

## Researching the Institutional Structure of Technological Innovation: Working with IP Data

-  
Wednesday Workshop

ESNIE 2006  
Cargèse, Corsica  
17 May 2006

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### The Structure of our Session

|  |   |            |
|--|---|------------|
| Motivation: <i>Controversies</i>   | } | 5 minutes  |
| Overview of IP Data:<br>Sources and Uses                                 | } | 20 minutes |
| <b>Questions</b>   | } | 15 minutes |
| Applications in Researching the<br>Institutional Structure of Innovation | } | 20 minutes |
| <b>Questions</b>   | } | 15 minutes |
| <b>Discussions - Questions</b>   | } | 15 minutes |

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### Remember this drawing?

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### A Broken Patent System?

(12) **United States Patent**  
**Olson**

(14) **METHOD OF SWINGING ON A SWING** 5,413,298 A \* 5/1999. Preamble ..... 246/228

(76) Inventor: **Steven Olson**, 337 Oak Ave., St. Paul, MN (US) 55104 \* cited by a examiner

(\*) Notice: Subject to any disclaimer, the term of this patent is extended or adjusted under 35 U.S.C. 154(b) by 0 days.

(21) Appl. No.: **09/715,108**

(22) Filed: **Nov. 17, 2000**

(51) Int. Cl.: **A63G 4/00**

(52) U.S. Cl.: **472/118, 119,**

(58) Field of Search: **472/120, 121, 122, 123, 125**

References Cited

U.S. PATENT DOCUMENTS 4 Claims, 3 Drawing Sheets

242491 A \* 6/1984. Classen ..... 472/118

(10) Patent No.: **US 6,368,227 B1**

(45) Date of Patent: **Apr. 9, 2002**

Primary Examiner—Kien T. Nguyen  
(74) Attorney, Agent, or Firm—Peter Lowell Olson

**ABSTRACT**

A method of swing on a swing is disclosed, in which a user positioned on a standard swing suspended by two chains from a seasonally horizontal tree branch induces side to side motion by pulling alternately on one chain and then the other.

Lastly, it should be noted that because pulling alternately on one chain and then the other resembles in some measure the movements one would use to swing from vines in a dense jungle forest, the swinging method of the present invention may be referred to by the present inventor and his sister as "Tarzan" swinging. The user may even choose to produce a Tarzan-type yell while swinging in the manner described, which more accurately replicates swinging on vines in a dense jungle forest. Actual jungle forestry is not required.

Licenses are available from the inventor upon request.

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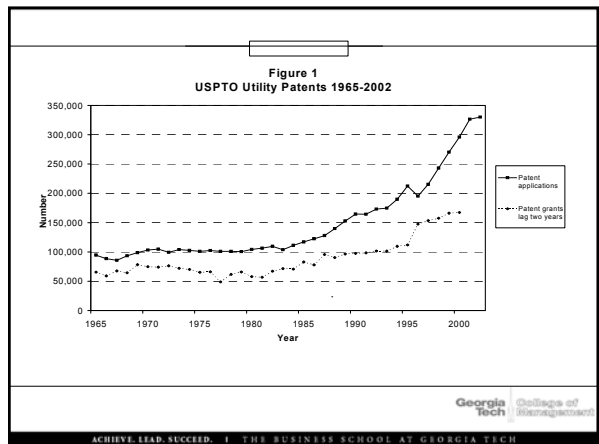
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### Jaffe & Lerner: Innovation and its Discontents

- Patent Regime reconfigured
  - 1982: Founding of the CAFC
  - Early 90s: USPTO Fee structure changed
- Resulting parade of horrors
  - Patents on inventions that are trivially obvious
  - Strong patents are potent strategic weapons, e.g. semiconductors
  - Huge court awards tax competitors
  - Knowledge is slow to reach examiners, esp. in new technologies

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## Why patents? *Economic Rationale*

- Societal costs (Welfare Loss) of Patent System
  - Deadweight loss from patent "monopoly"
  - Transaction costs
- Greater benefits to society (Welfare Gains)
  - Create incentives for invention
  - Require disclosure of invention to public
    - Knowledge spillovers may enable follow-on innovation
  - Create incentives for *commercialization* of invention by inventor, or others
  - Support markets for Intellectual Property
    - May enable vertical specialization in industries

