma." *The Review of Economic Studies*, **84**(3): 969-1014.

Werth, Barry. 1995. *The Billion Dollar Molecule: One Company's Quest for the Perfect Drug*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Potential Referee Reports

- Jia, Ruixue, Gaurav Khanna, Hongbin Li, and Yuli Xu. 2025. "The Ripple Effects of China's College Expansion on American Universities." NBER Working Paper #34391.
- Ganguli, Ina, and Raviv Murciano-Goroff. 2025. "Exposure to Science and Scientific Careers: Evidence from Minimum Wage Increases and University Lab Employment." NBER Working Paper #34244.
- Ekerdt, Lorenz K.F., and Kai-Jie Wu. 2025. "Self-Selection and the Diminishing Returns of Research." Working Paper, Center for Economic Studies, US Census Bureau.
- Biasi, Barbara, and Song Ma. 2023. "The Education-Innovation Gap." Working Paper, Yale School of Management.
- Boudou, Justine. 2025. "Not All That Glitters is Gold: Firm Hiring in the Market for Knowledge Workers." Working Paper, Harvard University.
- Cheng, Stephanie, Joseph Staudt, Elisabeth Perlman, and Wei Yang Tham. 2025. "Scientific Talent Leaks Out of Funding Gaps." Working Paper, University of Toronto.
- Bernstein, Shai, Rebecca Diamond, Abhisit Jiranaphawiboon, Tim McQuade, and Beatriz Pousada. 2025. "The Contribution of High-Skilled Immigrants to Innovation in the United States." Working Paper, Harvard University.

Required Readings

- Bell, Alexander M., Raj Chetty, Xavier Jaravel, Neviana Petkova, and John Van Reenen. 2019. "Who Becomes an Inventor in America? The Importance of Exposure to Innovation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **134**(2): 647-713.
- Shu, Pian. 2015. "Are the 'Best and Brightest' Going into Finance? Career Choice and Skill Development of MIT Graduates." Harvard Business School Working Paper #16-067.
- Borjas, George J., and Kirk B. Doran. 2012. "The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Productivity of American Mathematicians." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, **127**(3): 1143-1203.
- Moser, Petra, Alessandra Voena, and Fabian Waldinger. 2014. "German-Jewish Émigrés and US Invention." *American Economic Review* **104**(10): 3222-3255.
- Deming, David J., and Kadeem L. Noray. 2020. "Earnings Dynamics, Changing Job Skills, and STEM Careers." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **135**(4): 1965-2005.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Wesley H. Greenblatt, and Misty L. Heggness. 2021. "Long-Term Effects from Early Exposure to Research: Evidence from the NIH 'Yellow Berets'." *Research Policy* **50**(9): 104332.
- Agarwal, Ruchir, and Patrick Gaulé. 2020. "Invisible Geniuses: Could the Knowledge Frontier Advance Faster?" *American Economic Review: Insights* **2**(4): 409-424.
- Ahmadpoor, Mohammad, and Benjamin F. Jones. 2019. "Decoding Teams and Individual Impact in Science and Invention." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **116**(28): 13885-13890.

*Supplementary Papers***Who is (or Who Becomes) an Innovator?**

- Bell, Alexander M., Raj Chetty, Xavier Jaravel, Neviana Petkova, and John Van Reenen. 2019. "Do Tax Cuts Produce More Einsteins? The Impacts of Financial Incentives versus Exposure to Innovation on the Supply of Inventors." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 17(3): 651-677.
- Shu, Pian. 2012. "The Long-Term Impact of Business Cycles on Innovation: Evidence from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology." Working Paper, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Stephan, Paula E. 2012. *How Economics Shapes Science*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 7 ("The Market for Scientists and Engineers").
- Ellison, Glenn, and Ashley Swanson. 2016. "Do Schools Matter for High Math Achievement? Evidence from the American Mathematics Competitions." *American Economic Review* 106(6): 1244-1277.
- Toivanen, Otto, and Lotta Väänänen. 2016. "Education and Invention." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 98(2): 382-396.
- Aghion, Philippe, Ufuk Akcigit, Antonin Bergeaud, Richard Blundell, and David Hémous. 2019. "Innovation and Top Income Inequality." *Review of Economic Studies* 86(1): 1-45.
- Jones, Benjamin F., and Bruce A. Weinberg. 2011. "Age Dynamics in Scientific Creativity." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108(47): 18910-18914.
- Levin, Sharon G., and Paula E. Stephan. 1991. "Research Productivity over the Life Cycle: Evidence for Academic Scientists." *American Economic Review* 81(1): 114-32.
- Ganguli, Ina, Patrick Gaulé, and Danijela Vuletić Čugalj. 2022. "Biased Beliefs and Entry into Scientific Careers." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 202: 17-33.
- Biasi, Barbara, David J. Deming, and Petra Moser. 2022. "Education and Innovation." Chapter 12 in *The Role of Innovation and Entrepreneurship in Economic Growth*, Michael J. Andrews, Aaron Chatterji, Josh Lerner & Scott Stern (Eds.), pp. 537-551. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Deteriorating science careers

- Cheng, Stephanie D. 2023. "What's another year? The lengthening training and career paths of scientists." *PLoS One* 18(5): e0285550.
- Kahn, Shulamit, and Megan MacGarvie. 2024. "New evidence on international postdocs in the US: Less pay, different experiences." *Research Policy* 53(9): 105077.
- Kahn, Shulamit, and Donna K. Ginther. 2017. "The impact of postdoctoral training on early careers in biomedicine." *Nature Biotechnology* 35(1): 90-94.

Immigration

- Hunt, Jennifer, and Marjolaine Gauthier-Loiselle. 2010. "How Much Does Immigration Boost Innovation?" *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 2(2): 31-56.
- Kerr, William R. 2020. "The Gift of Global Talent: Innovation Policy and the Economy." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* 20: 1-37.
- Kerr, William R., and William F. Lincoln. 2010. "The Supply Side of Innovation: H-1B Visa Reforms and U.S. Ethnic Invention." *Journal of Labor Economics* 28(3): 473-508.
- Stephan, Paula E. 2012. *How Economics Shapes Science*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 8 ("The Foreign Born").
- Doran, Kirk, Alexander Gelber, and Adam Isen. 2022. "The Effects of High-Skilled Immigration Policy on Firms: Evidence from Visa Lotteries." *Journal of Political Economy* 130(10): 2501-2533.
- Franzoni, Chiara, Giuseppe Scellato, and Paula Stephan. 2015. "International Mobility of Research Scientists: Lessons from GlobSci." In Aldo Geuna (Ed.), *Global Mobility of Research Scientists: The Economics of Who Goes Where and Why*, pp. 35-65. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

- Ganguli, Ina. 2015. "Who Leaves and Who Stays? Evidence on Immigrant Selection from the Collapse of Soviet Science." In Aldo Geuna (Ed.), *Global Mobility of Research Scientists: The Economics of Who Goes Where and Why*, pp. 133-154. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Agarwal, Ruchir, Ina Ganguli, Patrick Gaulé, and Geoff Smith. 2023. "Why U.S. Immigration Matters for the Global Advancement of Science." *Research Policy* **52**(1): 104659.
- Gaulé, Patrick, and Mario Piacentini. 2013. "Chinese Graduate Students and U.S. Scientific Productivity." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **95**(2): 698-701.
- Prato, Marta. 2025. "The Global Race for Talent: Brain Drain, Knowledge Transfer, and Growth." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **140**(1): 165-238.
- Borjas, George J., Kirk B. Doran, and Ying Shen. 2018. "Ethnic Complementarities After the Opening of China: How Chinese Graduate Students Affected the Productivity of their Advisors." *Journal of Human Resources* **53**(1): 1-31.
- Kahn, Shulamit and Megan J. MacGarvie. 2016. "How Important is U.S. Location for Research in Science?" *Review of Economics and Statistics*, **98**(2): 397-414.

