

# The IT Boom and Other Unintended Consequences of Chasing the American Dream

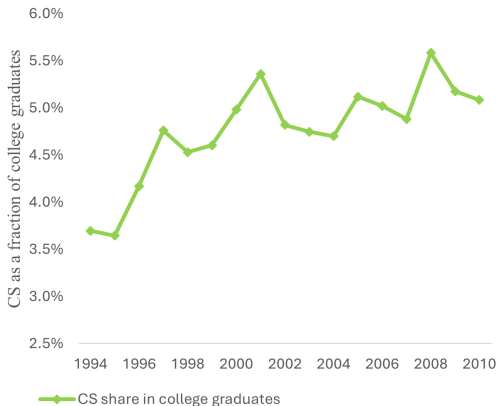
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*The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond or the Board of Governors.*

# Innovation Boom in US IT and Immigration

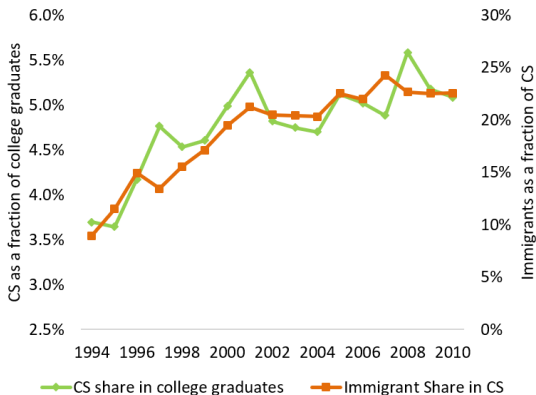
US Computer Scientists as % of College Grads



- CS fastest growing occupation in 1990s (and expected to stay fastest growing) (BLS 1996)

# Innovation Boom in US IT and Immigration

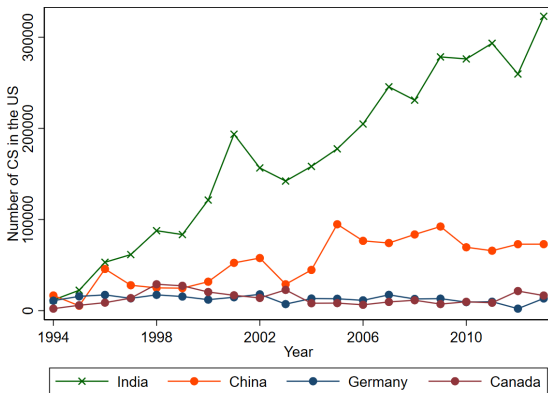
US Computer Scientists as % of College Grads + Immigrants in CS



- CS fastest growing occupation in 1990s (and expected to stay fastest growing) (BLS 1996)

# CS Immigration Driven By India

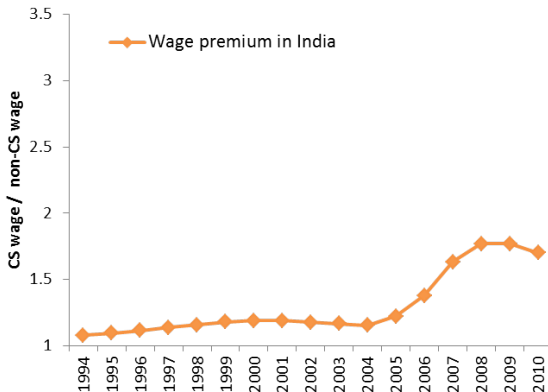
Foreign-born CS workers in the US by Country



- By 2014, more than 70% of H-1Bs went to Indians
- And 86% of all CS H-1Bs went to Indians (5% to China)

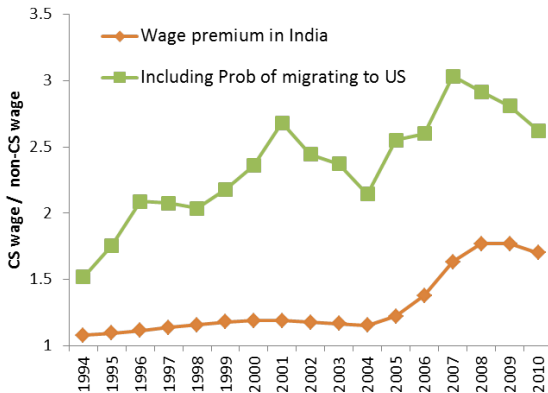
# Raises Expected Wage Premium for CS in India