## Forces eroding Welfare Gains

- Low "Quality"
  - Lacking requisite novelty, non-obviousness, utility
- Uncertainty
  - Over final *boundaries* of the disclosure
  - Over the *validity* of the property right
    - Under- or misdirected investments
      - by inventor in the patented technology
      - by competitors in competing technologies
  - Adds transaction costs to commercialization, technology transfer (licensing), developing markets for IP
  - Conferring market power to trivial innovations with little or no social welfare
  - Create an environment inviting to costly litigation

## Posture: Policy demand for Reform

- Academy
  - Science, Technology and Economic Policy Board (STEP) of the National Academies
    - Committee on IPRs
    - October 2002 meetings
- US Government Agencies
  - USPTO "Strategic Plan for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" (2002)
  - FTC "To Promote Innovation: The Proper Balance of Competition and Patent Law and Policy" (2003)
- Interest groups
  - AIPLA (2004), IBM, other large firms, BSA
- US Congress
  - HR 2795 (2005); Rep's Berman (D-Ca) & L. Smith (R-Tx)

## IP-data based research: current knowledge

### My "main thrust"...

#### Questions for this part of the presentation

- What types of IP information are available?
- How have these data been used to study the institutions of innovation?
- Where may I obtain IP data?
- What are some opportunities, and challenges, in using IP data?

## Main "Species" of IP Protection: What's in them, and how can it help me as a researcher?

- Patent
  - Government-granted right to prevent others from using a stated technology
    - Administrative process, with substantial applicant input
    - Limited in time, scope
    - monopoly? Sort of, but not "really"...
- Copyright
  - Government-granted, and "natural" right protecting authors, creators
    - Limited in time, limited to "expression"
- Trademark
  - Government-granted protection for brand marks, "consumer protection"
    - Limited in subject matter, unlimited in time—but actively protect, maintain
- Secret
  - Protection?
    - In the US: valuable information, reasonable efforts, unlimited in time—but independent discovery
  - Observable?

## Observable information: what does it look like?

The image shows a sample of a United States Patent document. The title is "PHOTOREPRODUCIBLE PAPER FILM". The inventor is "RICHARD W. HARRIS". The document includes a block diagram of the invention, which is a "PHOTOREPRODUCIBLE PAPER FILM" system. The diagram shows a central box labeled "PHOTOREPRODUCIBLE PAPER FILM" connected to three other boxes labeled "14", "12", and "18".

## Observable information: IP data

First, some things that are *not* in the data

### What's not observable?

- No information on products
- No performance data *per se*
- No sales data

### Why not?

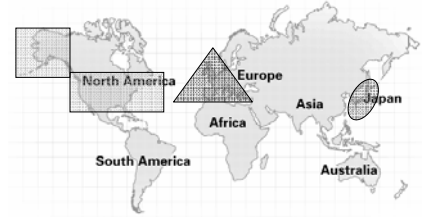
- Purpose of disclosure requirements: dissemination of technical and legal knowledge, not necessary economically relevant knowledge

### What's observable then?

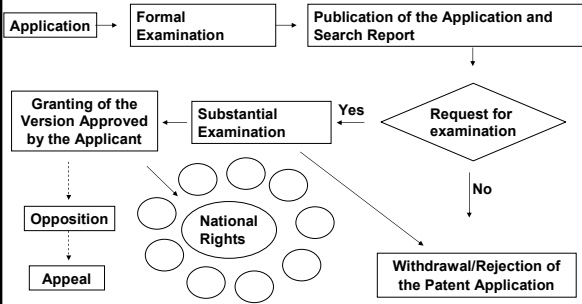
- A bunch of information on applicants, inventors, legal terms, technology
- What information exactly? Depends on geography. I will focus primarily on European and US patent data

## Observable information: the territories

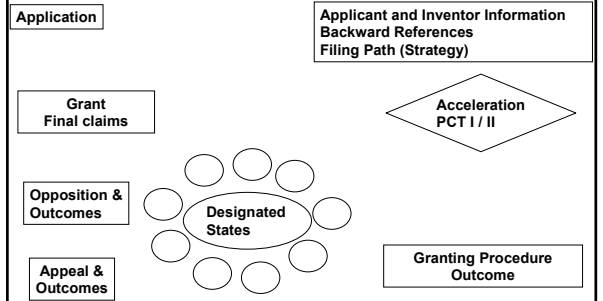
United States: US PTO      Europe: EPC-EPO      Japan: JPO



