

# Scientific Education and Innovation: From Technical Diplomas to University STEM Degrees\*

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February 12, 2018

## Abstract

This paper studies the effects of university STEM education on innovation and labor market outcomes by exploiting a change in enrollment requirements in Italian STEM majors. University-level scientific education had two direct effects on the development of patents by students who had acquired a STEM degree. First, the policy changed the direction of their innovation. Second, it allowed these individuals to reach top positions within firms and be more involved in the innovation process. STEM degrees, however, also changed occupational sorting. Some higher-achieving individuals used STEM degrees to enter jobs that required university-level education, but did not focus on patenting.

JEL Classification: I21, I25, I26, I28, J24, O30

Keywords: STEM, human capital, education policy, innovation, patents

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# 1 Introduction

Recent empirical research has documented that inventors are more educated than the average individual, especially in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) fields (Giuri et al., 2007; Jung and Ejermo, 2014; Aghion et al., 2017; Bell et al., 2017; Akcigit, Grigsby and Nicholas, 2017). Establishing a causal effect between education and innovative activities, however, is challenging. Individuals who are inherently more inventive might choose to invest more in education. Moreover, there are multiple channels through which education might affect innovation. In addition to increasing inventive skills, in fact, education might indirectly affect innovative outcomes through students’ occupational choices. Understanding the causal impact of education on innovation can highlight positive externalities of education that are not fully captured by private monetary returns. From a policy perspective, it can help designing interventions to spur economic growth and productivity (Nelson and Phelps, 1966; Lucas, 1988; Mankiw, Romer and Weil, 1992).

This paper studies the causal effect of university-level scientific education on innovation, using a sharp change in the enrollment requirements of Italian STEM majors. Until 1960, only students who graduated from university-prep high schools (hereafter, academic students) could enroll in university STEM majors. Students in technical high schools for industry-sector professionals (hereafter, industrial students) received a practical training in many STEM disciplines, but could not further their scientific education at the university level. In 1961, industrial students were allowed to enroll in university STEM majors for the first time.

Our identification strategy exploits the fact that the change in enrollment requirements increased the probability of receiving a university STEM degree only among the industrial students who completed high school after the policy, but not among older industrial students or students from different high schools. We therefore compare cross-cohort variations in innovative activities between industrial and academic students, who could freely enroll in STEM majors even before the reform.<sup>1</sup>

We leverage three types of administrative data on the population of 46,473 students who completed high school in Milan, the economic and innovative capital of Italy, between 1958 and 1973: historical education data, which Bianchi (2017) collected directly from the archives of high schools and universities; employment histories provided by the Social Security Institute; patents issued by the Italian Patent Office (IPO) between 1968 and 2010,

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<sup>1</sup> We can also compare industrial students to graduates of other technical high schools, who could not enroll in STEM majors even after the reform. In addition to this intent-to-treat analysis, we also isolate the effect of the reform on the industrial students who actually received a STEM degree after the policy using nearest-neighbor matching.

and all international patents included in the European Patent Office’s PATSTAT database. We match the inventors listed in the patent data to school and employment records, using an individual tax code and the name of the employer. This process allows us to identify 869 individuals who produced at least one patent. Thanks to information from the work histories, we can also infer innovative activities that did not lead to patenting. We identify, for example, individuals in occupations that focus on the production of academic research.

We find three key results. First, scientific higher education had a direct impact on the type of innovation produced. Industrial students who had earned a STEM degree became more likely to patent in the fields of chemistry, medicine, and IT, and less likely to patent in mechanics and industrial processes. As a consequence, scientific higher education made the patenting output of industrial and academic students more homogenous. Second, industrial students who had earned a STEM degree became more likely to patent. Compared with similar industrial students who completed high school before the reform, they found employment in similar economic sectors (mostly privately owned manufacturing firms), but became more likely to occupy managerial roles or high-skilled white-collar positions. Third, a university STEM degree changed the sorting into occupations. Some industrial students with high precollegiate ability used the university STEM degree to access self-employed professions and public jobs. These occupations were not accessible with only a high school diploma and did not focus on the production of patents. As a result, these industrial students became less likely to produce patents, because the university STEM degree allowed them to escape technical jobs within manufacturing firms. Data on US patents, however, suggest that these individuals would not have produced high-quality patents, had they stayed in patent-centric positions.

These results corroborate the existing evidence of a positive correlation between education and innovation. Higher human-capital accumulation has the potential to spur and shape innovative outcomes. Our findings, however, complement these results by linking innovation outcomes to several changes in the external and internal labor markets. Our analysis reveals that higher education has a complex effect on innovation, because it can change selection into different occupations. If non-STEM sectors value scientific skills, an increase in scientific education can push some marginal students towards occupations that do not focus on innovation.

This paper contributes to the literature on the returns to education. Previous research has highlighted that education leads to higher wages ([Card, 1999, 2001](#); [Meghir and Rivkin, 2011](#) for a review of this rich line of research); better health ([Lleras-Muney, 2005](#); [Silles, 2009](#); [Cutler and Lleras-Muney, 2010](#); [de Walque, 2010](#); [Webbink, Martin and Visscher, 2010](#); [Eide and Showalter, 2011](#)); lower probability of incarceration and arrest ([Lochner, 2004](#);

Lochner and Moretti, 2004; Buonanno and Leonida, 2009; Cook and Kang, 2016); higher social capital (Dee, 2004; Milligan, Moretti and Oreopoulos, 2004; Wantchekon, Klasnja and Novta, 2015); and other non-monetary benefits (Grossman, 2006). This paper is one of the first to document how completing a STEM degree, instead of a technical high school diploma, affects innovation. Recent studies exploit the establishment of new universities to measure their effects on economic growth (Cantoni and Yuchtman, 2014) and innovation production (Toivanen and Väänänen, 2016; Andrews, 2017). This paper complements their analysis by showing the existence of heterogeneous effects between levels of pre-collegiate achievement, by relating changes in innovation propensity to sorting into different occupations, and by documenting effects on the fields of invention.

