



**Copenhagen  
Business School**  
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

# **Department of Economics**

**Copenhagen Business School**

**Working paper 18-2020**

## **Energy Network Innovation for Green Transition: Economic Issues and Regulatory Options**

Tooraj Jamasb  
Manuel Llorca  
Leonardo Meeus  
Tim Schittekatte



**CBS**

DEPARTMENT OF  
ECONOMICS

COPENHAGEN  
BUSINESS SCHOOL



European  
University  
Institute

ROBERT  
SCHUMAN  
CENTRE FOR  
ADVANCED  
STUDIES

**FSR** ENERGY &  
CLIMATE  
Florence School of Regulation

**CSEI Working Paper 2020-15**

**CBS Department of Economics 18-2020**

## WORKING PAPER

Copenhagen School of Energy Infrastructure | CSEI

# Energy Network Innovation for Green Transition: Economic Issues and Regulatory Options

*Tooraj Jamasb*

*Manuel Llorca*

*Leonardo Meeus*

*Tim Schittekatte*



# Energy Network Innovation for Green Transition: Economic Issues and Regulatory Options

Tooraj Jamasb<sup>a,\*†</sup>, Manuel Llorca<sup>a,†</sup>, Leonardo Meeus<sup>b,c</sup>, Tim Schittekatte<sup>b,c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Copenhagen School of Energy Infrastructure (CSEI), Department of Economics,  
Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

<sup>b</sup> Florence School of Regulation (FSR), Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies,  
European University Institute, Italy

<sup>c</sup> Vlerick Energy Centre, Vlerick Business School, Belgium

## Abstract

In this age of low-cost capital and stimulus packages, is it the best time to heavily invest in tomorrow's energy networks and research infrastructure? In the academic literature it is widely acknowledged that innovation is key to decarbonise the energy sector and foster sustainable development. However, post liberalisation has been struggling to promote R&D and innovation. Is this the case of business, regulatory, or policy failure, or are there other factors involved? In this paper, we discuss the reasons for slow uptake of new technologies in energy networks and propose some remedies for the European context, where innovation in the area of energy networks is crucial for the implementation of the Green Transition. The solutions to address this shortfall need to be considered in an overarching manner. The specific points raised here are based on incentive regulation, the establishment of competitive funding models like Ofgem's Low Carbon Network Fund and a large European collaborative research hub.

**Keywords:** Energy Network Infrastructure; European Green Deal; Innovation; Research and Development.

**JEL classification :** L5, L9, O3, Q4, Q5.

---

\* Corresponding author: Copenhagen Business School, Department of Economics, Porcelænshaven 16A, 2000 Frederiksberg, Denmark. Tel. +45 3815 2223. Email: tj.eco@cbs.dk.

Acknowledgements: The authors acknowledge the useful and thorough comments from Grace McLoughlin, Susanne Nies, Nicolò Rossetto, Simon Skillings, and Christoph von dem Bussche. The authors are grateful to the participants at the online consultation and the round table organised by FSR and CSEI on 29 April 2020, and also to the panellists involved: Benoît Esnault (CRE), Signe Horn Rosted (Energinet), Joe Perkins (Ofgem), Riccardo Vailati (ARERA) and Mark van Stiphout (DG ENER).

† Financial support from the Copenhagen School of Energy Infrastructure (CSEI) is acknowledged. The activities of CSEI are funded jointly in cooperation between CBS and partners from the energy sector.

## 1. Background

The European Green Deal is an ambitious initiative launched in November 2019 and endorsed by the European Parliament in January 2020. It encompasses a series of policies to achieve the objective of making Europe the first climate-neutral continent by 2050. EU's commitment to reach long-term full decarbonisation targets has been demonstrated before by endeavours such as the Ten-Year Network Development Plans (TYNDPs). These are scenarios jointly developed by the European Network of Transmission System Operators for Electricity (ENTSO-E) and the European Network of Transmission System Operators for Gas (ENTSO-G). The interaction between electricity and gas is recent and still limited, but TYNDPs represent a prominent effort to comprehensively describe the interactions between these energy networks and appraise the development of new infrastructures in a future decarbonised hybrid energy system (ENTSO-E and ENTSOG, 2019).

The development of new technologies along with economic incentives and behavioural changes are key to effectively implement the green transition towards an environmentally sustainable society. We cannot achieve the decarbonisation targets by only relying on the existing technologies and solutions. We need to develop new solutions through innovation.<sup>1</sup> Technological progress allows more ambitious targets to be set and achieved at lower cost. However, it is worth to remember that technological progress depends on R&D spending and innovation endeavours, which seems to call for the transition of innovation projects to 'business as usual'.<sup>2</sup>

Energy R&D is lower than those of comparable industries such as telecommunications (Idea to Value, 2020). This is perhaps because regulation has not been focused enough on the quality of service and energy utilities have reduced investment in R&D in order to improve short-term profitability. The current levels of investments in innovation to decarbonise the energy sector and in particular in the networks are not sufficient for the challenges ahead. In order to promote and increase the effectiveness of innovation in the sector, the economic, regulatory, technical, and policy aspects and their interactions need to be analysed and better understood.

