

Knowing brown and inventing green? Incremental and radical innovative activities in the automotive sector

Julia Mazzei, Tommaso Rughi, Maria Enrica Virgillito

22nd-25th November 2021

CONCORDI 2021

Motivations and research questions

What kind of knowledge is required for green leadership?

- Firms are characterized by **organizational routines and embedded knowledge** that lead to idiosyncratic innovative behaviours (Simon, 1991; Winter, 1998; Dosi and Nelson, 2010)
- Firms direct innovative search to the neighborhood of established technologies, generating **core-rigidities and inertial procedures** (Dosi, 1988)
- The **eco-innovation literature** has focused on the role of environmental policies, neglecting how firms under similar institutional stimuli form their green technological portfolios
- Green technologies strongly **rely on advances in other green and non-green technological domains** and represent novel **recombination of established knowledge** (Quattraro and Scandura, 2019; Nicolò Barbieri et al., 2020; Nicola Barbieri et al., 2021)

Eco-innovation in the automotive sector

- The transport sector is responsible for a relevant share of overall global annual CO_2 emissions (up to 20%)
- The development of low emission vehicles (LEVs) stands out in the literature as a typical case of technological competition between a dominant design and a set of alternative green technologies
- While competition between LEVs is high, the Internal Combustion Engine (ICE) still represents the dominant design, with firms subject to a *sailing ship effect*
Dijk and Yarime (2010); Oltra and Saint Jean (2009); Rizzi et al. (2014); Sick et al. (2016); Faria and Andersen (2017); Borgstedt et al. (2017); Yuan and Cai (2021)
- Firms more exposed to clean (dirty) innovation are more likely to direct their research energies to clean (dirty) innovation in the future Aghion et al. (2016)

Research questions

1. Can we identify different innovation strategies among firms in emerging green trajectories in the automotive sector?
 - data-driven clustering analysis of firms in each trajectory, in terms of their relative patent share and degree of specialization
2. To what extent organizational capabilities and related knowledge explain firm's leadership in each trajectory?
 - Does a broader scope of knowledge favour firm's leadership in emerging green trajectories?
 - Does the degree of coherence with established brown technologies prove to be valuable for green leadership?

Technological trajectories identification

Identifying green inventions using patent data

- classification for Climate Change Mitigation Technologies (CCMTs) developed by Veefkind et al. (2012)
- **green invention**: patent with at least one CPC code starting with “Y02”

Symbol	Classification and description
<input type="checkbox"/> Y	GENERAL TAGGING OF NEW TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS; GENERAL TAGGING OF CROSS-SECTIONAL TECHNOLOGIES SPANNING OVER SEVERAL SECTIONS OF THE IPC; TECHNICAL SUBJECTS COVERED BY FORMER USPC CROSS-REFERENCE ART COLLECTIONS [XRACs] AND DIGESTS
<input type="checkbox"/> Y02	TECHNOLOGIES OR APPLICATIONS FOR MITIGATION OR ADAPTATION AGAINST CLIMATE CHANGE
<input type="checkbox"/> Y04	INFORMATION OR COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES HAVING AN IMPACT ON OTHER TECHNOLOGY AREAS
<input type="checkbox"/> Y10	TECHNICAL SUBJECTS COVERED BY FORMER USPC

- we directly observe whether the patent is **assigned to “Y02”** by the **patent examiner**, thus including patents that would otherwise be ignored by keyword-based searches

Incremental and radical trajectories using patent data

- **Internal Combustion Engine Green (ICEG):** technologies aimed at reducing emissions (e.g. enhanced filters) and/or improve efficiency of the ICE powertrain, also using alternative fuels (e.g. bio-fuels).
- **Hybrid-Electric-Fuel cell vehicles (HEF):** inventions related to pure electric, hybrid-electric and fuel cell vehicles and technologies in battery electric production

<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02	TECHNOLOGIES OR APPLICATIONS FOR MITIGATION OR ADAPTATION AGAINST CLIMATE CHANGE
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T	CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION TECHNOLOGIES RELATED TO TRANSPORTATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/00	Road transport of goods or passengers
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/10	• Internal combustion engine [ICE] based vehicles
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/12	• Improving ICE efficiencies
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/30	• Use of alternative fuels, e.g. biofuels
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/40	• Engine management systems
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/60	• Other road transportation technologies with climate change mitigation effect
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/62	• Hybrid vehicles
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/64	• Electric machine technologies in electromobility
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/70	• Energy storage systems for electromobility, e.g. batteries
<input type="checkbox"/>	Y02T 10/7072	• Electromobility specific charging systems or methods for batteries, ultracapacitors, supercapacitors or double-layer capacitors

Dataset creation and exploration

ORBIS-IP

- Universe of patent applied for by **firms in the automotive sector** (NACE code 29) in the **period 2001-2018**
- Focus on the United States Patent and Trademark Office (**USPTO**), in order to avoid double counting issues and heterogeneity bias of multiple patent offices
- We **impute each firm to its Global Ultimate Owner (GUO)** aggregating subsidiaries to their relative holding firms
- Focus on firms patenting in at least one of the two trajectories: **746 firms**

Firm's specialization in each green trajectory

Specialisation Index (SI)

Based on Soete (1987), we compute a Balassa Index of Revealed Comparative Advantage:

$$SI_{i,t} = \frac{\frac{p_{i,t}^j}{\sum_j p_{i,t}^j}}{\frac{\sum_i p_{i,t}^j}{\sum_j \sum_i p_{i,t}^j}}$$

where $p_{i,t}^j$ represents the number of patents applied by firm i in trajectory j at time t .