Finally, this paper is related to the literature that analyzes the career outcomes of innovators. Murphy, Shleifer and Vishny (1991) and Baumol (1990) study how the allocation of innovative talent across sectors affects economic growth. Philippon (2010) and Lockwood, Nathanson and Weyl (2017) investigate how the tax code could reflect the different degree of innovation between sectors. Shu (2016) describes how STEM students at MIT are selected into financial and scientific careers. This paper complements Shu (2016)'s results by exploiting a discontinuity in the supply of STEM talent, instead of in the demand for STEM skills,.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 describes the change in enrollment requirements in Italian STEM majors. Section 3 describes the data. Section 4 outlines the identification strategy, and Section 5 documents the effects on the fields of invention. Section 6 shows the effects on the likelihood of becoming an inventor. Section 7 investigates changes in occupation, and Section 8 concludes.

## 2 The Reform of Admissions into University STEM Majors

In Italy, there are three main types of high schools: academic, technical, and professional. Academic schools provide a theoretical education in the humanities and the sciences. Technical schools primarily teach applied disciplines related to one field of study and are categorized into different tracks, such as industry, commerce, and education. Students in the industrial track, for example, study applied STEM disciplines, while students in the commercial track study accounting and languages. Professional schools focus on short-term practical training for one specific occupation.

Until 1960, this three-tier high school system heavily influenced admissions into Italian universities. At the top, graduates of academic schools could choose any university major. In the middle, graduates of technical schools could enroll only in business economics, statistics,

and a few other minor programs. Within this group, students in the industrial track were prevented from continuing their STEM studies at the postsecondary level and usually chose not to enroll in the university. At the bottom, graduates of professional schools could not enroll in any university major.

As the Italian industrial sector expanded in the post-WWII period, demand for highly skilled STEM workers increased significantly (Figure A1). Growth in university STEM degrees, however, was constrained by the fact that only students of academic schools—amounting to 30.9 percent of all high school graduates in 1960—could enroll in university STEM majors. The first panel of Figure A2 shows the number of first-year students enrolled as STEM majors in all Italian universities, computed as the share of all high school graduates. Between 1958 and 1960, the enrollment share in STEM majors was constant at 11 percent.

To increase the amount of STEM skills in the economy, a 1961 reform known as “*legge 685/61*” allowed industrial students to enroll in university STEM majors for the first time.<sup>2</sup> The affected majors were engineering, mathematics, physics, natural sciences, biology, geology, and chemistry. Between 1961 and 1964, industrial students competed for a restricted number of available slots and were selected with an exam. Starting in 1965, industrial students were fully equated to academic students and stopped facing an enrollment cap. In 1969, a reform known as “*legge Codignola*” allowed all students to modify the previously rigid university curricula by choosing a higher number of elective courses.<sup>3</sup>

The 1961 reform was associated with a substantial enrollment increase in STEM majors. The enrollment share in university STEM majors increased from 11.1 percent in 1960 to 12.9 percent in 1964 (panel A, Figure A2; ISTAT data). When the remaining restrictions for industrial students were lifted in 1965, the enrollment share in university STEM majors increased to 18.6 percent. This large increase persisted at least until 1973. The second panel of Figure A2 shows the number of first-year industrial students enrolled as STEM majors, again computed as the share of all high school graduates. The enrollment share in STEM majors of industrial students grew from 1.7 percent in 1963 to 2 percent in 1964. In 1965, it increased dramatically to 6.8 percent and did not decrease through 1973.

### 3 Data

We analyze the effects of university STEM education on innovation by combining different types of administrative data on students who completed high school in Milan between 1958

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<sup>2</sup> Bianchi (2017) describes in greater details the effects of this reform on the accumulation of human capital.

<sup>3</sup> The same “*legge Codignola*” granted all high school graduates access to any university major, regardless of the type of high school diploma. This part of the reform did not have any significant effect on the education choices of industrial students, as many of them kept enrolling in STEM programs.

and 1973. Milan provides an interesting setting for a study on innovative activities, due to its high propensity to innovation. According to the universe of patents issued by the Italian Patent Office between 1968 and 2010, 12.7 percent of patents were granted to an assignee located in Milan, despite the fact that Milan hosts only 2.1 percent of the Italian population (2011 Census).

### 3.1 Education Data

Bianchi (2017) collected and digitized the high school registers of 46,473 students who received an academic or technical diploma in Milan between 1958 and 1973. In addition to key identifying variables such as full name, birthdate, and birthplace, the registers contain information about performance on the high school exit exam (*maturità*). We standardize the high school grades by school and cohort and use them as a measure of pre-collegiate achievement. Moreover, we can compute the average grade of each student’s closest peers, because each cohort was divided in small classes of 20–30 students attending lectures together. We use the classmates’ average score as a measure of pre-collegiate peer effects. From the registers, we also identify “home-schooled” students who graduated from the school without attending the regular school year. These students were either educated at home or enrolled in private schools not allowed to administer the final exam.