Superstars, Concavity and the Concatenation of Talent

- Cole, Jonathan R., and Stephen Cole. 1972. "The Ortega Hypothesis." *Science* **178**(4059): 368-375.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Joshua Graff Zivin, and Jialan Wang. 2010. "Superstar Extinction." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **125**(2): 549-589.
- Waldinger, Fabian. 2012. "Peer Effects in Science: Evidence from the Dismissal of Scientists in Nazi Germany." *Review of Economic Studies* **79**(2): 838-861.
- Zucker, Lynne G., Michael R. Darby, and Marilyn B. Brewer. 1998. "Intellectual Human Capital and the Birth of U.S. Biotechnology Enterprises." *American Economic Review* **88**(1): 290-306.
- Moretti, Enrico. 2021. "The Effect of High-Tech Clusters on the Productivity of Top Inventors." *American Economic Review* **111**(10): 3328-3375.
- Teodoridis, Florenta. 2018. "Understanding Team Knowledge Production: The Interrelated Roles of Technology and Expertise." *Management Science* **64**(8): 3469-3970.

Discrimination and Stratification

- Kim, Scott and Petra Moser. 2025. "Women in Science. Lessons From the Baby Boom." *Econometrica* **93**(5): 1521-1560.
- Jaravel, Xavier. 2023. *Marie Curie habite dans le Morbihan*. Paris: Seuil.
- Ceci, Stephen J., and Wendy M. Williams. 2011. "Understanding current causes of women's underrepresentation in science." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **108**(8): 3157-3162.
- Hoisl, Karin, Hans Christian Kongsted, and Myriam Mariani. 2023. "Lost Marie Curies: Parental Impact on the Probability of Becoming an Inventor." *Management Science* **69**(3): 1714-1738.
- Ding, Waverly W., Fiona Murray, and Toby E. Stuart. 2013. "From Bench to Board: Gender Differences in University Scientists' Participation in Corporate Scientific Advisory Boards." *Academy of Management Journal* **56**(5): 1443-1464.
- Arcidiacono, Peter, Esteban Aucejo, and V. Joseph Hotz. 2016. "University Differences in the Graduation of Minorities in STEM Fields: Evidence from California." *American Economic Review* **106**(3): 525-562.
- Blau, Francine D., Janet M. Currie, Rachel T.A. Croson, and Donna K. Ginther. 2010. "Can Mentoring Help Female Assistant Professors? Interim Results from a Randomized Trial." *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings* **100**(2): 348-352.

- Sarsons, Heather, Klarita Gërkhani, Ernesto Reuben, and Arthur Schram. 2021. "Gender Differences in Recognition for Group Work." *Journal of Political Economy* **129**(1): 101-147.
- Breda, Thomas, and Son Thierry Ly. 2015. "Professors in Core Science Fields Are Not Always Biased against Women: Evidence from France." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **7**(4): 53-75.
- Brooks, Alison Wood, Laura Huang, Sarah Wood Kearney, and Fiona E. Murray. 2014. "Investors Prefer Entrepreneurial Ventures Pitched by Attractive Men." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **111**(12): 4427-4431.
- Koffi, Marlène. 2025. "Innovative Ideas and Gender (In)equality." *American Economic Review* **115**(7): 2207-2236.
- Kahn, Shulamit, and Donna Ginther. 2017. "Women and STEM." NBER Working Paper #23525.
- Ginther, Donna K., Walter T. Schaffer, Joshua Schnell, Beth Masimore, Faye Liu, Laurel L. Haak, and Raynard Kington. 2011. "Race, Ethnicity, and NIH Research Awards." *Science* **333**(6045): 1015-1019.
- Zinovyeva, Natalia, and Manuel Bagues. 2015. "The Role of Connections in Academic Promotions." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* **7**(2): 264-292.
- Bagues, Manuel, Manuel Sylos-Labini, and Natalia Zinovyeva. 2017. "Does the Gender Composition of Scientific Committees Matter?" *American Economic Review* **107**(4): 1207-1238.
- Lambrecht, Anja, and Catherine E. Tucker. 2019. "Algorithmic Bias? An Empirical Study into Apparent Gender-Based Discrimination in the Display of STEM Career Ads." *Management Science* **65**(7): 2966-2981.
- Delgado, Mercedes, and Fiona E. Murray, 2023. "Faculty as catalysts for training new inventors: Differential outcomes for male and female PhD students." *PNAS* **120**(36).

Manpower Analysis' Sad Track Record

- Goolsbee, Austan. 1998. "Does R&D Policy Primarily Benefit Scientists and Engineers?" *American Economic Review* **88**(2): 298-302.
- Romer, Paul M. 2000. "Should the Government Subsidize Supply or Demand in the Market for Scientists and Engineers?" *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **1**: 221-252.
- Freeman, Richard, and John van Reenen. 2009. "What if Congress Doubled R&D Spending on the Physical Sciences?" *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **9**: 1-38.
- Freeman, Richard B. 1975. "Supply and Salary Adjustments to the Changing Science Manpower Market: Physics, 1948-1973." *American Economic Review* **65**(1): 27-39.
- Freeman, Richard B., Tanwin Chang, and Hanley Chiang. 2005. "Supporting the 'Best and Brightest' in Science and Engineering: NSF Graduate Research Fellowships." NBER Working Paper #11623.
- Teitelbaum, Michael S. 2014. *Falling Behind? Boom, Bust and the Global Race for Scientific Talent*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ehrenberg, Ronald G. 1992. "The Flow of New Doctorates." *Journal of Economic Literature* **30**(2): 830-875.
- Committee on Science, Engineering, and Public Policy (COSEPUP). 2006. *Rising Above the Gathering Storm: Energizing and Employing America for a Brighter Economic Future*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press.

Required Readings

- Aghion, Philippe, and Jean Tirole. 1994. "The Management of Innovation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **109**(4): 1185-1209.
- Lerner, Joshua, and Ulrike Malmendier. 2010. "Contractibility and the Design of Research Agreements." *American Economic Review* **100**(1): 214-246.
- Manso, Gustavo. 2011. "Motivating Innovation." *Journal of Finance* **66**(5): 1823-1860.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Joshua Graff Zivin, and Gustavo Manso. 2011. "Incentives and Creativity: Evidence from the Academic Life Sciences." *RAND Journal of Economics* **42**(3): 527-554.

Supplementary Papers

- Acemoglu, Daron, Ufuk Akcigit, and Murat Alp Celik. 2022. "Radical and Incremental Innovation: The Roles of Firms, Managers, and Innovators." *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* **14**(3): 199-249.
- Carnehl, Christoph, Marco Ottaviani, and Justus Preusser. 2025. "Designing Scientific Grants." *Entrepreneurship & Innovation Policy and the Economy* **4**: 139-178.
- Fitzgerald, Tristan, Benjamin Balsmeier, Lee Fleming, and Gustavo Manso. 2021. "Innovation Search Strategy and Predictable Returns." *Management Science* **67**(2): 1109-1137.
- Hvide, Hans K., and Benjamin F. Jones. 2018. "University Innovation and the Professor's Privilege." *American Economic Review* **108**(7): 1860-1898.
- Tian, Xuan, and Tracy Yue Wang. 2014. "Tolerance for Failure and Corporate Innovation." *Review of Financial Studies* **27**(1): 211-255.
- Hellmann, Thomas, and Veikko Thielez. 2011. "Incentives and Innovation: A Multi-tasking Approach." *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics* **3**(1): 78-128.
- Holmstrom, Bengt. 1989. "Agency Costs and Innovation." *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* **12**(3): 305-327.
- Lazear, Edward P. 1997. "Incentives in Basic Research." *Journal of Labor Economics* **15**(1): S167-S197.
- Lerner, Joshua, and Julie Wulf. 2007. "Innovation and Incentives: Evidence from Corporate R&D." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **89**(4): 634-644.
- Lerner, Josh, Morten Sorensen, and Per Strömberg. 2011. "Private Equity and Long-Run Investment: The Case of Innovation." *Journal of Finance* **66**(2): 445-477.
- Gross, Daniel P. 2017. "Performance Feedback in Competitive Product Development." *RAND Journal of Economics* **48**(2): 438-466.
- Gross, Daniel P. 2016. "Creativity Under Fire: The Effects of Competition on Creative Production." Working Paper, Harvard University.
- Boudreau, Kevin J., and Karim R. Lakhani. 2012. "The Confederacy of Heterogeneous Software Organizations and Heterogeneous Developers: Field Experimental Evidence on Sorting and Worker Effort." Chapter 10 in *The Rate & Direction of Inventive Activity Revisited* (edited by Joshua Lerner and Scott Stern), pp. 483-502, 2012.
- Ederer, Florian. 2013. "Incentives for Parallel Innovation." Working Paper, Yale School of Management. Available at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2309664.
- Novak, Sharon, and Scott Stern. 2008. "How Does Outsourcing Affect Performance Dynamics? Evidence from the Automobile Industry." *Management Science* **54**(12): 1963-1979.