- numerator: relative specialization between the two trajectories for each single firm
- denominator: relative specialization for the all set of firms

Firm's patent share in each green trajectory

Patent share (PS)

Firm's i share of patenting in each trajectory j at time t .

$$PS_{i,t} = \frac{p_{i,t}^j}{\sum_i p_{i,t}^j}$$

- it represents a firm's size indicator in terms of patents

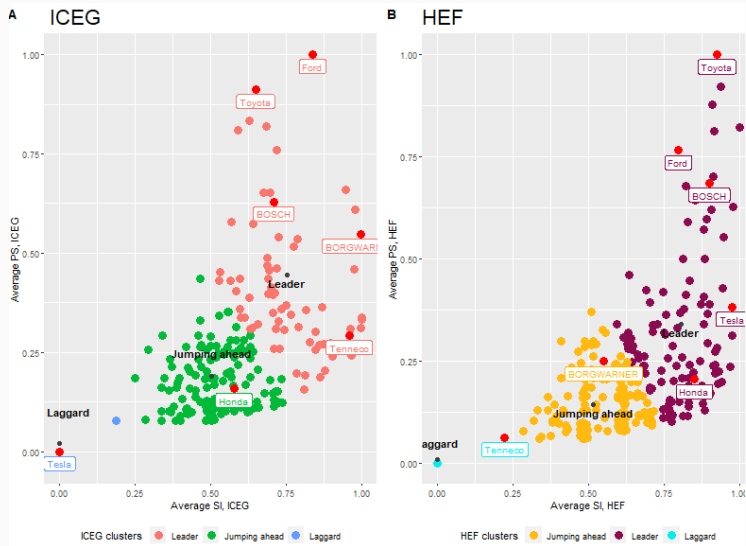
Normalisation procedure

For both indicators (SI and PS) , we:

- compute the **weighted average over two periods**: 2001-2009 and 2010-2018
- apply a **cubic transformation** to reduce the degree of skewness
- **normalization** between 0 and 1 (min-max algorithm)

Clustering analysis using k-means algorithm

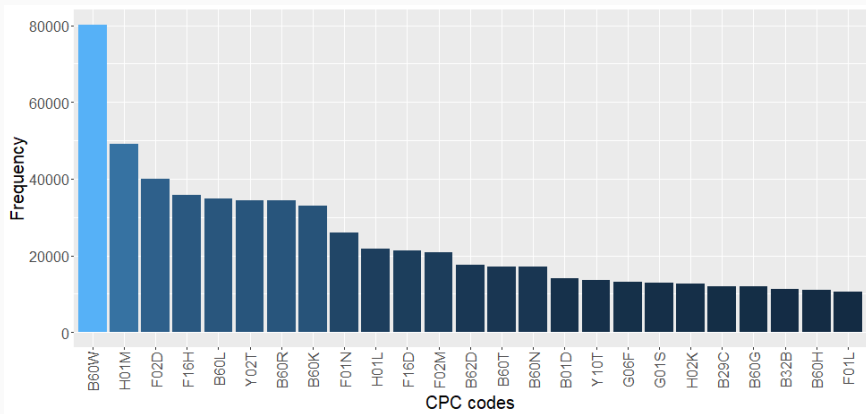
Technological landscape in terms of Patent Share (PS) and Specialization Index (SI)



K-means clustering. Incremental ICEG trajectory (left panel) and radical HEF trajectory (right panel)

Breadth of knowledge domain in the automotive industry

Frequency of the most diffused 4-digit CPC codes



Co-occurrences of CPC codes with patents in the two trajectories

Top 5 CPC codes by co-occurrences' value in each trajectory

ICEG trajectory

CPC code	description
F02D	CONTROLLING COMBUSTION ENGINES
F01N	SILENCERS/EXHAUST APPARATUS FOR MACHINES OR INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINES
F02B	INTERNAL COMBUSTION PISTON ENGINES
Y02A	TECH. FOR ADAPTATION TO CC
F02P	IGNITION FOR INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINES

HEF trajectory

CPC code	description
B60L	PROPULSION OF ELECTRICALLY-PROPELLED VEHICLES
Y02T	CCMT RELATED TO TRANSPORTATION
B60M	POWER SUPPLY LINES FOR ELECTRICALLY-PROPELLED VEHICLES
Y04S	INTEGRATING TECH. - IMPROVING ELECTRICAL POWER GENERATION
H02J	CIRCUIT SYSTEMS FOR ELECTRIC POWER; STORING ELECTRIC ENERGY

