

# Global Trends in the Invention and Diffusion of Climate Change Mitigation Technologies

Benedict Probst<sup>1,2\*</sup>, Simon Touboul<sup>3</sup>, Matthieu Glachant<sup>3</sup>, Antoine Dechezleprêtre<sup>4</sup>

- 1) Group for Sustainability and Technology, ETH Zurich, Switzerland
- 2) Cambridge Centre for Environmental, Energy and Natural Resource Governance  
CEENRG, University of Cambridge, UK
- 3) Mines Paris - PSL, i3 CNRS, France
- 4) London School of Economics and Political Science, UK

\*corresponding author ([bprobst@ethz.ch](mailto:bprobst@ethz.ch), Weinbergstrasse 56/58, CH-8092 Zürich)

## **Abstract:**

Increasing the development and diffusion of climate change mitigation technologies on a global scale is critical to reaching net-zero emissions. We analyse over a quarter million high-value inventions patented from 1995 to 2017 by inventors located in 170 countries in all major climate change mitigation technologies. Our analysis shows an annual growth rate of 10 percent from 1995 to 2012 in these high-value inventions. Yet, from 2013 to 2017, the growth rate of these inventions has fallen by around 6 percent annually, likely driven by declining fossil fuel prices, low carbon prices, and increasing technological maturity for some technologies, such as solar PV. Invention has remained highly concentrated geographically over the last decade, with inventors in Germany, Japan, and the US accounting for more than half of global inventions, and the top 10 countries for almost 90%. Except for inventors in China, most middle-income economies have not caught up and remain less specialised in low-carbon technologies than high-income economies. This underscores the need for more technology transfers to low- and middle-income economies, where most of the future CO<sub>2</sub> emissions increases are set to occur.

29           Increasing the development and diffusion of climate change mitigation technologies  
30 (CCMTs) on a global scale is critical to reaching net-zero emissions in the second half of this  
31 century, as envisaged by the Paris Agreement<sup>1</sup>. Yet, a range of modelling results indicates that  
32 existing technologies are insufficient to reach net-zero emissions<sup>2,3</sup>. For instance, the IEA’s  
33 Sustainable Development Scenario estimates that three-quarters of technologies needed for  
34 net-zero are not mature yet, with 41% in the early adoption, 17% in the demonstration, and  
35 17% in the prototype stage.<sup>2</sup>

36           Historically, most CCMTs have been developed and deployed in high-income countries  
37 <sup>4,5,6</sup>. Yet, fast-growing low- and middle-income economies urgently need to adopt these  
38 technologies to decarbonise their economies. While middle-income economies, such as China  
39 and India, are building domestic CCMT industries, other low- and middle-income countries  
40 are often reluctant to bear the additional cost of CCMT compared to “brown” alternatives <sup>4,7</sup>.  
41 Within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), several  
42 instruments – such as the UN Technology Transfer Mechanism and the Clean Development  
43 Mechanism – have attempted to address this challenge and to encourage international CCMT  
44 transfer <sup>8</sup>.

45           While existing research has provided a clear picture of CCMT invention and diffusion  
46 from 1978-2005 <sup>5</sup>, there is a lack of a recent and comprehensive global overview. Using data  
47 from the Worldwide Patent Statistical Database (PATSTAT)<sup>9</sup> maintained by the European  
48 Patent Office (EPO), we examine high-value inventions in the seven climate-change mitigation  
49 technologies identified under the Y02 classification (Table 1), which provides the most  
50 comprehensive and standardised low-carbon patent classification and covers most technology  
51 fields (buildings, carbon capture and storage (CCS), energy, information and communication  
52 technology (ICT), manufacturing, transportation, and waste management).<sup>10</sup>

53           To provide a cross-country comparison of low-carbon inventions, we rely on  
54 international patent families. A patent family refers to all patents that cover a single invention  
55 in one or more countries. International patent families hence protect an invention in at least  
56 two jurisdictions. By using international patent families, instead of simple patent counts or  
57 domestic patent families, we address two challenges inherent in patent data: the propensity to  
58 patent differs greatly between countries, and the individual value of patents is highly  
59 heterogeneous<sup>11,12</sup>. Using international patent families, therefore, provides a common metric  
60 across countries (as each family is counted as one invention, irrespective of how many patents  
61 protect the invention in each country) and enables us to focus on ‘high-value’ inventions,  
62 thereby filtering out low-value inventions that are less likely to meaningfully contribute to

63 climate change mitigation <sup>13</sup>. Overall, high-value inventions constitute around 25% of patented  
64 CCMT inventions globally.

65 Another feature of international patent families is that they can (and have widely been)  
66 used to measure the transfer of patented technologies between countries, by counting families  
67 invented in country A and subsequently patented in country B.<sup>14</sup> As patenting is costly <sup>15</sup>,  
68 inventors tend to protect their inventions with a patent only in countries where they plan to use  
69 the technology. These patent protections sought for inventions outside of the country of first  
70 filing (the ‘priority’ country) permits us to analyse technology transfers between the inventor  
71 and all non-inventor countries where patent protection for the invention has been filed. While  
72 patents do not capture all inventions, they currently represent the best available proxy for cross-  
73 country inventive activity and international technology diffusion. We also show that the  
74 transfer of inventions via cross-country patent filings is highly correlated with other important  
75 transfer channels, such as foreign direct investments (FDI) and exports of capital goods (see  
76 Methods section for a detailed discussion).

77 We provide an up-to-date analysis of CCMT invention and diffusion trends in two  
78 steps. First, we document global invention trends in CCMT based on 286,997 (high-value)  
79 international patent families invented from 1995 to 2017 by inventors located in 170 countries  
80 (and 16 dependent territories, such as Hong Kong) in all major climate mitigation technologies  
81 (see Table 1). While our data extends to 2019, we exclude the last two years because it can  
82 take up to 30 months from an initial patent application to subsequent filings in other countries.<sup>13</sup>  
83 Hence, 2017 is the last reliable year in our patent database. Secondly, we use the same data on  
84 international patent families to investigate trends in international technology diffusion.

85

86

[Table 1 here]

87

88 We find an average increase of 10% in annual high-value CCMT invention rates from  
89 1995 to 2012. Yet, from 2013 to 2017, high-value CCMT invention rates have fallen by around  
90 6 percent annually, likely driven by declining fossil fuel prices and technology-specific drivers,  
91 such as maturity. CCMT invention is highly concentrated geographically: Germany, Japan, and  
92 the US account for more than half of global inventions and the top 10 countries for almost 90%,  
93 while the contribution of most middle-income economies remains negligible. The  
94 concentration in the top-10 countries has remained largely stable over the last two decades.  
95 While inventive activity in CCMTs has recently increased substantially in China, the country  
96 only accounts for only 5% of (high-value) inventions. These trends underscore the need for

97 more transfers to low- and middle-income economies whose energy-related contribution to  
98 global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have doubled over the last two decades and now account for around two-  
99 thirds of global energy-related emissions.<sup>1617</sup>

100

### 101 **Decline in CCMT inventions**

102 Figure 1 shows the annual high-value invention rates for both CCMTs and all technologies  
103 (indexed at 1 in 1995). The period 1995-2012 saw an almost fivefold increase in the number  
104 of yearly high-value inventions in CCMTs, and substantially higher growth of CCMTs  
105 compared to all high-value inventions from 2002 onward, potentially accelerated by the  
106 adoption and ratification of the Kyoto Protocol in the period from 1997-2005<sup>18</sup>. Over the  
107 period 1995-2012, the average annual growth rate was 10.3 percent. Yet, during the period  
108 2013-2017, there has been a general decline in CCMT inventions by 5.5 percent annually.

