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What American AI owes to European science

The scientific articles cited by US artificial intelligence patents

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KEY POINTS

- Europe supplies about a quarter of the scientific articles cited by US AI patents, including several building blocks of deep learning.
- For equal output in each field, European articles are cited by US AI patents nearly twice as often as Chinese or Japanese articles.
- The economic value of this science is realized in the United States: nearly nine out of ten patents that cite it are filed by US companies.
- This position is eroding: Europe's share is falling for recent articles, along with its weight in global research, and AI research is shifting toward companies, where Europe has little presence and where results are published less systematically.
- French articles are cited less than an average article in their field, and France produces half as much cited science per researcher as the United Kingdom. More than half of its cited science comes from the Paris area.

The Draghi report (2024) attributes part of Europe's technological decline to its difficulties in translating scientific research into innovations and into companies capable of growing. European researchers are not short of relevant ideas, but these ideas are all too rarely put to use locally. Yet technological innovation relies increasingly on academic and public research (Fleming et al., 2019). To study this question, we focus on the case of artificial intelligence (AI), which illustrates this problem well. Europe has leading laboratories in this field, while the companies that develop the technology at scale are predominantly American or Chinese. This note therefore seeks to measure the contribution of European science to AI inventions in the United States, drawing on the scientific articles cited by the 65,231 AI patents granted in the country. Among patents citing at least one scientific article, two out of three cite at least one European article, notably foundational research in deep learning. However, the share of European science is declining among the most recent publications, alongside the decline in Europe's share of global research output.

European science in US AI patents

We select patents classified under technology class G06N of the Cooperative Patent Classification (CPC). This class covers neural networks, machine learning and knowledge-based systems. We retain the 65,231 patents of this class granted through the end of 2025 by the US Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) and listing at least one inventor in the United States. Thanks to the work of the Reliance on Science project (Marx and Fuegi, 2020 and 2022), we then match the patents' scientific references to articles indexed in OpenAlex (Priem, Piwowar and Orr, 2022), which provides information on each author's scientific affiliation and country at the time of publication[1]. In total, 40,447 patents cite at least one article, and 179,418 distinct articles are cited. We define Europe as comprising the European Union, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Norway and Iceland.

Of these 40,447 patents, 65% cite at least one article with an author based in Europe, compared to 57% if we restrict to the European Union, and 79% cite at least one article with an author based in the United States. These proportions also depend on the number of articles cited per patent, nearly fourteen on average (median of five): a patent that cites many articles is likely to cite at least one European one. When each article is split equally among the countries where its authors are based, Europe accounts for 25% of cited science, compared with 51% for the United States. This share remains virtually unchanged under alternative counting methods. It rises to 26% once citations by which an inventor refers to their own articles, almost always American, are removed, and falls to 24% when restricting the sample to citations appearing in the patent text[2].

This share of 25% could simply reflect Europe's overall weight in research. To assess this, we compare each country's share of citations from AI patents with its share of global scientific output in the same fields and the same years. A ratio of 1 therefore indicates that a country's articles are cited by US AI patents as often as an average article in the same field[3]. For articles published from 2010 to 2019, Europe reaches 0.95, above the average of all countries outside the United States (0.75) and nearly twice as high as China (0.50) or Japan (0.48) (figure 1). The United States' ratio (1.89) primarily reflects the scope of the study, limited to US inventions, since knowledge circulates first near its source (Jaffe, Trajtenberg and Henderson, 1993). Canada's high ratio (1.78) largely reflects the role of the Toronto and Montreal laboratories in the rise of

