

## Competitive Diffusion

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This paper studies the evolution of a competitive industry in which a fixed number of firms reduce costs by innovating and by imitating their rivals' technologies. As the firms' technologies gradually improve, industry output expands and price falls. Technological leaders tend to rely on innovations to reduce their costs, whereas the laggards rely more on imitation. Imitation causes technology to spread from the leaders to the followers and forces some convergence of technology among firms as the industry matures. This convergence is accompanied by faster growth of smaller firms and a consequent tightening of the distribution of output over firms. Since imitation is a kind of spillover of technology, equilibrium is likely to involve insufficient innovative and imitative effort relative to a social optimum.

Solow (1957) observed that most growth in economic activity cannot be explained by increasing quantities of inputs producing output with a fixed technology. This paper models the unexplained component and proposes a theory of the development and spread of new technology at the industry level. The theory is motivated by evidence like figure 1. Figure 1a displays the fraction of shipments of bits of dy-

This research was supported by the National Science Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the C. V. Starr Center for Applied Economics. Sherwin Rosen and the referees provided helpful comments; Phil Reny and Yaw Nyarko deserve special thanks.

[*Journal of Political Economy*, 1994, vol. 102, no. 1]  
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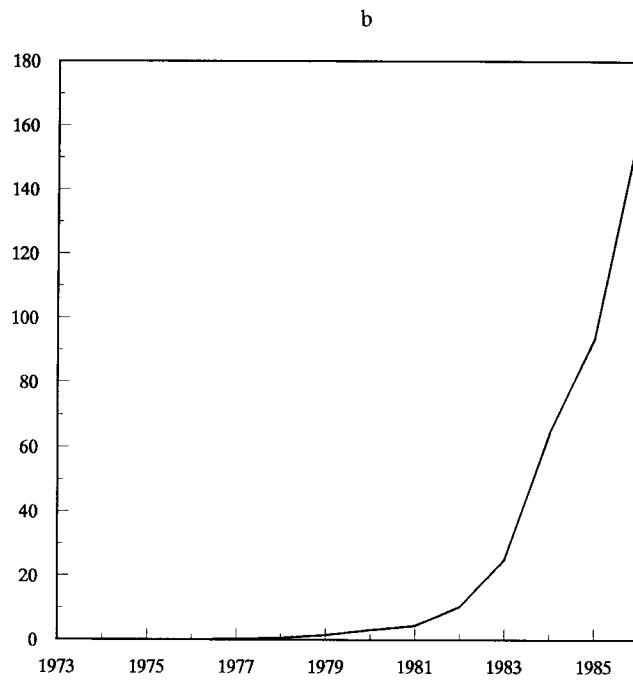
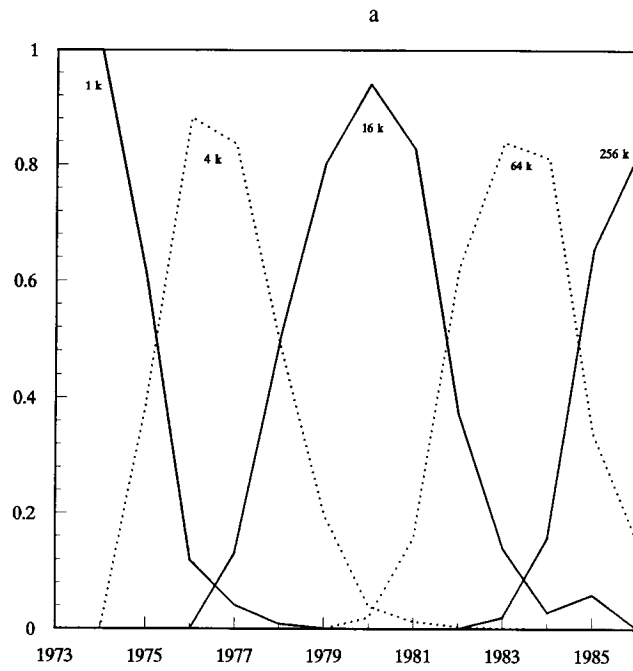


FIG. 1.—Dynamic random access memory industry: *a*, diffusion of chip density, 1973–86; *b*, industry output, 1973–86 (trillions of bits); *c*, price per bit, 1978–86 (real millicents per bit).

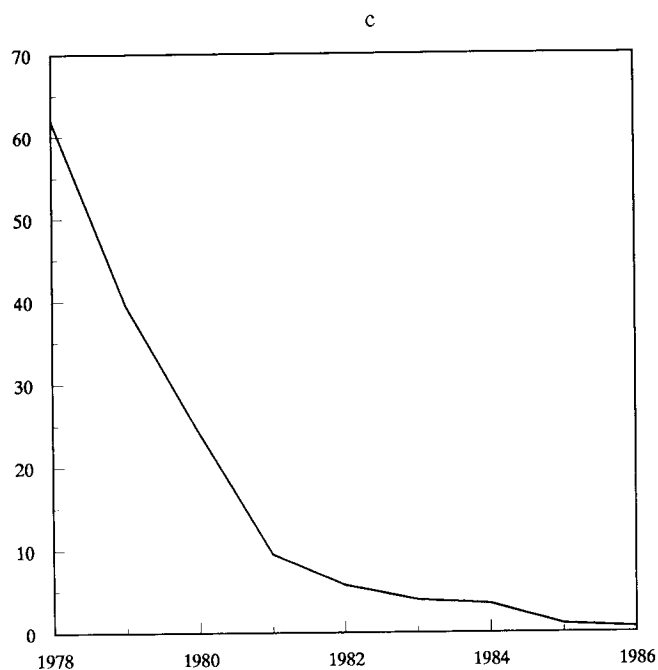


FIG. 1.—Continued

dynamic random access memory by chip density and over time. Low-density (1 kilobyte [k]) chips are displaced by those with higher density (4 k), which are then taken over by those with yet higher density (16 then 64 and then 256 k). Meantime (fig. 1*b, c*), the quantity of bits delivered explodes and price declines dramatically. The bit industry displays the waves of change and improvement stressed by Schumpeter (1934). Such data call for a theory in which new developments occur periodically and do not spread instantaneously.

In the setup studied here, the growth and diffusion of technology are *both* endogenous. Firms improve their know-how both by producing new knowledge—innovation—and by learning from others—imitation. Both activities are costly and thus respond to the incentives provided by the economic environment.<sup>1</sup>

Informational barriers appear to play an important role in explaining lags in the adoption of technology: Nabseth and Ray (1974) and Rogers (1983) report that some firms learn of a relevant new

<sup>1</sup> The list of attempts to endogenize technological progress is long. At the macro level, see Arrow (1962), Shell (1967), Lucas (1988), and Romer (1990); at the micro level, see Flaherty (1980) and Spence (1984).

technology more than a decade before others. Moreover, being aware of a technology is not the same as mastering it: according to Mansfield, Schwartz, and Wagner (1981) and Pakes and Schankerman (1984), imitation and product development lags are long. Thus the spread of information seems to be gradual and costly. The hypotheses developed in this paper flow from a learning process embodying informational barriers and implying costly and gradual learning in equilibrium along with a nondegenerate distribution of technological knowledge among firms in an industry.<sup>2</sup>

The vintage capital model is the primary alternative explanation for why firms use different technologies (see, e.g., Chari and Hopenhayn 1991). In that model, firms have complete technological know-how but use less than state-of-the-art technology when doing so is profitable given the existing stock of assets specific to older technology. Here, firms use different technologies because it is costly to overcome the informational barriers that define firm boundaries. Innovation and imitation are alternative ways to make progress, and the relative desirability of each depends on the firm's current know-how and the know-how of others.

The paper contains three types of results. The first three propositions deal with the evolution of industry aggregates and describe the precise sense in which technology improves, output increases, and price declines as the industry matures. The technological diversity of firms may or may not persist forever, depending on the learning technology.

The second set of results focuses on innovative behavior in a cross section of firms at a point in time. Under some conditions, small firms will, on average, grow faster than big firms. There are two reasons why laggards may grow faster than leaders. The first is the diffusion of technology from leaders to followers via imitation. The second is a cross-sectional "fishing-out effect": If all firms are sampling new technologies from the same pool, leaders, which have already acquired better technology, have less incentive to look for even better ones. As a result, laggards look harder, and this causes at least partial convergence of output and technology over firms as the industry matures.

The third set of results deals with the optimality of equilibrium. Imitation creates technological spillovers, which are akin to an externality, so equilibrium is not generally "efficient." While a global optimum is not analyzed fully, there is a sense in which a social planner

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<sup>2</sup> Jovanovic and Rob (1989) also use informational barriers to generate a persistent nondegeneracy in the distribution of technological knowledge, but they do not allow agents to substitute between innovation and imitation.

would prefer more of *all* learning activities, both innovative and imitative.

These results are first presented in a general form. Then a series of examples serve to illustrate various aspects of the general results and to point to some conclusions that do not emerge at the general level. One of these results is that innovation and imitation tend to be *substitutes*—a firm relies mainly on one or the other form of cost reduction—and given the way spending on research and development is measured, this substitution possibility is likely to bias downward the estimated rate of return to R & D. Another result is that diffusion—an “equalizer”—is triggered by technological *inequality*, which spawns the imitative effort needed to drive the diffusion.