109

110 [Figure 1 here]

111

112 Disaggregating the data (Figure 2) shows the strongest decrease of annual invention rates in  
113 the period 2013-2017 in energy, buildings, ICT, and CCS. Particularly noteworthy is the  
114 sizeable decline in ICT and CCS inventions in the period 2013-2017, which saw the largest-  
115 and second-largest increase respectively in yearly invention rates from 1995-2012. In contrast,  
116 waste management, transportation, and manufacturing declined less than the average. Overall,  
117 waste management's and manufacturing's inventions growth rates appear to be most stable  
118 over time. Both sectors did not experience above-average growth rates for the period 1995-  
119 2012 and neither above-average declines between 2013-2017.

120

121 [Figure 2 here]

122

### 123 **Drivers of the decline in CCMT inventions**

124 There are several potential reasons for the decline in high-value CCMT inventions since 2013.  
125 The first likely explanation is the massive fall in fossil fuel prices. Historically, the proportion  
126 of global inventions in CCMTs has closely followed oil prices as shown in Figure 3. Oil prices  
127 also tend to be strongly correlated with other fossil fuel prices. Existing research confirms a  
128 causal and not merely correlational relationship: CCMT inventors respond rapidly to changes  
129 in fossil fuel prices and taxes on fossil fuel consumption<sup>19-21</sup>.

130 That patenting responds so quickly is plausible: First, patents may cover inventions that  
131 have already been developed but were not yet profitable due to market factors (such as low  
132 CO<sub>2</sub> or oil prices). Second, the first-to-file rule provides a strong incentive for inventors to file  
133 patents early in the R&D process, which grants the patent to the first person to file the  
134 invention, regardless of the actual date of invention<sup>13</sup>.

135 Carbon prices have not compensated for the decrease in fossil fuel prices in the period  
136 2013-2017 likely because of insufficient coverage and low prices. Until 2020, only 15% of  
137 global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions were covered by carbon pricing instruments, such as carbon taxes or  
138 emissions trading schemes.<sup>22</sup> Overall, the effective carbon rate in 2018 – including the price of  
139 fuel excise taxes, carbon taxes, and emissions permit prices – across 44 OECD and G20  
140 countries (accounting for 80% of global energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions) was less than 30 EUR  
141 / tonne CO<sub>2</sub> for 75% of all emissions.<sup>23</sup> While China launched sub-national emissions trading  
142 scheme (ETS) ETS pilots in 2013, a national ETS was only introduced in February 2021.  
143 Allowances in the European Union ETS saw falling prices from a peak of almost 30 EUR/t  
144 CO<sub>2</sub> in 2008 to around 5 EUR/t CO<sub>2</sub> in 2017<sup>24</sup>. In the meantime, the price in the largest trading  
145 scheme in the US – California’s Cap-and-Trade programme – has only moderately risen from  
146 around 10 USD in 2012 to 19 USD per tonne of CO<sub>2</sub> in 2021.<sup>25</sup>

147 Yet, recent increases in coverage and prices will likely strengthen incentives for CCMT  
148 inventions. The Chinese ETS covers around 12% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, making it the largest  
149 in the world, substantially increasing the scope of carbon pricing. The recent surge in EU ETS  
150 prices to 55 EUR / t CO<sub>2</sub> in June 2021 partly driven by more stringent emissions goals under  
151 the European Green Deal will likely also contribute to increased incentives for CCMT  
152 inventions.<sup>26,27</sup> Econometric evidence shows that the introduction in 2005 of the European  
153 Union Emissions Trading System increased patenting in regulated firms vis-à-vis unregulated  
154 firms by up to 30% in the period 2005-2009<sup>20</sup>.

155

156

[Figure 3 here]

157

158 Another potential reason for the decline could be changes to clean-energy R&D  
159 funding. Several studies<sup>28,29</sup> and our analysis in Supplementary Table 1, Supplementary  
160 Figures 2 and 3 indicate a correlation between public clean-energy R&D funding and patented  
161 high-value inventions in CCMTs. Hence, if public clean-energy R&D was driving the observed  
162 trends, one would expect to have seen a fall in public clean-energy R&D. Yet, clean-energy  
163 public R&D expenditures actually doubled between 2000 and 2012 instead of declining and

164 have remained relatively stable since (Supplementary Figure 3). In addition, a group of 24  
165 governments, including the European Union, committed to doubling public clean energy  
166 RD&D public expenditures in the period 2015-2020. While these pledges made under Mission  
167 Innovation have fallen short of the initial goal of doubling RD&D spending, public investments  
168 in RD&D increased by 38% in these countries.<sup>30</sup>

169 Hence, clean public energy R&D does not appear to be driving the observed trends.  
170 More generally, establishing a direct causal relationship between public energy R&D and  
171 patented CCMT inventions is tricky for several reasons. First, patenting is not only influenced  
172 by public expenditures on energy R&D but also depends on private R&D (occurring within  
173 firms that do not commonly disclose R&D data) and other market factors. Second, the main  
174 goal of public R&D is to fund scientific research – which commonly leads to scientific studies  
175 – and not patents.<sup>29</sup> Third, the lag between public R&D and scientific publications is estimated  
176 to take up to 10 years, especially because public R&D often is further removed from the  
177 eventual commercialisation than private R&D.<sup>29</sup>

178 In addition to low oil and carbon prices, technology-specific drivers likely explain the  
179 recent decrease in CCMT inventions, such as technological maturity. The increasing maturity  
180 of CCMT could have led to a decrease in patented high-value inventions, as the marginal return  
181 to R&D investment decreases. Yet, while some technologies are becoming more mature – such  
182 as solar photovoltaics and wind power (Supplementary Figure 4) – others are constantly  
183 emerging such as CCS and green hydrogen, such that, on average CCMT inventions have not  
184 become less original over time, as indicated by Popp et al<sup>31</sup>.

185 However, our data suggests that for certain technologies technological maturity likely  
186 played a role in the observed decrease, while for others it did not, which we explore by  
187 disaggregating the trends even more across the different sectors (Figure 4).

188

189 [Figure 4 here]

190

191 Inventions in energy (including renewable energy and storage) have seen the most  
192 sizeable decline from 2013-2017 (Figure 2 and 4a), although this trend may be reversing in  
193 more recent years as fossil fuel prices recover<sup>32</sup>. This particular decline in technologies that  
194 compete with fossil fuel-based energy is suggestive of the significant role that the decline in  
195 fossil fuel prices has likely played. Inventions related to hydrogen have not decreased and  
196 enabling technologies (such as storage) have decreased only slightly, in part because these  
197 technologies are early in their invention cycle, with high returns to R&D.

198 The invention trends in one of the central renewable technologies – solar PV –  
199 demonstrate substantial heterogeneity across solar PV types. Our data shows a decline in  
200 polycrystalline inventions (Figure 4b) likely driven by China’s rise to dominance in  
201 polycrystalline solar PV manufacturing, which has led to a decline in solar PV inventions,  
202 R&D intensity, and start-up creation in the solar PV sector<sup>33,34</sup>. Yet, inventions in organic PV  
203 – which is still early in its invention cycle – have not decreased, likely because public clean  
204 energy R&D is a central driving force in organic PV (Figure 4b). For other PV technologies  
205 closer to market – such as Copper Indium Selenium (CuInSe<sub>2</sub>) used in thin-film technologies  
206 of intermediary maturity<sup>35</sup> – the rise to dominance of Chinese polycrystalline manufacturers  
207 appears to have led to a stark decrease in these inventions rather than the maturity of the  
208 technology itself (Figure 4b).<sup>33</sup> Hence, while for polycrystalline solar PV maturity likely played  
209 a role in the decline of inventions, for CuInSe<sub>2</sub> market factors are more likely to have led to  
210 the decline in inventive activity.