Bianchi (2017) also collected and digitized student records kept by three universities in Milan: the Polytechnic University of Milan, the University of Milan, and the private Catholic University of the Sacred Heart.<sup>4</sup> Collecting data exclusively from universities in Milan does not lead to a biased sample, because almost all students from Milan chose a local university: 94.1 percent in 1956 and 93.5 percent in 1967, according to the Italian Bureau of Statistics (ISTAT). For each student, we know the major chosen, year of enrollment, grade received in each university course, and final outcome (graduation, transfer, or dropout).

### 3.2 Occupation Data

Out of 46,473 students, 41,851 (90 percent) had a record in the database of the Italian Social Security Institute (INPS), a government agency that administers pensions and other forms of benefit mainly to employees in the private sector. INPS maintains an employer-employee panel database on all Italian workers, including self-employed and public employees. The information available for workers other than private employees, however, is limited to the

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<sup>4</sup> Our sample does not include data from the private Bocconi University. Bocconi University is not relevant for the analysis, because it offered only a business economics major (accessible to technical students before 1961), charged high tuition fees, and admitted only a limited number of students each year.

pension fund to which they were contributing in a given year. Because the pension funds are tied to different jobs, we can categorize all workers in the sample into 40 occupations (Table A1).

Most workers are employees in the private sector (64.4 percent), while 5.9 percent are public employees. The rest of the sample is represented by self-employed professionals, entrepreneurs, and other employees of private or public companies with special pension benefits (for example, postal service employees).

For employees in the private sector, we have additional information on the industry, position within the firm (apprentice, low/high blue collar, low/high white collar, or manager), and in some cases compensation.

### 3.3 Patent Data

We measure the innovative activity of individuals in the sample with data on the patents issued by the Italian Patent Office (IPO) between 1968 and 2010, and on the international patents included in the European Patent Office’s PATSTAT database. The data distinguish between the assignees of a patent (the firms or individuals owning the intellectual property rights over the patented invention) and the inventors (the individuals who contributed to its development). This feature allows us to capture innovative activity even when the individual develops a patent as an employee or consultant without retaining any property right.

We matched the list of high school graduates to the list of inventors in different stages. Initially, we used the full name of the individuals to find 43,246 possible patent-individual matches. This first step ruled out the vast majority of irrelevant patents, but led to a large number of false positives. To improve the matching process, we employed three subsequent refinements. First, we exploited the fact that 7,796 matched patent-individual combinations issued after 1989 contained the tax code, which is a unique individual identifier for tax purposes. For these observations, we used the students’ tax codes to find 496 correct and 7,300 incorrect matches. Second, we used the social security data to verify whether the employer of the alleged inventor matched the patent assignee in the year of the patent application. Thanks to the work histories provided by INPS, we were able to verify 2,662 matches as correct and 27,642 as incorrect. Third, we hired several contractors to search additional information on the matched inventors—such as birthdate, birthplace, and education—on LinkedIn or company websites. To improve precision, we sent each entry (a patent-inventor combination) to multiple contractors and personally checked all the data found online. Out of 880 patent-individual combinations for which we were able to find additional information, we were able to verify 663 of them as correct and 217 as incorrect.

Out of the initial 43,246 matched patent-inventor combinations, we verified 38,980 entries and found 3,821 correct matches. In the main analysis, we dropped the 4,266 unverified patents from the sample, although the main results are robust to their inclusion (Section 6.8).

### 3.4 Characteristics of Inventors

Out of 46,473 students, 869 inventors (1.9 percent of the sample) developed a total of 3,821 patents (Table 1). On average, one inventor is linked to four patents, but the distribution is heavily skewed to the right (median 2; 99th percentile 31). Relative to the rest of the sample, inventors are 22.9 percentage points more likely to be male and 0.7 years older. In addition, 64.1 percent of inventors received an industrial diploma, compared with 35.1 percent of non-inventors. As expected, inventors are positively selected in terms of academic abilities: they received a high school grade 0.26 standard deviations higher than the mean. Compared with the rest of the sample, inventors were more likely to attend university studies, especially in a STEM program, and were more likely to graduate. The retention rate in STEM majors is 80 percent for inventors and 65.1 percent for the rest of the sample. In the labor market, 93.6 percent of inventors were employees in the private sector, compared with only 88.5 percent of non-inventors. Outside of the private sector, inventors were more prominent in research-oriented jobs, such as university professors and academic researchers (2.4 percent versus 1.2 percent among non-inventors). Within the private sector, inventors were more likely to work in manufacturing (83.8 percent versus 52.1 percent) and in R&D (2.3 percent versus 0.9 percent). In addition, inventors were more likely to reach managerial positions. The share of managers is 55.6 percent among inventors, but only 29.2 percent among non-inventors.

## 4 Identification

### 4.1 All Industrial and Academic Students

We compare the innovative outcomes of industrial and academic students. Students with an academic diploma were not directly affected by the change in university access, since they could freely enroll in university STEM majors before and after 1961.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the policy significantly increased university STEM education only among industrial students who completed high school after 1961. Relative to academic students, the graduation rate

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<sup>5</sup> By granting access to university STEM majors, the 1961 reform significantly increased the option value associated with an industrial diploma. As a result, the selection of students into different types of high schools might have changed. In Section 6.7, we perform several robustness checks to address this concern.

of industrial students in STEM majors increased by 4.0 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 17.2 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 16.7 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A2, panel A, column 1).<sup>6</sup> All increases are statistically and economically significant.