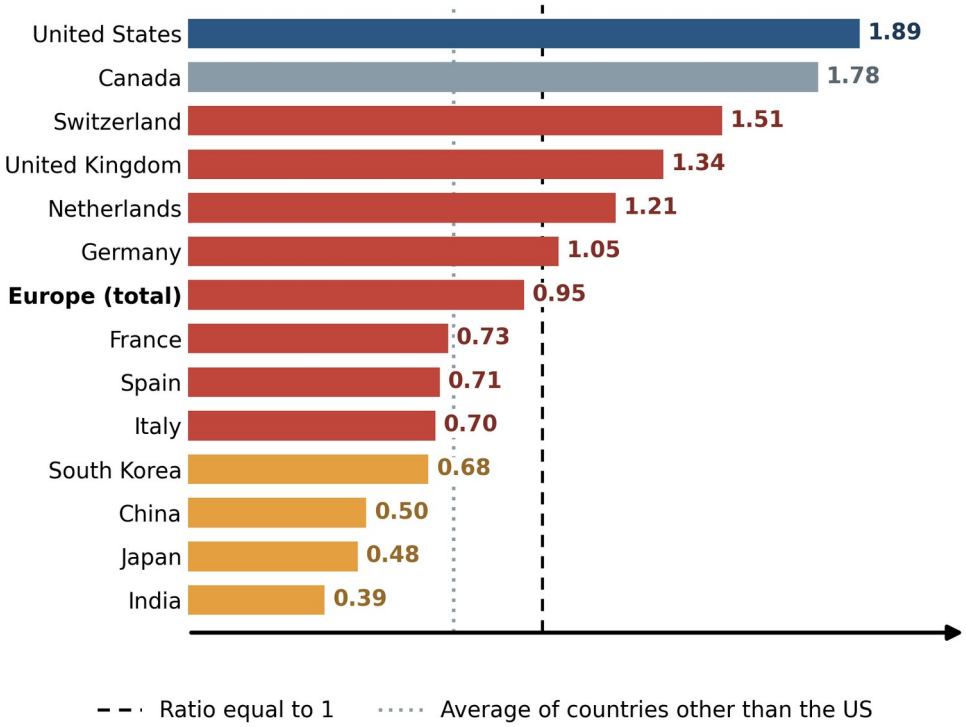
1 Patents extracted from the Google Patents database on September 24, 2026 and granted through December 30, 2025. Patent-article links from Reliance on Science (version 65) with a confidence score of at least 4 out of 10, OpenAlex records downloaded on October 15, 2026. At least one author is located for 82% of cited articles, and shares are computed only over located authors.

2 Nine out of ten citations appear on the front page of the patent, where they may have been added by the examiner. Citations by an inventor to their own articles account for 5.5% of citations, and 86% of them go to American articles.

3 The fields are OpenAlex "topics," and world output is measured over all disciplines, which covers 87% of citations. Articles are counted once for each country of their authors, as in the world output to which they are compared.

deep learning. Variation across European countries is wide, ranging from 1.51 in Switzerland and 1.34 in the United Kingdom to 0.73 in France and 0.70 in Italy.

Figure 1. Share of citations relative to share of world output, by country

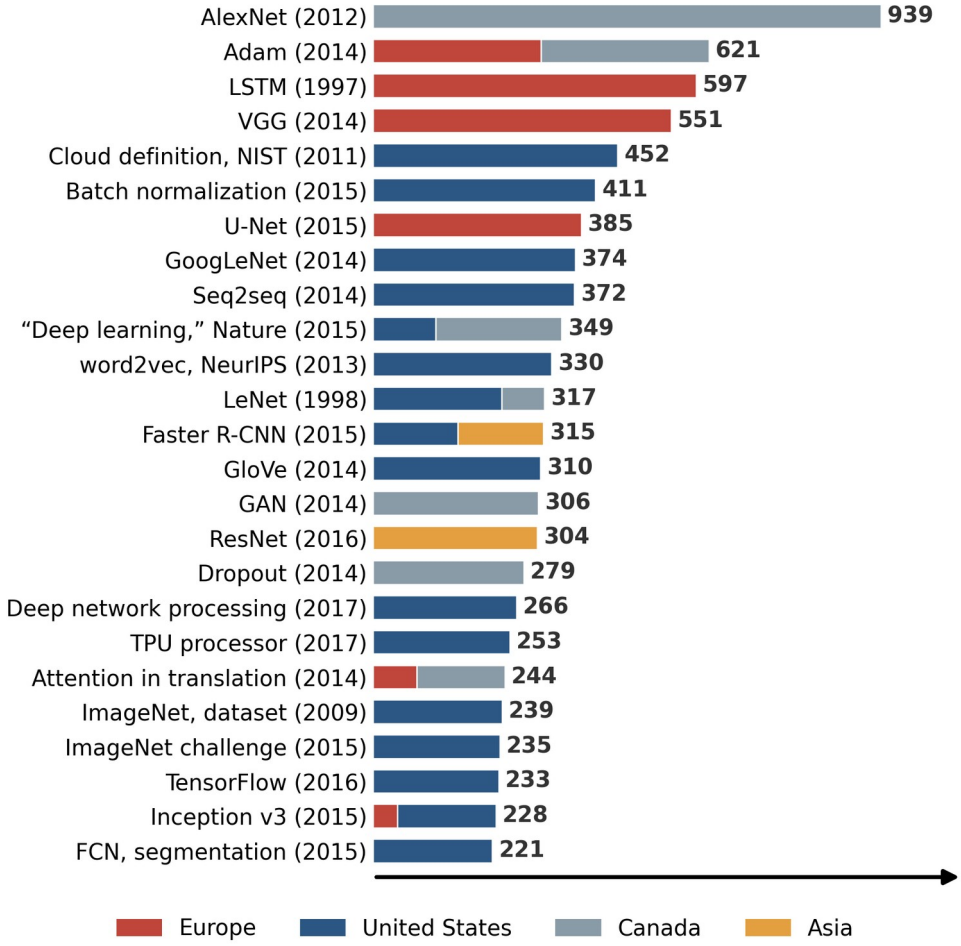


Notes: for each country, ratio of its share of the citations made by these patents to scientific articles to its share of world output of articles in the same fields (OpenAlex topics) and the same years, in whole counts. A ratio of 1 means that the country's articles are cited as often as an average article in the same field. Articles published from 2010 to 2019 and cited by USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States, quantum computing patents excluded. How to read: European articles receive on average 0.95 times the citations of an average article in the same fields and the same years. Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