---

<sup>1</sup> "An innovation is the implementation of a new or significantly improved product (good or service), or process, a new marketing method, or a new organisational method in business practices, workplace organisation or external relations" (OECD/Eurostat, 2005, para. 146).

<sup>2</sup> "The term R&D covers three types of activity: *basic research*, *applied research* and *experimental development*. *Basic research* is experimental or theoretical work undertaken primarily to acquire new knowledge of the underlying foundation of phenomena and observable facts, without any particular application or use in view. *Applied research* is original investigation undertaken in order to acquire new knowledge. It is, however, directed primarily towards a specific, practical aim or objective. *Experimental development* is systematic work, drawing on knowledge gained from research and practical experience and producing additional knowledge, which is directed to producing new products or processes or to improving existing products or processes" (OECD, 2015, p.29).

At the time of the liberalisation of the energy industry in the 1990s, when the primary objective of the reform programs was to achieve cost efficiency, the importance of R&D and innovation was mostly downplayed. It was expected that the new competitive markets would efficiently determine the type and amount of R&D and innovation needed (IEA, 1999; USHR, 1998). However, this did not happen and a sharp reduction in innovation activities took place (Jamash and Pollitt, 2015). This is evidenced by a decrease in the annual average of patent applications of major UK companies, namely, non-nuclear generation companies, the Electricity Council (posteriorly AEA Technology) and the UK Atomic Energy Authority, from 11 to 2.9, 10.5 to 2.6 and 108 to 9 in the period 1958-2009. With the emergence of the environmental concerns to the fore, new areas in need of innovation have evolved since the liberalisation of the energy sector.<sup>3</sup>

Some studies have examined whether the theoretical and empirical knowledge of the time could have predicted the subsequent collapse of innovative activities in the sector (Jamash and Pollitt, 2008, 2011, 2015). These studies also found that the productivity of R&D in energy and innovative output seemed to have enhanced, possibly due to more emphasis on near-market and applied research. In recent years, while government RD&D (Research, Development, and Demonstration) spending has globally increased (but not for Europe), it is not keeping up with the pace of GDP growth (IEA, 2019a). Moreover, when looking at energy sector investments in general, we should remember that these can be in the form of “traditional” or “dumb” assets. Therefore, energy spending figures might not totally be reflecting expenditure in R&D and innovation. Thus, it becomes evident that energy utilities have reduced their R&D investment, which maybe is somewhat related to a lack of public spending.<sup>4</sup>

The main objective of this paper is to analyse the reasons for the slow pace of innovation in the energy networks and how this innovation can be incentivised and motivated. The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 describes some aspects about innovation from a business and economic perspective. Section 3 discusses approaches to promote energy R&D and innovation in Europe. Section 4 is conclusions.

## **2. Insights from Theory**

The propensity and drivers of innovation in regulated natural monopoly energy networks differs from those of firms operating in competitive markets. In economics, traditionally

---

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that the liberalisation of the sector might have led to some outsourcing of R&D. This implies that, for instance, part of the R&D spending relevant for energy networks can happen in companies that do not directly pertain to the energy utilities sector and hence being ‘accounted’ as spending in other industries (e.g., electronic and electrical equipment).

<sup>4</sup> This can be thought of as a ‘crowding-in’ effect. The crowding-in effect can be described as a situation in which public spending stimulates investment in productive capacity, which results in boosting real private spending (Friedman, 1978).

there is a difference between the views of Schumpeter and Arrow regarding the influence of competition on innovation. The Schumpeterian opinion is that monopolies favour innovation while Arrow defended that competition favours innovation. It follows from the first view point that monopolies could indefinitely enjoy positive profits and hence benefit from their R&D investment. If that is not the case, and monopolistic positions do not encourage innovation, then regulation should play an active role to address this drawback.

In order to understand the specific difficulties to maintaining energy R&D and innovation activities in the energy utilities, it is important to detail some relevant economic features of the energy sector:

- The energy sector is capital intensive and the sunk costs are very large.
- Moreover, the economic life of the energy assets is typically long. In addition, energy R&D is costly and requires scale. Nevertheless, once rolled out on wider scale it can be most cost effective than traditional alternatives.
- Demand for energy is a derived demand, meaning that energy consumption is not an objective in itself, and individuals and companies only demand energy to fulfil energy services.
- Traditionally, and contrarily to gas, electricity has been a non-storable commodity that required matching generation to demand.
- Price elasticity is low, while income elasticity is high (in Least Developed Countries).
- Demand for energy in recent years has grown slowly or even slightly declined.
- However, the value of energy/electricity to the users has never been higher.
- Investment by energy firms in innovation can have substantial economic and environmental benefits.
- Firms engage in innovation for a variety of reasons.