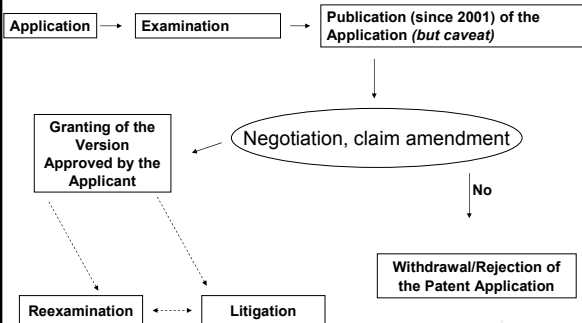
## Observable information: the EP granting procedure



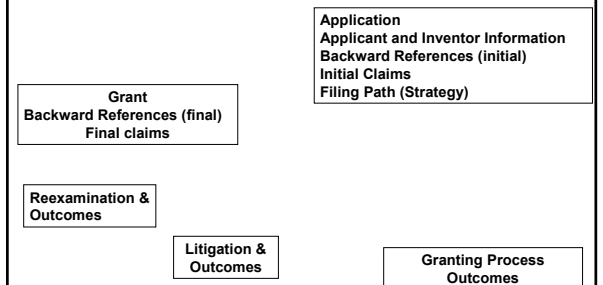
## Observable information: the EP granting procedure



## Observable information: US granting procedure



## Observable information: US granting procedure



## Observable information: a list of data

### Relevant information for management scholars

#### *Immediately observable*

- Applicant data
- Inventor data
- Technology classes
- Backward references
- Family size
- Filing routes (patenting "strategy")
- Litigation

#### *Computable*

- Forward citations (time lag)
- Originality
- Generality (time lag)

## Interpreting information

### Equivalents or "Family" Information

#### *Contains:*

- Designated countries (incl. country code)

#### *Has been applied to the study of:*

- Innovation
- Valuation of IP
- Institutional Economics

#### *Some references:*

- Lanjouw/Pakes/Putnam (1996); Graham/Hall/Harhoff/Mowery (2003); Graham/Harhoff (2006); Jensen/Palangkaraya/Webster (2006).

## Interpreting information

### Timing – Application Dates, Continuations, PCT

#### *Contains:*

- Information on the timing of "initial spark," strategic choices during application process

#### *Has been applied to the study of:*

- Valuation of IP
- Competition analysis
- Firm Strategy

#### *Some references:*

- Quillen/Webster (2003); Graham/Mowery (2004); Reitzig (2004); Graham/Harhoff (2006); Jensen/Palangkaraya/Webster (2006).

## Interpreting information

### Post-grant Reviews (e.g., litigation, opposition, etc.)

#### *Contains:*

- Information on type of suit challenges (validity or infringement), names of parties, outcomes

#### *Has been applied to the study of:*

- Valuation of IP
- Competition Analysis
- Institutional Economics

#### *Some references:*

- Lerner (1995); Lanjouw/Schankerman (2001); Harhoff/Scherer/Vopel (2003); Somaya (2003); Graham/Hall/Harhoff/Mowery (2003); Harhoff/Reitzig (2004); Lanjouw/Lerner (2004); Graham/Harhoff (2006)

## Interpreting information

### Forward Citations

#### *Contains:*

- Information on how often/by whom a patent is referenced as relevant prior art during subsequent patent examination processes

#### *Has been applied to the study of:*

- Valuation of IP
- Social network theory
- Technological pathways
- Knowledge flows

#### *Some references:*

- Trajtenberg (1990); Trajtenberg/Jaffe/Henderson (1997); Stuart (1998); Mowery/A.Ziedonis (2001); Alcaccer/Gittleman (2003); Hall/Jaffe/Trajtenberg (2005)

## Interpreting information

### Research areas previously explored using patent data:

#### *Competition analysis*

#### *Firm Strategy*

#### *Innovation*

#### *Institutional Economics*

#### *Knowledge flows*

#### *Social network theory*

#### *Strategic alliances*

#### *Valuation of intangible resources*

#### *And in the future? ...*

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Professor in the Graduate School

Curriculum vitae (PDF) Short bio  
Research papers with downloads  
Research summaries  
Forthcoming special issue of EINT (2006, Vol 15 (4/5))  
Links to other websites  
Journals  
Data

Courses 2005-2006

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## Collecting information

### Data sources

"Free but raw," official registers, designed for case-based research.