The most cited articles and institutions

Among the 25 articles most cited by these patents, six have at least one author in Europe, including three of the top four (figure 2). When each of these articles is divided equally among its authors, Europe accounts for the equivalent of four articles, or 16%, below its 25% share of all cited science. The second most cited article, which introduces the Adam optimization algorithm, was published in 2014 by two researchers from the universities of Amsterdam and Toronto, and is cited by 621 patents. Only AlexNet, the neural network that launched the rise of deep learning in 2012, is cited more frequently. Other highly cited contributions include long short-term memory networks (LSTM), designed in 1997 in Munich and Lugano to process sequences, followed by the VGG network, developed in Oxford in 2014 for image recognition. The U-Net network, published in Freiburg im Breisgau in 2015 for medical image segmentation, completes the list of fully European articles. These articles introduce general methods, whether a training algorithm or an architecture, reused in very diverse inventions, from computer vision to speech processing. Their general nature explains why they are cited by hundreds of patents.

Figure 2. The 25 most cited articles, by authors' place of work



Notes: the 25 articles most cited by USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States, all publication years combined. Each bar gives the number of patents citing the article and is split according to its authors' place of work at the time of publication, each author counting for an equal share. Adam, signed by a researcher from Amsterdam and a researcher from Toronto, thus counts half for Europe and half for Canada. Duplicate OpenAlex records are merged. OpenAlex locations, corrected by hand for four articles that were unlocated or mislocated (AlexNet, GAN, NIST cloud definition, TensorFlow). Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

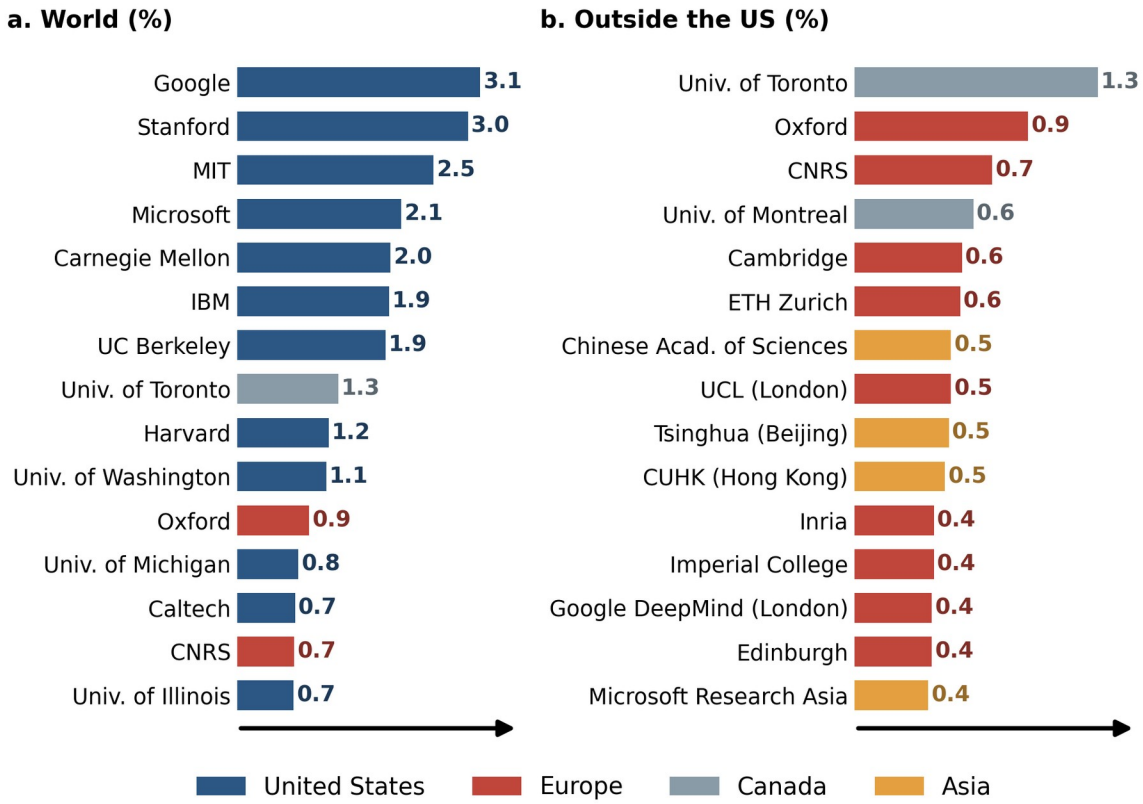
This ranking mainly reflects the state of science in the 2010s, as the median time lag between scientific publication and patent citation is six to seven years. The article that introduced the Transformer architecture in 2017, on which today’s language models rely (Vaswani et al., 2017), has therefore been cited by only 91 patents so far.