All these results hold in a partial equilibrium environment without entry or exit. Jovanovic and MacDonald (1993) simplify this model but also allow for entry and exit and estimate the resulting model using data from the U.S. automobile tire industry. Andolfatto and MacDonald (1993) simplify too, but then embed the model in a general equilibrium framework. Endogenous growth and cycles emerge; the model is estimated on aggregate U.S. postwar data.

## I. Model

The model describes the evolution of a competitive market for a homogeneous product. Demand is subject to exogenous random shocks as a result of income growth, variation in the prices of related goods, and so forth. Supply is affected by random shocks too, but its development is also governed by firms' introducing cost-reducing technological improvements. Firms may get better techniques either directly, through R & D, or indirectly by adopting methods already in use by others. Both of these activities are costly and do not have fully predictable consequences.

### *Assumptions*

Assume discrete time and an infinite horizon. During each period a homogeneous product is sold in a competitive market. Demand for the product is given by an *inverse* industry demand function  $D(Q_t, x_t)$ , where  $Q_t$  is the quantity produced at date  $t$ ;  $x_t$  is a vector of demand shocks;  $D$  is downward sloping and continuous in  $Q$ ; and  $x_t$  is a realization of a Markov process  $X_t$ , which has transition law  $F(x_{t+1}|x_t)$ ;  $x_0$  is given.

In addition to the homogeneous product interpretation emphasized here,  $Q$  can also be thought of as a flow of services, and technologies as alternative ways to provide consumers with the services they

ultimately desire. Thus the model can accommodate product innovation as well as process innovation.

The supply side of the model comprises a fixed continuum of price-taking firms that maximize expected discounted profits. To do so they choose a rate of output along with cost reduction effort. There is no entry or exit.

Let a firm's state of technological knowledge be denoted by  $\theta$  ( $0 \leq \theta \leq 1$ ), and let the cross-firm distribution of know-how at  $t$  be  $v_t$ , with  $v_0$  given.<sup>3</sup> Thus  $v_t(\theta')$  is the fraction of firms in the industry at date  $t$  having  $\theta \leq \theta'$ .

The firm's actions will be represented by a vector  $(q, l)$ , where  $q$  is its rate of output and  $l$  is its learning efforts, including the level of R & D in the usual sense, efforts to evaluate others' products, as well as less obvious endeavors such as experimentation with alternative ways to compensate employees or structure financial arrangements with suppliers or distributors. At date  $t$ , the firm's net revenue is

$$p_t q_t - c(q_t, l_t, \theta, x_t). \quad (1)$$

Here  $x$  represents input prices, patent laws, the cost of researchers and of other products to be analyzed, and so forth. There are no fixed costs (i.e.,  $c(0, \mathbf{0}, \theta, x) = 0$ , where  $\mathbf{0} = (0, \dots, 0)$ ), and costs are strictly increasing and convex in  $(q, l)$  and strictly decreasing in  $\theta$  when  $q \neq 0$ . A larger  $\theta$  therefore denotes a better production technique. Further,  $\partial c / \partial q$  is declining in  $\theta$ ; in this case, given  $p$ , better production techniques imply greater output, and firms can be described as "larger" or "more technologically advanced" interchangeably.<sup>4</sup>

To specify the evolution of  $\theta$ , let  $\Psi(\theta' | q, l, \theta, x, v)$  be the probability that the firm's know-how next period is less than or equal to  $\theta'$ . Thus learning depends on the firm's state and actions and on the state of the industry, including the distribution of know-how in use.

The learning technology  $\Psi$  satisfies four conditions: (i) the firm

<sup>3</sup> At the outset, each firm's knowledge,  $\theta_0$ , and hence the distribution of knowledge over firms,  $v_0(\theta)$ , is given exogenously. The nature of the distribution  $v_0$  will depend on how new the technology is. By assumption, the *product* is new, but the technology used to produce it need not be entirely new. If the technology is entirely new, then the initial distribution of knowledge may be concentrated at one value of  $\theta$ —"the primitive technology." If, on the other hand, the technology is related to other technologies used to produce older products, then there may be dispersion in  $v_0$ . But even if firms are technologically all alike at date 0, they will soon become different because the outcomes of firms' innovation efforts are random and imperfectly correlated.

<sup>4</sup> That technology can be ranked by a scalar is a nontrivial restriction. Some technologies cannot be ordered this way: A labor-saving technique may be superior when wages are high but need not be better when wages are low. Allowing for this in the present setup would entail that the ranking of technology depend on  $x$  as well as  $\theta$ .

cannot guarantee that it will learn ( $\Psi(\theta|q, l, \theta, x, v) > 0$ ); (ii) there is no “free” learning ( $\Psi(\theta|0, \mathbf{0}, \theta, x, v) = 1$ ); (iii) the firm’s know-how does not deteriorate ( $\Psi(\theta'|q, l, \theta, x, v) = 0$  if  $\theta' < \theta$ ); and (iv) increases in the firm’s efforts or know-how, as well as improvements in the know-how of others, add to learning possibilities (if  $\hat{q} \geq q$ ,  $\hat{l} \geq l$ ,  $\hat{\theta} \geq \theta$ , and  $\hat{v}$  dominates  $v$ , then  $\Psi(\theta'|\hat{q}, \hat{l}, \hat{\theta}, x, \hat{v})$  dominates  $\Psi(\theta'|q, l, \theta, x, v)$ ).<sup>5</sup>

### Maximization

Suppose that the state of the industry can be summarized by the pair  $(x_t, v_t)$  and that there exist the following equilibrium relationships at each  $t$ :  $p_t = P(x_t, v_t)$  and  $v_{t+1} = \Phi(x_t, v_t)$ . Then given equation (1) and the evolution of the state vector, the firm’s optimal actions solve the dynamic programming problem summarized by

$$V(\theta, x, v) = \max_{(q,l)} \{P(x, v)q - c(q, l, \theta, x) + \beta \int V[\theta', x', \Phi(x, v)] d\Psi(\theta'|q, l, \theta, x, v) dF(x'|x)\}, \quad (2)$$

where  $\beta$  is the discount factor and  $V(\theta, x, v)$  the value of the firm. The first two terms on the right-hand side are the firm’s current profit, and the integral is the expected present value one period later (note that next period’s  $\theta$  and  $x$  are not known at present and that they may change). Let  $(q(\theta, x, v), l(\theta, x, v))$  be the (unique) action that achieves the maximum in the right-hand side of (2);  $(q, l)$  is the firm’s “policy function.”

### Equilibrium

Equilibrium demands that firms select optimal policies, that supply equal demand, and that expectations about the evolution of know-how be confirmed: A *stationary equilibrium* is a set of functions  $\{V, q, l, P, \Phi\}$  such that (i)  $V$  solves (2), (ii)  $(q, l)$  is the policy associated with this solution, (iii)  $P(x, v) = D[\int q(\theta, x, v) dv(\theta), x]$ , and  $\Phi(x, v) = \int \Psi[\cdot|q(\theta, x, v), l(\theta, x, v), \theta, x, v] dv(\theta)$ .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Whenever distribution functions are being compared, “dominance” will mean first-order stochastic dominance, and “improving” will refer to increasing in the sense of first-order stochastic dominance.

<sup>6</sup> Jovanovic and MacDonald (1991) prove existence and uniqueness of the policy function and of equilibrium in this environment, and they provide a collection of results on the long-run behavior of the industry. The technical assumptions made to facilitate that analysis—e.g., regularity conditions used to prove continuity of optimal policies—are suppressed here.

*Implications*

The analysis of implications is greatly simplified by ignoring learning by doing. Learning by doing complicates because, as the industry evolves, price tends to fall, giving firms an incentive to shrink. With learning by doing, the tendency to contract output implies a tendency to slow the learning process; the analysis becomes more complex and less intuitive. Thus assume  $c(q, l, \theta, x) = c^q(q, \theta, x) + c^l(l, x)$  and that  $\Psi$  is independent of  $q$ .

The following general result underlies the time-series implications set out below.<sup>7</sup> It states that aggregate knowledge advances gradually and never stops entirely.

**PROPOSITION 1.** Assume that learning begins at some point, that is,  $v_t \neq v_0$  for some  $t$ . Then for any sequence  $\{x_t\}$ , (i)  $v_{t+1}$  dominates  $v_t$ , (ii) the distribution of know-how eventually settles at a long-run distribution  $v^*$ , and (iii) this long-run distribution is never actually reached ( $v_t \neq v^*$  at any  $t$ ).

The intuition behind proposition 1 is this: For part i, the distribution of technology can never become worse since a firm knowing technology  $\theta$  would never implement a technology inferior to  $\theta$ . For part ii, since the best technology is indexed by  $\theta = 1$ , the distribution of technology can never advance beyond the one in which all firms know  $\theta = 1$ . Thus since the distribution of technology can never fall back, it must approach either the distribution corresponding to all knowing  $\theta = 1$  or one inferior to it. For part iii, why must the distribution of technology always increase? Suppose, to the contrary, that its advance halts at some date  $t$ . In comparison to  $t - 1$ , the main difference is that the distribution of technology in use is more advanced at  $t$ . Since this makes learning new techniques easier—recall the final restriction on  $\Psi$ —any firm that tried to learn at  $t - 1$  but failed would wish to keep trying, in which case learning could not halt as assumed.<sup>8</sup>

Proposition 1 states that if the distribution of know-how ever begins to improve—as can safely be assumed—it will always improve. In this case the qualitative implications for industry output and price that stem from the evolution of the distribution of know-how and that are derived in the next three propositions are predicted to hold at all stages of the industry's development.