- No computed indicators
- EPOLINE
- USPTO

"Free, not raw, but used"

- NBER (Hall, Jaffe, and Trajtenberg, 2000)
  - US patent data complete 1975-1999 (with some data 1963-2002)
  - Standard indicators (incl. forward cites) computed
- NSF (Cockburn, et al., 2005)
  - Multi-year update of the NBER data, with link-outs

### Commercial providers

- Micropatent
- Derwent

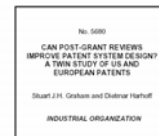
## Using information

### Opportunities and Challenges??

- The costs to using data have (and continue to) fall
  - NBER/NSF database;
  - Computing power
- Uncertain rewards to using the current data
  - Does the use of data become expected, or passé?
- Likely rewards at the frontier
  - New applications, employing greater institutional knowledge (and methodological skills)
- Other Data
  - Copyright
  - Trademark
  - Secrecy?

## Application I: "Post-Grant Reviews"

DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES



Centre for Economic Policy Research  
www.cepr.org

Available online at: [www.cepr.org/publications/DP5680.asp](http://www.cepr.org/publications/DP5680.asp)

## Economic criticisms: US Litigation

- Costly: Estimates \$0.5-4M per suit; \$500K per claim
  - some as high as \$20M in biotech, \$48M for Polaroid.
- Prolonged: Estimated 31 months for trial
- Burdensome: May not serve "quality" concerns
  - Patent afforded a presumption of validity; "born valid"
  - Generally, patentee holds the litigation "trigger"
  - Burden of proof set high: "clear and convincing" standard
  - Judge and/or jury may have limited expertise
- Escalation: Increasing rates, and sheer numbers
  - Estimates changed little from 1970s to early 1990s: 1-2%
  - Rate rose in late 1990s; current research 1998-2000: 3%
  - As number of issued patents explodes => litigation explodes

## Administrative Alternatives to Litigation: US, EU (EPC)

- United States patent challenges
  - Reexamination post-issue (during the life of the patent)
    - *Ex parte, inter partes*
- EU (EPO) patent challenges
  - Opposition post-issue (within 9 mos.)
  - Litigation for validity or infringement *in national courts*

## EPO Opposition: Distinctions

- Administrative, non-judicial process
  - Examiners (technical experts) hear challenge
  - Administrative judges on appeal
- Adversarial proceeding initiated by any third party
  - de novo* hearing
- Validity questions (not infringement):
  - Patent may be challenged on grounds of patentability
    - Subject matter, inadequate disclosure, scope of grant larger than original application
- Much lower cost than litigation, cost (€ 20-30K)
  - In operation, 8% of patents are opposed
  - 1/3 of these are revoked outright, with a further 1/3 partially revoked.
- But... Time limit - 9 months of patent grant
- But... Outcomes are generated slowly (average 1.9 years)

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## Tab. 4: Results - EP applications

Table 4  
Descriptive Statistics for EPO Equivalent Applications of Litigated and Non-Litigated USPTO Patents - Paired and Unpaired Comparisons