The institutions that contribute most to cited science are mostly American, and three companies are among the top six (figure 3). Google ranks first with 3.1% of citations, ahead of Stanford (3.0%), MIT (2.5%) and Microsoft (2.1%), and on its own authored seven of the 25 most cited articles, from batch normalization to the specialized TPU processor. The prominence of companies runs counter to the overall trend in industrial research. Since the 1980s, large US companies have indeed published less and relied more on science produced by universities (Arora, Belenzon and Patacconi, 2018). In AI, by contrast, they have become leading producers of science. AI research requires computing power and data, resources that these companies possess (Ahmed, Wahed and Thompson, 2023), and the freedom to publish helps them attract researchers, willing to accept lower salaries in exchange (Stern, 2004).

Outside the United States, the University of Toronto (1.3%) and Oxford (0.9%) are ahead of the CNRS (0.7%), the only European Union institution among the top fifteen worldwide. Nine of the top fifteen institutions outside the United States are located in Europe: six British or Swiss universities, the CNRS, Inria and Google’s DeepMind London laboratory. The most highly cited European science thus comes from

universities and public research organizations, and the only company based in Europe on the list belongs to an American group.

Figure 3. Most cited institutions, worldwide and outside the United States

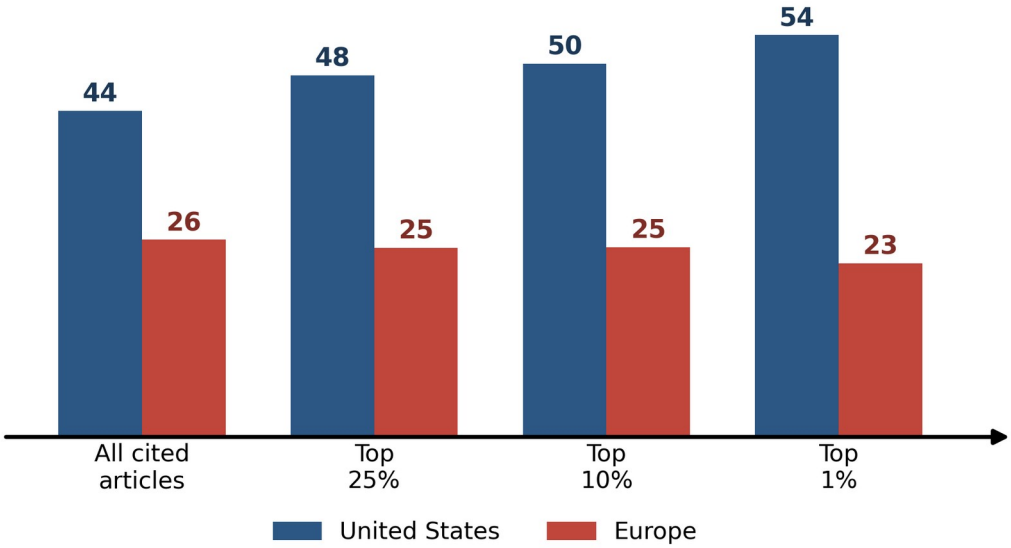


Notes: share of the citations of USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States that goes to the articles of each institution, articles of all years. Each citation is split equally among the located authors of the cited article, and an author's share is attributed in full to each of their affiliations, so that shares do not add up. Also dividing an author's share among their affiliations would penalize French joint research units, since 85% of authors located in France have several affiliations, compared with 39% in the United Kingdom, and would move the CNRS from 3rd to 20th place outside the United States. Companies are grouped under their parent company and, outside the United States, by country of location (Microsoft Research Asia in Beijing, Google DeepMind in London). The scales of the two panels differ. How to read: articles signed by Google researchers receive 3.1% of citations. Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

The European share by citation level

The most cited articles are those on which the largest number of inventions rely, and Europe's share is slightly lower among these articles. Among articles published from 2010 to 2019, the United States accounts for 44% of all cited articles. Within the top 1% most cited, its share reaches 54%, while Europe's falls from 26% to 23% (figure 4). Counting each article once for each country of its authors, Europe remains present in a third of articles at all citation levels. American co-authorship, on the other hand, becomes more common among the highly cited articles, present in 52% of cited articles and in 63% of the top 1% most cited.