Empirical strategy

Main firm-level variables

2 dimensions of knowledge: brown coherence and technological diversification

- **Brown-coherence** TRJ_{t_1} : average relatedness between firm's brown-technologies in its portfolio at t_1 and innovation in each trajectory (TRJ). Cosine similarity applied to the matrix of co-occurrences of CPC codes assigned to patents (Breschi et al., 2003)
- **Tech. diversification** t_1 : number of distinct 4-digit CPC codes in which the firm is patenting at t_1 . Proxy for the breadth of knowledge of the firm

Additional firm-level controls

- **Green propensity** $_{t_1}$: firm's share of green patents on overall applications at t_1 . Green patents identified by the broader tag Y02.
- **Patent portfolio** $_{t_1}$: firm's number of patent applications at t_1
- **Firm's core business**: a categorical variables for the core business of firms, in particular:
 - **Car maker**: firms in NACE 2910
 - **Supplier**: firms in NACE 2920/2930
 - **Outside automotive**: holding firm (GUO) outside the automotive
- **Periods**: period 1 (2001-2009) and period 2 (2010-2018), following the time aggregation of the clustering analysis.
- **Continents**: dummies for the continent of the firm

Multinomial logistic regression

Explaining firm's probability to fall in each cluster

$$\ln \left(\frac{P(Y_{i=m,t})}{P(Y_{i=baseline,t})} \right)_{TRJ} = \beta_1 \text{tech.diversification}_{i,t1} + \beta_2 \text{brown coherence TRJ}_{i,t1} + \beta_3 \text{green propensity}_{i,t1} + \beta_4 \text{patent portfolio}_{i,t1} + \beta_5 X_i + \lambda_t + \epsilon_{i,t}$$

- **baseline:** Laggard firms
- **m=2,3:** Jumping ahead and Leader respectively
- X_i : firm-level controls that do not vary over time
- λ_t : period fixed effect
- **TRJ** is either the ICEG or HEF trajectory

Results

Probability to be Leader in the ICEG trajectory

Cluster	Variables	1	2	3	4	5
Leader	brown-coherence ICEG	14.39*** (1.373)	16.86*** (1.556)	17.00*** (1.576)	14.73*** (2.149)	14.93*** (1.658)
	green propensity		-2.557*** (0.492)	-2.734*** (0.507)	-2.715*** (0.526)	-1.723*** (0.536)
	tech.diversification			0.118*** (0.042)	0.0539 (0.053)	0.147*** (0.042)
	tech.diversification* brown-coherence ICEG				0.581 (0.375)	
	brown-coherence HEF					-6.291*** (1.955)
	patent portfolio	0.0958*** (0.018)	0.0753*** (0.016)	-0.0101 (0.032)	0.000949 (0.037)	-0.0266 (0.030)
	car maker	2.916*** (0.530)	2.865*** (0.555)	2.564*** (0.576)	2.523*** (0.595)	2.962*** (0.611)
	supplier	1.718*** (0.437)	1.451*** (0.448)	1.270*** (0.459)	1.412*** (0.462)	1.072** (0.470)
	Observations	853	853	853	853	853
LogLikelihood	-457.979	-420.306	-416.364	-409.947	-395.189	
DoF	22	24	26	28	28	
Chi2	390.873	357.141	353.620	346.988	331.939	
Continent dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
Period dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	

Probability to be Jumping ahead in the ICEG trajectory

Cluster	Variables	1	2	3	4	5
Jumping ahead	brown-coherence ICEG	13.48*** (1.245)	15.45*** (1.382)	15.31*** (1.383)	14.54*** (1.965)	13.60*** (1.451)
	green propensity		-2.075*** (0.273)	-2.123*** (0.276)	-2.116*** (0.276)	-1.274*** (0.297)
	tech.diversification			0.0434 (0.036)	0.0438 (0.043)	0.0697* (0.037)
	tech.diversification* brown-coherence ICEG				0.160 (0.363)	
	brown-coherence HEF					-4.198*** (0.762)
	patent portfolio	0.0450*** (0.017)	0.0239 (0.015)	-0.00790 (0.029)	-0.00906 (0.029)	-0.0237 (0.028)
	car maker	0.920** (0.407)	0.860** (0.434)	0.778* (0.441)	0.821* (0.438)	1.039** (0.459)
	supplier	0.653** (0.275)	0.387 (0.285)	0.308 (0.292)	0.301 (0.294)	0.151 (0.304)
	Observations	853	853	853	853	853
LogLikelihood	-457.979	-420.306	-416.364	-409.947	-395.189	
DoF	22	24	26	28	28	
Chi2	390.873	357.141	353.620	346.988	331.939	
Continent dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
Period dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	