The differential increase in university STEM education occurred only among cohorts who finished high school after 1961, even though the reform granted every cohort of industrial students access to STEM degrees. The coefficients of the interaction between pre-reform cohort fixed effects, 1959 and 1960, and Industrial, a dummy variable equal to 1 for industrial students, are not statistically significant (Table A2, panel A, column 2). Similarly, the coefficient of the interaction between a pre-reform linear trend and the variable Industrial is close to zero and not statistically significant (Table A2, panel A, column 3). The differential change in university STEM education results from two separate effects: a large cross-cohort increase among industrial students, as well as a decrease among academic students (Figure 1, panel A). This decreasing pattern suggests that some academic students might have decided to avoid STEM majors after 1961, in favor of other programs still not accessible to industrial students (Bianchi, 2017). In Section 4.2, we propose an alternative specification that addresses this fact.

In the empirical analysis, we estimate the regression

$$\text{Invention}_{it} = \alpha + \beta \text{Industrial}_i + \gamma_t + \sum_t \delta_t [\text{Industrial}_i \times \text{Post}_t] + \zeta X_{it} + u_{it} \quad (1)$$

on a sample that comprises industrial and academic students. The unit of observation is a student  $i$ , who completed high school in year  $t$ . The dependent variable  $\text{Invention}_{it}$  is a measure of innovative activity, such as a dummy variable equal to 1 for the individuals who developed at least one patent between 1968 and 2010, the number of developed patents, or the number of technological fields in which an individual invented.  $\text{Post}_t$  is a series of dummy variables that identify the cohorts who completed high school after the first policy implementation:  $\text{Post 1961}$  is 1 for students who completed high school between 1961 and 1964,  $\text{Post 1965}$  is 1 for students who completed high school between 1965 and 1968, and  $\text{Post 1969}$  is 1 for students who completed high school between 1969 and 1973.  $\text{Industrial}_i$  is a dummy that identifies industrial students.  $\gamma_t$  are cohort fixed effects, while  $X_{it}$  are student characteristics, such as gender, province of birth fixed effects, high school fixed effects, the average standardized score of the closest peers in high school, a dummy for home-schooled

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<sup>6</sup> Here and in the rest of the paper, the phrase “between 1961 and 1964” refers to the cohorts who completed high school between 1961 and 1964, “between 1965 and 1968” to the cohorts who completed high school between 1965 and 1968, and “between 1969 and 1973” to the cohorts who completed high school between 1969 and 1973.

students, and a dummy for students who graduated high school on time at 19. Standard errors are clustered at the high school and cohort level.

We explore the existence of a common pre-trend in innovative activity between industrial and academic students by creating a new dataset in which each observation represents a different combination of year of high school graduation, high school class—defined as a small group of 20–30 students attending lectures together—and quartile of pre-collegiate achievement. We then test whether the number of inventors in industrial and academic classes followed a different trend before 1961. The coefficient of the interaction between a pre-reform trend and the dummy variable *Industrial* is not statistically different from zero (Table 2, panel A, column 1). This finding does not change if the linear trend is replaced by cohort fixed effects: the coefficients of *Industrial* x 1959 and *Industrial* x 1960 are small and not statistically significant (Table 2, panel A, column 2). Similarly, there is no evidence of differential pre-reform trends if we replace the inventor count with the number of patents developed by each observational unit (Table 2, panel A, columns 3 and 4).

## 4.2 Matched Industrial and Academic Students

In addition to the previous intent-to-treat estimation, we intend to isolate the effect of university STEM education on the industrial students who actually received a STEM degree after 1961. The challenge in performing this analysis is that we do not directly observe the industrial students in the pre-reform cohorts who would have completed a STEM degree, had they graduated high school after 1961. To create a balanced pre-reform sample, we match post-reform industrial students with a STEM degree to pre-reform industrial students, using nearest-neighbor propensity score matching. We first limit the sample to male students, because female participation into high school increased over time. We then compute the propensity scores using the available pre-collegiate characteristics, such as high school fixed effects, the score in the exit exam, the average score of the high school’s peers, and a dummy for home-schooled students. We repeat this process for each quartile of pre-collegiate ability and pre-reform cohorts.

The resulting sample of 1,719 industrial students has balanced characteristics before and after 1961 (Table A3, panel A). All the observable characteristics used in the matching process do not statistically differ between post-reform students with a STEM degree and matched pre-reform industrial students. Among higher-achieving students, for example, the average high school score is equal to 1.68 standard deviations among pre-reform matched students and to 1.75 standard deviations among post-reform students with a STEM degree. The difference is small and not statistically significant. It is also interesting to note that

a variable not used to compute the propensity scores—a dummy that identifies students completing high school at the standard age of 19—is balanced between the two groups.

As a control group, we use academic students with a STEM degree. As a direct response to the entry of industrial students in STEM majors, however, some academic students might have turned to different university programs after 1961, changing the average characteristics of STEM students with an academic diploma. To address this concern, we select only pre-reform academic students who would have been more likely to receive a STEM degree, had they completed high school after 1961. Using the same nearest-neighbor propensity score algorithm, we match post-reform academic students with a STEM degree to pre-reform academic students with a STEM degree. The result is a sample of 3,001 academic students with a STEM degree, whose characteristics are balanced across cohorts (Table A3, panel B).

In the empirical analysis, we then re-estimate regression (1) on a sample that includes only matched industrial and academic students. The data indicate that the innovative activity of these two groups of students followed a similar pre-reform path (Table 2, panel B).