|   | Test (1) vs (4) | Test (2) vs (3) | (1) EPO equivalents of litigated US patents          | (2) EPO equivalents of litigated US patents                               | (3) EPO equivalents of non-litigated US patents | (4) EPO equivalents of non-litigated US patents    |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|--|---|---|--|
|   |                 |                 | no EPO equivalent for matching unlitigated US patent | EPO equivalent for matched pairs of litigated and non-litigated US patent |   | no EPO equivalent for matching litigated US patent |
| equivalent EPO applications (US patents)    | -               | -               | 2,474 (2,419)  | 963 (930)   | 963 (927)                                       | 2,393 (2,372)                                      |
| examination outcomes                        |                 |                 |  |   |   |  |
| • application pending                       | -               | -               | 9.5  | 4.8   | 4.7   | 8.6  |
| • grant                                     | -               | -               | 48.9   | 89.3  | 67.9  | 59.9   |
| • application withdrawn or consolidated     | -               | -               | 18.7   | 11.7  | 22.6  | 27.5   |
| • grant effectively refused by EPO          | -               | -               | 3.8  | 3.7   | 4.8   | 4.1  |
| number of classes in application*           | < 0.01          | < 0.01          | 18.32 (0.29)   | 16.43 (0.46)  | 13.67 (0.33)                                    | 15.61 (0.24)                                       |
| number of references to other patents*      | < 0.01          | < 0.01          | 5.21 (0.07)  | 4.65 (0.10)   | 4.26 (0.09)                                     | 4.49 (0.06)  |
| share of X references*                      | 0.24            | 0.50            | 17.62 (0.54)   | 16.61 (0.86)  | 15.77 (0.90)                                    | 16.72 (0.56)                                       |
| share of Y references*                      | 0.02            | 0.52            | 15.26 (0.52)   | 17.95 (0.73)  | 17.74 (0.62)                                    | 13.62 (0.51)                                       |
| EPO classes revoked within 5 yrs*           | < 0.01          | < 0.01          | 4.15 (0.1)   | 5.46 (0.22)   | 2.66 (0.11)                                     | 2.36 (0.07)  |
| share of X citations received within 5 yrs* | 0.17            | < 0.01          | 6.79 (0.4)   | 8.13 (0.57)   | 5.51 (0.53)                                     | 7.98 (0.44)  |
| share of Y citations received within 5 yrs* | 0.07            | < 0.11          | 6.59 (0.35)  | 6.17 (0.49)   | 5.82 (0.54)                                     | 5.78 (0.36)  |

Source: Authors' computations from EPO and EPOLINE data. Data on the number of classes was supplied by the EPO from its internal EPASTY database. \* Mean value, standard errors in parentheses.

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## Tab. 5: Results - Oppositions

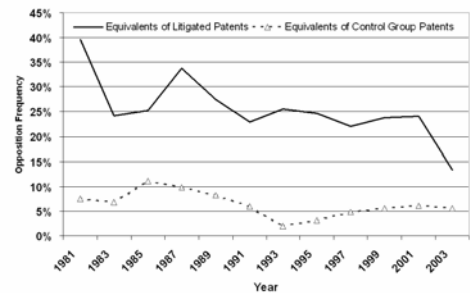
Table 5  
Descriptive Statistics for EPO Equivalent Patent Grants of Litigated and Non-Litigated USPTO Patents - Paired and Unpaired Comparisons

|   | (1) EPO equivalents of litigated US patents          | (2) EPO equivalents of litigated US patents                               | (3) EPO equivalents of non-litigated US patents | (4) EPO equivalents of non-litigated US patents    |
|---|--|---|---|--|
|   | no EPO equivalent for matching unlitigated US patent | EPO equivalent for matched pairs of litigated and non-litigated US patent |   | no EPO equivalent for matching litigated US patent |
| equivalent EPO patent grants (US patents) | 1,523 (1,873)  | 564 (548)   | 564 (548)                                       | 1,515 (1,497)                                      |
| time to grant (years)                     | 4.11 (0.07)  | 3.54 (0.04)   | 3.44 (0.02)                                     | 3.73 (0.05)  |
| opposition rate                           | 18.6   | 28.2  | 7.5   | 5.2  |
| opposition pending                        | 25.1   | 14.8  | 0.5   | 25.6   |
| opposition outcomes (non-pending cases)   |  |   |   |  |
| • patent revoked                          | 22.6   | 24.4  | 39.5  | 27.6   |
| • opposition rejected                     | 24.8   | 24.4  | 23.7  | 34.5   |
| • patent amended                          | 38.0   | 30.3  | 34.2  | 29.3   |
| • opposition closed                       | 14.7   | 13.6  | 3.6   | 8.6  |
| opposition outcomes (consolidated)        |  |   |   |  |
| • patent revoked or lapsed                | 32.3   | 34.8  | 39.5  | 32.8   |
| • opposition rejected or withdrawn        | 29.7   | 27.0  | 26.3  | 37.9   |
| • patent amended                          | 38.0   | 30.3  | 34.2  | 29.3   |
| lapsed rate                               | 50.7   | 55.6  | 42.9  | 26.9   |

Source: Authors' computations from EPO and EPOLINE data. Data on the number of classes was supplied by the EPO from its internal EPASTY database. \* Mean value, standard errors in parentheses.