211 For buildings, lighting inventions dominate inventions in heating and efficient home  
212 appliances. Lighting inventions have experienced a 10-fold increase in yearly inventions  
213 (Figure 4c) in the period from 1995-2012. The uptick in lighting inventions is dominated by  
214 the rise of light-emitting diodes (LEDs), which have fallen in price by 95% from 2002 to 2020  
215 and have become the de-facto lighting standard.<sup>36</sup> Yet, similar to solar PV inventions, the  
216 dominance of LEDs has likely reduced the diversity of inventions and contributed to the drop  
217 in inventions since 2013.<sup>33</sup>

218 Manufacturing has only seen a modest increase in inventions over the last decades,  
219 except for final industrial and consumer goods (Figure 4d). Very energy-intensive metal and  
220 minerals processing plants often benefit from cheap energy as well as the free allocation of  
221 emission permits due to competitiveness concerns, lowering the pressure to innovate despite  
222 increasing energy prices.<sup>37</sup> For instance, energy-intensive industries have been exempted from  
223 certain surcharges in several countries such as Germany and the Netherlands<sup>37</sup> and have  
224 received free emissions allowances under the EU ETS. In contrast, final industrial and  
225 consumer goods may not benefit from these exemptions to the same extent, increasing the  
226 pressure to innovate.

227 The substantial reversal in patented high-value inventions in carbon capture and storage  
228 (CCS) is also noteworthy (Figure 4e). This decline is potentially due to overblown expectations  
229 on the large-scale deployment of CCS in the early 2000s and low carbon prices over the last  
230 decade in Europe and elsewhere<sup>24</sup>. Besides, carbon utilisation has also struggled to  
231 demonstrate a viable business model over the last decade beyond its use in enhanced oil

232 recovery.<sup>38</sup> The transport and storage of CO<sub>2</sub> in deep underground rock formations have also  
233 faced technical, economic, and societal setbacks.<sup>39</sup> Yet, at least in Europe, two new CO<sub>2</sub>-  
234 storage sites off the coast of the Netherlands (Porthos<sup>40</sup>) and Norway (Northern Lights)<sup>41</sup> may  
235 contribute to the revitalisation of CCS invention dynamics over the next decade. It should also  
236 be noted that the capture of other greenhouse gases – such as nitrous oxide, methane, and  
237 perfluorocarbons – has not declined, likely because most inventions in that sector are not driven  
238 by market dynamics but rather fundamental research and emission standards.

239 Air, maritime and road transport (especially electric vehicles and improvements to the  
240 internal combustion engine) have seen a substantial rise in inventions, whereas rail only saw  
241 moderate increases (Figure 4f). A potential reason that explains the difference in trends is the  
242 exposure of air, maritime, and road transport to oil prices, whereas rail is mostly powered by  
243 electric trains, which are only partly exposed to oil and gas prices. For instance, in 2016 the  
244 share of electric trains was 54% in India, 75% in China, 76% in North America, 80% in Europe,  
245 86% in Russia, and more than 90% in Korea and Japan.<sup>42</sup>

246 The areas of manufacturing and transport also underscore the importance of invention  
247 across different parts of CCMTs as the IEA<sup>2</sup> highlights. For instance, electric vehicles depend  
248 on inventions in battery technology (energy) and metal processing (manufacturing). Yet, the  
249 rate of inventions has grown much faster in battery technologies than in metal processing, even  
250 though global adoption of EVs hinges on the availability of lightweight vehicles.<sup>2</sup>

251

## 252 **CCMT invention trends on a country level**

253 We now investigate the invention trends in CCMT across countries (Figure 5). As the majority  
254 of carbon emissions increases in the next 30 years will come from low- and middle-income  
255 economies<sup>43</sup>, understanding whether these countries are ‘catching up’ in CCMT inventions is  
256 critical. Yet, our analysis shows that CCMT inventive activity remains highly concentrated in  
257 few high-income countries: Inventors in Japan, the U.S.A, and Germany account for 58% of  
258 global CCMT inventions, whereas inventors in the top-10 countries account for 86%. The  
259 concentration of low-carbon invention in few countries has remained largely stable over the  
260 last decade compared to the 2000s (in the period 2000-2005, the top 10 accounted for around  
261 88%). The major difference is that inventors in China and Taiwan have substantially increased  
262 in their ranking over the last decade, whereas inventors in Japan, the U.S.A., and Germany  
263 have lost a few percentage points of the global CCMT share. Yet, apart from inventors in China,  
264 no other middle-income economy has entered the top-10.



265 It is important to note that many middle-income economies perform better when  
266 analysing all patented inventions (in contrast to high-value inventions that we measure), which  
267 indicates that a sizable share of their patented inventions currently has a low value (as measured  
268 by domestic vs. international patent families), but this may change in the future.

269

270 [Figure 5 here]

271

272 Inventors in middle-income economies do not only develop fewer CCMT inventions,  
273 but they are also less specialized in CCMT – computed as the proportion of CCMT compared  
274 to all inventions in the country – than high-income countries (Figure 6). Apart from Mexico  
275 India, and Brazil, middle-income economies have only become slightly more specialised in  
276 CCMTs over the last two decades, while industrialized countries have substantially redirected  
277 their invention efforts towards CCMTs (in the mid-nineties, the share of CCMT in all patented  
278 inventions was roughly 4% everywhere).

279 Most high-income countries are now highly specialised in CCMT. For instance, in  
280 Denmark almost 20 percent of all inventions are CCMT. In contrast, Mexico, India, and South  
281 Africa are the only middle-income economies that have an above-average specialisation in  
282 CCMTs, whereas Russia, Brazil, Turkey, Malaysia, and China have a below-average  
283 specialisation compared to the global average.

284

285 [Figure 6 here]

286

### 287 **Global diffusion trends**

288 To adopt CCMT technologies, countries can invent them or import them from foreign  
289 countries. We measure the transfer of inventions by counting patent families filed outside of  
290 the inventor's country. If the patent family is filed in multiple countries, we divide the fractions  
291 evenly across all receiving countries.

292 To corroborate our metric of CCMT diffusion, we correlate our approach with the most  
293 important technology transfer channels<sup>44</sup>, namely Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and trade.  
294 Data on licensing – another important transfer channel – is limited. Yet, as licensing  
295 agreements are commonly based on locally filed or transferred patents, our indicator also  
296 captures that transfer channel.

297 Overall, our approach correlates well with FDI and moderately well with trade. In  
298 Supplementary Table 4, we show that CCMT invention transfers are highly correlated with

299 FDI. For instance, FDI deals from 2012-2016 in CCMTs between high- and high-income  
300 countries accounted for 68% (vs. 66% for the transfer of inventions) and 31% between high-  
301 and middle-income countries (vs. 27% for the transfer of inventions). Our analysis of trade in  
302 renewable energy products (Supplementary Table 5) shows that middle-income countries  
303 export more renewable energy goods to high- and middle-income countries than their invention  
304 transfer share indicates, which is primarily driven by China's exports of solar PV equipment  
305 to high- and middle-income countries. Yet, our indicator captures all CCMTs and not merely  
306 renewable energy products for which we have trade data.

307 Figure 7 shows the geographical distribution of cross-country invention transfers by  
308 income groups. There is a high concentration of CCMT technology transfer between high-  
309 income countries. This concentration is not specific to CCMT, but it is particularly worrying  
310 as the majority of increases in future CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are expected to come from low- and  
311 middle-income countries. High-income economies invent around 93% of all CCMTs and  
312 around two-thirds of global transfers occur between high-income countries. In contrast, only  
313 one-third is transferred to middle-income countries. Yet, the majority of inventions transferred  
314 from high- to middle-income countries go to China, which received 72% of all transfers from  
315 high-to-middle income countries for the period 2013-2017. Strikingly, low-income countries  
316 do not play a role in either invention or international technology transfer of CCMT, with less  
317 than 1% of both.