Until the 1980s, neoclassical economics, exemplified by the Solow-Swan model (Solow, 1956; Swan, 1956), explained long-run economic growth based on the accumulation of physical capital and exogenous factors. The theory of endogenous economic growth set out in the mid-1980s established that economic growth is mainly driven by technological change and started to consider it as an element internal to the growth dynamic (see, e.g. Romer, 1990). The literature views this technological change as a three-step process (namely, invention, innovation, and diffusion) that captures the deployment of new and thriving technologies (Schumpeter, 1939; Jaffe and Stavins, 1995). In particular, the second step in the technological change process, innovation, is normally identified as one of the foremost factors of business survival, competitiveness, economic growth and employment (Cooke et al., 2000; Buesa et al., 2010). According to Grant and Jordan (2015, p.367) this concept can be defined as “the initial commercialization of invention

by producing and marketing a new good or service or by using a new method of production”.

Although innovation is a means to economic growth, it is not an automatic and immediate step. In fact, the transition (or rather the gap) between invention and commercial application is commonly referred as the ‘valley of death’ in the literature on technology innovation and transfer (Grubb, 2014). In the context of energy networks, an innovation gap may arise due to the long processes for network companies to trial and then adopt new innovative solutions, which presents challenges for start-ups finances in the early years. Despite this problem in the central phases of the innovation chain, R&D is essential if we aim to stimulate and manage the process of growth.<sup>5</sup> Although it can imply an advantage in competitive market setting, R&D also have some characteristics of public goods and can lead to market failures (Ferguson and Ferguson, 1994). These failures can be described in terms of the difference of public and private discount rates. In R&D and innovation, private discount rates are higher than public discount rates due to outcome uncertainty and the capacity of private investors to capture the benefits (Jamasp and Pollitt, 2015).

Energy R&D investment is no exception to this issue but presents some specific features worth describing. Indeed, for reasons related to the characteristics of a liberalised sector presented above, occurrence of market failure in energy R&D is prevalent. For instance, Transmission System Operators (TSOs) and Distribution System Operators (DSOs) are regulated businesses that cannot gain competitive advantage from innovation, unless incentive-based regulation based on Opex, incentivises them to do so. In that context, an ‘open innovation’ system in which both internal and external R&D may generate value for the companies can be an appealing option from the society point of view.

Prior to liberalisation of the sector in the 1990s, the energy sector was generally seen to provide a public service. After the reforms, energy was considered as a commodity and utilities including network companies reduced their R&D investment due to regulatory uncertainty. Recently, the perception of energy is gradually changing from a commodity to a service, which may also have an impact on R&D spending (Jamasp and Llorca, 2019). As abovementioned, the demand for energy has recently stagnated or even dropped, but the current nature of energy services delivered has greatly increased value of the energy for users (and hence consumer surplus). R&D usually attempts to yield technological progress in a cost-efficient way. However, considering the increase in consumer surplus and the economic and social benefits from a system perspective, a value-based approach to investing in R&D and innovation should be adopted.

---

<sup>5</sup> R&D represents the efforts to achieve technological progress through the three-step process defined before.

The unbundling of the energy sector implies the vertical separation of the sector in competitive (generation and retail) and regulated (transmission and distribution) segments. The potentially competitive and regulated activities of the utilities sector represent rather different challenges for R&D and innovation (Jamash and Pollitt, 2008, 2011, 2015; Jamash et al., 2008). It is noteworthy that unbundling has likely reduced the economies of coordination in electricity sector. The presence of vertically integrated utilities not only involves some economies of coordination, but it also increases the size of the utilities which implies the possibility of larger R&D expenditure. Generally, only large firms and organisations can undertake substantial energy R&D. This is evidenced by the literature, which shows a positive correlation between firms' size and R&D expenditure (Cohen and Klepper, 1996). The vertical separation of energy utilities after liberalisation reduced the size of the utilities, which seems to be one of the reasons under the decline in energy networks innovation. Moreover, in the absence of competitive markets, regulated monopolies cannot become bankrupt. In regulated firms, lower efficiency relative to their peers does not always have immediate consequences. On the other hand, in a perfectly competitive market even small differences can force worst performing firms out of the market altogether.

The concept of induced innovation in the innovation literature on the energy sector can be viewed as the counterpart to endogenous growth in the macroeconomic literature. It is a key innovation policy issue because it is not only a contributor to economic growth but has also become a crucial factor to achieve sustainable development and low carbon energy use. In regulated networks it is therefore important to promote innovation. However, in general, the short-term nature of network price controls can mean that reducing R&D investments is an effective way of improving short-term profitability, though this may come at the expense of networks in the long-term as innovation will be implemented at a much slower rate (Bauknecht, 2011).

In conclusion, there is a range of concepts from the economics literature that may be relevant to discuss the slow pace of innovation in energy networks. Table 1 attempts to summarise the most relevant of them and presents possible repercussions for the TSOs and DSOs setting in Europe.



