Directed Technical Change: Evidence from U.S. Rural Electrification

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Motivation

- Technical progress is a key force in the process of growth and structural change
 - Economic history can shed light on the nature of technological progress
 - One key dimension is directed technical change—the responsiveness of innovation to economic incentives, e.g. factor prices
 - Active area of research with key recent contributions, but still a lot to learn
- This paper: directed technical change in response to rural electrification
 - Interesting context to assess whether innovation is responsive to local conditions
 - Agricultural innovations were local, most agricultural patents came from rural counties
 - We shed some light on the nature of technological progress
 - Link a general-purpose technology (electricity) to induced innovation and embodied technical change (in farm machinery)
 - Explore the scope and conditions of induced innovation

Related Literature and Contributions

- Directed technological change (Olmstead and Rhode, 1993; Newell et al, 1999; Popp, 2002; Finkelstein; 2004; Acemoglu and Linn, 2004 Acemoglu et al 2012; Hanlon 2015; San, 2021)
 - We add to previous evidence by studying a different context
 - > We study innovations induced by new energy source, instead of factor availability
 - Key role of local conditions (spatial variation in electricity access and product mix)
- Electrification
 - Impacts on economic growth, productivity, labor markets, structural change (e.g., David, 1990; World Bank, 2008; Olanrele, 2020; Fiszbein et al., 2020; Vidart, 2024)
 - Effects on the rural sector (Kitchens and Fishback, 2015; Lewis and Severnini, 2020)
 - Developing countries (Burlig and Preonas, 2021; Dinkelman, 2011; Lee et al., 2020)
 - We directly examine the effects of electricity on innovation (implicitly an important mechanism in previous studies)

- Agricultural innovation
 - ▶ We add to previous evidence of remarkable dynamism (Olmstead and Rhode, 2008)

What we do

We study how access to electricity affected the direction of the technical change

We address endogeneity of local conditions using cross-county and cross-product variation in diff-in-diff approach (Rajan & Zingales, 1998; Ciccone & Papaioannou, 2023)

▶ We identify the impacts of local access to electricity on agricultural innovation

- New GPT created wide array of potential applications across farm products —> great context to study the scope and conditions of induced innovation
- Direct evidence on a key mechanism underlying the widespread economic effects of electricity documented in previous studies
- ▶ We find heterogeneous effects, consistent with literature on induced innovation
 - Impacts were stronger where market access was larger and where labor costs were higher

Roadmap

Background

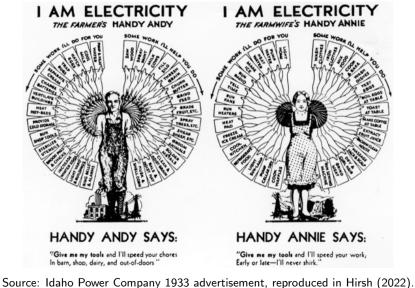
Empirical Strategy and Data

- Main Results
- Output Results
- Further Analysis

Historical Background: Electricity on Farms

- A lot of emphasis on the role of electrification within the household (Greenwood et al. 2005; Bailey and Collins, 2011; Lewis, 2018)
- Electricity improved farm productivity (Kitchens and Fishback, 2015; Lewis and Severnini, 2020; Hirsh, 2022)
 - electric milking and cooled storage
 - electric heaters and lights for hens and eggs
 - grain elevators
 - irrigation
- Wide array of potential applications across farm products in response to new GPT were publicized by electricity companies and REA
- Innovations in electric farm machinery started early; most attempts did not materialize, but many did
 - 30 profitable uses of electricity on farms in 1913 emphasized by NELA
 - 200+ profitable uses documented in 1930 (NELA-CREA)

Historical Background: Electricity on Farms



(2022).

Conceptual Background: Directed Technical Change

- Key idea: innovations depend on their profitability
- Captured in a simple model adapted from Acemoglu (2002)
 - Two types of machines: complementary with labor or with energy
 - "Weak induced-bias hypothesis": energy abundance (access to electricity) leads to more energy-intensive innovations... as net effect from two forces:
 - Price effect: more invention in machines that complement the scarce factor
 - Market size effect: more invention in machines that complement the abundant factor
 - Heterogeneous effects: scope and limits of induced innovation
 - Smaller effects if expanding production reduces prices, which is less likely if agricultural products are commodities
 - Incentives stronger when labor is scarcer or more expensive

Roadmap

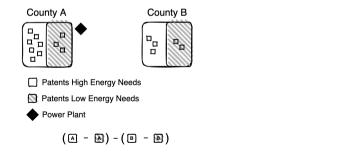
Background

Empirical Strategy and Data

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Empirical Strategy (I): Basic Idea