Relative Wages CS to non-CS for Indians



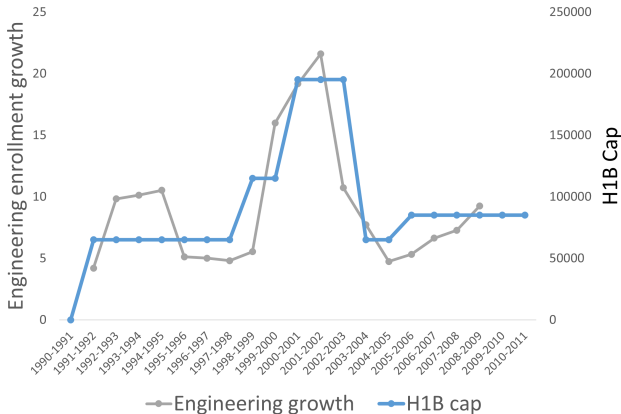
# Raises Expected Wage Premium for CS in India

Figure: Relative Wages CS to non-CS for Indians



- In 2010 CS wage is  $\approx 4$  times higher in the US
- and  $\approx 10\%$  of Indian CS work in the US

# Indian students enrolled in Engineering/CS



- “growth (in training and degrees) was driven by larger salaries in the IT industry abroad” (Bhatnagar 2005)
- (since few domestic IT jobs in 90s)

## Brain Gain and Circulation

- 1 But H-1Bs capped – not all workers can go abroad.

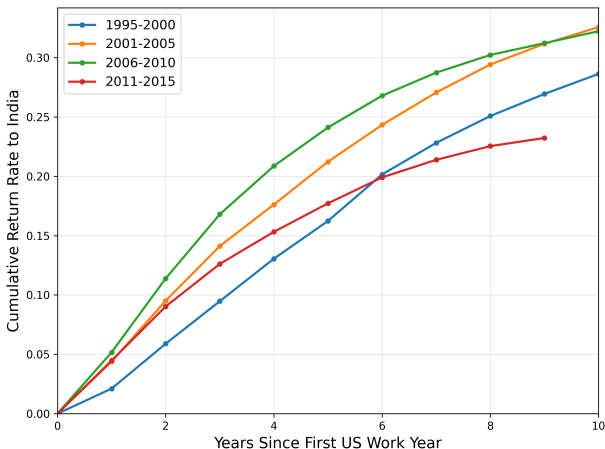


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- In 6 years, >20% return

## Boom in Indian IT firms

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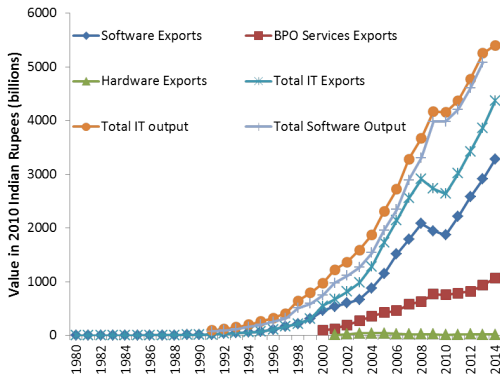
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## Boom in Indian IT firms

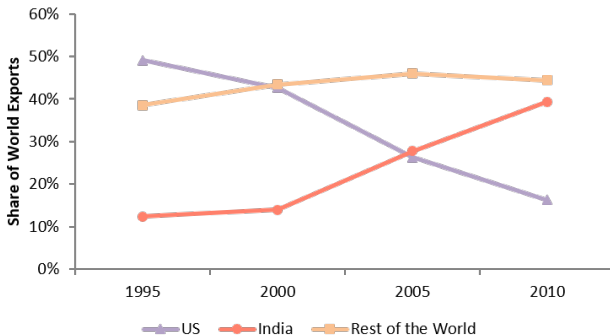
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### IT Sector Output in India



# India Becomes Major Exporter of IT

Share of IT Exports: US, India and Rest of the World



- India overtakes the US in 2005 as an exporter of IT

What role did [Immigration](#) play in the spread of this tech boom to the other side of the world?