<sup>7</sup> This result summarizes propositions 2–5 in Jovanovic and MacDonald (1991). Since a formal statement and proof require significant additional notation, the full details are omitted here.

<sup>8</sup> This argument applies to a firm that has the same information state in both periods. Since learning something new cannot be assured, there is always a positive fraction of firms that fail to learn and so occupy the same information state during both periods.



The distribution of know-how improves over time, and under competition the implied cost reductions show up in a decline of the product price.

**PROPOSITION 2.** *Ceteris paribus*, the product price is lower at  $t + 1$  than at  $t$ ; that is, for any  $x$  and  $v$ ,  $P[x, \Phi(x, v)] \leq P(x, v)$ .

*Proof.* From the definition of equilibrium, the monotonicity in  $\theta$  of  $q(\theta, x, v)$ , and part i of proposition 1,  $P(x, v) = D[\int q(\theta, x, v)dv_t(\theta), x] \geq D[\int q(\theta, x, v)dv_{t+1}(\theta), x] = P[x, \Phi(x, v)]$ . Q.E.D.

Proposition 2 states that, given  $x$ , the price of output declines over time as supply shifts to the right and demand remains stationary. More generally, however, price can temporarily rise as a result of demand and supply shocks ( $X$ ). The next result shows, however, that when the shocks are independently and identically distributed (i.i.d.),  $p_t$  declines in distribution. Let  $X_t$  be i.i.d., with distribution  $F(\cdot)$ . Denote the distribution function of  $p_t$  conditional only on  $v$  by  $F^p(p|v) \equiv \int_{A(p,v)} dF(x)$ , where  $A(p, v) \equiv \{x | P(x, v) \leq p\}$ . Then  $p_t$  is stochastically decreasing.

**PROPOSITION 3.**  $F^p(\cdot|v_t)$  dominates  $F^p(\cdot|v_{t+1})$ .

*Proof.* Since  $v_t$  is stochastically increasing with  $t$  and  $q(\theta, x, v)$  is increasing in  $\theta$ ,  $P(x, v_t)$  is declining in  $t$  for fixed  $x$ . It follows that  $A(p, v_{t+1}) \supseteq A(p, v_t)$ , and the claim follows. Q.E.D.

Propositions 2 and 3 carry over to the evolution of industry output; for example, average output stochastically increases over time. But not every firm will experience continual output growth, even with  $x$  held constant: Firms whose technological growth falls far enough below the industry average will produce less at  $t + 1$  than at  $t$  if the anticipated price decline occurs. Therefore, the cross-firm distribution of output may not always improve over time, since some firms will experience a fall in output. Nevertheless, a positive result can be obtained by “normalizing” the distribution of output: let normalized output be  $\bar{q}(\theta, x, v) \equiv q(\theta, x, v)/q(\underline{\theta}, x, v)$ , where  $\underline{\theta}$  is the smallest value of  $\theta$  in the support of  $v_0$ . Since  $q(\theta, x, v)$  is increasing in  $\theta$ , normalized output is distributed over  $[1, \infty)$ . Let  $\zeta$  be the price elasticity of the firm’s supply curve.

**PROPOSITION 4.** If  $\zeta$  is not increasing in  $\theta$ , then for fixed  $x$ , the distribution of  $\bar{q}(\theta, x, v)$  stochastically improves over time.

*Proof.* For any  $q'$ , let  $\bar{\theta}(p, x, q')$  be the solution for  $\theta$  to  $\bar{q}(\theta, x, p) = q'$ . If  $\zeta$  is not increasing in  $\theta$ , then  $\bar{\theta}$  is increasing in  $p$ . The fraction of firms at  $t$  that have normalized output at most equal to  $q'$  is  $v_t[\bar{\theta}(p_t, x, q')]$ . But since  $v_{t+1}$  dominates  $v_t$ ,  $v_t[\bar{\theta}(p_t, x, q')] \geq v_{t+1}[\bar{\theta}(p_t, x, q')]$ . This exceeds  $v_{t+1}[\bar{\theta}(p_{t+1}, x, q')]$  because of proposition 2 and because  $\bar{\theta}$  is increasing in  $p$ . Q.E.D.

The intuition behind proposition 4 is this: As  $v_t$  evolves to  $v_{t+1}$ , the output of firms that learned at  $t$  rises relative to that of the smallest

firms; the reason is that some small firms will not have learned at  $t$  and thus will not raise output. This output growth is tempered by the downward pressure on the product price needed to clear the product market. However, given the elasticity condition, as price falls the response of larger firms is proportionally no greater than that of smaller firms, so their normalized output in fact rises. With size measured by normalized output, this generates a declining proportion of small firms; that is, an improved distribution of normalized output.<sup>9</sup>

#### Learning and Firm Growth

Propositions 2–4 were driven by the improvement of  $v$  over time. In contrast, the next two propositions rely on how the firm's current know-how interacts with its learning opportunities. There is a basic tension: Technological laggards may have a greater incentive to improve through imitation, but the leaders may find it easier to learn still more through innovation. Thus whether higher  $\theta$  leads to greater or lesser learning effort is unclear.

The next proposition deals with a case in which laggards will improve their technologies more often than leaders. The following condition implies that greater  $\theta$  reduces learning effort: for  $\theta' \geq \theta$ , the learning technology is  $\Psi(\theta'|l, \theta, x, v) \equiv [1 - \Psi^1(l, x, v)] + \Psi^1(l, x, v)\Psi^2(\theta'|x, v)$ , where the range of  $\Psi^1$  is  $[0, 1]$  and, for any  $x$  and  $v$ ,  $\Psi^2$  is a distribution function; for  $\theta' < \theta$ ,  $\Psi(\theta'|\cdot) = 0$ , as before. This restriction breaks learning into a two-step process. Step 1 determines whether the firm gets a technological draw, the probability of success being  $\Psi^1(l, x, v)$ , a function of learning effort but not know-how. In step 2, if the firm does get a technological draw, it comes from  $\Psi^2(\theta'|x, v)$ , which depends on neither effort nor know-how. In this setup, sampling new technology is as easy for laggards as it is for leaders. Of course, the firm will reject any draw less than  $\theta$ , and since the leaders have larger  $\theta$ 's, their returns from technological sampling are less.

Since greater know-how does not make learning easier or cheaper, laggards, which have more to gain from learning, will try harder and succeed more often.

**PROPOSITION 5.** The likelihood of learning a better technique,  $\Psi^1[l(\theta, x, v), x, v][1 - \Psi^2(\theta|x, v)]$ , is decreasing in  $\theta$ .

<sup>9</sup> The elasticity condition is easily met. For example,  $c^q(q, \theta, x) = q^\alpha \bar{c}(\theta, x)$ , for  $\alpha > 1$ , yields a price elasticity that is independent of  $\theta$ . Further, the result's simplicity stems from the absence of fixed costs, so that the smallest firms are always those that fail to learn anything at all.

*Proof.* Since  $\Psi^2$  is increasing in  $\theta$ , it suffices to show that  $\Psi^1[l(\theta, x, \nu), x, \nu]$  is decreasing in  $\theta$ . To do so, let  $\theta^0 < \theta^1$  and define  $c^0 \equiv c^1[l(\theta^0, x, \nu), x, \nu]$ ,  $\Psi^1(\theta^0) \equiv \Psi^1[l(\theta^0, x, \nu), x, \nu]$ , and  $\Psi^2(\theta^0) \equiv \Psi^2(\theta^0|x, \nu)$ ; define  $c^1$ ,  $\Psi^1(\theta^1)$ , and  $\Psi^2(\theta^1)$  analogously. Writing  $\nu'$  in place of  $\Phi(x, \nu)$ , that a firm knowing  $\theta^0$  selects  $l(\theta^0, x, \nu)$  in preference to  $l(\theta^1, x, \nu)$ , implies

$$c^1 - c^0 \geq \beta[1 - \Psi^2(\theta^0)][\Psi^1(\theta^1) - \Psi^1(\theta^0)] \\ \times \left[ \int_{\theta^0}^1 \frac{V(\theta', x, \nu') d\Psi^2(\theta'|x, \nu)}{1 - \Psi^2(\theta^0)} - V(\theta^0, x, \nu') \right].$$

In conjunction with the analogous inequality for a firm knowing  $\theta^1$ , rearrangement gives

$$[\Psi^1(\theta^1) - \Psi^1(\theta^0)] \\ \times \left\{ [1 - \Psi^2(\theta^1)] \left[ \int_{\theta^1}^1 \frac{V(\theta', x, \nu') d\Psi^2(\theta'|x, \nu)}{1 - \Psi^2(\theta^1)} - V(\theta^1, x, \nu') \right] \right. \\ \left. - [1 - \Psi^2(\theta^0)] \left[ \int_{\theta^0}^1 \frac{V(\theta', x, \nu') d\Psi^2(\theta'|x, \nu)}{1 - \Psi^2(\theta^0)} - V(\theta^0, x, \nu') \right] \right\} \geq 0. \quad (3)$$

The factor in braces in (3) is equal to

$$- \int_{\theta^0}^{\theta^1} V(\theta', x, \nu') d\Psi^2(\theta'|x, \nu) + V(\theta^0, x, \nu') \\ - V(\theta^1, x, \nu') + \Psi^2(\theta^1)V(\theta^1, x, \nu') - \Psi^2(\theta^0)V(\theta^0, x, \nu').$$

Integrating the first term by parts and simplifying yield

$$\int_{\theta^0}^{\theta^1} \Psi^2(\theta'|x, \nu) dV(\theta', x, \nu') + V(\theta^0, x, \nu') - V(\theta^1, x, \nu').$$

Since  $\Psi^2 \leq 1$ , this expression is at most

$$\int_{\theta^0}^{\theta^1} dV(\theta', x, \nu') + V(\theta^0, x, \nu') - V(\theta^1, x, \nu'),$$

which is equal to zero. Thus the factor in braces in (3) is negative, in which case (3) yields  $\Psi^1[l(\theta^0, x, \nu), x, \nu] \geq \Psi^1[l(\theta^1, x, \nu), x, \nu]$ . Q.E.D.