Figure 4. **Share of the United States and Europe in cited articles, by citation level (%)**



Notes: articles published from 2010 to 2019, ranked by the number of USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States that cite them. The first group of bars covers all cited articles, the following ones the top 25%, 10% and 1% most cited. Fractional counts, each article being split equally among its located authors. How to read: authors based in Europe sign 23% of the articles in the top 1% most cited. Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

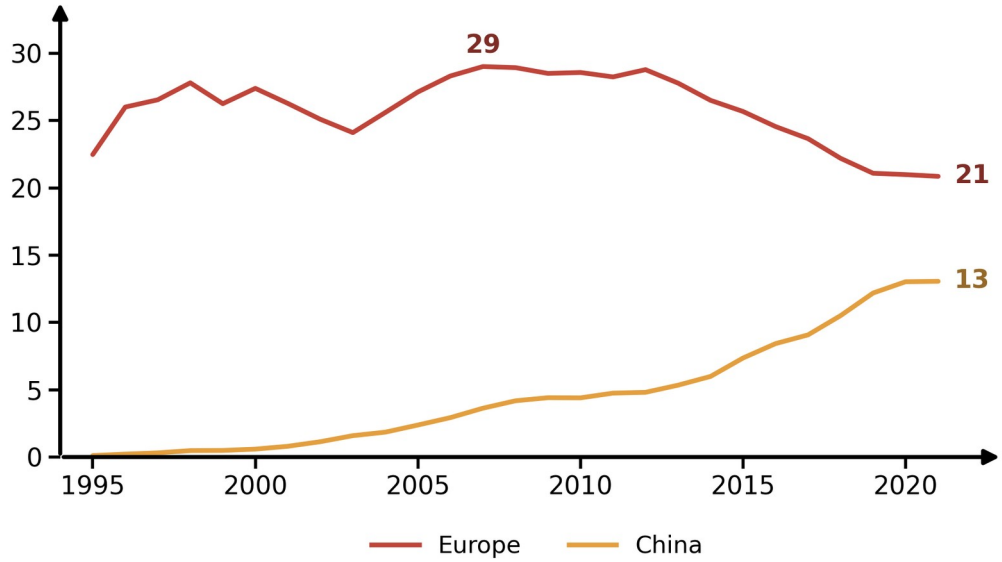
European research cited by US AI patents is also increasingly co-authored with US-based researchers. The share of cited European articles with a co-author in the United States rises from 17% for those published in 1995 to 30% for those of 2021, while collaboration with China reaches 8%. These collaborations go hand in hand with wider diffusion. Among French articles published from 2010 to 2019, 8.8% of those written without a foreign co-author are among the top 10% most cited, compared with 13.4% of those with an American co-author. A similar gap is observed for Germany (8.9% versus 12.4%) and the United Kingdom (11.9% versus 14.9%). It may reflect a selection mechanism, with the best researchers collaborating more often with the United States, or simply collaboration itself, which brings research closer to the companies that invent. The data do not allow us to distinguish between these explanations, but in both cases American networks are an important channel through which European science reaches and inspires American invention.

The European share by publication year

Europe's position rests largely on work published before 2015. Its share of citations reaches nearly 29% for articles published between 2007 and 2012, then falls to 21% for those of 2021, while China's rises from 5% for articles of 2012 to 13% (figure 5)[4]. Recent European articles are nevertheless still cited almost as often as an average article in the same field, since the ratio of share of citations to share of world output is 0.96 for European articles from 2010 to 2014 and 0.94 for those from 2015 to 2019. The decline in the European share therefore stems mainly from the decline in Europe's weight in global scientific output in these fields.

4 The series stop at articles from 2021, as more recent articles have not yet had time to be cited by granted patents.

Figure 5. **Share of Europe and China in citations, by publication year (%)**



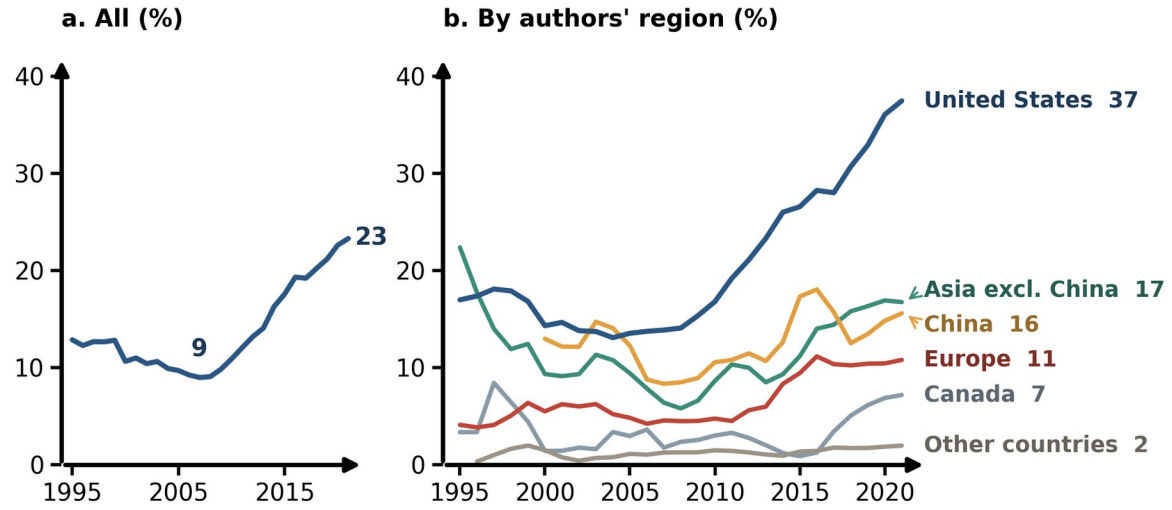
Notes: for each publication year, share of the citations of USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States that goes to authors based in Europe or in China. Fractional counts over located authors, three-year moving average. Europe: European Union, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Norway and Iceland. Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