318 In Supplementary Figure 8, we show that for many low- and middle-income countries  
319 the share of global CCMTs that are invented in these countries or transferred are below their  
320 share of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. While it is difficult to assign a definitive value on what would  
321 constitute 'sufficient technology transfer', this indicates that increased transfer to low- and  
322 middle-income economies outside of China is paramount to mitigate climate change.

323 This low rate of transfer to low- and middle-income economies alike suggests that  
324 political and economic factors appear insufficient to substantially accelerate the rate of transfer.  
325 The UN Technology Transfer Mechanism, which has been established under the UNFCCC in  
326 2010, has likely not accelerated international technology transfer in a significant manner. Given  
327 the slow progress that has been made since 1992, several experts have noted that it may be  
328 impossible for the UN to ultimately deliver on its technology transfer commitments,  
329 particularly to low-income countries <sup>45</sup>.

330

331

[Figure 7 here]

332 Despite the low transfer to middle-income countries, CCMT technologies still see a  
333 much higher diffusion than the global average. The transfer rate – defined as the share of  
334 patented inventions that have been transferred to at least one foreign country – is shown in  
335 Supplementary Figure 9. The level of CCMT transfer (23% of CCMT inventions) is higher  
336 than the average non-CCMT technology (17%) and this gap has widened over time. This  
337 widespread diffusion indicates the existence of a lively international market for CCMT, but  
338 largely limited to high-income countries and China.

339 CCMT inventions related to transport, CCS, and ICT exhibit particularly high rates of  
340 international transfer compared to the average CCMT. Transport markets are inherently global,  
341 as European car manufacturers sell around 20% of their cars in China alone <sup>46</sup>. Interpreting  
342 these cross-sector differences is difficult, but this result suggests that additional incentives for  
343 cross-country transfer may be particularly important in energy production, manufacturing, and  
344 waste-related technologies, which underperform in terms of transfer compared to other  
345 CCMTs.

346

## 347 **Discussion**

348 After almost two decades (1995-2012) of increasing high-value inventions in low-carbon  
349 technologies, our analysis shows an overall decline in CCMT-invention trends from 2013-  
350 2017. Macro factors, such as low fossil-fuel and carbon prices, as well as technology-specific  
351 drivers, such as maturity, have likely contributed to the decline. This decline is worrisome,  
352 particularly because a range of studies shows that the availability of low-carbon technologies  
353 is critical for mitigating dangerous climate change <sup>47</sup>.

354 Over the last decade, the concentration of CCMT invention in few (mostly high-  
355 income) countries has remained largely stable. Nonetheless, inventors in China (ranked 5<sup>th</sup> in  
356 global CCMT inventions) and Taiwan (7<sup>th</sup>) have caught up substantially over the last decade.  
357 China is also the major recipient of CCMT from high-income countries, receiving 72% of  
358 transferred technologies from high- to middle-income countries from 2013-2017. Yet, except  
359 for Mexico, India, and South Africa, middle-income economies remain less specialised in  
360 CCMT technologies than the global average.

361 Our findings indicate two important lessons: First, there is a dangerous downward trend  
362 in low-carbon inventions, which is likely – at least in part – driven by a decline in fossil fuel  
363 prices. Carbon prices can play a key role in accelerating CCMT inventions. The introduction  
364 of the largest carbon pricing mechanism – the Chinese ETS – as well as the creation of the  
365 Market Stability Reserve and more stringent emissions reduction objectives in the EU ETS,

366 may contribute to an acceleration of CCMT invention in the coming years. The recent surge in  
367 fossil fuel prices may also have already had a positive impact. Second, our findings underscore  
368 the need for more transfers to low- and middle-income economies where most CO<sub>2</sub> emissions  
369 increases are set to occur. While global transfers do not merely occur between high-income  
370 countries, most of the transfers from high-income to middle-income countries go to China.  
371 Hence, transferring more technologies to other middle-income economies – such as South  
372 Africa, Brazil, and Russia – is critical to mitigating climate change. Here, domestic policies to  
373 create demand for the transfer of key CCMTs – such as domestic carbon pricing, energy  
374 efficiency standards, and renewable energy support policies<sup>48,49</sup> – appears key.  
375  
376

## 377 **Data & Methods**

378 The following section sets out the data and methods employed in this study.

379

### 380 Data

#### 381 Patent data

382 To measure the invention and transfer of technologies, we use patent data from the Worldwide  
383 Patent Statistical Database PATSTAT (2019, Autumn version)<sup>9</sup>, a database maintained by the  
384 European Patent Office (EPO). The database includes more than 100 million patents. The  
385 relevant patent codes used in our study can be found in Table 1.

386 EPO experts have created a new classification system (the “Y02” classification)  
387 specifically targeted at climate change mitigation technologies. Except for the Y02A class,  
388 dedicated to climate adaptation technologies, all categories within this Y02 classification refer  
389 to mitigation technologies.

390 The Y02 classification scheme was introduced in 2010 to standardise the tagging of  
391 technologies across different patent classification conventions. Typically, CCMTs are  
392 distributed across many different technological areas within the IPC and CPC classification  
393 scheme, but until the introduction of Y02, a single classification approach was missing. The  
394 complexity of CCMTs is mirrored in other emerging technological sectors (e.g., nano-  
395 technology) and is partly due to the increasing complexity of inventions (covering different  
396 sectors), interoperability between technologies, and the rise of digital technologies (e.g., peer-  
397 to-peer energy trading)<sup>50</sup>.

398 Hence, merely relying on either the CPC or the IPC classification scheme (or both) for  
399 selecting CCMTs can lead to omissions or too many irrelevant inventions. For instance, to find  
400 inventions related to Carbon Sequestration and Storage a potentially relevant CPC code would  
401 be B01D 53/00 (“Separation of gases or vapours; Recovering vapours of volatile solvents from  
402 gases; Chemical or biological purification of waste gases, e.g. engine exhaust gases, smoke,  
403 fumes, flue gases, aerosols”). Yet, the CPC classification does not only refer to inventions  
404 aimed at removing CO<sub>2</sub> but also includes other gases, such as carbon monoxide (which is not  
405 a greenhouse gas). In addition, it only refers to biological or chemical removal but does not  
406 include other separation means. In addition, only considering CPC classification may lead to  
407 omissions – particularly for cross-country comparisons – since the CPC has poor coverage for  
408 countries like Japan.

409 The Y02 classification algorithm, therefore, uses a combination of CPC and IPC codes  
410 and combines it with expert input from the EPO, academia, the non-governmental sector, and

411 industry. The resulting outputs are then perused by EPO experts to guarantee a high-quality  
412 standard across all Y02 codes. The EPO selects 150 random documents from the outputs and  
413 strives for an error rate below 7%. As the PATSTAT database contains more than 100 million  
414 documents, this approach enables the tagging of the entire database. In contrast to the above-  
415 mentioned example, the tag Y02C 10/00 only includes CO<sub>2</sub> capture or storage (and not  
416 irrelevant patents on carbon monoxide capture) and in addition to biological and chemical  
417 separation also includes capture by absorption, adsorption, membranes, or diffusion as well as  
418 rectification and condensation. The Y02 classification, therefore, contains fewer irrelevant  
419 patents and a greater variety of relevant patents.

420 EPO experts identified seven categories of mitigation technologies. The first one is the  
421 *'Buildings'* category, which refers to “climate change mitigation technologies related to  
422 buildings, e.g. housing, house appliances or related end-user applications”. The *'CCS'* category  
423 groups all technologies for the “capture, storage, sequestration or disposal of greenhouse gases  
424 [GHG]”. *'ICT'* technologies are “climate change mitigation technologies in information and  
425 communication technologies [ICT], i.e. information and communication technologies aiming  
426 at the reduction of their own energy use”. The *'Energy'* class groups all technologies targeting  
427 a “reduction of greenhouse gas [GHG] emissions, related to energy generation, transmission  
428 or distribution”. The fifth category, *'Manufacturing'*, gathers “climate change mitigation  
429 technologies in the production or processing of goods”, whereas the category  
430 *"Transportation"* puts together “climate change mitigation technologies related to  
431 transportation”. Finally, we call the last category *'Waste management'*, which targets “climate  
432 change mitigation technologies related to wastewater treatment or waste management”.