Proposition 5 implies that smaller firms will learn more frequently, but not, however, that they will necessarily grow faster; the reason is that the secular decline in price could affect them more than it affects big firms. Something more must be assumed to guarantee faster growth for smaller firms, and this is done in the next proposition. Given  $x$ , growth for a firm that knows  $\theta$  is the random variable  $\{q[\theta', x, \Phi(x, \nu)]/q(\theta, x, \nu)\} - 1$ ; denote its distribution by  $G(g|\theta, x, \nu)$ .

PROPOSITION 6. If  $\zeta$  is not decreasing in  $\theta$ , then for fixed  $x$ ,  $G(g|\theta, x, \nu)$  is stochastically decreasing in  $\theta$ .

*Proof.* Let  $\theta^1 > \theta^0$  and  $\underline{g} = \{q[\theta^1, x, \Phi(x, \nu)]/q(\theta^1, x, \nu)\} - 1$ ,  $\underline{g} \leq 0$ .

i) Let  $g' > \underline{g}$  and define  $\underline{\theta}(g', \theta, x, \nu)$  to be the value of  $\theta'$  solving  $q[\theta', x, \Phi(x, \nu)] - g'q(\theta, x, \nu) = 0$ ;  $\underline{\theta}$  is increasing in  $\theta$ . Then

$$\begin{aligned} 1 - G(g'|\theta^1, x, \nu) &= \Psi^1[l(\theta^1, x, \nu), x, \nu]\{1 - \Psi^2[\underline{\theta}(g', \theta^1, x, \nu)|x, \nu]\} \\ &\leq \Psi^1[l(\theta^0, x, \nu), x, \nu]\{1 - \Psi^2[\underline{\theta}(g', \theta^0, x, \nu)|x, \nu]\} \\ &= 1 - G(g'|\theta^0, x, \nu). \end{aligned}$$

The inequality follows because  $\Psi^1[l(\theta, x, \nu), x, \nu]$  is decreasing in  $\theta$  (proof of proposition 5) and  $\underline{\theta}$  is increasing in  $\theta$ .

ii) Let  $g' = \underline{g}$ . Then  $\underline{\theta}(g', \theta^1, x, \nu) = \theta^1$  and  $G(g'|\theta^1, x, \nu)$  is the probability that a firm with know-how  $\theta^1$  fails to learn at  $t$ . Under the restriction on  $\zeta$ , the probability that a firm with know-how  $\theta^0$  grows by as little as  $g'$  either is zero (whenever  $\Phi(x, \nu)$  differs from  $\nu$ ) or is equal to the probability of failing to learn; the latter, according to proposition 5, is rising in  $\theta$ .<sup>10</sup> Thus  $g'$  is the minimum in the support of  $G(g|\theta^1, x, \nu)$  and below the minimum in the support of  $G(g|\theta^0, x, \nu)$ , and  $G(g'|\theta^0, x, \nu) \leq G(g'|\theta^1, x, \nu)$ . Q.E.D.

The relation between propositions 4 and 6 requires discussion. First, both results can hold simultaneously since both admit the case in which the elasticity of supply is independent of  $\theta$ . In this case the distribution of normalized output becomes less concentrated over time and small firms have a greater tendency to grow. This occurs because the tendency for small firms to grow does not eliminate the fact that some small firms fail to learn, and fall behind.

Propositions 5 and 6 are driven by the assumption that all firms sample from the same technological pool. But some cost-reducing improvements are incremental—they build directly on technology in place—as opposed to more fundamental improvements based on discoveries that are either new to all or new to the industry. When improvements are incremental, technological leaders sample new technology from a *better* pool than laggards do. The assumption that *increments* are sampled seems especially appropriate when it comes to technological improvements introduced by current leaders. But it also makes sense for advances achieved through imitation: A firm that is sufficiently far behind may well find it harder to imitate an advanced technology than a firm whose know-how is closer to the technology it is trying to imitate. If learning is indeed “incremental” in this sense

<sup>10</sup> The inequality  $\{q[\theta^1, x, \Phi(x, \nu)]/q(\theta^1, x, \nu)\} - \{q[\theta^0, x, \Phi(x, \nu)]/q(\theta^0, x, \nu)\} \leq 0$  is equivalent to  $\{q[\theta^1, x, \Phi(x, \nu)]/q[\theta^0, x, \Phi(x, \nu)]\} - [q(\theta^1, x, \nu)/q(\theta^0, x, \nu)] \leq 0$ , which follows immediately from the condition on  $\zeta$  and  $P[x, \Phi(x, \nu)] \leq P(x, \nu)$ .

and if this effect is strong enough, then in contrast to the assertions of propositions 5 and 6, higher  $\theta$  can *raise* the incentive to acquire new know-how. This effect is present in the example below, in which there are but three technologies: low, medium, and high. The invention process endows medium-tech firms with an advantage: through innovation they can become high-tech much easier than low-tech firms can. As a result, in comparison to low-tech firms, medium-tech firms devote more effort to innovation during the entire life span of the industry; even though they have less to learn and imitate less vigorously, they are more likely to succeed in implementing better technology.

Propositions 5 and 6 continue to hold even if neither  $\Psi^1$  nor  $\Psi^2$  depends on  $\nu$ . That is, they hold *even if imitation is impossible*. These two propositions are driven entirely by the cross-sectional fishing-out effect. Thus there are two distinct forces in the model that push the population of firms toward technological convergence: (a) the diffusion of technology that results from the laggards' efforts to imitate the leaders and (b) the fishing-out effect that causes the laggards to search harder. The first force likely shows up in any industry, whereas the second arises only whenever technological laggards are about as efficient in finding better technologies as the leaders are, as is more likely when new technology is not closely related to old technology.

#### Optimality

Unless  $\Psi$  does not depend on  $\nu$ , the distribution of know-how in use affects how firms learn—an externality; thus a social optimum is not likely to coincide with equilibrium. The next result shows that there is a sense in which a social planner would prefer that firms engage in more of *all* information-gathering activities. Some of these activities may be *imitative* in the sense that distribution of returns to learning efforts depends on others' know-how, summarized by  $\nu$ . Other information-gathering activities may have a return that does not depend on  $\nu$ , and in this sense it is *innovative*.

Suppose that a social planner ranks outcomes by consumers' plus producers' surplus. Equilibrium surplus is

$$E \left( \sum_{t=0}^{t=\infty} \beta^t \left\{ \int_0^{Q(x_t, \nu_t)} D(z, x_t) dz - \int c[q(\theta, x, \nu), l(\theta, x, \nu), \theta, x] d\nu_t(\theta) \right\} \right),$$

where  $Q(x_t, \nu_t) \equiv \int q(\theta, x_t, \nu) d\nu_t(\theta)$  is industry output at  $t$ . Consider a nonzero vector of learning efforts  $l'$ . Suppose that at a date  $t'$ , firms' learning efforts are  $l(\theta, x_t, \nu_t) + \epsilon l'$ , for  $\epsilon > 0$ , but that firms follow

the equilibrium policy otherwise. Let  $W(\epsilon)$  denote the surplus generated by this behavior.

PROPOSITION 7. Unless  $\Psi$  does not depend on  $v$ ,  $dW(\epsilon)/d\epsilon > 0$  at  $\epsilon = 0$ . That is, the planner prefers more learning efforts at  $t'$ .<sup>11</sup>

In practice, the main policy tool employed to encourage innovative activity is patent protection. Patents encourage innovation by stifling imitation. From this perspective, proposition 7 may seem counterintuitive in that it implies not just that innovation is too low in equilibrium, but that imitation is too low as well; that is, deterring imitation is, in fact, detrimental. This occurs because the result does not compare equilibrium to an alternative in which the planner must intervene solely via a patent system. Rather, the planner has a richer set of policy tools that influence both imitation and innovation, encouraging both more discoveries and faster spread of what is found. Of course, equilibrium and optimum coincide if learning is independent of others' know-how, that is, if  $\Psi$  does not depend on  $v$ .

This result suggests caution in the design of policies whose goal is to encourage cost reduction efforts: If it is possible to provide incentives for innovation and imitation simultaneously, then imitation is not necessarily a bad thing. The result is limited in two respects, however. First, it does not compare equilibrium with the planner's *global* optimum; this comparison will be made in an example below. Second, the result states that the planner would prefer a small increase in all learning activities, but it does not say what the planner's favorite small change would look like.