- Carmichael, H. Lorne. 1988. "Incentives in Academics: Why Is There Tenure?" *Journal of Political Economy* **96**(3): 453-472.
- Siow, Aloysius. 1998. "Tenure and other Unusual Personnel Practices in Academia." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* **14**(1): 152-173.
- Tripodi, Giorgio, Xiang Zheng, Yifan Qian, Dakota Murray, Benjamin F. Jones, Chaoqun Nie, and Dashun Wang. 2025. "Tenure and Research Trajectories." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **122**(30): e2500322122.
- Hörner, Johannes, and Larry Samuelson. 2013. "Incentives for Experimenting Agents." *RAND Journal of Economics* **44**(4): 632-663.
- Graff Zivin, Joshua, and Elizabeth Lyons. 2021. "The Effects of Prize Structures on Innovative Performance." *AEA Papers & Proceedings* **111**(5): 577-581.
- Feynman, Richard P. 1999. *The Pleasure of Finding Things Out*. New York: Basic Books.

PROBLEM SET #1 DUE!

Class 7 Incentives for Innovators: Market-Level Rewards

October 21

Potential Referee Reports

- Moscona, Jacob. 2021. "Flowers of Invention: Patent Protection and Productivity Growth in US Agriculture." Working Paper, MIT.
- Mezzanotti, Filippo, and Timothy Simcoe. 2023. "Innovation and Appropriability: Revisiting the Role of Intellectual Property." NBER Working Paper #31428.
- Budish, Eric, Maya M. Durvasula, Benjamin N. Roin, and Heidi Williams. 2025. "Missing Markets for Innovation: Evidence From New Uses of Existing Drugs." NBER Working Paper #34222.

Required Readings

- Azoulay, Pierre, and Danielle Li. 2022. "Scientific Grant Funding." In Austan Goolsbee, and Benjamin F. Jones (Eds.), *Innovation and Public Policy*, Chapter 4: 117-150. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Brunt, Liam, Josh Lerner, and Tom Nicholas. 2012. "Inducement Prizes and Innovation." *Journal of Industrial Economics* **45**(4): 657-696.
- Budish, Eric, Benjamin N. Roin, and Heidi L. Williams. 2016. "Patents and Research Investments: Assessing the Empirical Evidence." *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings* **106**(5): 183-187.
- Budish, Eric, Benjamin N. Roin, and Heidi Williams. 2015. "Do Firms Underinvest in Long-Term Research? Evidence from Cancer Clinical Trials." *American Economic Review* **105**(7): 2044-2085.
- Gallini, Nancy, and Suzanne Scotchmer. 2002. "Intellectual Property: What is the Best Incentive System?" *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **2**: 51-77.
- Lemley, Mark A., and Carl Shapiro. 2005. "Probabilistic Patents." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **19**(2): 75-98.
- Moser, Petra. 2013. "Patents and Innovation: Evidence from Economic History." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **27**(1): 23-44.
- Sampat, Bhaven, and Heidi L. Williams. 2019. "How Do Patents Affect Follow-on Innovation? Evidence from the Human Genome." *American Economic Review* **109**(1): 203-326.
- Scotchmer, Suzanne. 1991. "Standing on the Shoulders of Giants: Cumulative Research and the Patent Law." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **5**(1): 29-41.

Wright, Brian. 1983. "The Economics of Invention Incentives: Patents, Prizes, and Research Contracts." *American Economic Review* 73(4): 691-707.

Supplementary Papers

Intellectual Property Rights

- Mokyr, Joel. 2009. "Intellectual Property Rights, the Industrial Revolution, and the Beginnings of Modern Economic Growth." *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings* 99(2): 349-355.
- Weyl, E. Glen, and Jean Tirole. 2013. "Market Power Screens Willingness-to-Pay." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127(4): 1971-2003.
- Shavell, Steven, and Tanguy van Ypersele. 2001. "Rewards versus Intellectual Property Rights." *Journal of Law and Economics* 44(2): 525-547.
- Kremer, Michael. 1998. "Patent Buyouts: A Mechanism for Encouraging Innovation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 113(4): 1137-1167.
- Kremer, Michael, and Christopher M. Snyder. 2015. "Preventives Versus Treatment." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 130(3): 1167-1239.
- Boldrin, Michele, and David Levine. 2002. "The Case Against Intellectual Property." *American Economic Association Papers & Proceedings* 92(2): 209-212.
- Hegde, Deepak, Alexander Ljungqvist, and Manav Raj. 2022. "Quick or Broad Patents? Evidence from U.S. Startups." *The Review of Financial Studies* 35(6): 2705-2742.

Procurement

- Rogerson, William P. 1995. "Innovation: Market Failures and Public Policies." In Keith Hartley, and Todd Sandler (Eds.), *Handbook of Defense Economics*, pp. 310-346. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Chiappinelli, Olga, Leonardo M. Giuffrida, and Giancarlo Spagnolo. 2025. "Public procurement as an innovation policy: Where do we stand?" *International Journal of Industrial Organization* 100: 103157.
- Howell, Sabrina T., Jason Rathje, John Van Reenen, and Jun Wong. 2025. "Opening Up Military Innovation: Causal Effects of Reforms to US Defense Research." *Journal of Political Economy* 133(11): 3605-3651.
- Bhattacharya, Vivek. 2021. "An Empirical Model of R&D Procurement Contests: An Analysis of the DOD SBIR Program." *Econometrica* 89(5): 2189-2224.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Erica Fuchs, Anna P. Goldstein, and Michael Kearney. 2019. "Funding Breakthrough Research: Promises and Challenges of the 'ARPA Model'." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* 19: 69-96.
- Goldstein, Anna P., and Michael Kearney. 2020. "Know when to fold 'em: An empirical description of risk management in public research funding." *Research Policy* 49(1): 103873.
- de Rassenfosse, Gaëtan, Adam Jaffe, and Emilio Raiteri. 2019. "The procurement of innovation by the U.S. government." *PLoS One* 14(8): e0218927.

Prizes and Prize Design

- Taylor, Curtis R. 1995. "Digging for Golden Carrots: An Analysis of Research Tournaments." *American Economic Review* 85(4): 872-890.
- Moldovanu, Benny, and Aner Sela. 2001. "The Optimal Allocation of Prizes in Contests." *American Economic Review* 91(3): 542-558.
- Che, Yeon-Koo, and Ian Gale. 2003. "Optimal Design of Research Contests." *American Economic Review* 93(3): 646-671.