433 Altogether, these categories contain more than two million patents related to mitigation  
434 technologies for the period 1995-2017, corresponding to 286,997 ‘high-value’ inventions (i.e.,  
435 international patent families). We exclude patent families referring to design and utility models  
436 and use all patent applications – granted and not granted – for the analysis. We reran the  
437 analysis using only granted patent families, which produces qualitatively similar results.

438

#### 439 Trade and FDI data

440 Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) deals data come from the Zephyr database provided by  
441 Brussels-based business publisher Bureau Van Dijk. Trade data was extracted from UN  
442 COMTRADE.

443

444

## 445 Methods

446 The following sections set out how we use patent data to track inventions in CCMTs and how  
447 we assess the transfer of inventions across countries.

448

### 449 **Using patent data to track high-value inventions in CCMTs**

450 Economists regularly use patents to measure invention<sup>51–53</sup>. A patent grants the inventor the  
451 exclusive property of the new technology but forces the inventor to partly describe and reveal  
452 the technology content of the invention. Inventors patent their inventions only at the end of the  
453 invention process when they plan to use or diffuse their invention. Patents as an indicator,  
454 therefore, reflect the output of the invention effort. Other indicators, such as R&D  
455 expenditures, or the average number of researchers per capita, can also be used as proxies for  
456 invention, but they reflect the inputs into the invention process (e.g., a country could have many  
457 researchers but fail to commercialise these findings). Patent documents contain detailed  
458 information on the inventor, including their country of residence, which we use to determine  
459 the inventor's country of the technology, but also the date of application of the patent. Patents  
460 also include a detailed description of the technology itself. This allows us to precisely identify  
461 the scope of potential applications of the technology. In particular, patent experts use this  
462 information to classify technologies as mitigation technologies. Finally, because patents are  
463 filed in all patent offices where the inventor wants to protect the technology, it provides  
464 information on all countries where the technology is expected to be used.

465 While patents offer many advantages to study global invention, they are not a perfect  
466 proxy to investigate invention and technology transfer. First, there are several ways – apart  
467 from patenting – to protect an invention. Industrial secrecy or lead-time advantages constitute  
468 other options inventors may use to ensure ownership of their technology<sup>54</sup>. Yet, most widely-  
469 used technologies have been patented<sup>55,56</sup>. As the filing of a patent forces the host country to  
470 ensure the property of the invention, inventors file patents only in countries that can guarantee  
471 intellectual property. This is a second drawback of using patents as institutions in the least  
472 high-income countries are not strong enough to ensure intellectual property rights (IPR). Yet,  
473 in the context of our study, it is not problematic as we focus on mitigation technologies  
474 primarily deployed in high- and middle-income economies, which are responsible for the bulk  
475 of historical and future CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Another limitation of patents is the vast differences in  
476 value among them<sup>12</sup>. As patent offices are independent to decide what is or is not a patentable  
477 invention, important differences in the value, but also the propensity to patent across countries  
478 exist. Using mere patent counts does not accurately capture the quality of patents.

479           Several methods can be used to compare inventions between countries and account for  
480 differences in patent value<sup>13</sup>. One of the usual methods is to weigh patents by the number of  
481 citations received from other patents. However, citations are only observed with a lag, hence  
482 this method cannot be used to investigate recent trends. Another option is to use international  
483 patent families, which are patents that protect the same invention across several countries.  
484 Using patent families accounts for differences in the breadth of patents across countries (each  
485 family is counted as one invention, irrespective of how many patents protect the invention in  
486 each country). We only use patent families that were filed in at least two countries, as these are  
487 considered high-value inventions, which account for around 25% of CCMT inventions. High-  
488 value patent families provide a common measure of invention across countries while  
489 accounting for differences in the quality of inventions.

490

#### 491 **Assessing cross-country transfers of patents**

492 An important feature of international patent families is that they can (and have widely been)  
493 used to measure the transfer of patented technologies between countries, by counting families  
494 invented in country A and subsequently patented in country B.<sup>14</sup> As patenting is costly<sup>15</sup>,  
495 inventors tend to protect their inventions with a patent only in countries where they plan to use  
496 the technology. These patent protections sought for inventions outside of the ‘priority’ country,  
497 permit us to analyse technology transfers between the inventor and all non-inventor countries  
498 where the patent has been filed.

499           In our analysis, all high-value inventions constitute technology transfers excluding  
500 those that have inventors in multiple countries and those countries are the same as where the  
501 patents in that family are filed. For patent families with multiple inventors from multiple  
502 countries, we use fractional counts. For instance, a French inventor files various patents (a  
503 patent family) that protect a single invention in France, which is subsequently also filed in  
504 India, Brazil, and China. We allocate the entire invention to France (Figure 5) and then allocate  
505 one-third of the transfer from France to India, Brazil, and China, respectively (Figure 7).

506           To assess to what extent the transfer of inventions via the cross-country filings of patent  
507 families is correlated with other transfer channels – such as FDI and exports – we proceed as  
508 follows.

509           To assess whether a country is a high, middle, or low income, we use the official World  
510 Bank classification from 2020<sup>57</sup>. The thresholds are as follows: Below 1,036 GNI per capita in  
511 current USD a country is considered low-income. Between 1,036 and 12,535 GNI per capita  
512 in current USD, a country is considered middle-income and above 12,535 high income.



513

514 FDI

515 We select FDI deals linked with CCMT transfers for the period 1995-2015 replicating the two  
516 steps procedure from Dussaux, Dechezleprêtre, and Glachant<sup>58</sup> as follows. First, we keep deals  
517 for which the acquiring firms have invented and filed at least one climate change mitigation  
518 patent (patent classified with the CPC code Y02) in the country where the target firm is located.  
519 As we are only interested in technology transfers, we keep deals where the home countries of  
520 the acquiring and the target firms are different. Second, we restrict this selection to target firms  
521 whose main activity can be related to climate change mitigation. To do so, we use the standard  
522 EU industry-standard classification system NACE Rev.2 classification and select codes with a  
523 potential link to climate change mitigation (see Supplementary Table 3 for the list of NACE  
524 codes). The remaining FDI deals only represent firms that are active in one of the sectors  
525 displayed in Table 1.

526

527 Trade

528 To study another important transfer channel, we analyse traded products that are considered  
529 ‘green’ and therefore correspond to the Y02 classification. We use the classification employed  
530 in Mealy and Toytelboym<sup>59</sup> with slight modification. A complete list of trade codes can be  
531 found in Supplementary Table 4.

532

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537 **Acknowledgements**

538 B.P. thanks Fabian Scheifele for support with trade data, Evan Petkov and Christof Knoeri  
539 for insights on innovation in the building sector.

540  
541

542 **Data availability**

543 The data (PATSTAT, Autumn 2019)<sup>9</sup> used in this research was purchased from the European  
544 Patent Office (EPO). The contractual agreement restricts public posting of data sets containing  
545 information on individual patents. However, the aggregate data can be found on GitHub  
546 ([https://github.com/SimonTouboul/ClimateMitig\\_Innov\\_NatureEnergy](https://github.com/SimonTouboul/ClimateMitig_Innov_NatureEnergy)).

547

548 **Code availability**

549 The code used in this analysis can be found on the GitHub link above.

550  
551

552 **Contributions**

553 All authors developed the research idea. S.T. conducted the empirical analysis with support  
554 from B.P., B.P. analysed and visualised the data and wrote the manuscript with support from  
555 S.T., while M.G. and A.D. edited the final draft.