### The Long Run

Is the best technology ( $\theta = 1$ ) eventually uncovered? Will every firm eventually learn  $\theta = 1$ ? Or will firms be different forever?<sup>12</sup> The answers depend on the learning technology and the cost function. If the marginal cost of learning is always positive, then at most a fraction of firms will ever use the best technology (not *all* firms will get it). After a point, firms have learned enough that the remaining scope for cost reduction becomes too small to justify the effort needed to replace an existing method with the best one.

The scenario above admits the possibility that all firms will converge to a  $\theta < 1$  and stay there forever. But if, in addition, the learning technology is such that given  $\theta$  the firm might, in one step, learn *any*

<sup>11</sup> Proposition 7 is proved in Jovanovic and MacDonald (1991). The argument requires conditions guaranteeing differentiability of  $W$ . A related result appears in Rustichini and Schmitz (1991).

<sup>12</sup> Detailed answers to these questions are provided in Jovanovic and MacDonald (1991).

greater  $\theta$  (i.e., for all  $\theta$ , the support of  $\Psi(\theta'|l, \theta, x, \nu)$  is  $[\theta, 1]$ ), then heterogeneity persists forever. That is, when the learning technology can yield a diverse set of new techniques, not only do some firms never use the *best* technology, but also there is *no* technology ultimately used by all firms: know-how must remain dispersed. Since the output of a firm and its value are both positively related to its know-how, long-run dispersion of know-how implies long-run dispersion of output and firm values. This means that even for mature industries defined by narrowly defined commodities, the distribution of output should not be concentrated, even though firms can imitate one another.

## II. Innovation versus Imitation

This section explores innovation and imitation in two examples of the general model that illustrate the properties of equilibrium and of the social optimum. The second example is then used to interpret the diffusion of diesel locomotives in the United States. Neither example will have aggregate risk, and so  $X_t$  does not appear below.

The general model allowed for a vector of learning activities,  $l$ . In the examples there will be just two ways to learn: innovation and imitation. Innovative effort  $\eta$  gives the firm a draw  $\theta'$  from the distribution  $N(\theta'|\theta)$  with probability  $\eta$ . Observe that  $N$  depends on the firm's own know-how, but *not* the know-how of others. This is the sense in which effort  $\eta$  is innovative. Likewise, imitative effort,  $\mu$ , gives the firm a draw from a distribution  $M(\theta'|\nu)$  that dominates  $\nu$  and improves whenever  $\nu$  does;  $M(\cdot|\nu) = \nu$  is an example. Effort  $\mu$  is imitative since  $\nu$  represents what others know and the draw does not depend on the firm's own know-how. The distribution  $M$  will dominate  $\nu$  if, for example, the firm can direct its imitative effort toward the leaders. If innovative and imitative luck are independent,  $\Psi(\theta'|\eta, \mu, \theta, \nu) = [1 - \eta + \eta N(\theta'|\theta)][1 - \mu + \mu M(\theta'|\nu)]$  for  $\theta' \geq \theta$ , and  $\Psi(\theta'|\eta, \mu, \theta, \nu) = 0$  otherwise.

### *Example 1: Three Technologies*

Assume that (i) there are three technologies— $\theta_0 = 1$ ,  $\theta_1 = 5$ , and  $\theta_2 = 15$ —with all firms knowing only  $\theta_0$  at  $t = 0$ ; (ii) costs are  $c(q, \eta, \mu, \theta) = \frac{1}{2}(q^2/\theta) + \frac{1}{2}\eta^2 + \frac{1}{3}\mu^2$ ; (iii) imitation is undirected:  $M(\cdot|\nu) = \nu$ ; (iv) innovation is such that given a draw from  $N$ , a firm knowing  $\theta_0$  learns  $\theta_1$  with probability .05 and  $\theta_2$  with probability .01, and a firm knowing  $\theta_1$  learns  $\theta_2$  with probability .05; (v) the discount factor is  $\beta = .98$ ; and (vi) demand is  $D(Q) = 2 - 2.5Q$ . Let  $\nu_{it}$  denote the fraction of firms knowing  $\theta_i$  at  $t$ . Then the probability with which a

firm knowing only  $\theta_0$  learns  $\theta_1$  is  $.05\eta + \mu\nu_{1t} - .05\eta\mu\nu_{1t}$ , that is, the probability of either innovation *or* imitation yielding  $\theta_1$  minus the probability of *both* doing so. Expressions for the probabilities of other transitions are analogous.

Figure 2 charts the industry's evolution. In figure 2*a*, all firms start out with low-tech know-how,  $\theta_0$ . Innovation soon yields the discovery of medium-tech know-how,  $\theta_1$ , which diffuses quickly because of imitation. High-tech know-how,  $\theta_2$ , is also discovered early (since there are many firms, any of which might uncover high-tech know-how), but its diffusion lags behind the diffusion of medium-tech know-how; this occurs because high-tech know-how spreads more easily, via imitation, once medium-tech know-how achieves wide use. Eventually high-tech know-how swamps the less efficient techniques. Figure 2*b* and *c* displays innovation and imitation effort for a low- or medium-tech firm. Initially, since there are few firms to imitate, imitation effort is nil and all advance is caused by innovation. But as innovation breeds heterogeneity in know-how, the return to imitation rises rapidly and imitation soon substitutes for innovation. Observe that, in comparison to medium-tech firms, low-tech firms devote greater effort to imitation and less to innovation. This occurs because medium-tech firms have only the high-tech population to imitate, whereas low-tech firms can learn from any medium- or high-tech firm. In addition, the cost saving low-tech firms realize by learning is greater than the saving realized by medium-tech firms, which explains why the difference in imitation never disappears entirely.

Innovation and imitation are substitutes, and this can complicate empirical work on the effects of R & D. For example, suppose that R & D data are primarily measures of innovative efforts. Then regressions of industry output growth on R & D expenditures will typically *understate* the influence of R & D on output growth; this occurs because the substitution relationship between innovation and imitation tends to cause them to be negatively correlated, in which case the familiar omitted variable bias argument leads to the conclusion that the estimated effect of R & D on growth will be biased downward. In the example, the correlation of aggregate innovation expenditures with imitation expenditures is  $-.23$ , and a regression of the growth rate in output on innovation expenditures and a constant yields a slope coefficient of  $.53$ ; including imitation expenditures in the regression raises this figure to  $.61$ .

Since firms can learn from one another and learning leads to output growth, growth is fastest when the scope for learning—differences in know-how—is greatest. Thus it should be *dispersion* in output, not its mean, that drives imitation and raises growth. Figures 2*d* and 3*d* show that equilibrium and optimum both involve a positive



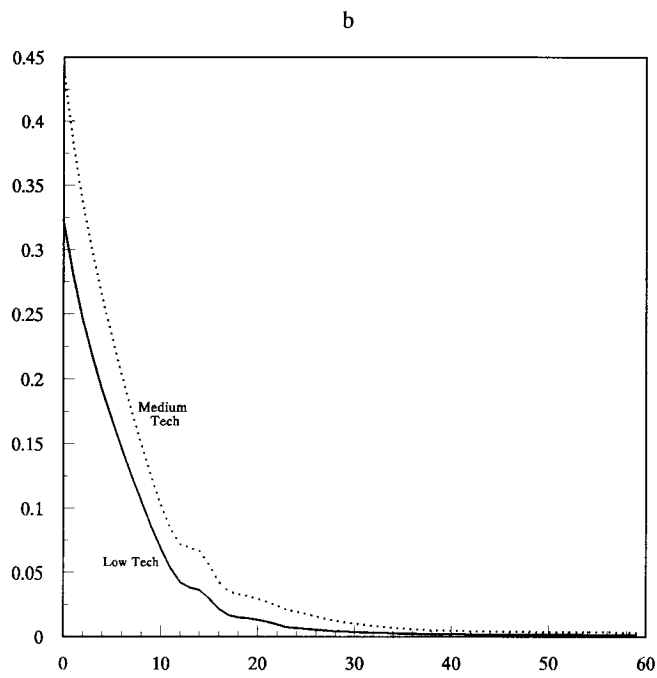
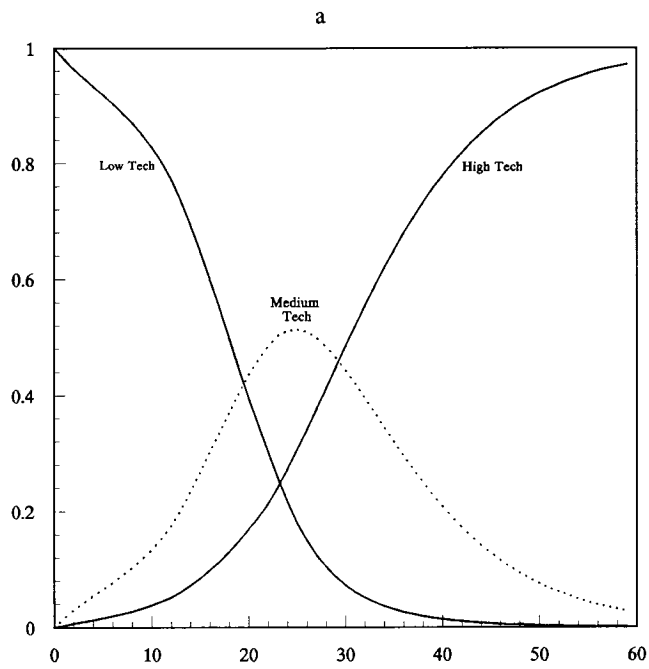


FIG. 2.— Example of equilibrium: *a*, diffusion; *b*, innovation effort ( $\eta$ ); *c*, imitation effort ( $\mu$ ); *d*, industry output ( $Q_i$ ) and its variance among firms; *e*, price.