- We want to understand whether access to cheap electricity directed innovation towards electricity in agricultural activities that would get larger benefits from it
 - We cannot just compare counties with and without cheaper electricity because the location of power plants may have been demand-driven
 - We leverage cross-county cross-product variation, as in cross-country cross-industry approaches (Rajan and Zingales, 1998; Ciccone and Papaioannou, 2023)



Empirical Strategy (II): Difference-in-differences

Effect on total and electric patents

 $\Delta(y)_{ict} = \gamma_t \cdot \text{Energy intensity}_{i,0} \cdot Prox_c + \theta_{it} + \theta_{ct} + \epsilon_{ict}$ (1)

- i denotes a crop and c a county.
- Δ(y)_{ict} is the difference in the total number of patents (or electric patents) between a given 5-year period relative to 1890–1895
- Energy intensity_{i,0} measures the crop-specific initial share of patents that required energy in 1850-1905
- Prox_c is dummy variable if the county is less than 70 km away from the nearest power plant
- γ_t measures the differential impact of access to electricity on agricultural
 innovation for a specific crop given its location
- ▶ θ_{it} and θ_{ct} are crop and county FE

Empirical Strategy (III): Triple difference

Differential effect on electric patents

 $\Delta(y)_{icet} = \gamma_t \cdot \text{Energy intensity}_{i,0} \cdot Prox_c \cdot Electric_e + \theta_{it} + \theta_{ct} + \theta_{et} + \epsilon_{icet}$ (2)

where Electric_e is a dummy that denotes if the patents are electric or not.

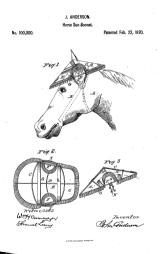
- \triangleright θ_e are electric patents fixed effects.
- Δ(y)_{icet} corresponds to the change in the total number of electric/non-electric patents' applications between each 5-years period relative to 1890-1895 in each country and for each crop.
- > γ_t measures the differential impact of the access of electricity on the electric agricultural innovation compared to non-electric innovations for a specific crop given its location.

Measuring Agricultural Innovation

 Data from the United States Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) through Google Patents

- Focus on innovations related to agriculture CPC classes A01B, A01C, A01G, A01H, A01K, and A01J (restricted to milk)
- We identify electrical patents and specific crops with a text search algorithm (with random manual checks for verification)
- Links with HistPat dataset (Petralia et al, 2016) to obtain geographical locations
- In our analysis, we use citations as a proxy for quality and distinguish between new and old innovators

Examples (I): Horse Sun-Bonnet



United States Patent Office.

JOHN ANDERSON, OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

Letters Patent No. 100,000, dated February 22, 1870.

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altable frame work, D, which is covered with easth, 5, or other unitable material. F F are the apertures in the shield through which the hange's ears protingle

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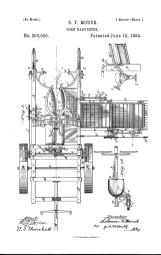
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Witnesses: Ww. H. CAMMETER. SAMUEL LOWIS.

(b) Text

(a) Image

Examples (II): Corn Harvester



(c) Image

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

SOLOMON F. MOUCK, OF EMPIRE, COLORADO,

CORN-HARVESTER

SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 300,000, dated June 10, 1884. Analysis and Antist 193, 120 makels

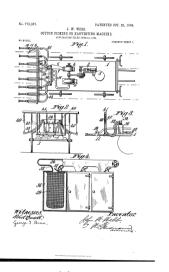
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(d) Text

Examples (III): Cotton Picker



No. 778,897.

Patented October 25, 1994.

UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE,

JOHN W. WEBB, OF GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI.

COTTON PICKING OR HARVESTING MACHINE.

SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 773,357, doted October 23, 1004. Architecture End Science, 16, 2064. Solid No. 173,085. (Brandal)

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Measuring Crop Energy Needs

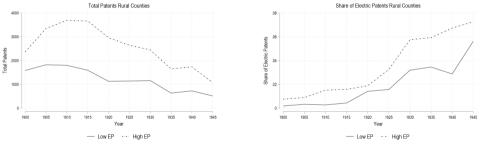
- To construct measures for crop-level energy-intensity (Energy Intensity_{i,0}), we use the same patents data
- We search for energy-related terms ("steam," "horsepower") before rural electrification (1850-1905)
- We calculate the fraction of patents associated to each each agricultural product that has energy-related terms