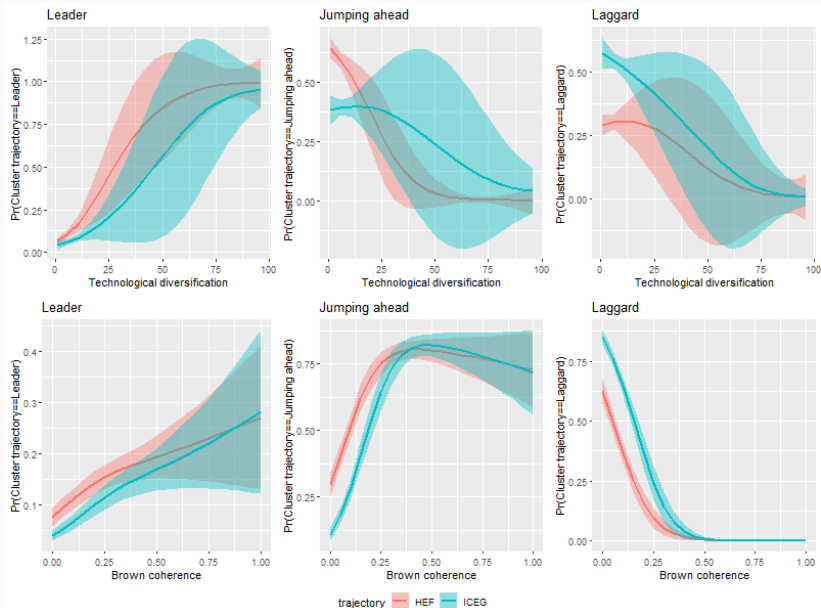
Probability to be Leader in the HEF trajectory

Cluster	Variables	1	2	3	4	5
Leader	brown-coherence HEF	12.71*** (1.452)	13.73*** (1.437)	13.87*** (1.458)	9.576*** (2.090)	9.180*** (1.443)
	green propensity		-1.876*** (0.385)	-1.959*** (0.394)	-2.016*** (0.397)	-0.539 (0.439)
	tech.diversification			0.0933** (0.046)	-0.0130 (0.064)	0.128** (0.054)
	tech.diversification* brown-coherence HEF				1.353** (0.590)	
	brown-coherence ICEG					-8.723*** (1.748)
	patent portfolio	0.115*** (0.024)	0.0875*** (0.022)	0.0184 (0.040)	0.0198 (0.042)	0.00339 (0.047)
	car maker	1.192** (0.553)	0.995* (0.568)	0.742 (0.583)	0.659 (0.597)	1.108 (0.676)
	supplier	0.369 (0.376)	0.228 (0.386)	0.0367 (0.397)	0.0709 (0.400)	0.263 (0.433)
	Observations	853	853	853	853	853
	LogLikelihood	-551,514	-535,597	-528,819	-524,951	-456,532
DoF	22	24	26	28	28	
Chi2	353,514	361,029	362,075	360,014	395,122	
Continent dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
Period dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	

Probability to be Jumping ahead in the HEF trajectory

Cluster	Variables	1	2	3	4	5
Jumping ahead	brown-coherence HEF	12.48*** (1.377)	12.68*** (1.321)	12.74*** (1.335)	9.176*** (1.958)	8.255*** (1.313)
	green propensity		-1.007*** (0.223)	-0.996*** (0.224)	-1.007*** (0.224)	0.314 (0.287)
	tech.diversification			-0.0285 (0.042)	-0.102* (0.058)	0.000177 (0.049)
	tech.diversification* brown-coherence HEF				1.168** (0.583)	
	brown-coherence ICEG					-6.039*** (0.659)
	patent_portfolio	0.0468** (0.023)	0.0216 (0.022)	0.0407 (0.038)	0.0371 (0.039)	0.0270 (0.045)
	car maker	-0.116 (0.497)	-0.267 (0.517)	-0.213 (0.518)	-0.202 (0.524)	0.107 (0.621)
	supplier	-0.0916 (0.269)	-0.165 (0.277)	-0.119 (0.281)	-0.0818 (0.286)	0.135 (0.320)
	Observations	853	853	853	853	853
	LogLikelihood	-551,514	-535,597	-528,819	-524,951	-456,532
DoF	22	24	26	28	28	
Chi2	353,514	361,029	362,075	360,014	395,122	
Continent dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
Period dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	

Predictive margins, ICEG vs HEF



Summary and conclusion

Knowing brown and inventing green? Yes

- Our findings suggest:
 - firms are more likely to lead both green trajectories if they are closer in terms of “brown” knowledge domain to the new emerging technologies
 - the amplitude of firm’s knowledge explains firm’s leadership in both trajectories, but does not characterize jumping ahead firms
- Our work enlightens the **continuity in knowledge domains between green and brown technologies** along both green trajectories identified in the automotive industry (ICEG and HEF)
- The persistence of ICE as a dominant design may be explained by core-rigidities and inertial procedures arising from the **complexity and broad arrays of different knowledge sources**

Appendix

Descriptive statistics (1)

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of the main firm-level variables

	count	mean	sd	min	max
brown-coherence HEF	853	.2164986	.2012725	0	.9377893
brown-coherence ICEG	853	.18627	.229336	0	.8535996
tech.diversification	853	5.882767	11.10832	1	98
patent portfolio	853	5.55803	19.52086	1	309
green propensity	853	.5671121	.4535408	0	1
ln(avg sales)	370	13.61593	3.553676	1.253911	19.3205
ln(avg assets)	400	13.32211	3.837572	2.491499	19.8363
ln(avg workers)	496	6.315973	4.019353	0	12.88463
ln(sales norm)	322	5.583719	.9788954	.3380696	8.579676