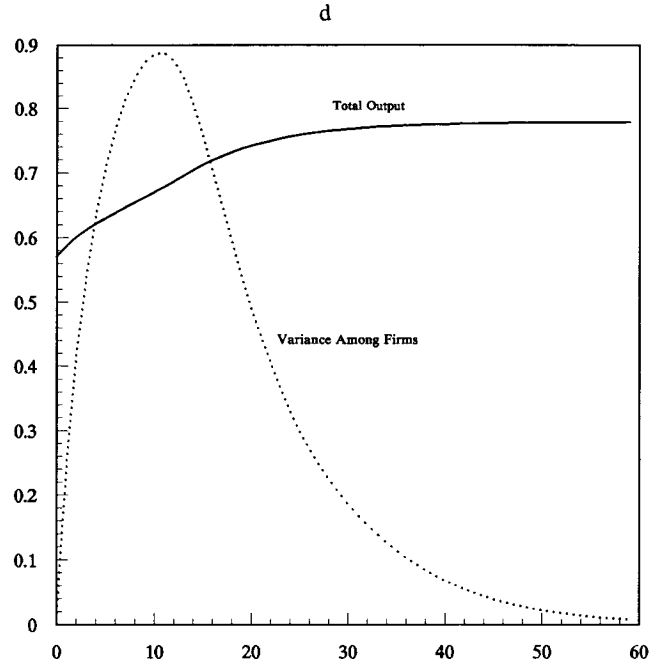
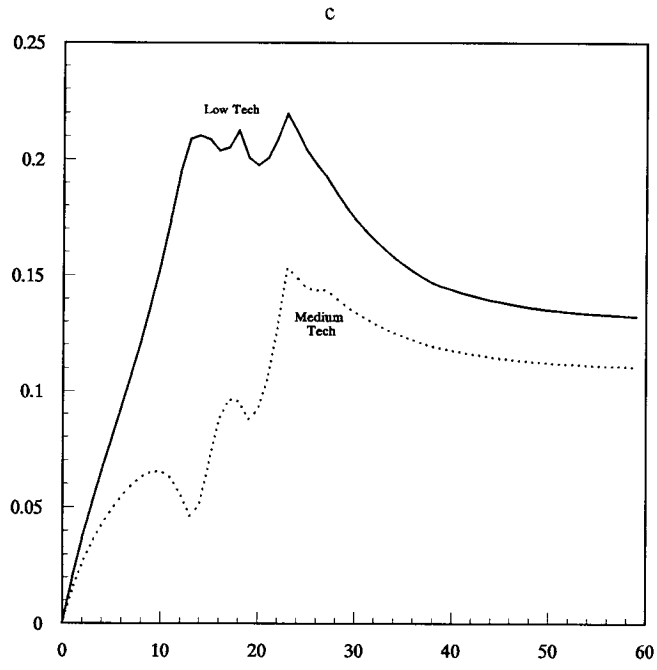


FIG. 2.—Continued

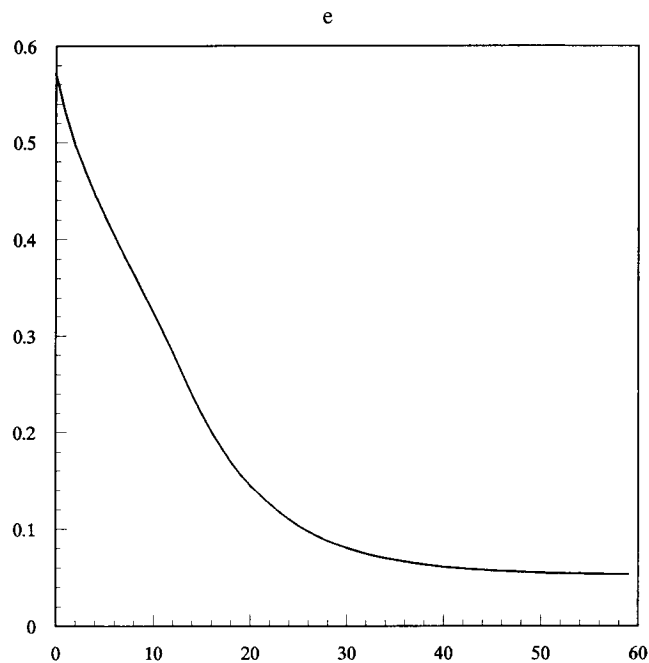


FIG. 2.—Continued

correlation between the growth of the industry's output and the variance of output among firms. The growth rate of output falls as the industry evolves, in agreement with an observation by Gort and Klepper (1982). This generates a negative correlation between growth and level of output; however, growth and variance in output are positively correlated since imitation occurs in response to variance in know-how and results in greater subsequent output. Figures 2e and 3e display the declining price paths implied by equilibrium and optimum.

Figure 3 depicts diffusion, innovation, and imitation in a social optimum. In this example the gains from improved know-how are large, and the dramatic difference between equilibrium and optimum reflects this. New know-how is discovered more quickly and spreads faster, as proposition 7 would suggest. Indeed, the gains to getting high-tech know-how are so great that medium-tech know-how never gains widespread use. Instead, great effort is spent on imitation and high-tech know-how spreads quickly.

#### *Example 2: Two Technologies*

Assume that (i) there are only two values of  $\theta$ : low-tech,  $\theta_0$ , and high-tech,  $\theta_1$ ; (ii) costs are again quadratic, but more general:  $c(q, \eta$ ,

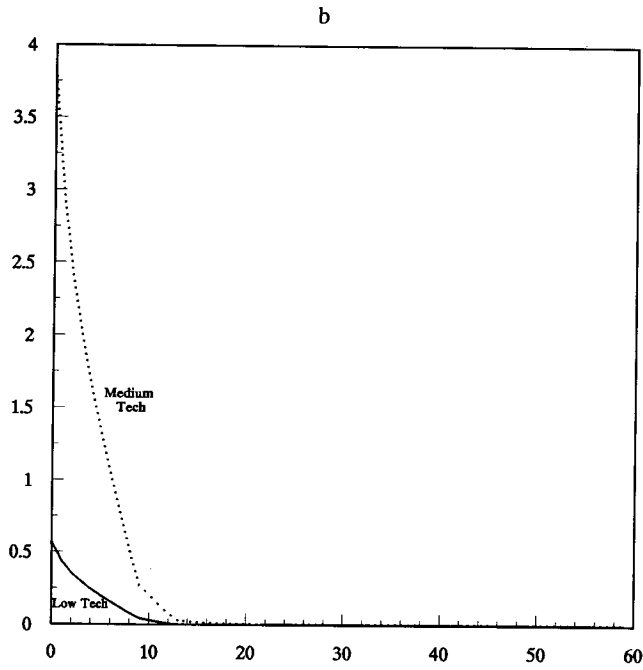
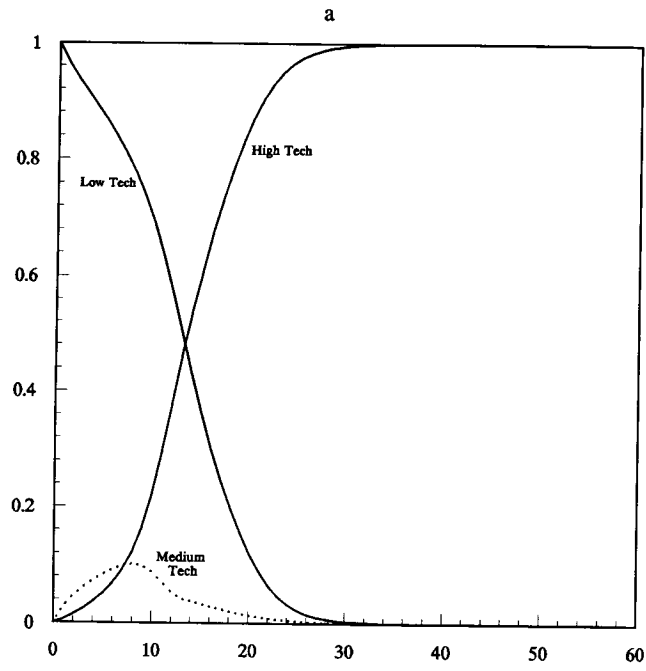


FIG. 3.—Example of optimum: *a*, diffusion; *b*, innovation effort ( $\eta$ ); *c*, imitation effort ( $\mu$ ); *d*, total output ( $Q_t$ ) and its variance among firms; *e*, price.