**Table 1: Summary of relevant economic issues to the case of DSOs and TSOs in Europe**

<b>Relevant issues from economic perspective</b>	<b>Implications for TSOs and DSOs</b>
Technological change as a driver of economic growth	Public role to promote R&D efforts
Valley of death in innovation	Focus on widespread application of inventions
Prevalence of market failure in energy R&D	Promotion of open innovation
Increase in consumer surplus and economic and social benefits	Adoption of a ‘value-based’ approach in innovation funding
Vertical disintegration and relationship between firms’ size and R&D	Coordination to organise large R&D project initiatives
Short-term network price controls	Incentive-based rather than cost efficiency approaches

Additionally, political, regulatory, and economic uncertainties may affect the level of R&D spending in specific energy sectors or technologies that worth to be mentioned. We illustrate below how these uncertainties would impact investment in hydrogen-related infrastructure, which is deemed to play an important role in the Green Transition (see European Commission, 2020).

- General uncertainty on the national and European political agenda and strategies that can affect more to certain technologies or fields of research (e.g., methane pyrolysis or blue hydrogen).
- Uncertainty regarding cost recovery since a predictable framework is not in place (e.g., no regulatory framework for hydrogen network such as for example the Gas Directive for (natural gas) pipelines).
- Regulatory barriers like unbundling rules, third-party access, and tariffs (e.g., are TSOs allowed to operate a power-to-gas facility as a pilot project?).
- Uncertainty about the market demand and market behaviour, if there is no political signal and regulatory intervention (e.g., impact of the EU Emissions Trading System – EU ETS – prices and economic development).

### **3. How to Promote Energy R&D and Innovation in Europe?**

A report prepared for the European Commission and the Energy Infrastructure Forum 2019 recognises that there is a significant degree of similarity between national regulatory models of energy network infrastructure in the EU with respect to security of supply, but large differences regarding innovation (Haffner et al., 2019). They identify four groups of countries considering their regulatory approach to innovation: those in which there are explicit references to innovation at high level (e.g., in legislation), those in which the explicit references are at low level (through different regulatory instruments), countries

in which an efficient and economic development of the network is promoted but without explicit reference to innovation, and finally countries with no evidence of support.

National regulators and transmission systems operators find that there is scope for enhancement in terms of incentivising innovation through the regulatory models. In that report, innovation is understood as “putting “innovative” transmission infrastructure investments into practice” (Haffner et al., 2019, p.17). The main barriers identified in the report are: (i) lack of incentives to encourage socially beneficial projects, (ii) bias towards Capex, (iii) no specific provision to innovation, (iv) high project risks and sanctions for not meeting deadlines, (v) disincentives to investment due to smart grid developments, and (vi) absence of comprehensibility. Moreover, some bespoke solutions for improvement are proposed for the different Member States. These country-specific solutions are based on a combination of options that include: (i) making explicit that TSOs have a duty to consider innovative solutions, (ii) carrying out Social Cost Benefit Analyses (SCBA) for large or controversial projects, (iii) consulting on projects and National Development / Investment Plans with stakeholders, and (iv) considering Opex-based solutions.

Overcoming the previously mentioned barriers requires that the proposed solutions should not be considered in isolation but within a broader perspective and consistent with current legislation.<sup>6</sup> In our opinion, we need a new European energy R&D infrastructure ecosystem and an innovation ecology established through collective and interactive efforts to facilitate the development of new innovative ideas and value creation, which will likely imply changes in the current business and regulatory models.<sup>7</sup> Governments must take a lead to transform the world of energy regulation and face the present challenges (IEA, 2019b). Ensuring universal access to clean and affordable energy and cutting carbon emissions are part of the challenges that will require strong energy investments and policies from the governments. In this section, we first elaborate in more depth on how we can rearrange the European energy R&D infrastructure ecosystem. Second, we give an overview of how we can rearrange the regulatory incentives for investments in network innovation.

---

<sup>6</sup> The pieces of legislation also need to be consistent among each other. There are some updates taking place in 2020 which are relevant for energy network innovation and need to ensure that consistency. These revisions will be based on previous legislation:

- Smart Grid Indicator / Electricity Directive, Directive (EU) 2019/944 (<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32019L0944&from=EN>);
- Energy Efficiency Directive, Directive (EU) 2018/2002 (<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018L2002&from=EN>);
- Trans-European Networks for Energy (TEN-E) regulation, Regulation (EU) No 347/2013 (<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32013R0347&from=en>).

<sup>7</sup> Ideally, R&D projects should be in line with an overall EU research strategy to avoid unnecessary projects and costs. To avoid these issues, projects should be approved by an independent and competent authority checking if the R&D projects can contribute to the overall strategy.