### 4.3 Other Intent-to-Treat Specifications

**All Industrial and Commercial Students.** In this specification, we compare industrial students to graduates of commercial-track technical schools. Before 1961, commercial students could enroll in the same set of university majors that were available to industrial students. In 1961, however, they did not become eligible for STEM programs.<sup>7</sup> Relative to commercial students, the STEM graduation rate of industrial students increased by 3.7 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 13.1 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 8.1 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A2, panel B, column 1). In the empirical analysis, we then re-estimate regression (1) on a sample that includes solely industrial and commercial students. The innovative activities of these two groups of students followed a common trend before the reform (Table 2, panel C).

**Higher- and Lower-Achieving Industrial Students.** We can also explore how university STEM education changed the innovative outcomes of industrial students with different pre-collegiate skills. Within each post-reform cohort, in fact, STEM graduation rates increased more among industrial students with higher pre-collegiate achievement (Figure 1, panel C). Relative to industrial students with lower pre-collegiate achievement, STEM graduation rates of industrial students who scored in the top quartile of the high school

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<sup>7</sup> Commercial students could enroll in STEM majors only from 1969, when university admissions stopped depending on the type of high school diploma. Even after 1969, however, very few commercial students chose a STEM major.

exit exam increased by 8.2 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 11.9 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 9.6 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A2, panel C, column 1). The inclusion of controls for pre-reform trends indicate that these increases do not precede the implementation of the first reform (Table A2, panel C, columns 2 and 3).

We estimate the regression

$$\text{Invention}_{it} = \alpha + \beta \text{Top}_i + \gamma_t + \sum_t \delta_t [\text{Top}_i \times \text{Post}_t] + \zeta X_{it} + u_{it}, \quad (2)$$

where  $\text{Top}_i$  is a dummy variable equal to 1 for industrial students in the top quartile of their high school grade distribution. This sample includes only students with an industrial diploma. We investigate the existence of different pre-reform trends in the innovative outcomes of industrial students with varying pre-collegiate skills. The number of inventors among top and other industrial students were on the same path before 1961: the coefficient of the interaction between the variables Pre-reform trend and Top is close to zero and not statistically significant (Table 2, panel D, column 1). These findings are robust to alternative specifications of both the pre-reform trend and the measure of innovative activity (Table 2, panel D, columns 2 to 4).

**Triple Differences.** Equation 1 attributes any post-reform change in the innovative activity of industrial students to the increase in STEM education. Omitted factors, however, might have affected the innovation propensity of industrial students who completed high school after 1961. Technological change, for example, might have differentially affected the propensity of younger industrial and academic students to innovate. We therefore compare the cross-cohort differential change in innovative activity of top and other industrial students to the differential change of top and other students with other high school diplomas. We estimate the regression:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Invention}_{it} = & \alpha + \beta \text{Top}_i + \gamma_t + \sum_t \delta_t [\text{Top}_i \times \text{Post}_t] \\ & + \sum_t \eta_t [\text{Industrial}_i \times \text{Post}_t] + \theta [\text{Industrial}_i \times \text{Top}_i] \\ & + \sum_t \lambda_t [\text{Industrial}_i \times \text{Top}_i \times \text{Post}_t] + \zeta X_{it} + u_{it}, \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

on two different samples, one with academic students and the other with commercial students as controls. This difference-in-difference-in-differences specification allows us to control for

time-varying omitted factors that differentially affected students with different diplomas, as well as students with varying pre-collegiate ability.

## 5 Effects on the Type of Innovation

In this section, we study whether a university STEM education had a direct impact on the innovative activities of industrial students by leveraging information on the field of invention from patent applications. Each granted patent, in fact, is assigned to a class that identifies the technological area to which the invention belongs. Following the International Patent Classification (IPC), we divide the matched patents into 10 major fields: human necessities, medicine (class A61), industrial operations, chemistry, textiles, constructions, mechanical engineering, physics, electricity, and IT (classes H03, H04, G06, and G11).

### 5.1 Graphical Evidence

Industrial and academic students produced patents in different technological areas before 1961. The distribution of inventors in pre-reform cohorts across different technological areas shows that 24.7 percent of inventors with an academic diploma patented in the field of chemistry, compared with only 13.1 percent of inventors with an industrial diploma (Figure 2, panel A). Similarly, academic students with STEM degrees were more likely to patent in medicine (9.3 percent versus 7.1 percent); textiles (3.1 percent versus 1.2 percent); constructions (6.2 percent versus 2.4 percent); and IT (4.1 percent versus 3.6 percent).

The industrial students who pursued a STEM degree after 1961 began patenting more in the same fields in which academic students with a STEM degree had been more prevalent before 1961 (Figure 2, panel B). The share of inventors with an industrial diploma and a STEM degree increased by 7.1 percentage points in chemistry and by 8.2 percentage points in medicine. In industrial operations—in which industrial students were more likely to patent before the reform—the share of industrial inventors with a STEM degree decreased by 5.1 percentage points. The industrial students who did not receive a STEM degree after 1961 exhibit a different pattern (Figure 2, panel C). Their likelihood to patent did not increase in chemistry and medicine, but increased by 1.1 percentage points in industrial operations. This last graph suggests that more patenting in fields such as chemistry and medicine by industrial students who pursued a STEM degree after 1961 does not reflect secular changes in technology, but is likely driven by access to university STEM education.