- Halac, Marina, Navin Kartik, and Qingmin Liu. 2017. "Contests for Experimentation." *Journal of Political Economy* **125**(5): 1523-1569.
- Che, Yeon-Koo, Elisabetta Iossa, and Patrick Rey. 2021. "Prizes versus Contracts as Incentives for Innovation." *The Review of Economic Studies* **88**(5): 2149-2178.
- Khan, B. Zorina. 2015. "Inventing Prizes: An Historical Perspective on Innovation Awards and Technology Policy." *Business History Review* **89**(4): 631-66.
- Moser, Petra, and Tom Nicholas. 2013. "Prizes, Publicity, And Patents: Non-Monetary Awards As A Mechanism To Encourage Innovation." *Journal of Industrial Economics* **61**(3): 763-788.
- Murray, Fiona, Scott Stern, Georgina Campbell, and Alan MacCormack. 2012. "Grand Innovation Prizes: A Theoretical, Normative, and Empirical Evaluation." *Research Policy* **41**(10): 1779-1792.
- Boudreau, Kevin J., Nicola Lacetera, and Karim R. Lakhani. 2011. "Incentives and Problem Uncertainty in Innovation Contests: An Empirical Analysis." *Management Science* **57**(5): 843-863.
- Jeppesen, Lars Bo, and Karim R. Lakhani. 2010. "Marginality and Problem-Solving Effectiveness in Broadcast Search." *Organization Science* **21**(5): 1016-1033.
- Kremer, Michael, and Heidi Williams. 2010. "Incentivizing Innovation: Adding to the Toolkit." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **1**: 1-17.
- Williams, Heidi. 2012. "Innovation Inducement Prizes: Connecting Research to Policy." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* **31**(3): 752-776.
- Kay, Luciano. 2011. "The Effect of Inducement Prizes on Innovation: Evidence from the Ansari X Prize and the Northrop Grumman Lunar Lander Challenge." *R&D Management* **41**(4): 360-377.
- Arielle D'Souza, Kendall Hoyt, Christopher M. Snyder, and Alec Stapp. 2025. "Can Operation Warp Speed Serve as a Model for Accelerating Innovations beyond COVID Vaccines?" *Entrepreneurship & Innovation Policy and the Economy* **4**: 103-138.
- Kremer, Michael, Jonathan Levin, and Christopher M. Snyder. 2020. "Advance Market Commitments: Insights from Theory and Experience." *AEA Papers & Proceedings* **110**(5): 269-273.

Economics of the Patent System

- Nordhaus, William D. 1967. "The Optimal Life of a Patent." Cowles Foundation Discussion Paper #241.
- Prasad, Vinay, and Stephan Lindner. 2018. "Why is Research in Early-Stage Cancer Research so Low?" *Journal of Cancer Policy* **17**: 4-8.
- Furman, Jeffrey L., Markus Nagler, and Martin Watzinger. 2021. "Disclosure and Subsequent Innovation: Evidence from the Patent Depository Library Program." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* **13**(4): 239-270.
- Comino, Stefano, Alberto Galasso, and Clara Graziano. 2017. "The Diffusion of New Institutions: Evidence From Renaissance Venice's Patent System." NBER Working Paper #24118.
- Galasso, Alberto, and Mark Schankerman. 2015. "Patents and Cumulative Innovation: Causal Evidence from the Courts." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **130**(1): 317-369.
- Hall, Bronwyn H. 2005. "Exploring the Patent Explosion." *Journal of Technology Transfer* **30**(1-2): 35-48.
- Marco, Alan C., Michael Carley, Steven Jackson, and Amanda Myers. 2015. "The USPTO Historical Patent Data Files: Two Centuries of Innovation." Working Paper, Georgia Institute of Technology.
- Hall, Bronwyn H., and Dietmar Harhoff. 2012. "Recent Research on the Economics of Patents." *Annual Review of Economics* **4**: 541-565.
- Merges, Robert P., and Richard R. Nelson. 1990. "On the Complex Economics of Patent Scope." *Columbia Law Review* **90**(4): 839-916.

- Moser, Petra, Joerg Ohmstedt, and Paul W. Rhode. 2018. "Patent Citations—An Analysis of Quality Differences and Citing Practices in Hybrid Corn." *Management Science* **64**(4): 1926-1940.
- Graham, Stuart, and Saurabh Vishnubhakat. 2013. "Of Smart Phone Wars and Software Patents." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **27**(1): 67-86.
- Ouellette, Lisa Larrimore. 2012. "Do Patents Disclose Useful Information?" *Harvard Journal of Law & Technology* **25**(2): 532-593.
- Bessen, James. 2002. "Patents and the Diffusion of Technical Information." *Economics Letters* **86**(1): 121-128.
- Graham, Stuart, and Deepak Hegde. 2015. "Disclosing Patents' Secrets." *Science* **347**(6219): 236-237.
- Roin, Benjamin N. 2005. "The Disclosure Function of the Patent System (Or Lack Thereof)." *Harvard Law Review* **118**(6): 2007-2028.
- Hegde, Deepak, Kyle Herkenhoff, and Chenqi Zhu. 2023. "Patent Publication and Innovation." *Journal of Political Economy* **131**(7): 1845-1903.
- Jaffe, Adam B., and Josh Lerner. 2006. "Innovation and its Discontents." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **6**: 27-65.
- Graham, Stuart J.H., and Dietmar Harhoff. 2014. "Separating Patent Wheat from Chaff: Would the US Benefit from Adopting Patent Post-Grant Review?" *Research Policy* **43**(9): 1649-1659.

Patenting and Firm Behavior

- Kortum, Samuel, and Joshua Lerner. 1998. "Stronger Protection or Technological Revolution: What is Behind the Recent Surge in Patenting?" *Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy* **48**: 247-304.
- Hall, Bronwyn H., and Rosemarie H. Ziedonis. 2001. "The Patent Paradox Revisited: An Empirical Study of Patenting in the US Semiconductor Industry, 1979-95." *RAND Journal of Economics* **32**(1): 101-128.
- Gaulé, Patrick. 2018. "Patents and the Success of Venture-Capital Backed Startups: Using Examiner Assignment to Estimate Causal Effects." *Journal of Industrial Economics* **66**(2): 350-376.
- Choi, Jay Pil, and Heiko Gerlach. 2017. "A Theory of Patent Portfolios." *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics* **9**(1): 315-351.
- Kline, Patrick, Neviana Petkova, Heidi Williams, and Owen Zidar. 2019. "Who Profits from Patents? Rent-Sharing at Innovative Firms." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **134**(3): 1343-1404.
- Jaravel, Xavier, Neviana Petkova, and Alex Bell. 2018. "Team-Specific Capital and Innovation." *American Economic Review* **108**(4-5): 1034-1073.
- Rivette, Kevin G., and David Kline. 2000. "Discovering New Value in Intellectual Property." *Harvard Business Review* **78**(1): 54-66.
- Shapiro, Carl. 2000. "Navigating the Patent Thicket: Cross Licenses, Patent Pools, and Standard Setting." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **1**: 119-150.
- Cohen, Wesley M., Richard R. Nelson, and John P. Walsh. 2000. "Protecting their Intellectual Assets: Appropriability Conditions and Why U.S. Manufacturing Firms Patent (or Not)." NBER Working Paper #7552.
- Belenzon, Sharon. 2011. "Cumulative Innovation and Market Value: Evidence from Patent Citations." *Economic Journal* **122**(559): 265-285.
- Heller, Michael A., and Rebecca S. Eisenberg. 1998. "Can Patents Deter Innovation? The Anticommons in Biomedical Research." *Science* **280**(5364): 698-701.
- Hegde, Deepak, David C. Mowery, and Stuart J.H. Graham. 2009. "Pioneering Inventors or Thicket Builders: Which U.S. Firms Use Continuations in Patenting?" *Management Science* **55**(7): 1214-1226.
- Cohen, Lauren, Umit G. Gurun, and Scott Duke Kominers. 2014. "Patent Trolls." NBER Working Paper #20322.

- Tucker, Catherine E. 2016. “The Effect of Patent Litigation and Patent Assertion Entities on Entrepreneurial Activity.” *Research Policy* 45(1): 218-231.
- Feng, Josh, and Xavier Jaravel. 2020. “Crafting Intellectual Property Rights: Implications for Patent Assertion Entities, Litigation, and Innovation.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 12(1): 140-181.

Patenting and Antitrust

- Lerner, Josh, and Jean Tirole. 2004. “Efficient Patent Pools.” *American Economic Review* 94(3): 691-711.
- Lerner, Josh, and Jean Tirole. 2015. “Standard-Essential Patents.” *Journal of Political Economy* 123(3): 547-586.
- Lampe, Ryan, and Petra Moser. 2010. “Do Patent Pools Encourage Innovation? Evidence from the Nineteenth-Century Sewing Machine Industry.” *Journal of Economic History* 70(4): 898-920.
- Lampe, Ryan, and Petra Moser. 2013. “Patent Pools and Innovation in Substitute Technologies: Evidence from the 19th-century Sewing Machine Industry.” *RAND Journal of Economics* 44(4): 757-778.
- Federico, Giulio, Fiona Scott Morton, and Carl Shapiro. 2020. “Antitrust and Innovation: Welcoming and Protecting Disruption.” *Innovation Policy and the Economy* 20: 125-190.