Patents cite articles with a median lag of six to seven years, so that recently filed patents still draw on work from the 2010s. The European share of citations thus remains stable by filing year, from 24% for patents filed from 2005 to 2012 to 26% for those from 2018 to 2023. The decline observed for recent articles should appear in the patents of the coming years.

The role of companies

The share of patent citations to corporate research rises from 9% for articles published in 2007 to 23% for those of 2021 (figure 6). Moreover, 42 of the 100 most cited articles have at least one author affiliated with a company, compared with 18% of all cited articles. Europe has benefited little from this shift. For articles published in 2021, corporate research accounts for 37% of the citations to US-based institutions, up from 14% for those published in 2007. In Europe, the corresponding share rose from 5% to 11%, which is less than in China (16%) or the rest of Asia (17%) (figure 6, panel b). Among the 300 most cited institutions, companies receive 16% of the citations of American institutions and 3% of those of European institutions, and the only two companies located in Europe are Google DeepMind's laboratory in London and Microsoft's laboratory in Cambridge.

Figure 6. **Share of corporate science in citations, by publication year (%)**



Notes: for each publication year, share of the citations of USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States that goes to authors affiliated with a company, each article being split equally among its located authors. Panel b computes this share separately for the science written in each region, according to the authors' place of work at the time of publication, so that Google DeepMind in London counts as Europe. Corporate laboratories classified as institutes by OpenAlex are reclassified as companies. Three-year moving average. The profile is the same when only citations made in the text of the patent are kept (7% for articles of 2007, 23% for those of 2021). Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

Of the patents that cite European science, 87% belong to US companies, a share close to that of all the patents studied (88%). IBM, Google and Microsoft together hold nearly one fifth of them. European companies file 3% of them, a share that is low by construction since the scope is limited to inventions made at least partly in the United States. These patents have a value comparable to that of the other patents studied, measured by the number of citations they receive from subsequent patents. They receive more citations on average (1.07 times the average of their year, compared with 0.85 for patents that do not cite a European article), but the gap disappears when comparing patents filed in the same year and citing the same number of articles[5]. Once published, European science is accessible to all, and its economic value is realized where the companies that invent are located.

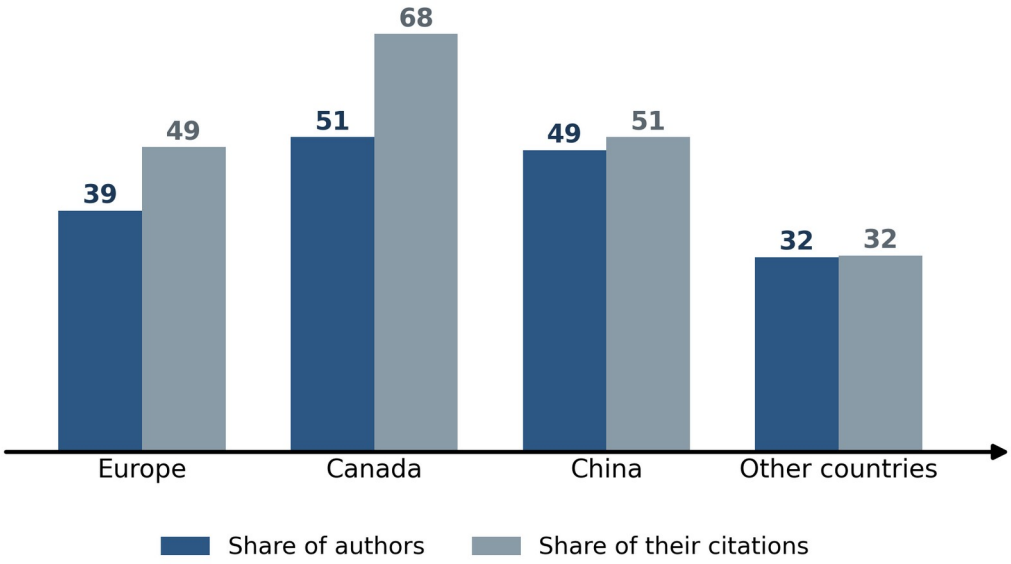
In return, European researchers benefit from the science published by US companies, an exchange that could be weakened as research increasingly shifts toward companies. Science produced in universities is meant to be published, whereas companies trade off publication, which helps them to attract researchers, against confidentiality, which helps them to preserve their lead over competitors. This trade-off can tilt toward confidentiality when results become directly exploitable. The developers of the most advanced AI models are indeed publishing less and less information about these models. In the index that measures this transparency, their average score fell from 58 out of 100 in 2024 to 40 in 2025, on a revised grid, and the sector remains almost entirely opaque about the data and computing power used for training (Wan et al., 2025). If cutting-edge research is increasingly carried out in companies and published less there, European researchers, especially in universities, will lose access to part of the knowledge on which they rely. Their own work, meanwhile, will remain accessible to all. Our data, which stop at articles from 2021, do not yet allow us to determine whether this decline is already affecting the scientific research cited by patents.

