# The Impact of U.S.-China Tensions on U.S. Science

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Scientific collaboration has become increasingly international.

- From 2008 to 2018, the percentage of science and engineering papers with authors from different countries has increased from 17% to 23% (NSF report, 2019).
- International collaborations in science have resulted in great achievements such as the International Space Station and the completion of the Human Genome Project.

The free flow of ideas facilitates the progress of science.

However, science is never isolated from politics.

- Science and technology are key components of economic growth and military capability.
- Governments care about advances in science and fund scientific research.

International collaborations can cause concern,

• such as the leakage of military technology or intellectual property, especially to competitors.

# This paper: U.S.-China tensions over science

- The U.S. has long been concerned about loss of intellectual property to China.
  - Cyber-theft; Company agreements to transfer IP; Economic espionage; Use of U.S. science by China's military
- $\bullet \rightarrow$  'China Initiative': DOJ countering national security threats from China
- On August 20, 2018, NIH sent letter to American institutes about foreign interference in research.
- As of June 2020, 54 researchers lost their jobs as a result; 93% of those investigated source of foreign support was from China.

# A lot of discussion, little empirical investigation

- Our question: what is the impact on U.S. science?
  - **Data**: scientists with international collaborations more productive.
  - Scientists with international collaborations with institutions in China among most productive.
- Has there been a chilling effect on U.S.-China scientific collaboration?
- How have researchers with collaborations with China been affected?
- Which scientific fields, institutions, and researchers have been most affected?
- What impact does this have on the competitiveness of U.S. and China in science?

We study the impact of the NIH investigations on U.S. scientists in the field of life sciences.

- Quantifying the effect of the NIH investigations
- Interviews of scientists: underlying channels

# Quantifying the effect of the NIH investigations

We exploit: timing of the NIH investigations.

Main findings

- Investigations coincided with a small but significant decline the productivity and significant decline in citations for U.S. life scientists with history of collaborating with research institutes in China.
  - These scientists published fewer papers in life sciences (1.9%) and had fewer citations (7.1%).
- 2. The effects concentrate in particular fields with high U.S.-China collaboration and NIH funding.
- The more affected fields have progressed more slowly in both U.S. and China. If anything, the pattern is more apparent in the U.S.

1. PubMed: the primary database of papers on biomedical topics

- 2010 2020
- 12 million published articles
- Each paper has a unique *PubMed* id

2. Dimensions is a database that covers publications in various disciplines

- We use PubMed id to match papers and authors
- We extract all the publications of PIs in our sample

## U.S.-China collaboration in the Life Sciences



**Figure 1:** PubMed publications indexed by Dimensions by U.S. scientists, 2010-2020

- We employ a difference-in-differences (DID) design to analyze the impact of the NIH investigations
  - **Sample**: PIs with at least two papers in PubMed from 2010-2014
  - **Treatment group**: PIs with at least one paper collaborated with scholars in China between 2010 and 2014
  - **Control group**: Pls with at least one paper collaborated with scholars from any other foreign country between 2010 and 2014
- 32,056 treated PIs and 70,746 untreated PIs
- 4,124,064 total papers
- Treatment date: January 1, 2019 and the pre-treatment period is from 2015 to 2018

#### Average de-meaned outcome for both treated and untreated PIs



• We estimate the following equation:

 $Y_{i,t} = \mu + \beta 1\{ \text{TiesToChina}_i \} * 1\{ \text{Post}_t \} + \alpha_i + \xi_t + X_i * \xi_t + \varepsilon_{i,t},$ 

Ties to China<sub>i</sub> = 1 for treated PIs; Post<sub>t</sub> = 1 when  $t \ge 2019$ ;  $\alpha_i$  and  $\xi_t$ : scientist and year fixed effect;  $X_i$ : 1) #publications, 2) #citations, and 3) #NIH-funded publications in 2010-2014.