## 5.2 Regression Analysis

To further analyze changes in the type of innovation, we estimate equation 1 on the sample of individuals who patented at least once. In these regressions, the dependent variable  $\text{STEM field}_{it}$  is equal to 1 if an inventor patented at least once in a STEM-oriented technological area. We define STEM-oriented fields as those in which academic students with a STEM degree were more likely to patent before 1961. The likelihood of industrial students to patent in medicine, chemistry, or IT increased by 26.4 additional percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 21.5 additional percentage points between 1969 and 1973, compared with academic students (Table 3, panel A, column 1). The coefficients imply a 58 to 72 percent increase, relative to the pre-reform baseline. The results are robust if we use a less restrictive definition of STEM-oriented fields, which includes all five areas with a higher share of academic students before 1961 (medicine, chemistry, IT, constructions, textiles). In this case, the probability of industrial students to patent in STEM fields increased by 26.09 additional percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 28.10 additional percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 3, panel A, column 1). If we repeat the analysis separately on students with higher (top quartile of high school grades, columns 3 and 4) and lower (bottom three quartiles of high school grades, columns 5 and 6) precollegiate ability, the coefficients remain positive, but are less precisely estimated.<sup>8</sup>

We can repeat the analysis by estimating equation (1) on the smaller sample of matched students who attained a STEM degree. The estimates indicate a large increase in the probability of innovating in STEM-oriented fields after 1961. The probability of patenting in chemistry, medicine, or IT among matched industrial students with a STEM degree increased by 69.9 additional percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 46.7 additional percentage points between 1969 and 1973, compared with matched academic students with a STEM degree (Table 3, panel B, column 1). These coefficients indicate that innovative activities in these areas increased between 164 and 245 percent, relative to the pre-reform baseline. These findings are robust if we use a less-restrictive definition of STEM fields (Table 3, panel B, column 2) or if we divide the sample between higher- and lower-achieving students (Table 3, panel B, columns 3 to 6).

## 6 Effects on Innovation Propensity

This section describes the effects of increased university STEM education on the probability of producing patents. Double- and triple-difference regressions reveal the existence of

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<sup>8</sup> This increase in the standard errors is likely due to the small size of the two samples: only 241 higher-achieving and 577 lower-achieving inventors.

heterogeneous effects on innovation between levels of pre-collegiate achievement.

## 6.1 Theoretical Framework

In this section, we introduce a simple theoretical framework to assess how access to STEM majors might have affected the innovation propensity of industrial students. We assume the existence of two sectors: a STEM sector, in which individuals have the option to innovate, and a non-STEM sector, which does not produce any innovation. Individuals, therefore, have three occupational choices: working in a STEM field and inventing, working in a STEM field without inventing, and working in a non-STEM field.

The utility of an industrial student in STEM fields (without individual subscripts) is

$$u_S = d \cdot w_d + (1 - d) \cdot w_{hs} + i \cdot g(a, d) + \varepsilon_S, \quad (4)$$

where  $d$  is equal to 1 for individuals with a university STEM degree, and is 0 for individuals with an industrial high school diploma. The wages  $w_d$  and  $w_{hs}$  capture the different marginal returns of university-level and high school-level STEM skills. The function  $g(a, d)$  captures the personal net gains from innovation and depends positively on natural ability ( $a$ ) and possibly on human capital ( $d$ ). The dummy variable  $i$  is equal to 1 for inventors, and 0 otherwise. If education has a positive effect on innovation, the function  $g()$  is increasing in  $d$ :  $g(a, 1) > g(a, 0)$ , keeping  $a$  fixed.

The production function in the non-STEM sector utilizes university-level STEM human capital, but does not employ workers with a more narrowly applicable industrial high school diploma. The utility of an industrial student in non-STEM fields is

$$\begin{cases} u_N = w_n - c(a) + \varepsilon_N & \text{if } d = 1 \\ u_N = 0 & \text{if } d = 0, \end{cases} \quad (5)$$

where  $c(a)$  is a cost that STEM graduates incur by finding a job in a non-STEM field. This cost function  $c()$ , which decreases with natural ability, might capture the challenges of working in an industry without any related academic preparation. STEM graduates who find employment in finance, for example, might have to learn post-graduation how financial markets work. The function  $c()$  might also describe the existence of barriers to entry into non-innovative occupations, such as strict licensing regulations. Because the errors  $\varepsilon_S$  and  $\varepsilon_N$  follow a univariate extreme value distribution, we can write the probability of each occupational choice as a multinomial logit.

In this setting, acquiring a university STEM degree has an ambiguous effect on the probability of inventing.<sup>9</sup> Moving from an industrial high school diploma to a university STEM degree, in fact, has two opposite effects on the probability of producing innovation. First, if function  $g(\cdot)$  is increasing in  $d$ , a university STEM education increases the net gains of innovation and induces more people to become inventors. This is the direct effect of increased human capital on innovative activities. Second, a university STEM education might push some individuals into the non-STEM sector, which was not a viable option with just an industrial diploma.

Moreover, the selection of industrial students into non-STEM majors also depends on two counteracting forces. On the one hand, higher-ability students incur a lower cost of adapting to an unfamiliar economic sector, because  $c(\cdot)$  is decreasing in  $a$ . On the other hand, they gain more from innovative activities in the STEM sector, because  $g(\cdot)$  is increasing in  $a$ . If the former effect prevails, the most able industrial students would move towards the non-STEM sector after receiving a university STEM degree.