Secrecy

- Anton, James J., and Dennis A. Yao. 2004. “Little Patents and Big Secrets: Managing Intellectual Property.” *RAND Journal of Economics* 35(1): 1-22.
- Kultti, Klaus, Tuomas Takalo, and Juuso Toikka. 2007. “Secrecy versus Patenting.” *The RAND Journal of Economics* 38(1): 22-42.
- Lemley, Mark A. 2008. “The Surprising Virtues of Treating Trade Secrets as IP Rights.” *Stanford Law Review* 61(2): 311-353.
- Friedman, David D., William M. Landes, and Richard A. Posner. 1991. “Some Economics of Trade Secret Law.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5(1): 61-72.
- Hall, Bronwyn H., Christian Helmers, Mark Rogers, and Vania Sena. 2014. “The Choice Between Formal and Informal Intellectual Property: A Review.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 52(2): 375-423.
- Arundel, Anthony. 2001. “The Relative Effectiveness of Patents and Secrecy for Appropriation.” *Research Policy* 30(4): 611-624.
- Marx, Matthew, Debbie Strumsky, and Lee Fleming. 2009. “Mobility, Skills, and the Michigan Non-compete Experiment.” *Management Science* 55(6): 875-889.
- Moser, Petra. 2012. “Innovation without Patents: Evidence from World’s Fairs.” *Journal of Law and Economics* 55(1): 43-74.

Class 8 Measuring Innovation and the Impact of Innovation
Policy and Institutions, Guest Lecture by Adam Jaffe

October 28

Potential Referee Reports

- Andrews, Michael. 2023. “Bar Talk: Informal Social Interactions, Alcohol Prohibition, and Invention,” Working Paper, University of Maryland Baltimore County. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3489466>.

- Ganguli, Ina, Jeffrey Lin, Vitaly Meursault, and Nicholas F. Reynolds. 2024. "Patent Text and Long-Run Innovation Dynamics: The Critical Role of Model Selection." NBER Working Paper #32934.
- Arora, Ashish, Sharon Belenzon, Elia Ferracuti, and Jay Prakash Nagar. 2024. "Revisiting the Private Value of Scientific Inventions." NBER Working Paper #33056.
- Chiopris, Caterina. "The Diffusion of Ideas." Working Paper, Harvard University.
- Boeing, Philipp, Loren Brandt, Ruochen Dai, Kevin Lim, and Bettina Peters. 2025. "The Anatomy of Chinese Innovation: Insights on Patent Quality and Ownership." IZA Discussion Paper No. 16869. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4769906>.

Required Readings

- Griliches, Zvi. 1979. "Issues in Assessing the Contribution of Research and Development to Productivity Growth." *Bell Journal of Economics* **10**(1): 92-116.
- Hall, Bronwyn H., Adam Jaffe, and Manuel Trajtenberg. 2005. "Market Value and Patent Citations." *RAND Journal of Economics* **36**(1): 16-38.
- Kuhn, Jeffrey M., Kenneth A. Younge, and Alan C. Marco. 2020. "Patent Citations Reexamined." *RAND Journal of Economics* **51**(1): 109-132.
- Ahmadpoor, Mohammad, and Benjamin F. Jones. 2017. "The Dual Frontier: Patented Inventions and Prior Scientific Advance." *Science* **357**(6531): 583-587.
- Arts, Sam, Jianan Hou, and Juan Carlos Gomez. 2021. "Natural Language Processing to Identify the Creation and Impact of New Technologies in Patent Text: Code, Data, and New Measures." *Research Policy* **50**(2): 104144.
- Higham, Kyle, Gaétan de Rassenfosse, and Adam B. Jaffe. 2021. "Patent Quality: Towards a Systematic Framework for Analysis and Measurement." *Research Policy* **50**(4): 104215.
- Kogan, Leonid, Dimitris Papanikolaou, Amit Seru, and Noah Stoffman. 2017. "Technological Innovation, Resource Allocation, and Growth." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **132**(2): 665-712.
- Kelly, Bryan, Dimitris Papanikolaou, Amit Seru, and Matt Taddy. 2021. "Measuring Technological Innovation Over the Long Run." *American Economic Review: Insights* **3**(3): 303-320.

Supplementary Papers

Generalities

- Cantoni, Davide, and Noam Yuchtman. 2014. "Medieval Universities, Legal Institutions, and the Commercial Revolution." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **129**(2): 823-887.
- Griliches, Zvi. 1994. "Productivity, R&D and the Data Constraint." *American Economic Review* **84**(1): 1-23.
- Jaffe, Adam. 1998. "Measurement Issues." In Lewis Branscomb, and James Keller (Eds.), *Investing in Innovation: Creating a Research and Innovation Policy That Works*, pp. 64-84. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Jaffe, Adam B. 2002. "Building Program Evaluation Into the Design of Public Research Support Programs." *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* **18**(1): 22-34.
- Azoulay, Pierre. 2012. "Turn the Scientific Method on Ourselves." *Nature*, **484**(7392): 31-32.
- Lane, Julia I., Jason Owen-Smith, Rebecca F. Rosen, and Bruce A. Weinberg. 2015. "New Linked Data on Research Investments: Scientific Workforce, Productivity, and Public Value." *Research Policy* **44**(9): 1659-1671.

Connecting Phenomena to Measurement: Innovation Landscapes

- Williams, Heidi L. 2013. "Intellectual Property Rights and Innovation: Evidence from the Human Genome." *Journal of Political Economy* **121**(1): 1-27.

- Nagaraj, Abhishek. 2022. "The Private Impact of Public Data: Landsat Satellite Maps Increased Gold Discoveries and Encouraged Entry." *Management Science* **68**(1): 564-582.
- Kantor, Shawn, and Alexander Whalley. 2019. "Research Proximity and Productivity: Long-Term Evidence from Agriculture." *Journal of Political Economy* **127**(2):819-854.
- Boyack, Kevin W., Richard Klavans, and Katy Börner. 2005. "Mapping the Backbone of Science." *Scientometrics* **64**(3): 351-374.
- Catalini, Christian. 2018. "Microgeography and the Direction of Inventive Activity." *Management Science* **64**(9): 4348-4364.
- Jensen, Kyle, and Fiona Murray. 2005. "Intellectual Property Landscape of the Human Genome." *Science* **310**(5746): 239-240.
- Shi, Feng, and James Evans. 2023. "Surprising combinations of research contents and contexts are related to impact and emerge with scientific outsiders from distant disciplines." *Nature Communications* **14**: 1641.

The "Furious Fives": Experiments, Regression/Matching, Diff-in-Diff, RDD, IV

- Boudreau, Kevin J., Tom Brady, Ina Ganguli, Patrick Gaule, Tony Hollenberg, Eva Guinan, and Karim R. Lakhani. 2017. "A Field Experiment on Search Costs and the Formation of Scientific Collaborations." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* **99**(4): 565-576.
- Boudreau, Kevin J., Karim R. Lakhani, and Michael Menietti. 2016. "Performance Responses to Competition across Skill-Levels in Rank Order Tournaments: Field Evidence and Implications for Tournament Design." *RAND Journal of Economics* **47**(1):140-65.
- Boudreau, Kevin J., and Karim R. Lakhani. 2015. "Open Disclosure of Innovations, Incentives and Follow-on Reuse: Theory on Processes of Cumulative Innovation and a Field Experiment in Computational Biology." *Research Policy* **44**(1): 4-19.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Joshua S. Graff Zivin, and Bhaven N. Sampat. 2012. "The Diffusion of Scientific Knowledge Across Time and Space: Evidence from Professional Transitions for the Superstars of Medicine." Chapter 2 in *The Rate & Direction of Inventive Activity Revisited* (edited by Joshua Lerner and Scott Stern), pp. 107-155.
- Finkelstein, Amy. 2004. "Static and Dynamic Effects of Health Policy: Evidence from the Vaccine Industry." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **119**(2): 527-567.
- Tucker, Catherine. 2008. "Identifying Formal and Informal Influence In Technology Adoption with Network Externalities." *Management Science* **54**(12): 2024-2039.
- Jacob, Brian A., and Lars Lefgren. 2011. "The Impact of Research Grant Funding on Research Productivity." *Journal of Public Economics* **95**(9-10): 1168-1177.
- Dechezleprêtre, Antoine, Elias Einiö, Ralf Martin, Kieu-Trang Nguyen, and John Van Reenen. 2016. "Do Tax Incentives for Research Increase Firm Innovation? An RD Design for R&D." NBER Working Paper #22405.
- Kerr, William R., Josh Lerner, and Antoinette Schoar. 2014. "The Consequences of Entrepreneurial Finance: Evidence from Angel Financings." *Review of Financial Studies* **27**(1): 20-55.