5 Regression of the logarithm of citations received on three indicators (citing at least one European, American or Chinese article), the logarithm of the number of articles cited and the filing year, for patents filed from 2005 to 2019. The coefficient associated with European science is −0.02.

European researchers and the United States

Among the 3,000 authors most cited by these patents and active since 2021, 525 produced most of their cited work in Europe[6]. According to the affiliations on their latest articles, 39% of them have ties with the United States, defined as an affiliation with an institution in the United States or with a US company, compared with 51% of authors whose work was written in Canada and 49% of those from China (figure 7). These affiliations nevertheless overstate the extent to which such ties involve geographic mobility. The situation of the 100 most cited European authors, checked through a manual review, shows that it rarely involves leaving Europe. Of the 96 who did write their work in Europe, 43 now have a link with the United States and receive 51% of the group's citations, but only six have moved there, and 84 still hold a position in Europe. These ties mostly take the form of positions in laboratories established in Europe by US companies (25 authors), particularly Google DeepMind in London, NVIDIA in Helsinki, and Meta in Paris, or dual affiliations through which researchers retain a position at a European institution (9 authors).

Figure 7. Highly cited authors with a current link to the United States, by region of their work (%)



Notes: the 3,000 authors most cited by USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States, active since 2021, grouped by the country where they wrote most of their cited work. For each region, the first bar gives the share of authors who have a link with the United States, the second the share of the group's citations received by these authors. Link with the United States: an affiliation, during the last two years of publication, in the United States or with a US company, including outside the United States. OpenAlex affiliation histories. Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; LIFT calculations.

Google DeepMind's importance stems from the fact that this laboratory, acquired by Google in 2014, produced in London a large share of the most cited European science. Twenty-nine of the 100 authors reviewed have at least one of their five most cited articles signed by DeepMind or by Google in the United Kingdom, and the 2024 Nobel Prize in Chemistry rewarded Demis Hassabis and John Jumper for AlphaFold, developed in London. The laboratory also trains company founders, since at least eleven of these 29 researchers have left Google since 2022, almost all to join or found start-ups. Five joined or founded European companies, such as David Silver, one of the designers of AlphaGo, who founded Ineffable Intelligence in London in January 2026, or Laurent Sifre, co-founder of H Company in Paris, while four joined or founded a US company.

Some of the US-based research cited by these patents is also produced by researchers who previously worked in Europe. Former researchers at French laboratories author US-based articles amounting to the equivalent of 20% of the cited articles written in France, a proportion close to that of the United Kingdom (21%) and higher than that of Germany (16%). These connections bring European science closer to the