# This Paper

- Evidence of ‘brain-gain’ driven by migration prospects
  - Prob(migration) affects India’s Major & Occupation choice
  - IV: variation in H-1B cap + baseline occu/major shares



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  - Prob(migration) affects India’s Major & Occupation choice
  - IV: variation in H-1B cap + baseline occu/major shares
- Build 3 country, 2 sector, quantitative GE model  
(di Giovanni et. al. 2015, Desmet et. al. 2018, Llull 2018, Burstein et. al. 2019, Colas 2019, Caliendo et. al. 2020, Monras 2020)
  - Dynamic occupational choice: CS vs Other.
  - Indians: uncertain on migration when choosing major
  - Migrants can return once visas expire (‘brain circulation’)
  - Innovation in CS

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  - Indians: uncertain on migration when choosing major
  - Migrants can return once visas expire (‘brain circulation’)
  - Innovation in CS
- Results:
  - Immigration raised welfare and IT output in US & India
  - Endogenous labor supply is key to quantify welfare:  
Else... Brain Drain → Lower welfare in India

# Combine two new datasets

- **Enrollment:** Universe of accredited Indian colleges
  - Digitize govt reports by school-field-year
- **Migration and Workers:** Universe of LinkedIn profiles
  - Occupation choice of workers in India LinkedIn vs ACS

# US migration prospects and major choice in India

- Some school-majors more alumni in the US → Should respond more to changes in H-1B cap

# US migration prospects and major choice in India

- Some school-majors more alumni in the US → Should respond more to changes in H-1B cap
- Leverage H-1B cap changes over time (t)
  - + school (s), field (f) exposure. H-1B cap
  - Mig exposure<sub>s,f</sub> =  $\frac{\text{N grads from s,f before 2000 in US}}{\text{Enrollment in s,f in 2000}}$
  - Mig Dd<sub>t</sub> isolates demand from the US (e.g., policy changes)

$$Ln(\text{Students}_{s,f,t}) = \beta_1 \left( \text{Mig Dd}_t \times \text{Mig exposure}_{s,f} \right) +$$

$$\underbrace{\delta_{sf}}_{\text{school-field FE}} + \underbrace{\delta_{st}}_{\text{school-time FE}} + \underbrace{\delta_{ftr}}_{\text{field-region-time FE}} + \underbrace{\epsilon_{srf t}}_{\text{Residual}}$$

# Effect of H-1B cap on Enrollment in Majors

	Log(Enrolled)				Log(Passed Exams)			
Mig Exp X Log(H-1B Cap)	0.174*** (0.0639)	0.121*** (0.0447)			0.172*** (0.0643)	0.125*** (0.0348)		
Mig Exp X Log(Non-Indians)			0.139*** (0.0494)	0.0976*** (0.0343)			0.139*** (0.0489)	0.102*** (0.0258)
Observations	8,421	7,649	8,421	7,649	8,421	7,649	8,421	7,649
R-squared	0.914	0.950	0.914	0.950	0.874	0.920	0.874	0.920
School-by-Field FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Field-by-Year FE	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
State-by-Year FE	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Field-State-Year FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
School-Year FE	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes



Alternative leads

Alternative shifters

State level

# Occupation Choice & Migrant Demand

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- Divide Indian states on baseline (pre-1990) CS migration intensity to the US



# Occupation Choice & Migrant Demand

- Divide Indian states on baseline (pre-1990) CS migration intensity to the US
- Pre H-1B, no relationship.
- Post H-1B more growth in exposed states.



# India Labor Response to Migration Opportunities

- Did migration to US impact occupational choice in India?
- Variation across time  $t$ , occs  $o$  & regions  $r$  in India

$$\begin{aligned} \ln(N_{ort}) = & \beta_2 (\text{Mig exposure}_{or} \times \text{Mig Dd}_{ot}) \\ & + \delta_{or} + \delta_{rt} + \delta_{ot} + \epsilon_{ort} \end{aligned}$$

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- A ‘brain-gain’ response. Event Studies Correlated Demand

	All	Young	Log(Employment) Old	All	Young	Old
Mig Exp X Log(H-1B Cap)	0.00778** (0.00373)	0.0187*** (0.00580)	0.000675 (0.00204)			
Mig Exp X Log(Non-Indians)				0.0524*** (0.00955)	0.101*** (0.0126)	0.00509** (0.00226)
Observations	283,133	89,533	45,287	234,369	77,682	35,930
R-squared	0.987	0.977	0.982	0.990	0.981	0.985
State-by-Occ FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occ-by-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

# Model Overview

# Model Overview

## Dynamic Labor Supply

- College-major and Occupation choice: CS vs. Other
- Uncertainty on migration when choosing → “brain gain”.