Descriptive statistics (2)

Table 2: Categorical and dependent variables

Variable	Elements	Frequency
Cluster ICEG	Laggard	458
Cluster ICEG	Jumping ahead	322
Cluster ICEG	Leader	73
Cluster HEF	Laggard	251
Cluster HEF	Jumping ahead	491
Cluster HEF	Leader	111
Period	1	318
Period	2	535
Continent	Asia	298
Continent	Europe	359
Continent	North America	169
Continent	Not classified	2
Continent	Oceania	21
Continent	South America	4
Nace	1 - Car manufacturer	60
Nace	2 - Supplier	139
Nace	3 - Other	654

Table 3: Cross-correlation table

Variables	(mean) hybrid	(mean) ice	tech_diversification	patent_portfolio	green_propensity	ln_avg_sales	ln_avg_assets	ln_avg_workers	ln_sales_norm
brown_coherence_HEF	1.00								
brown_coherence_ICEG	-0.47	1.00							
tech_diversification	-0.09	-0.08	1.00						
patent_portfolio	-0.06	-0.05	0.89	1.00					
green_propensity	0.22	0.17	-0.19	-0.16	1.00				
ln_avg_sales	-0.14	-0.21	0.38	0.30	-0.33	1.00			
ln_avg_assets	-0.14	-0.22	0.38	0.30	-0.35	0.95	1.00		
ln_avg_workers	-0.12	-0.25	0.33	0.25	-0.36	0.96	0.95	1.00	
ln_sales_norm	-0.11	-0.00	0.16	0.15	-0.05	0.44	0.36	0.18	1.00

Internal Combustion Engine Green (ICEG)

Y02T10/10	Internal combustion engine (ICE) based vehicles
Y02T10/12	Improving ICE efficiencies
Y02T10/30	Use of alternative fuels, e.g. biofuels
Y02T10/40	Engine management systems
Y02E50/00	Tech. for the production of fuel of non-fossil origin
Y02E50/10	Biofuels, e.g. bio-diesel
Y02E50/30	Fuel from waste, e.g. synthetic alcohol or diesel

Selected CPC codes for HEF

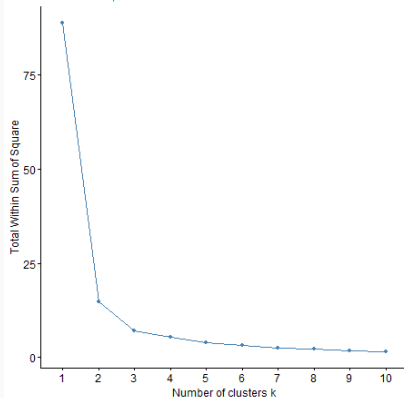
Hybrid, Electric and Fuel Cell (HEF)

Y02T10/60	Other tech. with climate change mitigation effect
Y02T10/62	Hybrid vehicles
Y02T10/64	Electric machine technologies in electromobility
Y02T10/70	Energy storage systems for electromobility, e.g. batteries
Y02T10/7072	Electromobility charging systems or methods for batteries (..)
Y02T10/7005	*
Y02T10/72	Electric energy management in electromobility
Y02T10/92	Charging or discharging systems for batteries
Y02T90/10	Technologies relating to charging of electric vehicles
Y02T90/12	Electric charging stations
Y02T90/14	Plug-in electric vehicles
Y02T90/16	IT or CT improving the operation of electric vehicles
Y02T90/167	Systems integrating technologies for electric or hybrid vehicles
Y02T90/168	*
Y02T90/169	*
Y02E60/00	Enabling technologies
Y02E60/10	Energy storage using batteries
Y02E60/13	Energy storage using capacitors
Y02E60/14	Thermal energy storage
Y02E60/16	Mechanical energy storage, e.g. flywheels or pressurised fluids
Y02E60/30	Hydrogen technology
Y02E60/32	Hydrogen storage
Y02E60/34	Hydrogen distribution
Y02E60/36	Hydrogen production from non-carbon containing sources
Y02E60/50	Fuel cells
Y02E60/60	Arrangements for transfer of electric power

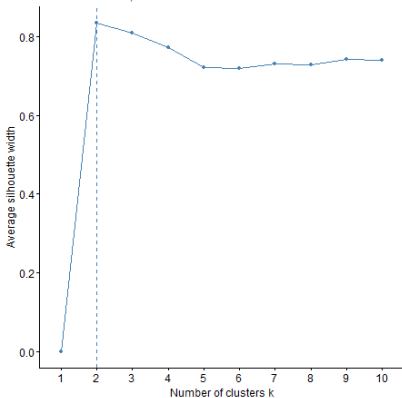
Test for cluster selection (ICEG)