### 3.1 Rearranging the innovation framework and ecology

Innovation and R&D in energy are a multi-faceted activity and involves different types of actors, with the energy network utilities being only one of these. Due to the high costs and range of innovation efforts, some companies are involved in R&D externally to share risks with other companies and reduce uncertainty (Cohen and Sanyal, 2008). Costa-Campi et al. (2019) identify four innovation objectives for energy firms: innovation in process and product, reduction of environmental impact, and fulfilment of regulatory obligations. They find that both external and internal R&D are used to deliver the regulatory and environmental objectives, while advanced machinery (such as the acquisition of computer hardware or land and buildings) is procured in order to improve innovation in process.

In addition, preservation and dissemination of generated knowledge in innovation is very important. Do we know how much we actually know? We do not seem to. Energy R&D is costly and precious and yet much of the results are not known to the scientific community.<sup>8</sup> This seems to call for developing incentive mechanisms and statutory obligations for retention, passing, and spread of generated knowledge. Nevertheless, this aspect of research has not received enough attention, because the financial and scientific benefits to researchers are limited.<sup>9</sup>

The high costs of energy infrastructure along with lack of knowledge preservation, can be used as arguments to bolster organisational and collaborative research for energy networks and in particular the creation of a permanent large European hub for energy research, perhaps with a network of some regional branches.<sup>10</sup> In the UK, some research organisations have been established for limited number of years, e.g., 8, 10 or so. However, these then tend to disappear over time. The loss of institutional memory can be staggering. Although much knowledge continues to reside in the individual scientists and engineers, these can be forced to move to other areas. This stresses the relevance of implanting knowledge transfer processes in the organisational culture of research centres and the energy firms themselves. There are however some other examples of successful permanent research organisations that can be used as a reference.

---

<sup>8</sup> This should not be a surprise considering that an important amount of applied research and technological developments may go under industrial secrets that are not publicly available.

<sup>9</sup> There are some existing exceptions such as BRIDGE, which is a European Commission initiative to establish links between Horizon 2020 projects in the fields of Smart Grid and Energy Storage with the aim of overcoming barriers to innovation. ERRA (Energy Regulators Regional Association) can be seen as another attempt to address knowledge sharing by bridging national and EU funded research.

<sup>10</sup> A somewhat resembling idea is posed by Skillings (2020). He proposes the establishment of an EU ‘Clean Economy Observatory’ that would have a critical role in fostering innovation. It would mainly serve for two purposes: promoting ‘learning by doing’ and identifying ‘pathway critical challenges’ (breakthrough innovation).

The Electric Power Research Institute (EPRI) is an American non-profit organisation that performs R&D activities in the electricity sector. It involves more than 1,000 organisations and utilities from more than 38 countries (EPRI, 2020). Some of these companies are European, which seems to suggest that these European members and even others could also be attracted to a European research organisation. Another example is the Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry (CRIEPI). It is a Japanese non-profit organisation that also conducts R&D in the electricity sector and research on social aspects through some dependent laboratories. With more than 660 research staff and an operational budget of 29.3 billion yen in 2020 (roughly 250 million euro), it also has international outreach via technology transfer, training and education (CRIEPI, 2020).

As we have mentioned before, unbundling has diminished the economies of coordination in the energy sector and with them the size of the utilities, which implies lowering the possibility of larger R&D expenditure. However, in the US and Japan, where many utilities are large and vertically integrated, we find research hubs like EPRI and CRIEPI.<sup>11</sup> Even though one would expect that these research hubs are more needed in an unbundled (e.g., EU) than in a vertically integrated setup (e.g., US and Japan), the reality is that such type of organisation has not been materialised in the European context yet. Moreover, the non-profit nature of these organisations is likely to be a significant factor since these might be easier to be accepted by regulators and utilities.

The collaborative approach of a permanent research hub contrasts with the alternative of funding support models such as Ofgem's Low Carbon Network Fund (LCNF), where utilities and projects 'compete' for their own and others' share of R&D allowance. In competition-based mechanisms for funding the best research efforts, e.g., Ofgem's LCNF mechanism, utilities allocate a share of their revenue to a collective innovation fund. They subsequently take part in a competitive bidding process to fund their proposed innovation projects. This mechanism combines current spending with a competition mechanism. The regulator needs to decide on the allowed share of revenue to be spent on innovation.

The LCNF was one of the three mechanisms<sup>12</sup> that were set in place to promote innovation in the British electricity sector as part of the fifth Distribution Price Control Review (DPCR5) that was running in Great Britain from 1 April 2010 to 31 March 2015 (Rious and Rossetto, 2018). The LCNF £500 million programme was divided in two tiers of funding: one to allow distribution utilities to recover part of the spending on small-scale projects, while the second was to endorse a yearly competition for the allocation of up to £64 million to partly fund a small number of flagship projects.

---

<sup>11</sup> There is no energy research hub at European level. It must be said that there are already similar organisations at national level in Europe, e.g., SINTEF (Norway), VITO (Belgium), TNO (Netherlands) or VTT (Finland). However, both the scale and the degree of specialisation of these organisations (not only focused on energy, but also on other sectors such as health or chemistry) greatly differ from EPRI and CRIEPI.