- Standard errors are clustered at PI level.
- + entropy balancing, event study

| TABLE 2. THE IMPACTS ON PRODUCTIVITY: MAIN RESULTS |                         |         |         |                      |         |         |  |  |  |
|--|-------------------------|---------|---------|----------------------|---------|---------|--|--|--|
|  | (1)                     | (2)     | (3)     | (4)                  | (5)     | (6)     |  |  |  |
| Panel A  | PubMed Publications     |         |         | PubMed Citations     |         |         |  |  |  |
| Ties to China $\times$ Post                        | -0.020                  | -0.018  | -0.019  | -0.124               | -0.066  | -0.071  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.003)                 | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.008)              | (0.009) | (0.011) |  |  |  |
| Pre-treatment avg.                                 | 1.557                   | 1.557   | 1.557   | 4.17                 | 4.17    | 4.17    |  |  |  |
| R2   | 0.754                   | 0.754   | 0.81    | 0.687                | 0.688   | 0.735   |  |  |  |
| No. of obs.  | 616812                  | 616812  | 616812  | 616812               | 616812  | 616812  |  |  |  |
| Scholar FE   | Υ                       | Υ       | Υ       | Υ                    | Υ       | Υ       |  |  |  |
| Year FE  | Υ                       | Υ       | Υ       | Υ                    | Υ       | Υ       |  |  |  |
| Baseline Covariates <sup>*</sup> Year FE           |                         | Υ       |         |                      | Υ       |         |  |  |  |
| Entropy Balancing                                  |                         |         | Υ       |                      |         | Υ       |  |  |  |
| Panel B  | Non-PubMed Publications |         |         | Non-PubMed Citations |         |         |  |  |  |
| Ties to China $\times$ Post                        | 0.035                   | 0.017   | 0.017   | -0.052               | -0.059  | -0.054  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.004)                 | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.006)              | (0.006) | (0.016) |  |  |  |
| Pre-treatment avg.                                 | 1.011                   | 1.011   | 1.011   | 1.394                | 1.394   | 1.394   |  |  |  |

#### Event study analysis on citations



## Heterogeneous treatment effects: Asian researchers

Racial profiling is an salient issue. Is the effect larger for scientists with Asian names? – We predict the ethnicity.

| TABLE 5. HETEROGENEOUS TREATMENT EFFECTS BY ETHNICHY |                                    |   |                           |                         |                             |  |  |  |  |
|--|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|
|  | Citations by Nature of Publication |   |                           |                         |                             |  |  |  |  |
|  | (1)<br>All                         | (2)<br>NIH-<br>Funded                           | (3)<br>Non NIH-<br>Funded | (4)<br>China-<br>Funded | (5)<br>Non China-<br>Funded |  |  |  |  |
| Ties to China $\times$ Post $\times$ Asian           | -0.008<br>(0.019)                  | -0.070<br>(0.020)                               | 0.034<br>(0.020)          | -0.196<br>(0.013)       | -0.004<br>(0.020)           |  |  |  |  |
| Ties to China $\times$ Post                          | -0.070<br>(0.009)                  | -0.057<br>(0.010)                               | -0.043<br>(0.010)         | -0.117<br>(0.006)       | -0.058<br>(0.009)           |  |  |  |  |
| Post $\times$ Asian                                  | $0.058 \\ (0.014)$                 | $\begin{array}{c} 0.019 \\ (0.014) \end{array}$ | $0.078 \\ (0.014)$        | $0.009 \\ (0.003)$      | $0.056 \\ (0.014)$          |  |  |  |  |
| R2<br>No. of obs.                                    | 0.704<br>616812                    | 0.712<br>616812                                 | 0.683<br>616812           | 0.657<br>616812         | 0.698<br>616812             |  |  |  |  |
| Year FE<br>Baseline Covariates*Year FE               | Y<br>Y<br>Y                        | Y<br>Y<br>Y                                     | Y<br>Y<br>Y               | Y<br>Y<br>Y             | Y<br>Y<br>Y                 |  |  |  |  |

TABLE 3. HETEROGENEOUS TREATMENT EFFECTS BY ETHNICITY

#### Heterogeneous treatment effects: institutions



#### Heterogeneous treatment effects: fields

**Figure 2:** Citation Estimates vs. NIH Funding and US-China Collaborations



# Impact on U.S. and China Competitiveness in Science

- Dimensions: get total counts of papers in each field by:
  - U.S. authors 2010-2020
  - China authors 2010-2020
  - authors from 48 other countries 2010-2020
- For each field:
  - Use a diff-in-diff to estimate relative increase or decrease in growth of China/U.S. in comparison to other countries

$$Y_{c,t} = \mu + \beta_{f,China} \{China\} * \{Post_t\} + \alpha_c + \xi_t + \varepsilon_{c,t}$$

$$Y_{c,t} = \mu + \beta_{f,US} 1\{US\} * 1\{Post_t\} + \alpha_c + \xi_t + \varepsilon_{c,t}, \quad (1)$$

# U.S. and China Competitiveness in Science

- Correlation between:
  - in-sample estimates (impact of N.I.H. investigations on fields)
  - diff-in-diff estimates on total U.S. publications in each field



We have interviewed 12 scientists.

- U.S.-China tensions: scientifically costly for those with existing collaborations
  - Administratively costly
  - Loss of access to resources from China
    - machines, students, funds, ideas
  - Requires reorienting research toward other topics
  - Requires looking for new sources of funding, new collaborators

Clear reticence to start new collaborations with scientists in China.

• Our estimate is a lower bound.

They expect U.S.-China tensions to last.

• The official China Initiative ended in February 2022.

- The NIH investigations impacted the productivity of scientists with previous ties to China
- The impacts are larger for certain fields with high U.S.-China collaboration, high NIH funding
- May have implications for U.S. and China competitiveness

Future work: flow of talent, longer-term impacts.