Clustering tests, ICEG trajectory

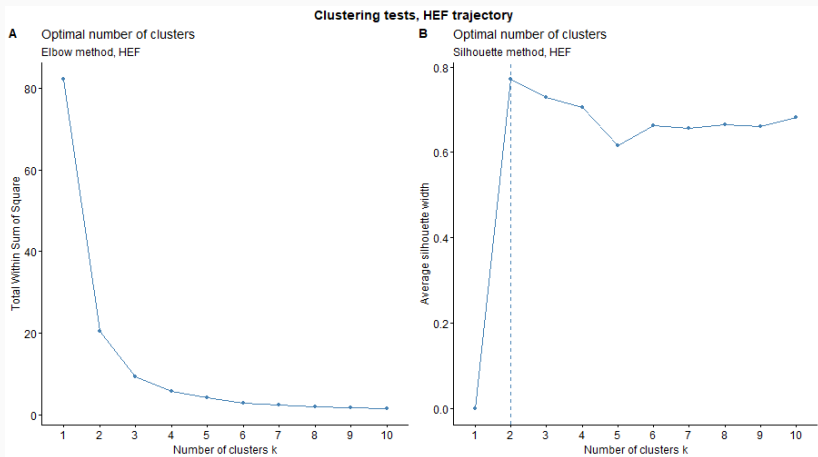
A Optimal number of clusters
Elbow method, ICEG



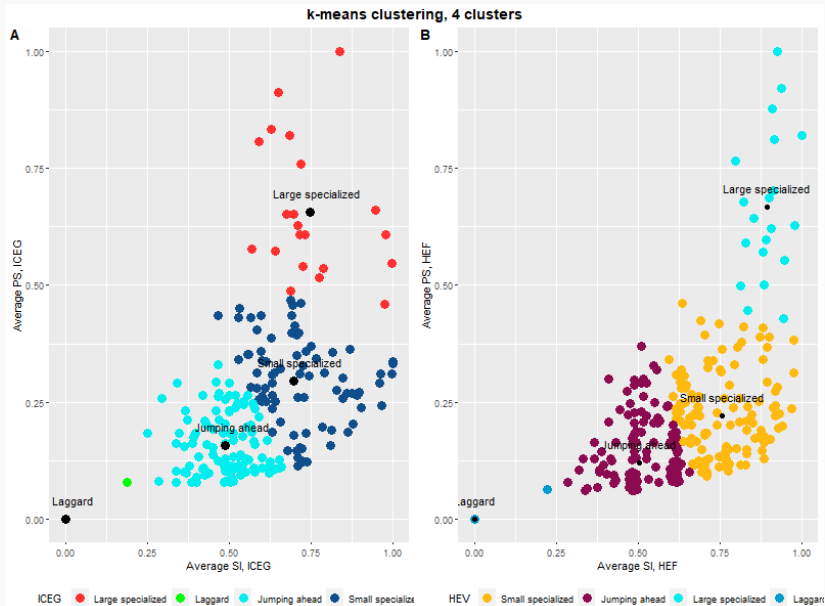
B Optimal number of clusters
Silhouette method, ICEG



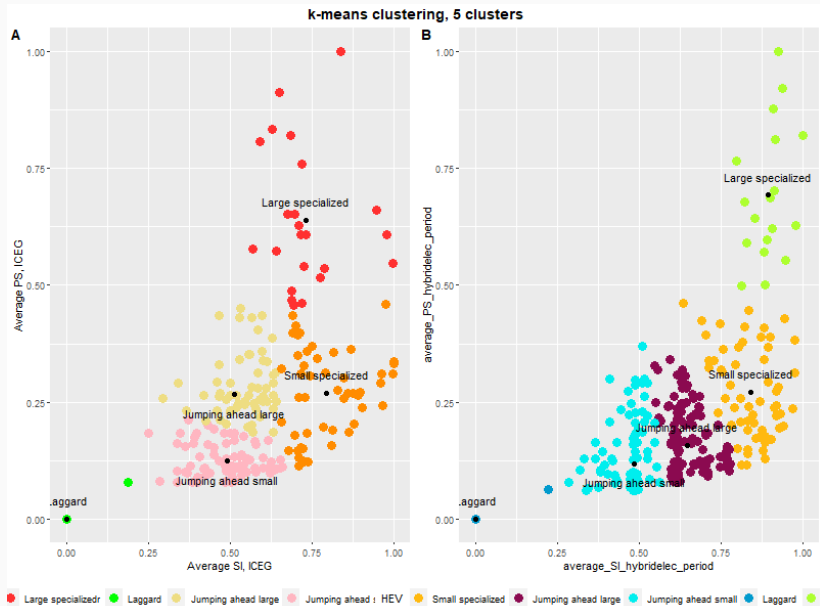
Test for cluster selection (HEF)