## 6.2 Intent-to-Treat Analysis: All Industrial vs. Academic Students

We first estimate equation 1 using as the dependent variable an indicator for students who patented at least once between 1968 and 2010. The estimating sample includes all industrial and academic students. There is no evidence of a differential change in the propensity to innovate between industrial and academic students who completed high school between 1961 and 1968 (Table 4, panel A, column 1). Among the cohorts who completed high school between 1969 and 1973, the propensity of industrial students to innovate decreased by 1.1 percentage points. The effect of increased STEM education, however, varied extensively across students with different pre-collegiate achievement.

The likelihood of becoming an inventor decreased for industrial students who scored in the top quartile of the high school exit exam. Compared with top academic students, the propensity of top industrial students to innovate decreased by 0.02 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 3.2 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 4.0 percentage points between 1969 and 1973. The last two coefficients are statistically significant at the 5 and 1 percent level, respectively. Considering that 7.4 percent of top industrial students became inventors before 1961, these effects imply that the propensity of top industrial students to innovate decreased by 43 to 54 percent. These results are robust to the inclusion of controls for pre-reform trends in the inventiveness of top industrial students (Table 4, panel A, column 4). Panel A of Figure 3 shows separately the cross-cohort change in the innovation propensity

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<sup>9</sup> Appendix B contains more details about these predictions.

of top industrial and academic students. While the propensity of top academic students to innovate stayed fixed, the probability of becoming an inventor of top industrial students decreased significantly after 1965.<sup>10</sup>

Among lower-achieving industrial students, the propensity to innovate increased after the reform. Their probability of becoming an inventor increased by 1.2 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and did not change significantly among other post-reform cohorts (Table 4, panel A, columns 5 and 6).<sup>11</sup>

### 6.3 Effect on the Industrial Students with a University STEM Degree

We then isolate the effect of increased access into STEM majors on the industrial students who pursued a STEM degree after 1961 by matching pre-reform industrial students to post-reform industrial students with a STEM degree. In order to have a balanced control group, we also matched pre-reform academic students with a STEM degree to post-reform academic students with a STEM degree.

This analysis confirms that the effects of scientific education on innovation are heterogeneous across levels of pre-collegiate achievement. Among industrial students scoring in the top quartile of the high school exit exam and receiving a STEM degree, the probability of becoming an inventor decreased by 0.4 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 6.8 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 6.3 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 4, panel B, column 3). These findings suggest that the innovation propensity decreased by 53 to 58 percent after 1965, relative to the pre-reform baseline.

Among industrial students scoring in the bottom three quartiles of the high school exit exam and receiving a STEM degree, the probability of becoming an inventor increased by 6.6 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 7.9 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 5.3 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 4, panel B, column 5). All three coefficients are statistically different from zero and robust to the inclusion of a linear pre-reform trend (Table 4, panel B, column 6). This finding does not originate from the fact that the matching process selected fewer inventors among the pre-reform cohorts. The share of inventors before 1961, in fact, is equal to 5.6 percent in the matched sample, but only to 3.5 percent in the full sample.

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<sup>10</sup>The lack of a significant decline between 1961 and 1964 could be due to the fact that these cohorts were still facing enrollment caps into STEM majors. In Section C of the appendix, we explore a different hypothesis. Data from university transcripts show that students selected different electives exams after 1965. Different exam choices might have affected human capital accumulation and, in turn, innovation outcomes.

<sup>11</sup>Instrumental variable estimates of the effect of receiving a STEM degree on the probability of becoming an inventor confirm this heterogeneous pattern (Table A4).

## 6.4 Other Intent-to-Treat Specifications

**Industrial vs. Commercial Students.** The results are robust if we compare industrial and commercial students. Among students scoring in the top quartile of the grade distribution, the probability of becoming an inventor decreased by 4.2 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 5.6 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A5, column 3). Among lower-achieving students, the coefficients are close to zero, indicating small changes in innovation propensity (Table A5, column 5).

**Top Industrial vs. Other Industrial Students.** We then estimate equation 2 by comparing industrial students in the top quartile of the grade distribution to industrial students with lower pre-collegiate achievement. The propensity of top industrial students to innovate decreased by 3.5 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 3.6 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A6, panel A, column 1). The estimates are robust to the inclusion of a linear pre-reform trend for top students, one for each ability quartile, one for each high school, and one for each combination of high school and ability quartile (Table A6, panel A, columns 2-5).

**Triple Differences.** We finally compare changes in innovative output between industrial and academic students, between levels of pre-collegiate achievement, and across cohorts of high school graduation (triple differences). The likelihood of becoming an inventor among top industrial students decreased by 3.9 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 3.3 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A6, panel B, column 1). The findings of these triple differences are robust to the inclusion of different pre-reform trends (Table A6, panel B, columns 2-5), as well as the use of commercial students as a control group (Table A6, panel C).<sup>12</sup>

## 6.5 Number of Patents and Technological Fields

We estimate equation 1 with two alternative measures of innovative output: the number of developed patents and the number of different fields of invention. In the matched sample, industrial students who received a STEM degree after 1961 and scored in the top quartile of pre-collegiate achievement did not develop fewer patents after 1961 (the coefficients are negative after 1965, but not statistically significant), but were active inventors in fewer

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<sup>12</sup>In Tables A12 and A14, we estimate a probit regression, instead of a linear probability model. We also re-estimate the main regression identifying as inventors only individuals who developed at least one patent between 29 and 56 years old (the age range that we observe for all cohorts in the sample). These robustness checks confirm the main findings.