556

557 **Competing interests**

558 The authors declare no competing interests.

559 **Corresponding author**

560 Correspondence to Benedict Probst

561

562 **Tables**

563

Technology Field	European Patent Office classification	Definition	Number of high-value inventions 1995-2017
Buildings	Y02B	Integration of renewables in buildings, lighting, HVAC (heating, ventilation, and air conditioning), home appliances,	33,633

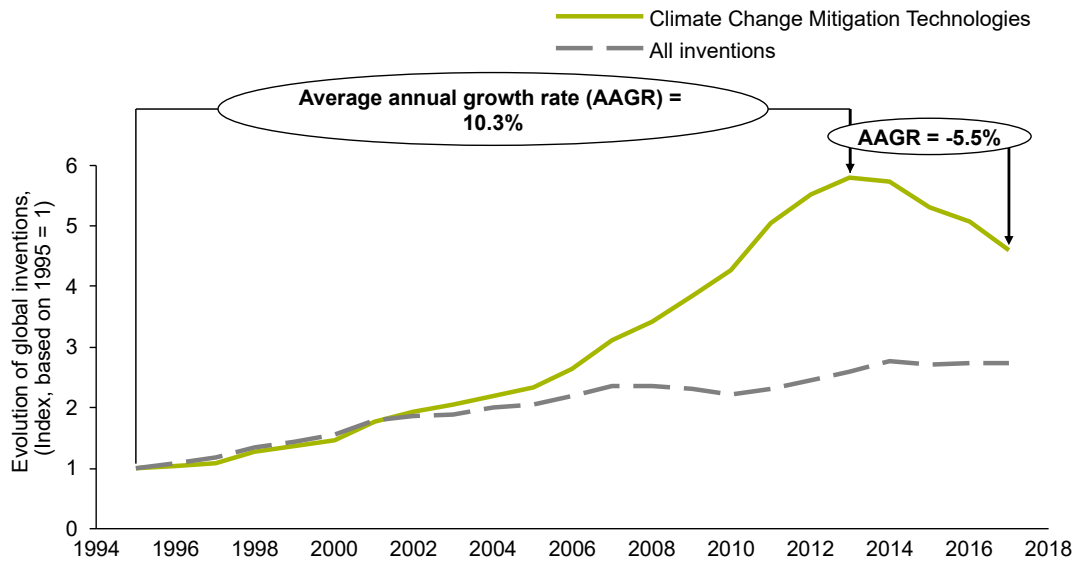
		elevators and escalators, constructional or architectural elements, ICT, power management	
Carbon capture and storage (CCS)	Y02C	CO <sub>2</sub> capture and storage, also of other relevant GHG	4,585
Energy	Y02E	Renewable energy, efficient combustion, nuclear energy, biofuels, efficient transmission and distribution, energy storage, hydrogen technology”	88,631
Information and communication technologies (ICT)	Y02D	Information and communication technologies aiming at the reduction of their own energy use	24,635
Manufacturing	YO2P	Metal processing, chemical/petrochemical industry, minerals processing (e.g. cement, lime, glass), agro-alimentary industries	67,109
Transportation	YO2T	E-mobility, hybrid cars, efficient internal combustion engines, efficient technologies in railways and air/waterways transport	88,684
Waste Management	YO2W	Wastewater treatment, solid waste management, bio packaging”	16,072
All mitigation			<b>286,997</b>

564 *Table 1: Technology field, EPO classification, definition, and number of high-value*  
565 *inventions. Please note: The sum of all categories does not equal the total number of high-*  
566 *value CCMT inventions, because some inventions may be part of several CCMT technology*  
567 *classes. Source: PATSTAT (2019) and definitions directly cited from EPO (2013) and EPO*  
568 *(2019)*

569

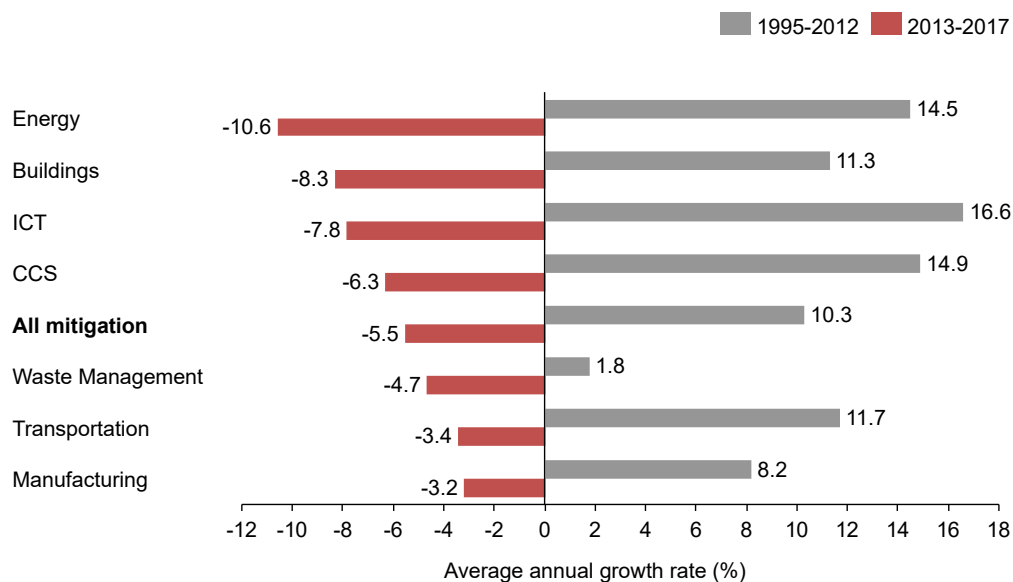
570 **Figure Legends / Captions**

571



572

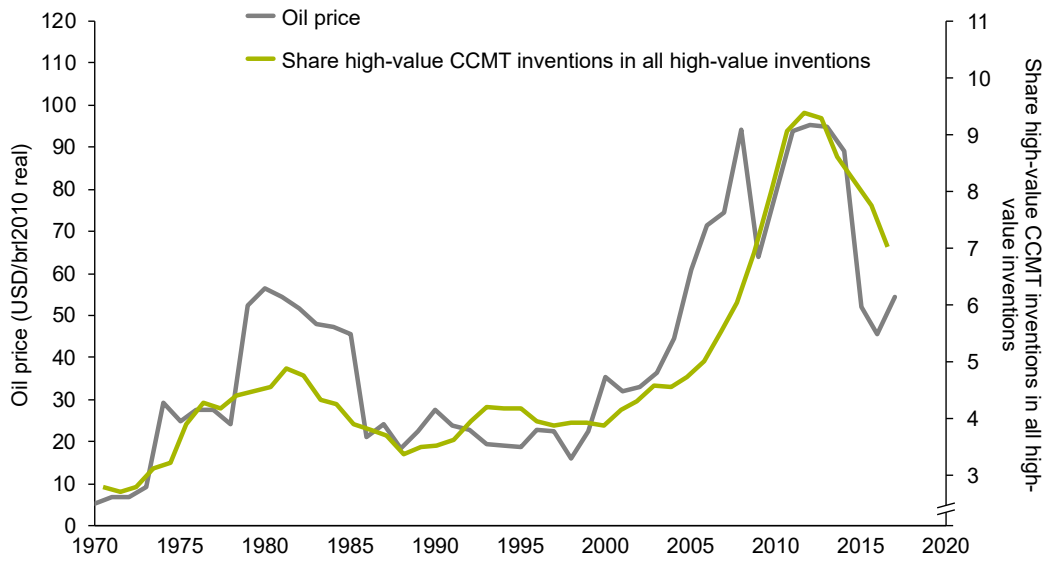
573 *Figure 1: Evolution of global high-value climate change mitigation technology inventions*  
 574 *from 1995-2017. Climate change mitigation technologies include all technologies identified*  
 575 *by the European Patent Office under the Y02 classification. These include energy, buildings,*  
 576 *carbon capture and storage (CCS), transportation, waste management, manufacturing, and*  
 577 *information and communications technology (ICT). Invention counts are based on*  
 578 *international patent families filed in at least two countries, which are considered ‘high-value’*  
 579 *inventions (i.e., our approach avoids counting large swaths of low-value patents). Patent data*  
 580 *from 2018-2019 excluded as the patenting process takes around 2 years, potentially truncating*  
 581 *the most recent data. Based on PATSTAT (Fall 2019) data.*