## Product Market and Labor Demand:

- (1) US, (2) India, (3) Rest of World
- 2 Sectors: (1) Final Goods, and (2) IT Good
- CS generate innovation spillover on technology

# Dynamic Labor Supply

## ■ Major Choice:

- Before joining labor market, students choose major given expected earnings
- Heterogeneous preferences

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- Before joining labor market, students **choose major** given expected earnings
- **Heterogeneous** preferences

## ■ Occupation Choice:

- Dynamic, **occupation (o)** choice thereafter

$$V_{t,a}^o = \max_o \left\{ \underbrace{w_t^o \varepsilon_i^o}_{\text{current wage}} + \underbrace{\chi(a) \times \mathbb{1}(o_t \neq o_{t-1})}_{\text{switching cost}} + \underbrace{\zeta_o}_{\text{Occ. Avg taste}} + \underbrace{\beta \mathbb{E}_t[V_{t+1,a+1}^o]}_{\text{future payoffs}} + \underbrace{\sigma \eta_{i,t}^o}_{\text{preferences}} \right\}$$

- Heterogeneous preferences ( $\eta_{i,t}$ ) and abilities ( $\varepsilon_i^o$ )
- Switching costs vary by age  $a$
- **Occupation-switching mitigates wage impacts**

# Drivers of Brain Gain and Brain Circulation

- **Timing:** Choose occupation in India in  $t \rightarrow$  If CS, draw immigration probability  $p_{t+1} \rightarrow$  If selected, migrate and work in  $t + 1$



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- **Migration Probability:** depends on cap and CS ability  $\rightarrow$  positive selection
- Return migrants are different (**brain circulation**)
  - 15-24% return by 6 years
  - Returning can be endogenous decision based on preferences
  - Not perfect substitutes with non-migrants
  - Return migration: has ambiguous effects on India

# Production

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- US, India, Rest of World: export/import all varieties

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# Production

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  - **Trade mitigates impact of migration:** workers/production shift across sectors
- CS innovation **spillover** on IT technology
- IT good is **intermediate good** in Final output
  - Growth and innovation in IT affects downstream sectors

[Equilibrium](#)[Back](#)

# Labor Demand

- Nested composite of 3 CES nests:
  1. Graduates vs non-grads
  2. CS grads vs non-CS grads
    - As CS workforce increases, demand for complements rise
    - Sector- and Skill-biased technical change over time
  3. In India: return CS vs non-migrant CS
  3. In US: immigrant CS vs native CS

# First Estimate Fundamental Elasticities

- 1 India's labor supply response to migration opportunity
  - Estimated brain gain ✓

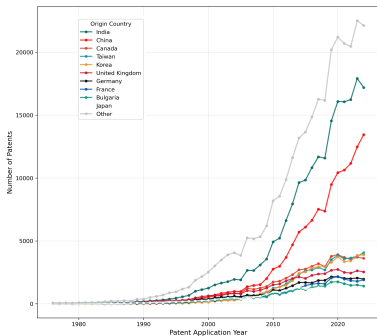


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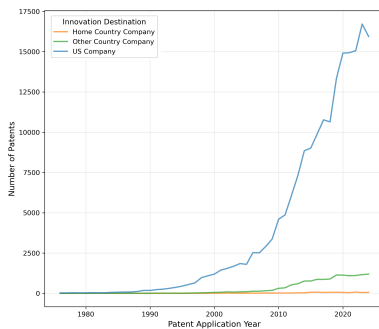
- 1 India's labor supply response to migration opportunity
  - Estimated brain gain ✓
- 2 Computer Science innovation elasticity:
  - Estimate impact on **patents** [Results](#)
  - Leverage: (1) Immigrants concentrated in CS, (2) H-1B cap
- 3 Labor supply elasticity (wrt wages)
  - Dynamic: Long run v Short run elasticity
  - SMM Identification [Details](#)

# Immigrant Patents Driven by Indians

(a) Patents By Country



(b) Assignees



[Back](#)

# SMM Identification

- 1 India's labor supply response to migration opportunity
  - Estimated using shift-share ✓
- 2 Computer Science innovation elasticity:  $T_k = T(CS_k)$ 
  - Estimate impact on patents ✓
- 3 Labor supply elasticity (wrt wages)
  - **Dynamic:** Long run v Short run elasticity [Details](#)
  - “**Innovation Shocks**” shift out labor demand: ‘Trace out’ labor supply curve