Measuring Crop Energy Needs

Crop	Main Energy Need Measure	Alternative I	Measures for Ene	ergy Needs	Proportion of Patents in 1910-1940
	Share Energy 2 1850-1905	Share Energy 2 1850-1890	Share Energy 2 1850-1870	Share Energy 1850-1890	
Milk	0.286	0.150	0.023	0.218	1.34%
Animal husbandry	0.074	0.047	0.006	0.113	16.06%
Nuts	0.059	0.059	0	0.294	0.20%
No-Crop	0.051	0.038	0.017	0.199	29.80%
Strawberry	0.047	0.028	0	0.066	0.40%
Wheat	0.030	0.030	0.010	0.120	0.50%
Tobacco	0.023	0.008	0	0.038	0.43%
Onion	0.022	0.022	0	0.043	0.56%
Rice	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.27%
Grass	0.017	0.010	0.004	0.101	7.92%
Grape	0.012	0.006	0	0.069	2.78%
Cotton	0.008	0.006	0.003	0.041	7.19%
Grain	0.007	0.005	0.002	0.107	9.37%
Potato	0.006	0.002	0.001	0.061	2.80%
Corn	0.004	0.003	0.001	0.059	11.51%
Hay	0.004	0.002	0.001	0.107	5.82%
Apple	0	0	0	0.045	0.37%
Asparagus	0	0	0	0	0.14%
Bean	0	0	0	0.083	1.28%
Celery	0	0	0	0	0.13%
Citrus	0	0	0	0	0.19%
Cucumber	0	0	0	0.200	0.03%
Lettuce	0	0	0	0	0.08%
Melon	0	0	0	0	0.05%
Oats	0	0	0	0.037	0.15%
Rye	0	0	0	0	0.04%
Sugarbeet	0	0	0	0	0.21%
Sugarcane	0	0	0	0.103	0.20%
Tomato	0	0	0	0	0.19%

Suggestive Time Pattern in Patents by Crop Group

Figure: Patents in Rural Counties by Initial Energy Intensity



(a) Total Patents

(b) Share Electric Patents

- High EP: main energy need measure above 0.025
- Low EP: main energy need measure below 0.025

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Measuring Proximity to Electricity Sources

To proxy for access to electricy $(Prox_c)$, we use various county-level measures of proximity to electric power sources

- distance to the nearest large hydroppower plant in 1912 (from Fiszbein, Lafortune, Lewis, and Tessada, 2020)
- distance to electric power grid in 1935 (from Fishback and Kitchens, 2015)
- in robustness checks, uses electricity capacity by county in 1911 and 1919 (from Vidart, 2024)

Proximity to Electricity (1912)

Figure: Location of Power Plants in 1912



Source: Census of Electrical Industries 1912, digitized by Fiszbein, Lafortune, Lewis and Tessada (2020)

Proximity to Electricity (1935)

Figure: Location of Electric Power Grid and Plants in 1935



Source: Kitchens and Fishback (2015), constructed with data from the Federal Power Commission

Suggestive Evidence of Correlation Between Drivers and Innovation

	% Electric Patents (1)	% Electric Patents (2)	% Electric Patents (3)
Crop Energy Intensity 1850-1905	0.965*** (0.094)		
County with close plant in 1912	. ,	0.016*** (0.005)	
County with close plant in 1935			0.016*** (0.005)
Ν	8,883	8,883	8,883
Crop FE	×	1	1
County FE	1	×	×
Year FE	1	1	1

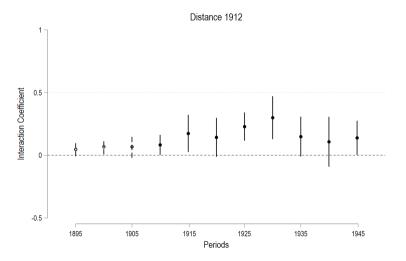
Roadmap

Background

Empirical Strategy and Data

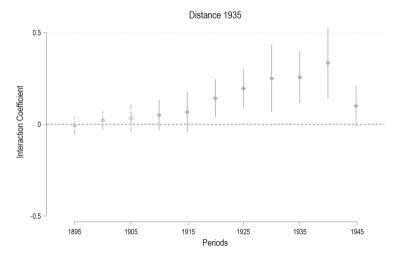
Main Results

- Output Results
- Further Analysis



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Cross-Section Results



Pooled Regression

Table: Change in number of patents by 5-year periods relative to 1890-1895

	Electric (1)	Non-Electric (2)	Electric (3)	Non-Electric (4)
Within 70km of a plant*Energy intensity	0.199*** (0.037)	0.219 (0.207)		
Log Inv. Dist. to nearest plant*Energy intensity	、 ,		0.086*** (0.020)	0.188* (0.100)
Mean change for counties more than 70km away	0.006	-0.042	0.006	-0.042
Crop FE	1	1	1	1
County FE	1	1	1	1
Year FE	1	1	1	1
Ν	64182	64182	64182	64182