Novel and Not So Novel Uses of Patent and Citation Data

- Griliches, Zvi. 1990. "Patent Statistics as Economic Indicators: A Survey." *Journal of Economic Literature* **28**(4): 1661-1707.
- Griliches, Zvi, and Ariel Pakes. 1984. "Patents and R&D at the Firm Level: A First Look." In Zvi Griliches (Ed.), *R&D, Patents, and Productivity*, pp. 55-72. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Trajtenberg, Manuel. 1990. "A Penny for Your Quotes: Patent Citations and the Value of Innovations." *RAND Journal of Economics* **21**(1): 172-187.

- Arts, Sam, Nicola Melluso, and Reinhilde Veugelers. 2025. "Beyond Citations: Measuring Novel Scientific Ideas and their Impact in Publication Text." Forthcoming, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- Igami, Mitsuru, and Jai Subrahmanyam. 2019. "Patent Statistics as an Innovation Indicator? Evidence from the Hard Disk Drive Industry." *The Japanese Economic Review* **70**(3): 308-330.
- Righi, Cesare, and Timothy Simcoe. 2019. "Patent Examiner Specialization." *Research Policy* **48**(1): 137-148.
- Lerner, Josh, and Amit Seru. 2022. "The Use and Misuse of Patent Data: Issues for Corporate Finance and Beyond." *The Review of Financial Studies* **35**(6): 2667-2704.
- Mann, Katja, and Lukas Püttmann. 2023. "Benign Effects of Automation: New Evidence From Patent Texts." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* **105**(3): 562-579.
- Jaffe, Adam B., and Gaétan de Rassenfosse. 2017. "Patent Citation Data in Social Science Research: Overview and Best Practices." *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* **68**(6): 1360-1374.
- Thompson, Peter, and Melanie Fox-Kean. 2005. "Patent Citations and the Geography of Knowledge Spillovers: A Reassessment." *American Economic Review* **95**(1): 450-460.
- Bryan, Kevin A., Yasin Ozcan, and Bhaven Sampat. 2020. "In-text patent citations: A user's guide." *Research Policy* **49**(4): 103946.
- Marx, Matt, and Aaron Fuegi. 2020. "Reliance on Science by Inventors: Worldwide Front-page Patent Citations to Scientific Articles." *Strategic Management Journal* **41**(9): 1572-1594.
- Jaffe, Adam B., Manuel Trajtenberg, and Rebecca Henderson. 1993. "Geographic Localization of Knowledge Spillovers as Evidenced by Patent Citations." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **108**(3): 577-598.
- Bikard, Michaël. 2020. "Idea Twins: Simultaneous Discoveries as a Research Tool." *Strategic Management Journal* **41**(8): 1528-1543.
- de Rassenfosse, Gaétan. 2018. "Notice Failure Revisited: Evidence on the Use of Virtual Patent Marking." NBER Working Paper #24288.
- Catalini, Christian, Nicola Lacetera, and Alexander Oettl. 2015. "The Incidence and Role of Negative Citations in Science." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **112**(45): 13823-13826.
- Funk, Russell J., and Jason Owen-Smith. 2017. "A Dynamic Network Measure of Technological Change." *Management Science* **63**(3): 791-817.
- Wu, Lingfei, Dashun Wang, and James A. Evans. 2019. "Large Teams Develop and Small Teams Disrupt Science and Technology." *Nature* **566**(7744): 378-382.
- Ke, Qing, Emilio Ferrara, Filippo Radicchi, and Alessandro Flammini. 2015. "Defining and Identifying Sleeping Beauties in Science." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **112**(24): 7426-7431.
- Sinatra, Roberta, Dashun Wang, Pierre Deville, Chaoming Song, and Albert-László Barabási. 2016. "Quantifying the Evolution of Individual Scientific Impact." *Nature* **354**(6312): aaf5239-1-aaf5239-8.
- Perrons, Robert K., Adam B. Jaffe, and Trinh Le. 2021. "Linking scientific research and energy innovation: A comparison of clean and dirty technologies." *Energy Research & Social Science* **78**.
- Kong, Nancy, Uwe Dulleck, Adam B. Jaffe, Shupeng Sun, and Sowmya Vajjala. 2023. "Linguistic metrics for patent disclosure: Evidence from university versus corporate patents." *Research Policy* **52**(2): 104670.
- Jaffe, Adam B., and Manuel Trajtenberg. 1999. "International Knowledge Flows: Evidence From Patent Citations." *Economics of Innovation and New Technology* **8**(1-2): 105-136.
- Criscuolo, Paola, and Bart Verspagen. 2008. "Does it matter where patent citations come from? Inventor vs. examiner citations in European patents." *Research Policy* **37**(10): 1892-1908.
- Ashtor, Jonathan H. 2019. "Investigating Cohort Similarity as an Ex Ante Alternative to Patent Forward Citations." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* **16**(4): 848-880.
- Arts, Sam, Jianan Hou, and Juan Carlos Gomez. 2021. "Natural language processing to identify the creation and impact of new technologies in patent text: Code, data, and new measures." *Research Policy* **50**(2): 104144.

Bergeaud, Antonin, Adam B. Jaffe, and Dimitris Papanikolaou. 2025. "Natural Language Processing and Innovation Research." NBER Working Paper #33821.

Networks

Guimerà, Roger, Brian Uzzi, Jarrett Spiro, and Luís A. Nunes Amaral. 2005. "Team Assembly Mechanisms Determine Collaboration Network Structure and Team Performance." *Science* **308**(5722): 697-702.

Foster, Jacob G., Andrey Rzhetsky, and James A. Evans. 2015. "Tradition and Innovation in Scientists' Research Strategies." *American Sociological Review* **80**(5): 875-908.

Shi, Feng, Jacob G. Foster, and James A. Evans. 2015. "Weaving the Fabric of Science: Dynamic Network Models of Science's Unfolding Structure." *Social Networks* **43**: 73-85.

Mohnen, Myra. 2022. "Stars and Brokers: Knowledge Spillovers Among Medical Scientists." *Management Science* **68**(4): 2513-2532.

Zacchia, Paolo. 2020. "Knowledge Spillovers through Networks of Scientists." *The Review of Economic Studies* **87**(4): 1989-2018.

Owen-Smith, Jason, and Walter W. Powell. 2004. "Knowledge Networks as Channels and Conduits: The Effects of Spillovers in the Boston Biotechnology Community." *Organization Science* **15**(1): 5-21.

Econometric Minutia

Santos Silva, J.M.C., and Silvana Tenreyro. 2006. "The Log of Gravity." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **88**(4): 641-658.

Chen, Jiafeng, and Jonathan Roth. 2024. "Logs with Zeros? Some Problems and Solutions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **139**(2): 891-936.

Hausman, Jerry, Bronwyn H. Hall, and Zvi Griliches. 1984. "Econometric Models for Count Data with an Application to the Patents-R&D Relationship." *Econometrica* **52**(4): 909-938.

Hall, Bronwyn H., Jacques Mairesse, and Laure Turner. 2007. "Identifying Age, Cohort and Period Effects in Scientific Research Productivity: Discussion and Illustration Using Simulated and Actual Data on French Physicists." *Economics of Innovation and New Technology* **16**(2): 159-177.

Windmeijer, Frank. 2008. "GMM for Panel Data Count Models." In Mátyás László, and Patrick Sevestre (Eds.), *The Econometrics of Panel Data*, pp. 603-624. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag.