# Impact of Migration: Ambiguous Predictions

- Effects on the sending country: India

- Brain-drain vs Brain-gain (skill acquisition) and
- Brain-circulation: return migrants

(Stark 2009, Easterly & Nyarko 2009, Abarcar & Theoharides 2020)

# Impact of Migration: Ambiguous Predictions

- Effects on the **sending** country: **India**
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- Effects on the **receiving** country: **US**
  - Immigrants **expand IT** sector vs Production **shifting abroad**
  - Deteriorate **terms of trade**: IT exports cheaper (Krugman 1979, Davis & Weinstein 2002, Acemoglu, Gancia & Zilibotti 2015)

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  - Deteriorate **terms of trade**: IT exports cheaper (Krugman 1979, Davis & Weinstein 2002, Acemoglu, Gancia & Zilibotti 2015)
- Effects on **workers** in both countries
  - More **CS** (lower wages) vs more innovation (higher wages)
  - For **non-CS**: more demand (higher wages) vs more switching into non-CS (lower wages)  
(Borjas 1999, Kerr & Lincoln 2010, Hunt & Gauthier-Loiselle 2010, Peri et. al. 2015, Doran et. al. 2017, Bound Khanna & Morales 2017)
  - **Consumers**: better off from lower prices, more productivity

# Impact of Migration in 2010

			No occupational choice	
		Baseline	In both countries	In India only
Wages				
	US CS workers	-0.64%		
	India CS workers	-12.27%		
Occupational Choice				
	US CS (native plus immigrant)	2.88%		
	US CS workers	-3.89%		
	India CS workers	42.23%		
IT production				
	US IT output	1.06%		
	India IT output	25.02%		
Welfare				
	Welfare of US natives	0.043%		
	Welfare in India	0.066%		

# Impact of Migration in 2010

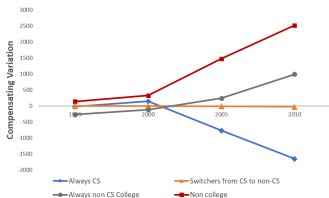
		Baseline	No occupational choice	
			In both countries	In India only
Wages				
	US CS workers	-0.64%	-2.40%	-0.54%
	India CS workers	-12.27%	1.31%	1.47%
Occupational Choice				
	US CS (native plus immigrant)	2.88%	6.72%	3.16%
	US CS workers	-3.89%	-	-3.60%
	India CS workers	42.23%	-	-
IT production				
	US IT output	1.06%	3.84%	2.21%
	India IT output	25.02%	-10.41%	-10.17%
Welfare				
	Welfare of US natives	0.043%	0.061%	0.045%
	Welfare in India	0.066%	-0.055%	-0.053%

- **Brain Gain > Brain Drain:** If can't switch occupations  
India CS / IT can't grow; US IT output will rise

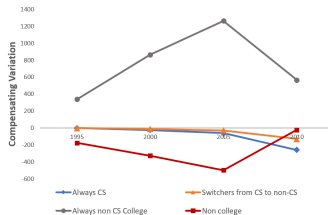


# Distributional Welfare (USD mn)

(a) US native Workers



(b) Workers in India



# Mechanisms

- Return Migration: Results
  - 1 Bring back tech knowhow and enlarge Indian IT sector.
  - 2 But lowers gains from migration – less ‘brain gain’.
- Innovation Spillover: Results
  - 1 Key for India’s welfare gain.

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## ■ Innovation Spillover: Results

- 1 Key for India’s welfare gain.

## ■ Trade and Remittances: Results

- 1 Lower trade costs: more shift in IT production to India
- 2 Remittances shift where income is spent

## ■ Alternative counterfactuals:

- 1 Vary cap-size – results are non-linear but monotonic Results
- 2 Restrictions in later years: different consequences Results

# US Immigration Policy Partly Affected Structural Change in India

- Halving H-1B migration reduces welfare by 0.15%
  - \$55K per migrant
  - \$13K goes to US workers; \$1.1K to Indian non-migrants
- Distributional consequences of migration:
  - In US and India, native computer scientists wages lower
  - Non-CS better off from immigration.
- Important to model occupational switching, trade, innovation, price changes, wage expectations....
- Endogenous skill acquisition key to quantify gains

Thank You!