<sup>12</sup> The other two were the Innovation Funding Incentive (IFI) and the Registered Power Zones (RPZs).

### 3.2 Rearranging the regulatory innovation incentives

Utilities regulation is generally performed through two alternative approaches: cost-based (such as rate-of-return) and incentive-based (such as price cap) regulation. Rate-of-return (or cost-of-service) is a type of regulation in which companies are allowed to get their costs of production plus a rate of return on capital. This type of regulation is often criticised because it does not provide the companies enough incentives to operate efficiently. Moreover, rate-of-return regulation leads to the Averch-Johnson effect, which means that utilities can have excessive capital accumulation. On the contrary, incentive regulation, namely when it takes the form of price or revenue cap, implies strong incentives for cost reduction and the improvement of the companies' performance. However, even some types of incentive regulation schemes can lead to capital accumulation. Kuosmanen and Nguyen (2020) point out that the Nordic-style revenue cap model constrains the level of revenue and is equivalent to rate-of-return regulation. They formally demonstrate that the system is exposed to the Averch-Johnson effect.

Conventionally, energy network regulation has been focused on standard short-term cost-efficiency improvements and hence R&D efforts and innovation have not been explicitly promoted. Although innovation can be costly at the pilot phase, it often results in significant cost savings and efficiency in the long-term. In that line, some authors suggest that regulatory models should shift to an approach that incorporates further mechanisms for achieving long-term goals (Cambini et al., 2014). Moreover, from a risk perspective, it is important that incentive mechanisms consider the risk profile of an innovation endeavour to avoid that network utilities focus their activities only on low-risk 'normal' efficiency improvements (Poudineh et al., 2020). In addition, innovation in energy networks is often perceived by energy firms to have high costs and risks. Newbery et al. (2019) discuss the use of a Regulated Asset Base (RAB) model to overcome the problem of financing long-term low-carbon generation assets that require low funding costs.<sup>13</sup> However, it should be mentioned that RAB models may lead to a bias towards Capex investments.

Besides the already discussed approach to organise a competition for innovation funding, we distinguish three input-based regulatory mechanisms that are commonly used to facilitate expenditure on R&D and innovation: RAB, Weighted Average Cost of Capital (WACC) or cost passthrough.

- A RAB-based approach to innovation expenditure simply includes the R&D and innovation spending in the regulatory asset base of the utility. But the issue that follows is how the RAB is to be remunerated, i.e., how is the appropriate WACC to be determined.

---

<sup>13</sup> RAB represents the part of capital accepted by the regulator to receive a return

- A WACC-based approach can attempt to distinguish between the capital used in innovation/innovative assets and other forms of capital (i.e., investment in more conventional assets) to fairly reflect the perceived higher risk of innovation investments.
  - The RAB and WACC approaches implicitly assume that the capital spent on innovation is in the form of equity or debt. Distinguishing between the different types of capital and their costs for inclusion and calculation of the WACC is inherently difficult for the regulators.
- On the other hand, a cost passthrough approach to spending on innovation implies that spending on R&D and innovation is a current expenditure funded by the rate payers through network charges or perhaps energy prices; the regulated entity does not receive any rate of return on these expenses.

As some innovation benefits can go beyond grid cost reduction, some regulators complement input-based with output-based mechanisms; improving the relevant outputs can foster innovation as a means to gain rewards. Table 2 summarises the discussed regulatory mechanisms and provides some European examples in which the different approaches are applied.

**Table 2: Regulatory mechanisms to stimulate innovation. Source: Own elaboration based on Meeus et al. (2012), Bauknecht (2011), CEER (2017) and Newbery et al. (2019).**

Issue	Costs for innovation are incurred now while benefits are uncertain and only materialise on the longer term (short-term thinking and risk-aversion)				Innovation benefits can go beyond grid cost reduction (externalities)
Tool (can be combined)	Input-based				Output-based
	RAB-based approach	WACC-based approach	Cost-pass through	Competition for funding	
Explanation	Include R&D and innovation spending in regulatory asset base	Increasing the return on investment to compensate for the risk	Spending on R&D and innovation is a current expenditure	Tender for grants of an innovation fund	Improving outputs can foster innovation as a mean to gain rewards
Example	In GB, it is applied to infrastructure projects and discussed for new nuclear projects	In Italy, some smart grid projects receive additional WACC	In Norway DSO R&D expenditures are added to the allowed revenues	In GB, there is an annual Electricity Network Innovation Competition (NIC)	Automation can have an effect on quality-of-service incentives

There are several methods in which innovation can be funded and accounted.