Wooldridge, Jeffrey M. 1997. "Quasi-Likelihood Methods for Count Data." In M. Hashem Pesaran, and Peter Schmidt (Eds.), *Handbook of Applied Econometrics*, pp. 352-406. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bertanha, Marinho, and Petra Moser. 2016. "Spatial Errors in Count Data Regressions." *Journal of Econometric Methods* **5**(1): 49-69.

Potential Referee Reports

Dyèvre, Arnaud. 2024. "Public R&D Spillovers and Productivity Growth." Working Paper, London School of Economics.

Fieldhouse, Andrew J., and Karel Mertens. 2025. "The Social Returns to Public R&D." NBER Working Paper #33780.

Fieldhouse, Andrew J. and Karel Mertens. 2024. "The Returns to Government R&D: Evidence from U.S. Appropriations Shocks." Working Paper #2305, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas.

- Boeing, Philipp, and Bettina Peters. 2024. “The Misuse of China’s R&D Subsidies: Estimating Treatment Effects With One-Sided Noncompliance.” ZEW - Centre for European Economic Research Discussion Paper No. 24-077.
- Akerman, Ariel, Jacob Moscona, Heitor S. Pellegrina, and Karthik Sastry. 2025. “Public R&D Meets Economic Development: Embrapa and Brazil’s Agricultural Revolution.” NBER Working Paper #34213.
- Arora, Ashish, Sharon Belenzon, Larisa C. Cioaca, Lia Sheer, and Hansen Zhang. 2023. “The Effect of Public Science on Corporate R&D.” NBER Working Paper #31899.
- Giroud, Xavier, Ernest Liu, and Holger Mueller. 2025. “Innovation Spillovers across U.S. Tech Clusters.” Working Paper, Columbia University.

Required Readings

- Jones, Benjamin F., and Lawrence H. Summers. 2022. “A Calculation of the Social Returns to Innovation.” In Austan Goolsbee, and Benjamin F. Jones (Eds.), *Innovation and Public Policy*, Chapter 1: 13-59. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bloom, Nicholas, Mark Schankerman, and John Van Reenen. 2013. “Identifying Technology Spillovers and Product Market Rivalry.” *Econometrica* **81**(4): 1347-1393.
- Babina, Tania, Alex Xi He, Sabrina T. Howell, Elisabeth Ruth Perlman, and Joseph Staudt. 2023. “Cutting the Innovation Engine: How Federal Funding Shocks Affect University Patenting, Entrepreneurship, and Publications.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **138**(2): 895-954.
- Azoulay, Pierre, Danielle Li, Joshua S. Graff Zivin, and Bhaven N. Sampat. 2019. “Public R&D Investment and Private Sector Patenting: Evidence from NIH Funding Rules.” *The Review of Economic Studies* **86**(1): 117-152.
- Myers, Kyle, and Lauren Lanahan. 2022. “Estimating Spillovers from Publicly-funded R&D: Evidence from the US Department of Energy.” *American Economic Review* **112**(7): 2393-2423.
[<https://twitter.com/kroymyers/status/1283399351721701376>]
- Kantor, Shawn, and Alexander Whalley. 2025. “Moonshot: Public R&D and Growth.” *American Economic Review* **115**(9): 2891-2925.

Supplementary Papers

- Lucking, Brian, Nicholas Bloom, and John Van Reenen. 2019. “Have R&D Spillovers Declined in the 21st Century?” *Fiscal Studies* **40**(4): 561-590.
- Howell, Sabrina T. 2017. “Financing Innovation: Evidence from R&D Grants.” *American Economic Review* **107**(4): 1136-1164.
- Ilzetzki, Ethan. 2024. “Learning by Necessity: Government Demand, Capacity Constraints, and Productivity Growth.” *American Economic Review* **114**(8): 2436-2471.
- Bergeaud, Antonin, Arthur Guillouzoic, Emeric Henry, and Clément Malgouyres. 2025. “From Public Labs to Private Firms: Magnitude and Channels of Local R&D Spillovers.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* **140**(4): 3233-3282.
- Pless, Jacquelyn. 2025. “Are ‘Complementary Policies’ Substitutes? Evidence from R&D Subsidies in the UK”. Forthcoming. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*.
- Jaffe, Adam B. 1986. “Technological Opportunity and Spillovers from R&D: Evidence from Firms’ Patents, Profits, and Market Value.” *American Economic Review* **76**(5): 984-1001.
- Cohen, Wesley M., and Daniel A. Levinthal. 1989. “Innovation and Learning: The Two Faces of R&D.” *The Economic Journal* **99**(397): 569-596.

- Cohen, Wesley M., and Daniel A. Levinthal. 1990. "Absorptive Capacity: A New Perspective on Learning and Innovation." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 35(1): 128-152.
- Cockburn, Iain M., and Rebecca M. Henderson. 1998. "Absorptive Capacity, Coauthoring Behavior, and the Organization of Research in Drug Discovery." *Journal of Industrial Economics* 46(2): 157-182.
- Adams, James D., and Adam B. Jaffe. 1996. "Bounding the Effects of R&D: An Investigation Using Matched Establishment-Firm Data." *RAND Journal of Economics* 27(4): 700-721.
- Lim, Kwanghui. 2002. "The Many Faces of Absorptive Capacity: Spillovers of Copper Interconnect Technology for Semiconductor Chips." *Industrial and Corporate Change* 18(6): 1249-1284.
- Trajtenberg, Manuel. 1989. "The Welfare Analysis of Product Innovations, with an Application to Computed Tomography Scanners." *Journal of Political Economy* 97(2): 444-479.
- Li, Danielle, Pierre Azoulay, and Bhaven N. Sampat. 2017. "The Applied Value of Public Investments in Biomedical Research." *Science* 356(6333): 78-81.
- Adams, James D. 1990. "Fundamental Stocks of Knowledge and Productivity Growth." *Journal of Political Economy* 98(4):673-702.
- Dechezleprêtre, Antoine, Elias Einiö, Ralf Martin, Kieu-Trang Nguyen, and John Van Reenen. 2023. "Do Tax Incentives for Research Increase Firm Innovation? An RD Design for R&D, Patents, and Spillovers." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 15(4): 486-521.
- Hall, Bronwyn, and John Van Reenen. 2000. "Fiscal Incentives for R&D: A New Review of the Evidence." *Research Policy* 29(4): 449-469.
- Santoleri, Pietro, Andrea Mina, Alberto Di Minin, and Irene Martelli. 2024. "The Causal Effects of R&D Grants: Evidence from a Regression Discontinuity." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 106(6): 1495-1510.
- Fry, Caroline V. 2023. "Bridging the Gap: The impact of Return Migration by African Scientists." *Organization Science* 34(1): 404-432.

Class 10 The US Patent System and Innovation Policy, Guest
Lecture by Bhaven Sampat (Johns Hopkins University)

November 18

Potential Referee Reports

- Frakes, Michael D., and Melissa F. Wasserman. 2025. "Strategic Patenting: Evidence from the Biopharmaceutical Industry." NBER Working Paper #34024.
- Budish, Eric, Maya M. Durvasula, Benjamin N. Roin, and Heidi L. Williams. 2025. "Missing Markets for Innovation: Evidence from New Uses of Existing Drugs." NBER Working Paper #34222.

Required Readings

- Sampat, Bhaven N. 2018. "A Survey of Empirical Evidence on Patents and Innovation." NBER Working Paper #25383.
- de Rassenfosse, Gaétan, Adam B. Jaffe, and Melissa Wasserman. 2024. "AI-Generated Inventions: Implications for the Patent System." *Southern California Law Review* 96(6): 1453-1478.
- Mezzanotti, Filippo, and Timothy Simcoe. 2023. "Innovation and Appropriability: Revisiting the Role of Intellectual Property." NBER Working Paper #31428.

Frakes, Michael D., and Melissa F. Wasserman. 2017. "Is the time allocated to review patent applications inducing examiners to grant invalid patents? Evidence from microlevel application data." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **99**(3): 550-563.

Hemphill, Scott C., and Bhaven N. Sampat. 2025. "Patents, Innovation, and Competition in Pharmaceuticals: The Hatch-Waxman Act After 40 Years." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **39**(2): 27-52.