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## Fig. 5: Opposition Frequency



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## Welfare Analysis

- Cost-benefit analysis
- We use evidence to inform us: costs, rates
  - Litigation rates 1.1% - 3.2%
  - Opposition rates
    - equivalents of non-litigated US patents 6%
    - equivalents of litigated US patents 20%
  - Outcomes: revocation about 1/3, amendment about 1/3
  - Outcomes: benefits
    - avoided litigation costs \$4m (AIPLA)
    - reduced (erroneously granted) market power (\$1-\$4m)
  - Appeal rates
    - 52% for equivalents of litigated US patents
    - 32.5% for equivalents of non-litigated US patents

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## Welfare Calculations

(1.1) *Saved litigation expenses*

$$W_1 = p_L \cdot P \cdot p_{OL} \cdot (p_{RL} + 0.5p_{PRL}) \cdot S_L$$

(1.2) *Removing excess market power*

$$W_2 = (1 - p_L) \cdot P \cdot p_{ONL} \cdot (p_{RNL} + 0.5p_{PRNL}) \cdot S_{NL}$$

(1.3) *Costs of post-grant review*

$$C = p_L \cdot P \cdot p_{OL} \cdot (C_O + (p_{A,L} \cdot C_A)) + (1 - p_L) \cdot P \cdot p_{ONL} \cdot (C_O + (p_{A,NL} \cdot C_A))$$

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## Tab: 8: Estimates

Table 8  
Welfare Calculations

| Parameter  | Scenario |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|--|----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|  | 1        | 2      | 3     | 4     | 5     | 6     | 7     | 8     |
| <b>Current System Parameters</b>                 |          |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| $Z_1$  | \$4      | \$4    | \$4   | \$4   | \$2   | \$2   | \$2   | \$2   |
| $Z_2$  | \$4      | \$4    | \$1   | \$1   | \$1   | \$1   | \$1   | \$1   |
| $Z_3$  | 0.032    | 0.011  | 0.032 | 0.011 | 0.032 | 0.011 | 0.032 | 0.011 |
| <b>GH Estimates (Table 4, weighted averages)</b> |          |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| $P_{OE}$   | 0.190    | 0.190  | 0.190 | 0.190 | 0.190 | 0.190 | 0.190 | 0.190 |
| $P_{OIE}$  | 0.058    | 0.058  | 0.058 | 0.058 | 0.058 | 0.058 | 0.058 | 0.058 |
| $P_{AE}$   | 0.354    | 0.354  | 0.354 | 0.354 | 0.354 | 0.354 | 0.354 | 0.354 |
| $P_{AME}$  | 0.330    | 0.330  | 0.330 | 0.330 | 0.330 | 0.330 | 0.330 | 0.330 |
| $P_{PAE}$  | 0.313    | 0.313  | 0.313 | 0.313 | 0.313 | 0.313 | 0.313 | 0.313 |
| $P_{PAE}$  | 0.301    | 0.301  | 0.301 | 0.301 | 0.301 | 0.301 | 0.301 | 0.301 |
| $P_{AE}$   | 0.520    | 0.520  | 0.520 | 0.520 | 0.520 | 0.520 | 0.520 | 0.520 |
| $P_{AE}$   | 0.325    | 0.325  | 0.325 | 0.325 | 0.325 | 0.325 | 0.325 | 0.325 |
| <b>Opposition Cost Estimates</b>                 |          |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| $C_O$  | 0.05     | 0.05   | 0.05  | 0.05  | 0.05  | 0.05  | 0.20  | 0.20  |
| $C_A$  | 0.05     | 0.05   | 0.05  | 0.05  | 0.05  | 0.05  | 0.20  | 0.20  |
| <b>Welfare and Total Cost Estimates</b>          |          |        |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| $W_1$  | 2,588    | 809    | 2,588 | 809   | 1,204 | 445   | 1,204 | 445   |
| $W_2$  | 23,378   | 23,864 | 5,845 | 5,991 | 5,845 | 5,991 | 5,845 | 5,991 |
| $C_1$  | 96       | 33     | 96    | 33    | 96    | 33    | 193   | 66    |
| $C_2$  | 744      | 760    | 744   | 760   | 744   | 760   | 1,408 | 1,200 |
| $W_{Net}$  | 25,126   | 23,912 | 7,992 | 6,964 | 6,269 | 5,623 | 5,418 | 4,830 |
| $BC_{Net}$                                       | 30.9     | 31.2   | 10.0  | 8.7   | 8.5   | 8.1   | 4.2   | 4.0   |