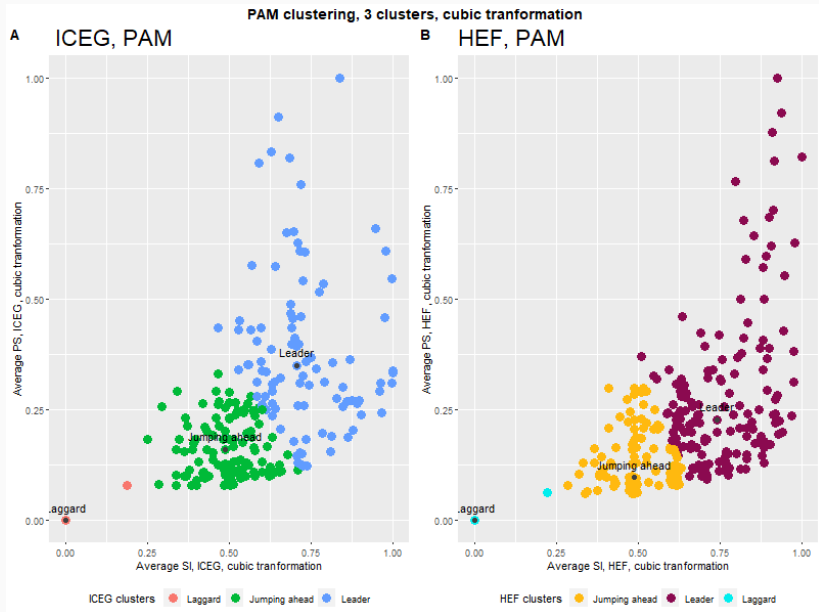
4 clusters



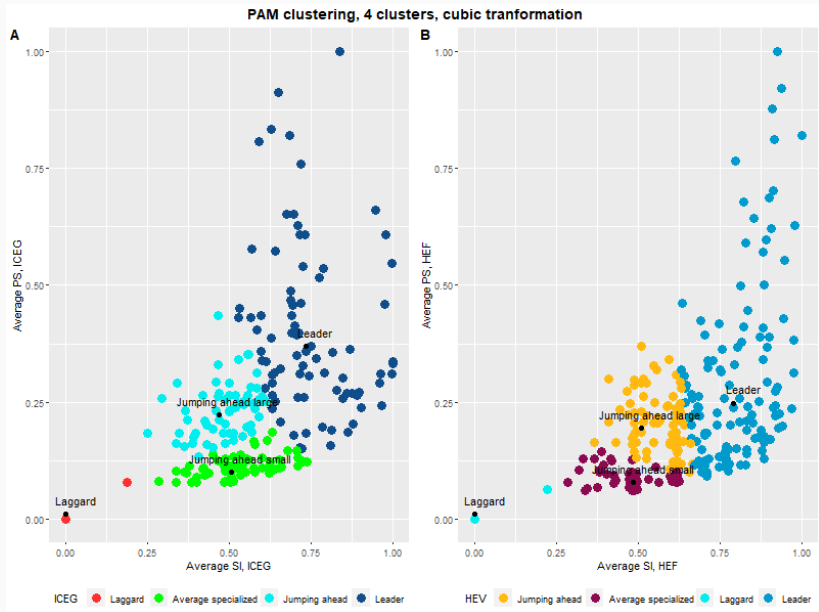
5 clusters



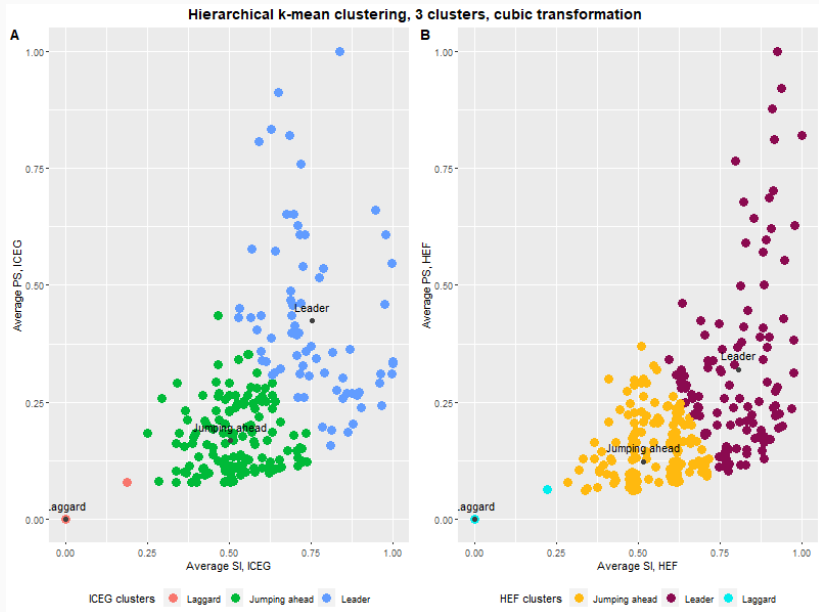
Partitioning Around Medoids (PAM), 3 clusters