Differential impact on electric patents

Table: Differential effect on electric patents

	$\Delta(Patents)$ (1)	$\Delta(Patents)$ (2)
Within 70km of power plant *Energy Intensity*Electric Log Inverse Distance to plant *Energy Intensity*Electric	0.402** (0.190)	0.085 (0.091)
Ν	128364	128364

Roadmap

Background

Empirical Strategy and Data

- Main Results
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Use electricity

Farms reporting		(1) Electricity	(2) Electric motors	(3) Motor trucks	(4) Tractors
Within 70 km of pov	ver plant	189.256*** (18.106)	75.643*** (8.932)	131.407*** (14.729)	81.472*** (16.499)
	Electricity	(1) / expenditure	(2) Machine expenditure	(3) N Motor trucks	(4) N electric m

Agriculture Output: Acreage - Pooled OLS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Δ output	$\Delta\%$ output	$\Delta\%$ output 2	Δ Ln(output)
Within 70km of power	6290.886***	175.704**	-185.672	0.469***
plant *Energy Intensity	(1772.124)	(77.255)	(189.797)	(0.091)
Crop FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
County FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES
Ν	148302	100245	148302	148302

Roadmap

Background

Empirical Strategy and Data

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Further Analysis

- Types of activity
- Identity of Inventors

- Impactful Patents
- Human Capital

Electric Patents by Type of Activity

	(1) Pre-Harvest	(2) Post-Harvest	(3) In pictures	(4) Out of pictures
Within 70km of power	0.033**	0.130***	0.149***	0.047**
plant *Energy Intensity	(0.015)	(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.014)
Crop FE	1	1	1	1
County FE	1	\checkmark	1	1
Year FE	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	1
N	64182	64182	64182	64182

Terms indicating post-harvest activities: grind; harrow; harvest; mow; pack; pump.

Patenting by whom?

	(1) Old inventors	(2) New inventors	(3) Assigned	(4) Non-Assigned
Within 70km of power	0.039***	0.159***	0.069***	0.130***
plant *Energy Intensity	(0.013)	(0.034)	(0.021)	(0.030)
Crop FE	1	✓	1	1
County FE	1	1	1	1
Year FE	1	\checkmark	1	1
Ν	64182	64182	64182	64182

Irrelevant patenting?

	More than 10 cites		More than 5 cites		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Within 70km of power	0.052***		0.109***		
plant *Energy Intensity	(0.014)		(0.023)		
Log Inverse Distance to		0.027***		0.056***	
plant*Energy Intensity		(0.007)		(0.013)	
Crop FE	1	1	1	1	
County FE	1	1	1	1	
Year FE	1	1	1	1	
Ν	64182	64182	64182	64182	

Human Capital

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	Dependent Variable: Electrical Paten			
Variable capturing human capital:	Experimental Stations	Engineers	Rural Colleges	
Within 70km of power plant $ imes$	0.199***	0.175***	0.441**	
Energy Intensity	(0.037)	(0.045)	(0.144)	
Energy Intensity $ imes$	-0.042	0.000	0.107	
Variable	(0.386)	(0.001)	(0.071)	
Within 70km of power plant $ imes$	0.035	0.000	0.168*	
Energy Intensity $ imes$	(0.473)	(0.001)	(0.089)	
Variable				
Crop FE	 ✓ 	1	1	
County FE	1	1	1	
Year FE	1	1	1	
Ν	64,182	56,694	64,140	

Concluding Remarks

- Provide an empirical test of the directed technological change where even local incentives appear to matter
- Local availability of cheaper electricity increases electric patenting, no significant effects for non-electric patents.
 - Mostly in post-harvest activities; tasks where electricity was anticipated to be useful
 - Mostly by new inventors and non-assigned
 - Visible even among highly-cited
- Heterogeneity exercises
 - Larger impacts in bigger markets and those with more labor shortages
 - No complementary role for education or state interventions
- One additional channel through which electrification can have affected local economic outcomes. May have impacted subsequently labor markets, still to explore.