- Government funded – Due to the global nature of benefits and co-benefits of decarbonisation, the government or taxpayers pay for the cost of innovation in utilities.
- Utility funded – Costs of innovative activities can be treated as disallowed cost. Under this model, the firm only incurs innovation costs if the efficiency gains from these expenditures exceed the costs of it (Poudineh and Jamasb, 2015).
- Rate payer funded (1) – Innovation costs are allowed as Opex. This approach or variations of it are common and preferred by regulators.
- Rate payer funded (2) – Innovation costs are allowed as Capex and part of the RAB. Networks are capital intensive and innovation has implications for the quantity and quality of their investments. Therefore, it is sensible to include the innovation costs of utilities in their RAB as with their other capital investments. This is also consistent with how firms in competitive markets engage in multi-year research programmes. In order to achieve the low carbon future, we need to be consistent and consider technology enabling R&D as investment in enabling the future solutions. Energy networks and new technologies are capital intensive. Also, cost of capital for public spending is low, thus further reducing the difference between the private and public discount rates.

#### **4. Discussion and Conclusions**

Innovation is key to decarbonise the energy sector and foster sustainable development. However, post liberalisation it has been difficult to promote R&D and innovation in the energy sector. In this paper we have discussed the reasons for the slow uptake of new technologies in the energy networks. We have described economic characteristics of the network utilities sector and proposed some recommendations to encourage innovation in the sector. We have discussed the use of regulatory mechanisms (RAB, WACC, and cost passthrough), the creation of competitive funding models, and the establishment of a European research hub. To complement these main points, there are some final remarks that we would like to add.

- We can adopt a more ‘value-based’ approach to innovation funding and incentives rather than a cost efficiency approach. The value of energy benefits of green energy to the modern economy and society increases with our dependence on these. The value of innovation in energy networks must be viewed in a system benefit perspective and incentivised accordingly. Furthermore, this value indeed goes beyond the energy sector and serves economic and social objectives.

- Innovation stimulus spending packages should be viewed as investment opportunities for the future economy rather than one-off spending musts. It makes economic sense to adopt a long-term view and direct these innovation efforts at renewing the existing infrastructure and as an investment opportunity to create value in the future. Interest rates are at historically low levels making the current economic climate suitable for long-term investment in energy R&D and innovation. Also, social discount rate in innovation is lower than private discount rate. In addition, societies can socialise/spread the spending and the risk among large numbers of rate payers and taxpayers.
- We should note there are limits to the role of regulators in promoting R&D or innovation in networks. Regulators have limited reach, mandate, and experience to reach out other R&D/innovation actors outside of the utilities sectors such as equipment manufacturers. If the right institutions and organisations are not out there, the regulators tend to use the utilities as the vehicle of R&D and innovation, but this can have limited reach.
- Spending on innovation may or may not be enough. However, before that, we need to visit the organisation of R&D and innovation. If the structure is not sound, simply increasing the R&D and innovation budgets will not be sufficient. Also, an increase in R&D capacity will need to be gradual and built over time. Sudden spending increase before the capacity is in place will be inefficient and wasteful.



## References

- Bauknecht, D. (2011), *Incentive regulation and network innovations*, EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2011/02.
- Buesa, M., Heijs, J. and Baumert, T. (2010), “The determinants of regional innovation in Europe: A combined factorial and regression knowledge production function approach”, *Research Policy*, 39, 722-735.
- Cambini, C., Croce, A. and Fumagalli, E. (2014), “Output-based incentive regulation in electricity distribution: Evidence from Italy”, *Energy Economics*, 45, 205-216.
- CEER (2017). “Incentives Schemes for regulating DSOs, including for Innovation”. Ref: C16-DS-28-03. Final version. 24 January 2017.
- CRIEPI (2020), CRIEPI’s webpage, Accessed on 30 March 2020. Available from: <https://criepi.denken.or.jp/en/>.
- Cohen, W.M. and Klepper, S. (1996), “A reprise of size and R&D”, *The Economic Journal*, 106(437), 925-951.
- Cohen, L. and Sanyal, P. (2008), R&D choice in restructured industries: In-house v/s collaborative research in the US electricity industry, Working Paper SSRN Electronic Journal 03/2008, DOI: 102139/ssrn.556645.
- Cooke, P.H., Boekholt, P. and Tödtling, F. (2000), *The governance of innovation in Europe: Regional perspectives on global competitiveness*, London and New York: Pinter.
- Costa-Campi, M.T., Duch-Brown, N. and García-Quevedo, J. (2019), “Innovation strategies of energy firms”, *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, 26, 1073-1085.
- ENTSO-E and ENTSOG (2019), *TYNDP 2020 Scenario Report*.
- EPRI (2020), EPRI’s webpage, Accessed on 30 March 2020. Available from: <https://www.epri.com/>.
- European Commission (2020), *A hydrogen strategy for a climate-neutral Europe*, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, COM/2020/301, Brussels, 8-7-2020.
- Ferguson, P.R. and Ferguson, G.J. (1994), *Industrial Economics: Issues and Perspectives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Macmillan, London.
- Friedman, B. (1978), “Crowding out or crowding in? Economic consequences of financing government deficits”, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 3, 593-641.
- Grant, R.M. and Jordan, J.J. (2015), *Foundations of strategy*, John Wiley & Sons.
- Grubb, M. (2014), *Planetary economics: Energy, climate change and the three domains of sustainable development*, Hourcade, J.C. and Neuhoff, K. (eds.), Routledge, London.
- Haffner, R., Heidecke, L., van Til, H., Ryszka, K., Fritz, W., Ladermann, A., Catalini, E., Løvstad Christensen, S., Roose Øvlisen, F., Downie, G., Hall, S., McRobb, L., Auer, H. and Hancher, L. (2019), *Do current regulatory frameworks in the EU support*