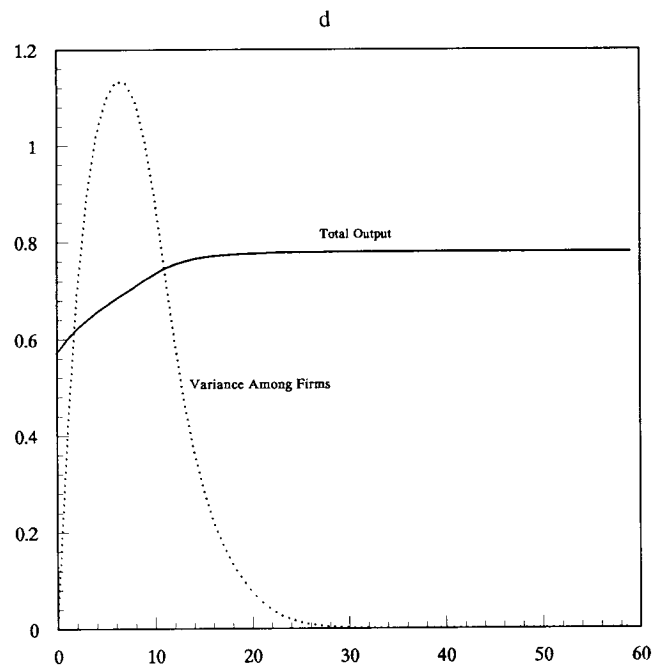
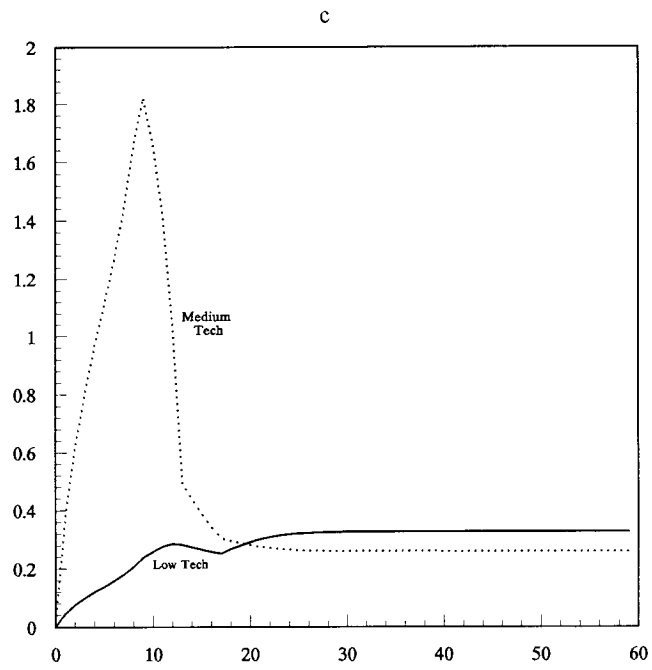


FIG. 3.—Continued

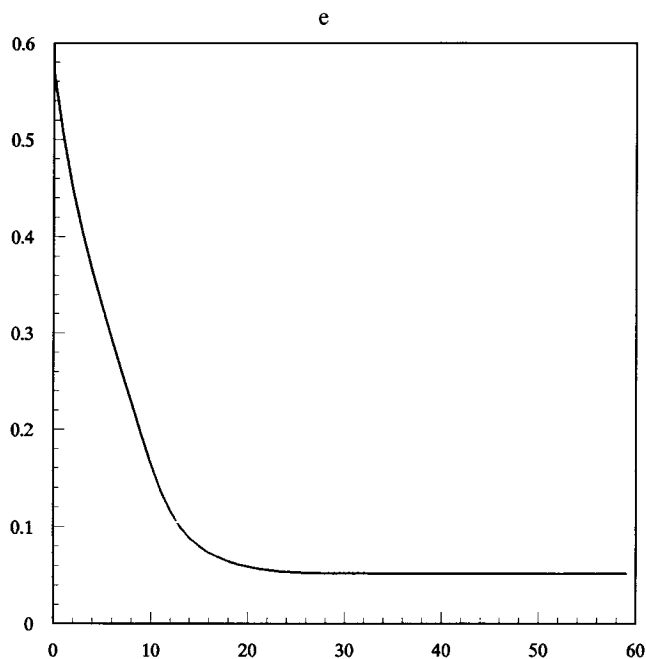


FIG. 3.—Continued

$\mu, \theta) = c_q(q^2/2\theta) + 1/2c_\eta\eta^2 + 1/2c_\mu\mu^2$ ; (iii) instead of being downward sloping, demand is perfectly elastic at price  $p_0$ ; (iv) given innovation effort  $\eta$ , the probability with which a low-tech firm gets high-tech know-how via innovation is  $\eta\delta$ , where  $\delta \in (0, 1)$ ; and (v) given imitation effort  $\mu$  and the fraction  $v_t$  of firms having high-tech know-how at  $t$ , the probability with which imitation yields high-tech know-how is  $\mu\sqrt{v_t}$ .<sup>13</sup> This example resembles models for the transmission of disease in which  $v$  would be the fraction of the population that is sick. In contrast to those models, contagion is endogenous.

Let the *net* benefit to learning be  $\Delta(v) \equiv V[\theta_1, \Phi(v)] - V[\theta_0, \Phi(v)]$ ;  $\Delta$  is falling in  $v$  since imitation becomes easier as the number of high-tech firms rises, raising  $V[\theta_0, \Phi(v)]$ , and  $V[\theta_1, \Phi(v)]$  is independent of  $v$  because demand is infinitely elastic. The first-order conditions characterizing a low-tech firm's choice of  $\eta$  and  $\mu$  are

$$-c_\eta\eta + \beta\delta(1 - \mu\sqrt{v_t})\Delta(v) = 0$$

<sup>13</sup> The fraction of high-tech firms is a sufficient statistic for the distribution of technology over firms, and that is why the symbol  $v$  is borrowed to denote this fraction here. This specification of imitation assumes that imitation by low-tech firms can be partially directed toward high-tech firms; i.e., given that imitation effort has turned up some firm, the probability that the firm is high-tech is  $\sqrt{v_t} > v_t$  (provided  $v_t \neq 0$ ).

$$-c_{\mu}\mu + \beta\sqrt{v_t}(1 - \eta\delta)\Delta(v) = 0.$$

It is not hard to check that if  $\sqrt{v} \cdot \Delta(v)$  is increasing in  $v$ , the firm's innovation effort declines as  $v$  grows, and its imitation effort rises. In what follows, this property will be assumed.<sup>14</sup> Intuitively,  $\Delta(v)$  is the net benefit associated with obtaining high-tech know-how, which declines over time; this encourages less of both methods of learning, a scale effect of a sort. However, that imitation is becoming easier promotes a substitution of imitation for innovation. Thus the assumption made here is that the substitution effect dominates the scale effect.

The variety of industry evolutions is illustrated by two polar cases. In "pure imitation," innovation is almost impossible— $\delta \approx 0$ —and evolution is driven by imitation.<sup>15</sup> In "pure innovation," imitation is ruled out. These cases represent the extremes in terms of the importance of informational linkages; they have distinct implications for, among other things, the diffusion of technology, the distribution of output, and the productivity of R & D.

#### Diffusion of New Technology

From the first-order conditions, the rate of adoption of high-tech know-how is  $v_{t+1} - v_t = \beta(1 - v_t)v_t\Delta(v_t)$ , which is small both early in the industry's evolution, when  $v \approx 0$ , and much later, when  $v \approx 1$ ; otherwise, diffusion occurs more quickly, and in this sense, pure imitation must result in the familiar "S-shaped" diffusion pattern. In fact, since  $\Delta$  is declining in  $v$ , the maximal rate of diffusion occurs before a majority of firms use high-tech know-how. In contrast, pure innovation implies that the net return to acquiring high-tech know-how does not fall over time because the composition of existing know-how does not influence the scope for learning.<sup>16</sup> Thus innovative effort of low-tech firms is constant over time, and  $v_{t+1} - v_t = (\eta\delta)^{t+1}$ , which is declining and concave in  $t$ . Thus under pure innovation, diffusion is quickest at the *outset*; under pure imitation, diffusion is initially slow, then more rapid, and finally slow once again.

<sup>14</sup> This property must hold over time in the sense that  $v_0 \cdot \Delta(v_0) = 0$ , whereas  $v_t$  is rising over time and  $\lim_{t \rightarrow \infty} \sqrt{v_t} \cdot \Delta(v_t) > 0$ .

<sup>15</sup> To allow high-tech know-how to emerge at all,  $\delta > 0$  must be assumed. An alternative is to set  $\delta = 0$  and endow a few firms with high-tech know-how right at the start. Also, the first version of this paper (Jovanovic and MacDonald 1988) contains a variety of comparative dynamics results for the pure models.

<sup>16</sup> The infinite elasticity of demand plays a role here too, but in comparisons of the two pure cases, it is the influence of the distribution of know-how on learning possibilities that is central.

### The Time Path of the Distribution of Output

Since price is constant over time, the outputs of high- and low-tech firms are constant over time and average output is simply a rescaling of  $v_t$ ; thus the results on diffusion apply immediately to mean output. The variance of output at  $t$  is proportional to  $v_t(1 - v_t)$ . Thus given the diffusion paths just discussed, pure imitation yields heterogeneity in output slowly, with the rapid imitation phase driving it out quickly; pure innovation results in a more rapid rise in heterogeneity and a more gradual decay.