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Suggestive Evidence Over Time

Period:	1910-1915 (1)	1915-1920 (2)	1920-1925 (3)	1925-1930 (4)	1930-1935 (5)	1935-1940 (6)	1940-1945 (7)	1945-195 (8)
Panel A: By energy in	. ,	. ,						(-)
Energy Intensity	0.327*** (0.102)	0.355*** (0.112)	0.548** (0.245)	0.671*** (0.198)	0.984*** (0.277)	1.058*** (0.401)	2.169*** (0.486)	1.663*** (0.502)
County and Year FE	Ì 🖌 🍐	 I 	` /	` /	Ì 🗸 '	Ì 🖌 🍐	Ì 🗸 '	Ì 🗸 '
Panel B: By whether	,				0.005*	0.020*	0.000	0.016
Plant within 70km in 1912	0.000 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	0.012 (0.009)	0.026** (0.011)	0.025* (0.015)	0.032* (0.018)	-0.008 (0.017)	0.016 (0.024)
Panel C: By whether	the county ha	d a power pla	nt within 70kı	m in 1935				
Plant within	0.007	-0.008	0.015**	0.026***	0.033**	0.039**	0.037**	-0.012
70km in 1935	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.025)
Crop and Year FE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Pooled Regression All patents

Table: Change in number of patents by 5-year periods relative to 1890-1895

	Electric	Non-Electric	Electric	Non-Electric
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Within 70km of a plant*Energy intensity Log Inv. Dist. to nearest plant*Energy intensity	0.122*** (0.023)	0.131 (0.171)	0.058*** (0.020)	0.165* (0.100)
Mean change for counties more than 70km away	0.006	-0.042	0.006	-0.042
Crop FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
County FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Year FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	74244	74244	74244	74244

Robustness checks (I): alternative specifications

	Δ Electric Patents
Panel A: Base year as control	
Within 70km of power plant *Energy Intensity	0.205***
	(0.036)
Ν	64,182
Panel B: Change Base Period	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.200***
	(0.036)
Ν	64,182
Panel C: County-crop clusters	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.199***
, ,	(0.036)
Ν	64,182

Robustness checks (II): geography

	Δ Electric Patents
Panel D: County Outliers	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.192***
	(0.037)
Ν	63,252
Panel E: Excluding extremely Close Counties	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.223***
	(0.047)
Ν	50,724
Panel F: Water Patents	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.090
	(0.073)
Ν	64,182

Robustness checks (III): outliers, alternative measures of intensity

	Δ Electric Patents
Panel G: Crop Outliers	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity N Panel H: Share Energy 2 1850-1870	0.197*** (0.037) 62,371
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity N Panel I: Share Energy 1 1850-1890	0.679*** (0.195) 64,182
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity N	0.072*** (0.022) 64,182

Robustness checks (IV): excluding salient products

	Δ Electric Patents
Panel J: Without Animal Husbandry	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.151***
Ν	(0.035) 56,460
Panel K: Without Milk	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.270***
Ν	(0.074) 63,102
Panel L: Without No-Crop	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity	0.205***
	(0.041)
Ν	53,316

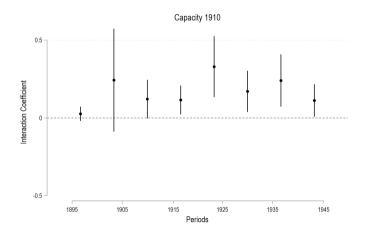
Robustness checks (V): alternative groupings

	Δ Electric Patents
Panel M: Only large groups 1850-1905	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity N	0.181*** (0.037) 51,648
Panel N: Grouping marginal crops only 1850-1905	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity N	0.199*** (0.037) 61,626
Panel O: Grouping by ICC	
Within 70km of plant * Energy Intensity N	0.200*** (0.037) 62,736

Robustness checks (VI):

Alternative measure of proximity in 1910 (from Vidart, 2024)

Figure: Effect of electricity on agricultural electric innovations in rural counties

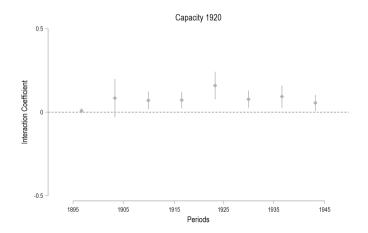


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Robustness checks (VII)

Alternative measure of proximity in 1920 (from Vidart, 2024)

Figure: Effect of electricity on agricultural electric innovations in rural counties



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Robustness checks (VIII)

Alternative measure of proximity (from Vidart, 2024), pooling across periods

Table: Change in number of patents by 5-year periods relative to 1890-1895

	Electric (1)	Non-Electric (2)	Electric (3)	Non-Electric (4)
Capacity	0.088***	0.086		
*Energy intensity	(0.021)	(0.064)		
Change in			0.142***	0.128
capacity*Energy intensity			(0.031)	(0.097)
Crop FE	1	1	1	1
County FE	1	1	1	1
Year FE	1	1	1	1
Ν	64,182	64,182	64,182	64,182