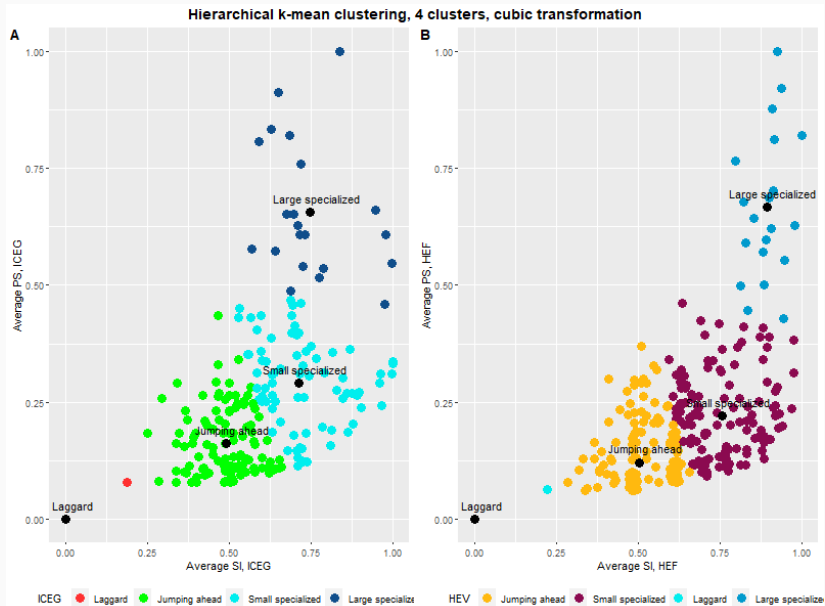
Partitioning Around Medoids (PAM), 4 clusters



Hierarchical K-means, 3 clusters













Hierarchical K-means, 4 clusters



References

- 
- Aghion, Philippe, Antoine Dechezleprêtre, David Hemous, Ralf Martin, and John Van Reenen (2016). “Carbon taxes, path dependency, and directed technical change: Evidence from the auto industry”. In: *Journal of Political Economy* 124(1), pp. 1–51.
- 
- Barbieri, Nicola, Alberto Marzucchi, Ugo Rizzo, et al. (2021). *Green technologies, complementarities, and policy*. Tech. rep. SEEDS, Sustainability Environmental Economics and Dynamics Studies.
- 
- Barbieri, Nicolò, Alberto Marzucchi, and Ugo Rizzo (2020). “Knowledge sources and impacts on subsequent inventions: Do green technologies differ from non-green ones?” In: *Research Policy* 49(2), p. 103901.
- 
- Borgstedt, Philipp, Bastian Neyer, and Gerhard Schewe (2017). “Paving the road to electric vehicles—A patent analysis of the automotive supply industry”. In: *Journal of Cleaner Production* 167, pp. 75–87.
- 
- Breschi, Stefano, Francesco Lissoni, and Franco Malerba (2003). “Knowledge-relatedness in firm technological diversification”. In: *Research policy* 32(1), pp. 69–87.

-  Dijk, Marc and Masaru Yarime (2010). “The emergence of hybrid-electric cars: Innovation path creation through co-evolution of supply and demand”. In: *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 77(8), pp. 1371–1390.
-  Dosi, Giovanni (1988). “Sources, procedures, and microeconomic effects of innovation”. In: *Journal of economic literature*, pp. 1120–1171.
-  Dosi, Giovanni and Richard R Nelson (2010). “Technical change and industrial dynamics as evolutionary processes”. In: *Handbook of the Economics of Innovation* 1, pp. 51–127.
-  Faria, Lourenco GD and Maj M Andersen (2017). “Sectoral patterns versus firm-level heterogeneity-The dynamics of eco-innovation strategies in the automotive sector”. In: *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 117, pp. 266–281.
-  Oltra, Vanessa and Maïder Saint Jean (2009). “Variety of technological trajectories in low emission vehicles (LEVs): a patent data analysis”. In: *Journal of Cleaner production* 17(2), pp. 201–213.

-  Quatraro, Francesco and Alessandra Scandura (2019). “Academic inventors and the antecedents of green technologies. A regional analysis of Italian patent data”. In: *Ecological Economics* 156, pp. 247–263.
-  Rizzi, Francesco, Eleonora Annunziata, Guglielmo Liberati, and Marco Frey (2014). “Technological trajectories in the automotive industry: are hydrogen technologies still a possibility?” In: *Journal of Cleaner Production* 66, pp. 328–336.
-  Sick, Nathalie, Ann-Marie Nienaber, Bernd Liesenkötter, Nicole vom Stein, Gerhard Schewe, and Jens Leker (2016). “The legend about sailing ship effects–Is it true or false? The example of cleaner propulsion technologies diffusion in the automotive industry”. In: *Journal of Cleaner Production* 137, pp. 405–413.
-  Simon, Herbert A (1991). “The architecture of complexity”. In: *Facets of systems science*. Springer, pp. 457–476.
-  Soete, Luc (1987). “The impact of technological innovation on international trade patterns: the evidence reconsidered”. In: *Research policy* 16(2-4), pp. 101–130.



Veefkind, Victor, J Hurtado-Albir, Stefano Angelucci,

Konstantinos Karachalios, and Nikolaus Thumm (2012). “A new EPO classification scheme for climate change mitigation technologies”.

In: *World Patent Information* 34(2), pp. 106–111.



Winter, Sidney (1998). “Knowledge and competence as strategic

assets”. In: *The strategic management of intellectual capital* 187,

p. 37.



Yuan, Xiaodong and Yuchen Cai (2021). “Forecasting the development trend of low emission vehicle technologies: Based on patent data”.

In: *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 166, p. 120651.