### The Productivity of R & D Spending

Under pure innovation, there are no external effects in the learning technology. Only low-tech firms try to progress, and their effort is constant. Therefore, the observed productivity of R & D spending (i.e., diffusion per dollar of expenditure) is a constant. Under pure imitation, on the other hand, the rise in the number of high-tech firms makes it easier for the low-tech firms to copy them, causing productivity to rise over time.

### *Diffusion of the Diesel Locomotive*

The twentieth century has seen a host of innovations in the railroad industry, but all are dwarfed by the replacement of steam engines by diesels. This subsection interprets the data on the diffusion of diesels using the pure imitation model.<sup>17</sup>

The first usable diesel locomotive was invented by Rudolf Diesel in 1912. Diesels were first used in the United States in 1925, and by 1968 they had displaced steam engines entirely.<sup>18</sup> Figure 4a displays diesels in use in the United States (1925–67) as a fraction of the total number of locomotives; the data are taken from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, series Q296–99. Since this fraction is steadily rising, the distribution of technology increases over time.

Spillovers cause the likelihood of switching technologies to depend on the distribution of technology in use. Indeed, in the pure imitation model, the “hazard” rate  $h_t \equiv (v_{t+1} - v_t)/(1 - v_t)$  can be “backed

<sup>17</sup> In Jovanovic and MacDonald (1988), the pure innovation model is used to study data on the diffusion of mechanized loading techniques in the U.S. underground coal industry.

<sup>18</sup> A few electric and “other” locomotives are ignored in what follows since, altogether, they never amounted to more than 2 percent of the total number of locomotives in use.



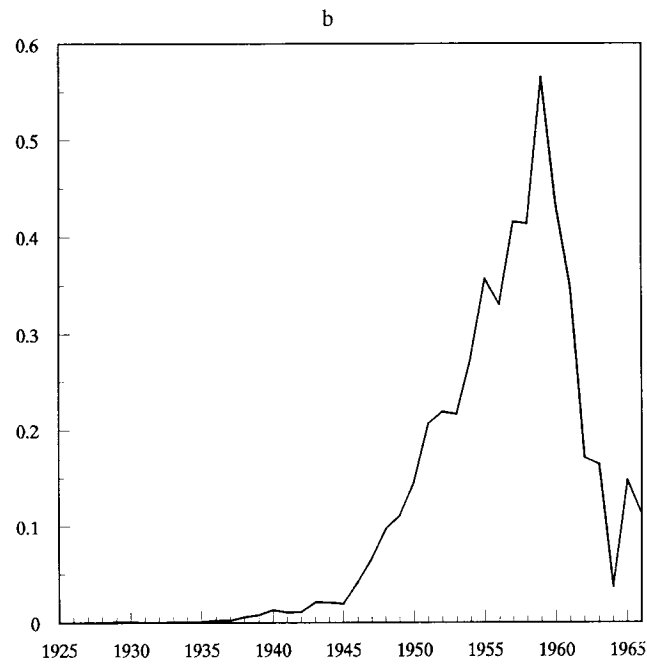
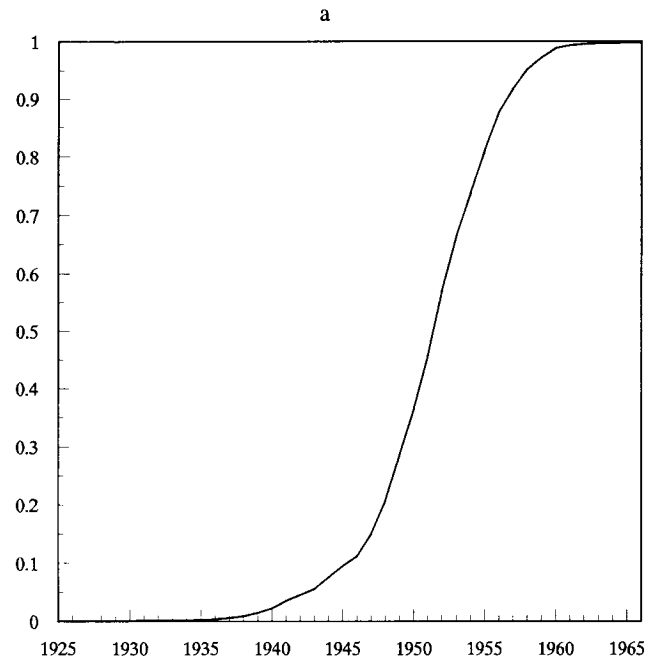


FIG. 4.—Diesel locomotion in the U.S. railroad industry, 1925–66: *a*, diffusion; *b*, hazard rate; *c*, imitation effort.

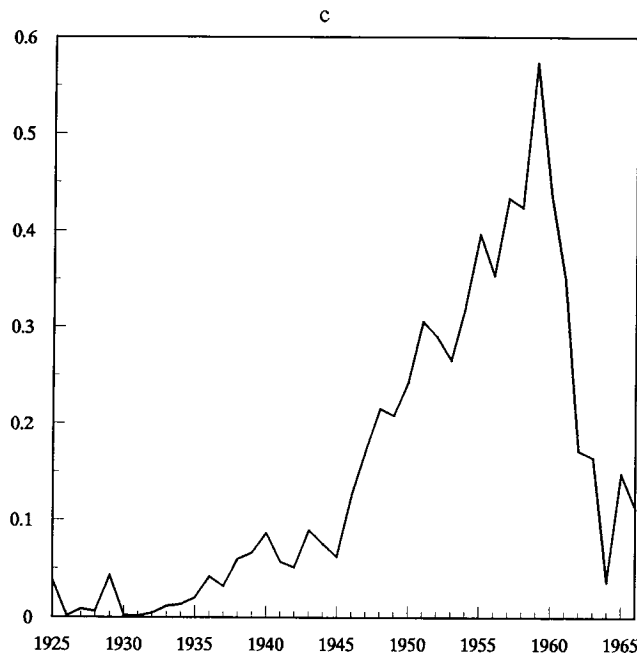


FIG. 4.—Continued

out” of the diffusion data and is predicted to be rising. Figure 4*b* displays the hazard implied by the diffusion in figure 4*a*. The hazard increases through most of its range and, in fact, fails to do so only when more than 99 percent of locomotives were diesels; in this case the denominator of the hazard,  $1 - v_t$ , is less than .01, and some erratic behavior for measured  $h_t$  is not surprising. The pure imitation model has the stronger implication that imitation effort  $\mu_t = h_t / \sqrt{v_t}$  rises over time. Figure 4*c* displays  $\mu_t$ , calculated from the diffusion data in figure 4*a*. Imitation effort generally rises and fails to do so only when almost all locomotives in use are diesels.

While these illustrative calculations do not prove that an informational model underlies these data, it is worth noting that the main alternative hypothesis—a vintage capital model—leaves much unexplained: First, *new* steam locomotives were produced long after the introduction of diesels (see Interstate Commerce Commission 1950, tables A-4, A-5). Second, there is no evidence of a bell-shaped distribution of ages of locomotives at the time of the introduction of diesels; a bell-shape is key for a vintage explanation for the S-shape in figure 4*a*. Nor did the substitution of diesels for locomotives merely reflect the cheapening of oil relative to coal. In fact, over the 1940–60

period, during which the primary displacement of steam engines occurred, the relative price of oil to coal *rose* by about 15 percent (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, ser. M96, M139).

### III. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed competition among firms that differ only in terms of their productive knowledge. Diffusion of technology takes time as a result of informational barriers defining firms. Restrictions on observables were driven by this gradual spread of know-how.

Two key assumptions should be emphasized: (i) the informational unit is the firm, and (ii) informational barriers take time and effort to overcome.

The firm is a legal entity: Patents are granted to firms, and information-sharing mechanisms such as patent-swapping arrangements and licensing agreements are made among firms. On these grounds it makes sense to think of the owner of a piece of information—information that other firms can try to acquire—as a firm. Patents represent a barrier to the flow of implemented information among firms. Moreover, when a firm's employees work on the same premises, they can and do share information among themselves differently and more often than they do with others. These factors point to the firm as the appropriate unit of analysis.

Important informational barriers may, however, exist within the firm, especially within large firms. Holmstrom (1982) analyzes incentive problems that arise within the firm—problems that may deter a plant manager from sharing his technological know-how with his peers. Consistent with this idea, Mansfield (1963) has shown that the spread of a new technology within the firm can take almost as long as its spread within the industry. To explain diffusion lags within the firm, this model must interpret them as resulting from informational barriers between decision units making up the firm. Now if plants or individuals are treated as the decision units, the model's predictions pertain to plants or individuals, not firms. Whatever the decision unit is, however, the results apply to the discovery and spread of know-how in a group of such decision units.

Although informational barriers among firms (and perhaps within firms, too) seem to matter, how much is not yet clear. In particular, is the spread of technological know-how slow enough to explain much of the variance in firm size within industries and in the observed timing of the adoption of new technologies? The answers hinge on how easily firms can imitate one another; indeed, if imitation were as easy as obtaining a blueprint or recipe, a theory focusing on institu-

tional features such as patents and licenses would be more relevant than the theory presented in this paper. But imitation is typically not that easy: using another's idea involves more than simply obtaining a blueprint, just as mastering a subject demands more than buying a textbook. This explains why firms in fact classify most of their R & D expenditures as "applied" and why information lags probably are important for understanding how industries evolve.

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