Note: All cost and welfare figures in million USD

## Conclusions

- US litigation system is costly and burdensome to challengers – those with incentives, information
- EPO examination does not disproportionately exclude patents whose US equivalents were litigated.
- Opposition rates for equivalents to litigated patents substantially higher
- We find that the welfare gains from an opposition system may be substantial
- The main source of these welfare gains is *not* foregone litigation, but elimination of excess market power.
- Caveat:* Any benefits will likely be eroded with increasing cost of opposition.

## Application II: US Continuation Patents

Federal Circuit Bar Journal, Vol. 11, No. 1 (August, 2001), pages 1-21

### CONTINUING PATENT APPLICATIONS AND PERFORMANCE OF THE U.S. PATENT OFFICE

Cecil D. Quillen, Jr. and Ogden H. Webster

## US Patent Continuation practice

- 2 Truisms
  - The patent office is unable to ever finally *refuse* to grant a patent
  - The patent office is unable to ever finally *grant* a patent
- The culprit?
- The continuation application

### ABSTRACT

The United States is unique in permitting patent applicants to refile their patent applications as continuation and continuation-in-part applications claiming the benefit of the filing date of a prior application and restart the examination process all over again. Data provided by the USPTO concerning continuing application filings for its fiscal years 1993-1998 reveal that 28.4% of the utility, plant, and reissue (UPR) applications filed in those years were not new or original applications, but were continuing applications claiming the benefit of the filing dates of previously filed applications. Analysis of the data for continuing applications for the USPTO's fiscal years 1993-1998 in conjunction with the USPTO Annual Report statistics for the same fiscal years shows that the number of UPR applications allowed in fiscal years 1995-1998 was 95% of the number of original UPR applications filed in fiscal years 1993-1996. Comparable Allowance Percentages for the European and Japanese Patent Offices were calculated to be 68% and 65%, respectively. A study of the cohort of German patent applications claiming a 1977 priority date had found that only 41.7% of the 1977 German applications became patents. The Grant Rate (allowances divided by total disposals, i.e., the sum of allowances and abandonments) for the USPTO for its fiscal years 1993-1998, corrected for continuing applications, ranges from 87% to 97%, depending on the extent to which prosecution of abandoned applications was continued in refiled applications. Reported Grant Rates for 1995-1999 for the European and Japanese Patent Offices (averaged) are 67% and 64%, respectively. Policy questions resulting from the lack of rigor by the USPTO in its examination of patent applications are discussed.

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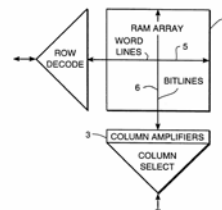
U.S. Patent