582

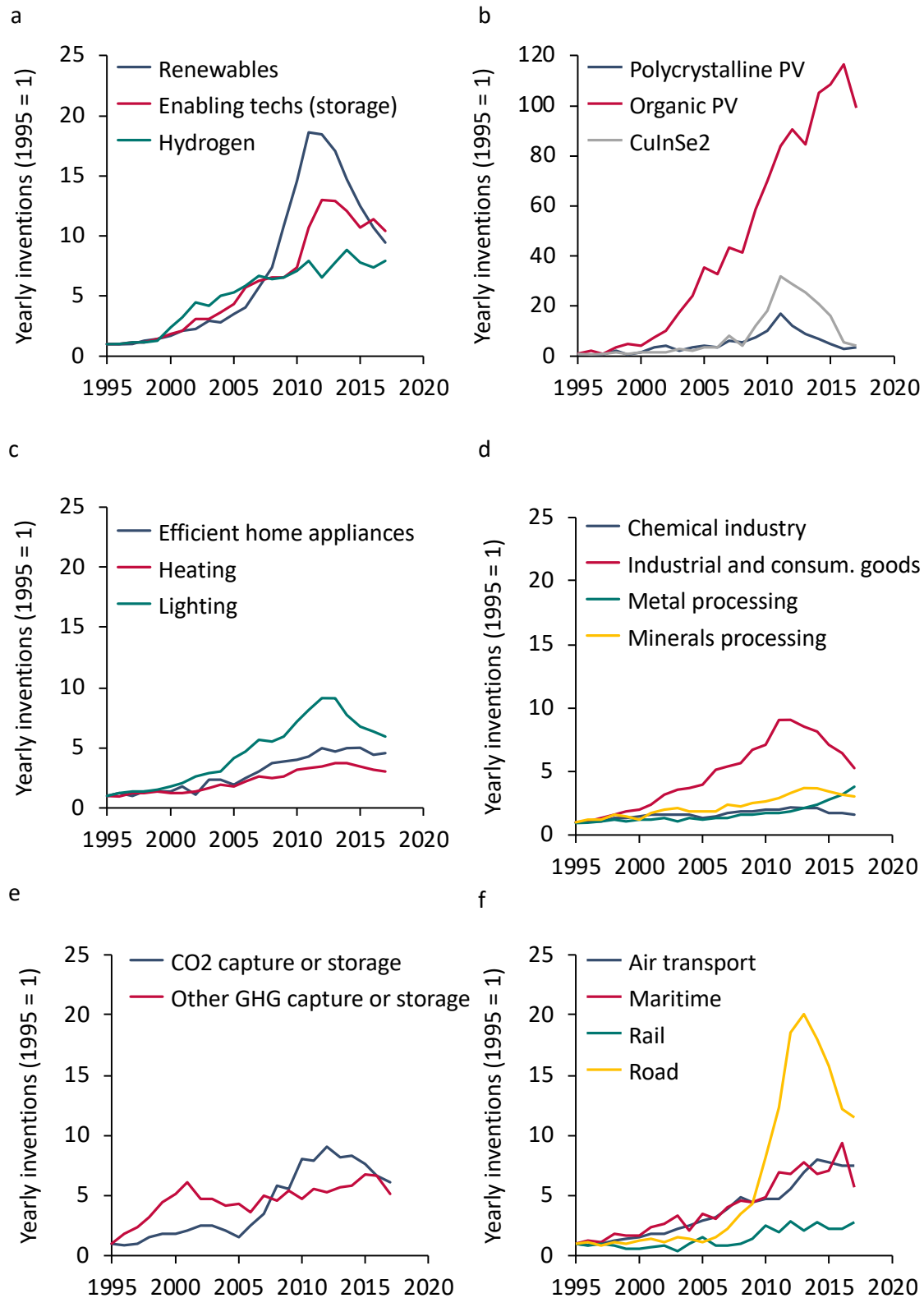
583 *Figure 2: Average annual growth of climate change mitigation technologies. Average*  
 584 *growth rate is weighted by number of high value inventions in each category and therefore*  
 585 *differs from average of all displayed categories. Patent data based on PATSTAT Autumn*  
 586 *(2019). Yearly trends can be found in Supplementary Figure 1.*

587



588

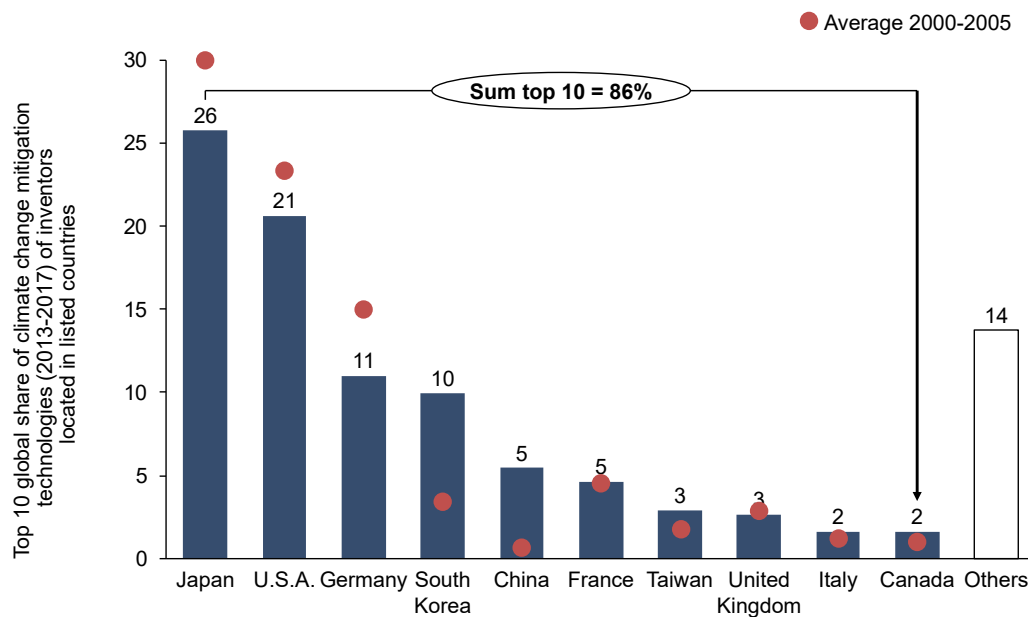
589 *Figure 3: Correlation of oil prices with the share of high-value inventions in climate change*  
 590 *mitigation technologies in all high-value inventions. Based on PATSTAT (2019) and oil price*  
 591 *based on World Bank*<sup>61</sup>