Optional Readings

Fox, Nelson C., and Rosetta H.V.G. Fox. 1989. "Shark Protector Suit." US Patent No. 4,833,729, issued by the US Patent Office, Washington, DC.

Merges, Robert. 1999. "As Many as Six Impossible Patents Before Breakfast: Property Rights For Business Concepts and Patent System Reform." *Berkeley Technology Law Journal* **14**(2): 577-615.

Bryan, Kevin A., Yasin Ozcan, and Bhaven Sampat. 2020. "In-text patent citations: A user's guide." *Research Policy* **49**(4): 103946.

Class 11 Zoom Guest Lecturer: Heidi Williams

November 25

Elmendorf, Doug, and Heidi Williams. 2023. "A Serious Case for Dynamic Scoring." *Slow Boring*, available at <https://www.slowboring.com/p/a-serious-case-for-dynamic-scoring>

Clancy, Matt, Dan Correa, Jordan Dworkin, Paul Niehaus, Caleb Watney, and Heidi Williams. 2023. "To Speed Scientific Progress, Understand How Science Policy Works." *Nature* **620**(7975): 724-726.

Bloom, Nicholas, John Van Reenen, and Heidi Williams. 2019. "A Toolkit of Policies to Promote Innovation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **33**(3): 163-184.

PROBLEM SET #2 DUE!

Class 12 Measuring Entrepreneurship and the Impact of Entrepreneurship Policy and Institutions

December 2

Potential Referee Reports

Chikis, Craig A., Benny Kleinman, and Marta Prato. 2025. "The Geography of Innovative Firms." NBER Working Paper #34010.

Required Readings

Decker, Ryan, John Haltiwanger, Ron Jarmin, and Javier Miranda. 2014. "The Role of Entrepreneurship in US Job Creation and Economic Dynamism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **28**(3): 3-24.

Glaeser, Edward, Sari Pekkala Kerr, and William Kerr. 2015. "Entrepreneurship and Urban Growth: An Empirical Assessment with Historical Mines." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **97**(2): 498-520.

- Guzman, Jorge, and Scott Stern. 2020. "The State of American Entrepreneurship: New Estimates of The Quantity and Quality of Entrepreneurship For 34 US States, 1988-2014." *American Economic Journal: Policy* **12**(4):212-243.
- Haltiwanger, John, Jarmin, Ron S., & Miranda, Javier. 2013. "Who Creates Jobs? Small versus Large versus Young." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* **95**(2): 347-361.
- Howell, Sabrina T. 2017. "Financing Innovation: Evidence from R&D Grants." *American Economic Review* **107**(4): 1136-1164.
- Samila, Sampsa, and Olav Sorenson. 2011. "Venture Capital, Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **93**(1): 338-349.

Supplementary Readings

- Botelho, Tristan L., Daniel Fehder, and Yael Hochberg. 2021. "Innovation-Driven Entrepreneurship." NBER Working Paper #28990.
- Guzman, Jorge, and Scott Stern. 2015. "Where is Silicon Valley?" *Science* **347**(6222): 606-609.
- Fehder, Daniel C., and Yael V. Hochberg. 2019. "Spillover Effects of Startup Accelerator Programs: Evidence from Venture-Backed Startup Activity." Working Paper, Rice University.
- Arzaghi, Mohammad, and J. Vernon Henderson. 2008. "Networking off Madison Avenue." *Review of Economic Studies* **75**(4): 1011-1038.
- Fallick, Bruce, Charles Fleischman, and James Rebitzer. 2006. "Job-hopping in Silicon Valley: Some Evidence Concerning the Microfoundations of a High-technology Cluster." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **88**(3): 472-481.
- Kerr, William, and Scott Kominers. 2015. "Agglomerative Forces and Cluster Shapes." *Review of Economics and Statistics* **97**(4): 877-899.
- Michelacci, Claudio, and Olmo Silva. 2007. "Why So Many Local Entrepreneurs?" *Review of Economics and Statistics* **89**(4): 615-633.
- Chinitz, Benjamin. 1961. "Contrasts in Agglomeration: New York and Pittsburgh." *American Economic Review* **51**(2): 279-289.
- Florida, Richard. 2005. *Cities and the Creative Class*. New York: Routledge.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1970. *The Economy of Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Marshall, Alfred. 1920. *Principles of Economics*. London: MacMillan and Co.
- Saxenian, Annalee. 1994. *Regional Advantage: Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ajay Agrawal, Iain Cockburn, Alberto Glasso, and Alex Oettl. 2014. "Why Are Some Regions More Innovative than Others? The Role of Small Firms in the Presence of Large Labs." *Journal of Urban Economics* **81**: 149-165.
- Carlino, Gerald, and William Kerr. 2015. "Agglomeration and Innovation." in Gilles Duranton, Vernon Henderson, and William Strange (eds.), *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics* **5**: 349-404. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Glaeser, Edward, and William Kerr. 2009. "Local Industrial Conditions and Entrepreneurship: How Much of the Spatial Distribution Can We Explain?" *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* **18**(3): 623-663.
- Gompers, Paul, Josh Lerner, and David Scharfstein. 2005. "Entrepreneurial Spawning." *Journal of Finance* **60**(2): 577-614.
- Gromb, Denis, and David S. Scharfstein. 2002. "Entrepreneurship in Equilibrium." NBER Working Paper #9001.
- Hellmann, Thomas, and Enrico Perotti. 2011. "The Circulation of Ideas in Firms and Markets." *Management Science* **57**(10): 1813-1826.
- Greenstone, Michael, Richard Hornbeck, and Enrico Moretti. 2010. "Identifying Agglomeration Spillovers: Evidence from Winners and Losers of Large Plant Openings." *Journal of Political Economy* **118**(3): 536-598.

Zucker, Lynne G., Michael R. Darby, and Marilyn B. Brewer. 1998. "Intellectual Human Capital and the Birth of U.S. Biotechnology Enterprises." *American Economic Review* **88**(1): 290-306.

Class 13 The Economics of Ideas and Innovation Policy

December 9

Required Readings

- Botelho, Tristan L., Daniel Fehder, and Yael Hochberg. 2021. "Innovation-Driven Entrepreneurship." NBER Working Paper #28990.
- Bloom, Nicholas, John Van Reenen, and Heidi Williams. 2019. "A Toolkit of Policies to Promote Innovation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* **33**(3): 163-184.
- Guzman, Jorge, Fiona Murray, Scott Stern, and Heidi Williams. Forthcoming. "Accelerating Innovation Ecosystems: The Promise and Challenges of Regional Innovation Engines." In Benjamin Jones, and Josh Lerner (Eds.), *Entrepreneurship and Innovation Policy and The Economy*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lerner, Josh. 2013. "The Boulevard of Broken Dreams: Innovation Policy and Entrepreneurship." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **13**: 61-82.
- Sampat, Bhaven N., and Daniel P. Gross. 2023. "America, Jump-Started: World War II R&D and the Takeoff of the US Innovation System." *American Economic Review* **113**(12): 3323-3356.

Supplementary Papers

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2005. "Institutions as a Fundamental Cause of Long-run Growth." In Philippe Aghion, and Steven Durlauf (Eds.), *Handbook of Economic Growth*, pp. 385-472. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Delgado, Mercedes, Michael E. Porter, and Scott Stern. 2014. "Clusters, Convergence, and Economic Performance." *Research Policy* **43**(10): 1785-1799.
- Jones, Benjamin F. 2014. "The Human Capital Stock: a Generalized Approach." *American Economic Review* **104**(11): 3752-3777.
- Feldman, Maryann P. 2014. "The Character of Innovative Places: Entrepreneurial Strategy, Economic Development, and Prosperity." *Small Business Economics* **43**(1): 9-20.
- Fry, Caroline V. 2023. "Bridging the Gap: Evidence from the Return Migration of African Scientists." *Organization Science* **34**(1): 404-432.
- Fry, Caroline, and Ina Ganguli. 2023. "Return on Returns: Building Scientific Capacity in AIDS Endemic Countries." NBER Working Paper #31374.
- Sorenson, Olav. 2018. "Innovation Policy in a Networked World." *Innovation Policy and the Economy* **18**: 53-77.