Sep. 21, 1999

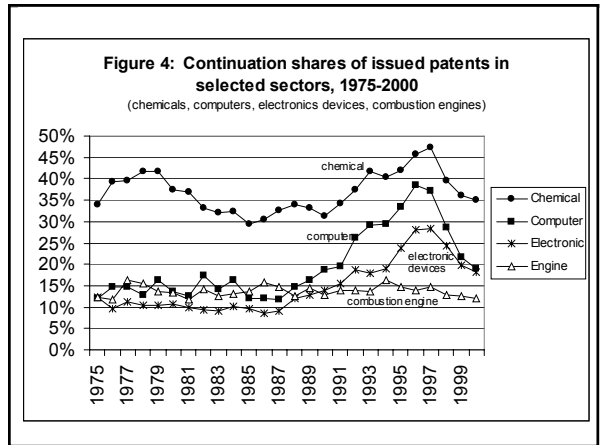
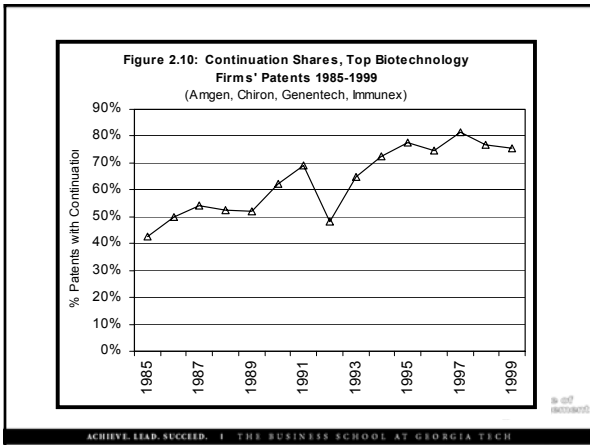
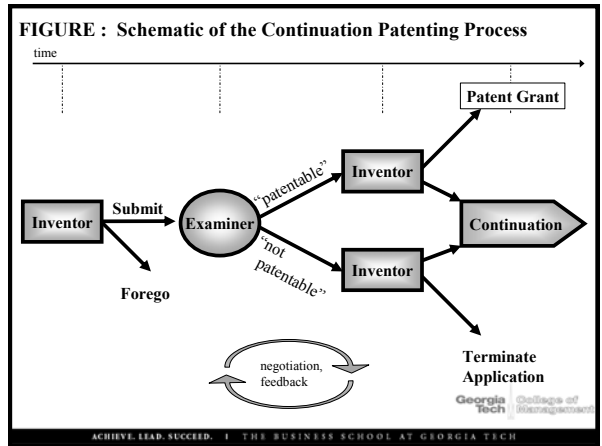
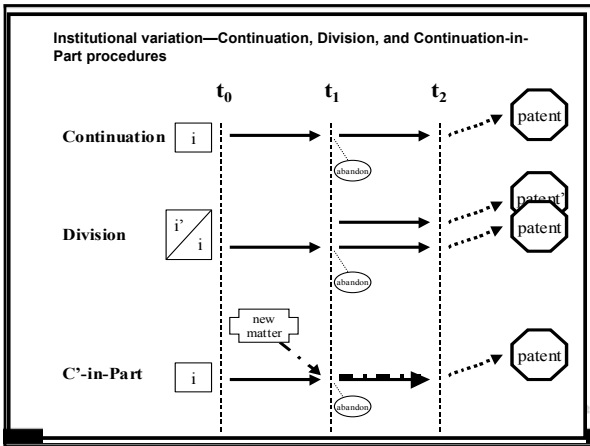
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5,954,804

### FIG. 1



- This application is a divisional of application Ser. No. 08/710574, filed Sep. 19, 1996, now abandoned,
- which is a continuation of application Ser. No. 08/469,490 filed Jun. 6, 1995, now abandoned,
- which is a continuation of application Ser. No. 07/847,961 filed Mar. 5, 1992, now abandoned,
- which is a divisional of application Ser. No. 07/510,898 filed Apr. 18, 1990 now abandoned.



**Supplemental: U.S. Regime Changes: 1995, 1999**

- Continuation priority was arguably more valuable pre-1995
  - Patent term 17 years measured from date of *issue*
- Uruguay Round GATT, effective June 1995
  - Int'l harmonization: reduce incentives for "continuation"
  - Patent term now 20 years from date of *application*
  - Filings after June '95, maximum 20 years to both prosecute and protect an invention
  - Forces a choice, *ex ante* secrecy versus *ex post* protection
- 1999 Inventors' Protection Act
  - Publication of most applications after 18 months
  - Excepted:** special class of US-only inventions

**Conclusions**

- Opportunities abound for productive research in this area
- Changing research environment
  - While the costs to using these data have fallen dramatically...
  - the rewards to understanding, *and being able to productively analyze*, the institutional details has increased