592

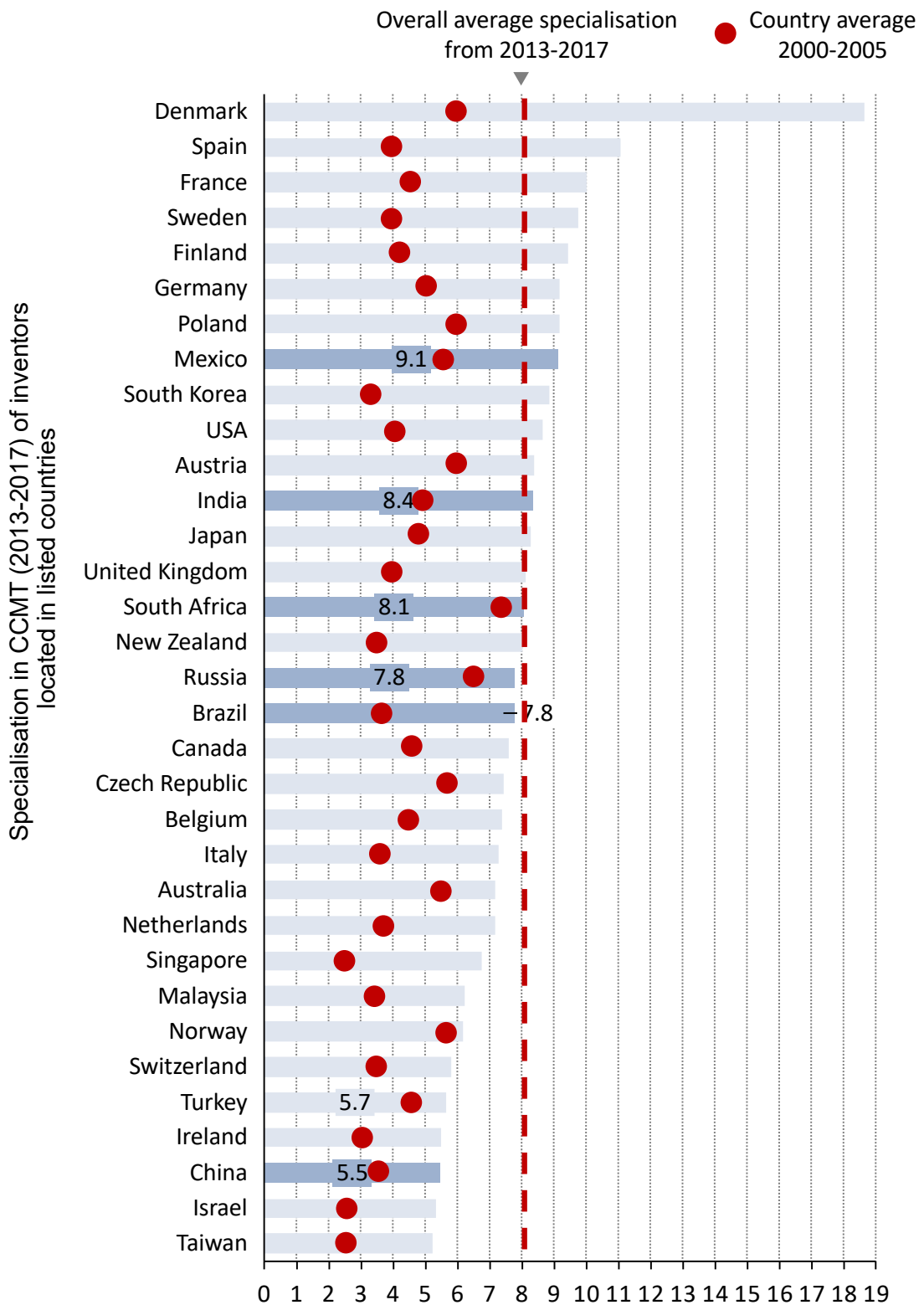
593 **Figure 4: Yearly high-value inventions across sub-sectors.** Sub-sectors include a, energy, b,  
 594 energy sub-category solar, c, buildings, d, manufacturing, e, carbon capture and storage  
 595 (CCS), f, transport. Trends for wind energy, waste management and information and

596 communication technology (ICT) can be found in Supplementary Figures 4, 5 and 6. The CPC  
 597 codes employed for the technological trends are listed in the following: a, renewables  
 598 (Y02E10/00), enabling technologies (Y02E60/00), and hydrogen (Y02E60/30). For b,  
 599 polycrystalline PV (Y02E10/546), organic PV (Y02E10/549),  $CuInSe_2$  (Y02E10/541). For c,  
 600 efficient home appliances (Y02B40/00), heating (Y02B30/00), and lighting (Y02B20/00). For  
 601 d, chemical industry (Y02P20/00), industrial and consumer goods (Y02P70/00), metal  
 602 processing (Y02P10/00), and minerals processing (Y02P40/00). For e, CO<sub>2</sub> capture and  
 603 storage (Y02C20/40) and other GHG capture and storage (Y02C20/10, Y02C20/20,  
 604 Y02C20/30). For f, air transport (Y02T50/00), maritime (Y02T70/00), rail (Y02T30/00), and  
 605 road (Y02T10/00). Based on PATSTAT (2019).



606

607 **Figure 5: Top-10 inventor countries in CCMT.** Patent data based on PATSTAT (2019).

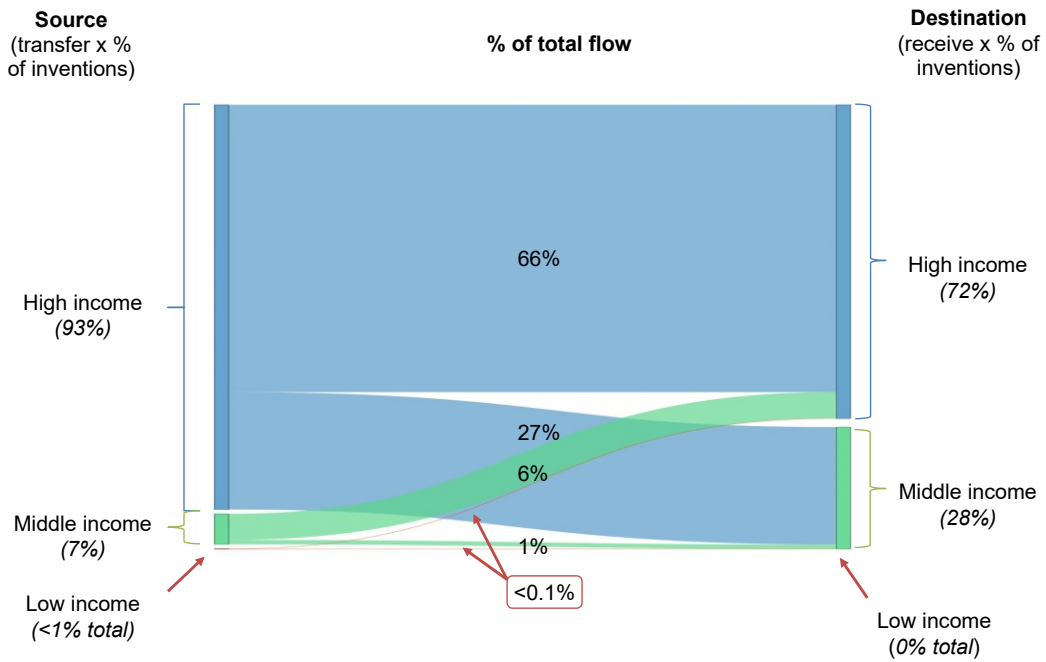


608

609 *Figure 6: Climate change mitigation technology specialisation in the period 2005-2005 and*  
 610 *2013-2017. Specialisation is computed as the proportion of high-value CCMT inventions*



611 compared to all high-value inventions in the country. Displayed average for selected countries.  
 612 Source: PATSTAT (2019).



613

614 **Figure 7: Source and destination of transferred climate change mitigation technologies from**  
 615 **2013-2017.** We consider a transfer if the country where patent protection for the invention is  
 616 sought is different from the inventor’s country or inventors’ countries. Numbers may not add  
 617 to 100% due to rounding. Supplementary Tables 8-11 show detailed transfers between  
 618 countries. Source: PATSTAT (2019).

619

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