- innovation and security of supply in electricity and gas infrastructure?*, Final report prepared for the European Commission, EU publications.
- Idea to Value (2020), *Top 1000 companies that spend the most on Research and Development*, link: <https://www.ideatovalue.com/inno/nickskillicorn/2019/08/top-1000-companies-that-spend-the-most-on-research-development-charts-and-analysis/#industries> [Accessed on 6 April 2020].
- IEA (1999), *Electric Power Technology: Opportunities and Challenges of Competition*, International Energy Agency, Paris.
- IEA (2019a), *World Energy Investment 2019*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-investment-2019>.
- IEA (2019b), *World Energy Outlook 2019*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/caf32f3b-en>.
- Jaffe, A.B. and Stavins, R.N. (1995), “Dynamic incentives of environmental regulations: The effects of alternative policy instruments on technology diffusion”, *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 29, S43-S63.
- Jamasb, T. and Llorca, M. (2019), “Energy systems integration: Economics of a new paradigm”, *Economics of Energy & Environmental Policy*, 8(2), 7-28.
- Jamasb, T. and Pollitt, M. (2008), “Liberalisation and R&D in network industries: The case of the electricity industry”, *Research Policy*, 37(6-7), 995-1008.
- Jamasb, T. and Pollitt, M.G. (2011), “Electricity Sector liberalisation and innovation: An analysis of the UK patenting activities”, *Research Policy*, 40(2), 309-324.
- Jamasb, T. and Pollitt, M.G. (2015), “Why and how to subsidise energy R+D: Lessons from the collapse and recovery of electricity innovation in the UK”, *Energy Policy*, 83, 197-205.
- Jamasb, T., Nuttall, W.J., and Pollitt, M. (2008), “The case for a new energy research, development and promotion policy for the UK”, *Energy Policy*, 36(12), 4610-4614.
- Kuosmanen, T. and Nguyen, T. (2020), “Capital bias in the Nordic revenue cap regulation: Averch-Johnson critique revisited”, *Energy Policy*, 139, 111355.
- Meeus, L., Sagan, M., Glachant, J-M. and Belmans, R. (2012), “Smart regulation for smart grids”, in J-M. Glachant, N. Ahner and L. Meeus (eds), *EU Energy Innovation Policy Towards 2050*, Deventer, Claeys & Casteels, 85-111.
- Newbery, D., Pollitt, M.G., Reiner, D. and Taylor, S. (2019), *Financing low-carbon generation in the UK: The hybrid RAB model*, EPRG Working Paper 1926, Cambridge Working Paper in Economics 1969, University of Cambridge.
- OECD/Eurostat (2005), *Oslo manual: Guidelines for collecting and interpreting innovation data, 3rd Edition*, The Measurement of Scientific and Technological Activities, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2015), *Frascati manual 2015: Guidelines for collecting and reporting data on research and experimental development*, The Measurement of Scientific, Technological and Innovation Activities, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- Poudineh, R. and Jamasb, T. (2015), “A new perspective: Investment and efficiency under incentive regulation”, *The Energy Journal*, 36(4), 241-263.

- Poudineh, R., Peng, D. and Mirnezami, S.R. (2020), “Innovation in regulated electricity networks: Incentivising tasks with highly uncertain outcomes”, *Competition and Regulation in Network Industries*, 21(2), 166-192.
- Rious, V. and Rossetto, N. (2018), “The British reference model”, in: Meeus, L. and Glachant, J.-M. (Eds.), *Electricity network regulation in the EU: The challenges ahead for transmission and distribution*, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 3-25.
- Romer, P.M. (1990), “Endogenous technological change”, *Journal of Political Economy*, 98(5), S71-S102.
- Schumpeter, J.A. (1939), *Business cycles*, McGraw-Hill, Vol. 1. New York.
- Skillings, S. (2020), *Governing innovation to deliver climate neutrality*, E3G briefing paper, April 2020.
- Solow, R.M. (1956), “A contribution to the theory of economic growth”, *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 70(1), 65-94.
- Swan, T.W. (1956), “Economic growth and capital accumulation”, *Economic Record*, 32(2), 334-361.
- USHR (1998), *Electric utility deregulation: implications for research and development*, US House of Representatives, Committee on Science, Subcommittee on Energy and Environment, March 31, Washington, DC.