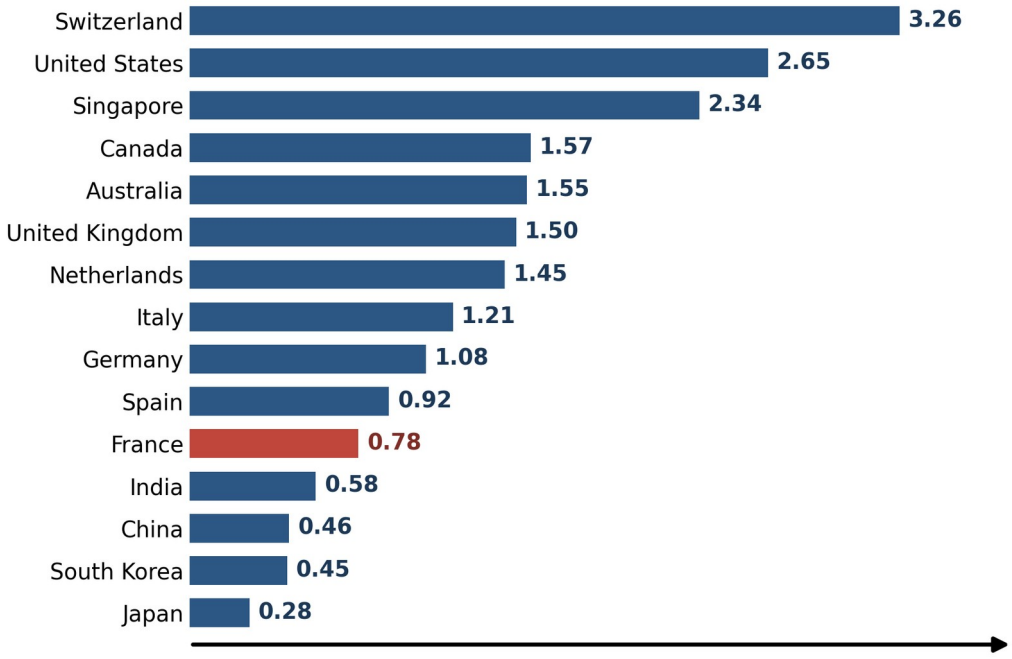
6 Each author is assigned to the country where they wrote the largest share of their cited work, weighted by citations.

companies that invent without necessarily drawing researchers away from European laboratories, but they may redirect part of researchers' time toward corporate projects. For US universities, Gofman and Jin (2024) show that the departure of AI professors to industry subsequently reduces the creation of AI start-ups founded by their students.

The case of France

France's ratio of its share of AI patent citations to its share of global scientific output is 0.73 for articles published from 2010 to 2019, compared with 1.05 for Germany and 1.34 for the United Kingdom (figure 1). The gap widened with the rise of deep learning. The French ratio declines from 0.83 for articles from 2010 to 2014 to 0.65 for those published from 2015 to 2019, while Germany's rises from 0.97 to 1.11. When adjusted for the number of researchers, France produces 0.78 cited articles per year per 1,000 researchers, half the rate observed in the United Kingdom (1.50) and below the rates observed in Germany (1.08) and Italy (1.21) (figure 8).

Figure 8. Cited articles per year per 1,000 researchers, articles published from 2010 to 2019



Notes: articles published from 2010 to 2019 and cited by USPTO patents in class G06N listing at least one inventor in the United States, in fractional counts and as an annual average, relative to the number of full-time equivalent researchers, all sectors and all disciplines combined. Source: USPTO; Marx and Fuegi, Reliance on Science (v65); OpenAlex; World Bank; LIFT calculations.

Cited French research is also more geographically concentrated than that of neighboring countries. The Paris region accounts for 58% of it, compared with 32% for the London area in the United Kingdom and 14% for Munich, Germany's leading metropolitan area, and the CNRS and Inria together sign nearly one fifth of it. The CNRS is the third most cited institution outside the United States, and Inria the eleventh (figure 3). French research also shows different patterns of specialization across fields. For articles published from 2010 to 2019, France accounts for 2.9% of cited articles, but its share reaches 5.5% in image and video retrieval, 5.1% in neuromorphic computing and 4.1% in medical image segmentation. It supplies only 2.2% to 2.3% in language processing and 2.1% in recommender systems, two fields in which the large digital platforms, which hold usage data, are very present. The patents that cite French science belong more often to universities or public research organizations (9% compared with 5% for all patents), which may reflect research that is less closely connected to firms engaged in innovation.

Implications for European science policy

European science supplies a quarter of the research literature cited by US AI patents, including several foundational contributions, while the resulting inventions are mostly patented by large US companies. European public research thus produces knowledge used worldwide, whose economic value is realized where the companies capable of exploiting it are based. The economic returns for Europe therefore depend on the capacity of European companies to absorb this work and build on this research, something that cannot be measured using US patent data alone. Applying the same method to patents filed at the European Patent Office by European inventors would help address these limitations.

Europe's position also depends on the volume of its scientific output. Its more recent articles are still cited almost as often as the average article in the same field, but Europe's share of global output is declining, and its share of citations in future patents is likely to decline. Corporate research today concentrates computing power (Ahmed, Wahed and Thompson, 2023), so that public laboratories' access to these resources becomes a condition for sustaining this scientific output.

Ties with US companies go hand in hand with more highly cited science without drawing researchers away from Europe, but they may channel some of their work toward inventions filed elsewhere. Dual affiliation rules that protect teaching and doctoral supervision could make it possible to keep these links while limiting this risk. The laboratories set up in Europe by US companies also train founders of European start-ups, so that their presence can nurture local companies as much as it captures their value. For France, the gap reflects the relatively low output of cited science per researcher and its concentration in Paris, despite strong performance in certain fields, from computer vision to medical imaging. Each country's share of citations, broken down by article publication year, offers a straightforward indicator to track these trends over time.

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