technological areas (Table A7, panel C).<sup>13</sup> Top industrial students produced patents in 0.16 fewer fields between 1965 and 1968, and in 0.15 fewer fields between 1969 and 1973 (Table A7, panel C, column 2). The magnitude of these coefficients indicates a 60 to 64 percent decrease in the number of active research fields.<sup>14</sup>

Industrial students scoring in the bottom three quartiles of pre-collegiate achievement developed more patents after 1961 and became active inventors in more technological areas. Lower-achieving industrial students with a STEM degree produced 1.3 more patents between 1961 and 1964, 0.6 more patents between 1965 and 1968, and 0.4 more patents between 1969 and 1973 (Table A7, panel C, column 5). Similarly, they became active inventors in 0.19 more fields between 1961 and 1964, in 0.20 more fields between 1965 and 1968, and in 0.15 more fields between 1969 and 1973 (Table A7, panel C, column 6). These findings are robust to the estimation of negative binomial regressions (Table A7, panel C, columns 7 and 8).

We measure variations in the productivity of inventors by estimating the same regressions on the smaller sample of students who developed at least one patent (Table A9). Although most estimates are not precise, the number of active research fields increased significantly after 1961 among lower-achieving industrial inventors with a STEM degree (Table A9, panel C, columns 6 and 8).

## 6.6 Controlling for Patent Quality

The patent count is an imperfect measure of innovation because patents can vary in their innovative content (Griliches, 1990). To control for patent quality, Trajtenberg (1990) suggests using the number of forward citations, because a common requirement in patent applications is to include references to previous related inventions. Citations, however, are not available in the Italian patent data. To address this issue, we matched the 46,473 individuals in our sample with inventors in the NBER US Patent Citation Data File (Hall, Jaffe and Trajtenberg, 2001), following the same procedure described in Section 3.3. Out of 869 total inventors in our sample, 301 patented at least once in the United States. We consider these 301 individuals as inventors of higher-quality (or higher-valuation) patents, because patenting for an Italian inventor is more expensive in the United States than in

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<sup>13</sup>The intent-to-treat analysis in panel A (vs. academic students) and B (vs. commercial students) of Table A7 leads to similar findings. The triple-difference specifications are in the Appendix Table A8.

<sup>14</sup>Negative binomial estimates suggest that top industrial students produced patents in 0.11 fewer fields between 1965 and 1968, and in 0.12 fewer fields between 1969 and 1973, although the coefficients are not statistically different from zero (Table A7, panel C, column 4).

Italy.<sup>15</sup>

We then repeat our analysis on the probability of developing at least one patent issued by the US Patent Office (Table A15). The intent-to-treat analysis (panels A and B) is consistent with the main findings in Table 4: the decrease in innovation propensity is larger among higher-achieving industrial students. If we focus on individuals who received a STEM degree after 1961 (panel C, the matched sample), the data reveal different effects for higher- and lower-achieving students. Among industrial students scoring in the top quartile of the pre-collegiate distribution and receiving a STEM degree after 1961, there is not a significant change in innovation propensity. This result suggests that the decrease observed using Italian patents is driven by individuals who would not have produced higher-quality inventions covered by US patents. This finding is robust to two different dependent variables: a dummy for inventors of US patents (Table A15, panel C, column 3), and the citation-weighted number of developed US patents (Table A15, panel C, column 4).

Among lower-achieving industrial students with a STEM degree, however, there is a significant increase in innovation propensity. The probability of developing at least one US patent increased by 4.8 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 5.3 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 3.7 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A15, panel C, column 5). The coefficients are statistically significant at the 10, 5, and 10 percent level, respectively.

## 6.7 Controlling for Entry into Industrial High Schools

The reform might have changed selection into different high schools, drawing students who were interested in pursuing a university STEM degree into industrial schools. Here we present several tests that address this concern.

First, we estimate equation 2 using only data from either academic students (Table A11, panel A) or commercial students (Table A11, panel B). In both cases, the analysis indicates that after 1961 the probability of becoming an inventor did not change between academic or commercial students with higher and lower pre-collegiate achievement. The coefficients of the interaction between post-reform cohort dummies and  $Top_i$  are all close to zero and not statistically significant.<sup>16</sup> These findings rule out the hypothesis that the most or least inventive students switched to industrial schools after the reforms, because the

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<sup>15</sup>Although the direct fees charged by the two patent offices are comparable (a minimum of \$70 in the United States and €50 in Italy), an Italian inventor who aspires to patent in the the United States will need a professional English translation of the patent documents and most likely the help of a local patent attorney.

<sup>16</sup>The findings are robust to the choice of different dependent variables, such as the number of developed patents or the number of different areas of innovation (Table A11, columns 3 to 6).

average probability of becoming an inventor did not change among students attending other high schools.

Second, we estimate equation 1 on a smaller sample of students who completed high school before 1966. These cohorts, in fact, enrolled in high school before the implementation of the first policy (1961) and could not have easily transferred to other types of schools after 1961.<sup>17</sup> Among high-achieving industrial students, the intent-to-treat analysis confirms that the decrease in innovation started before 1966. Compared with academic students, the probability of becoming an inventor among top industrial students decreased by 0.9 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, and by 4.8 percentage points in 1965 (Table A12, panel A, column 3). If we focus on the top industrial students who received a STEM degree, the data indicate that the probability of becoming an inventor decreased by 4.52 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, and by 4.7 percentage points in 1965 (Table A12, panel C, column 3). These coefficients, however, are not precisely estimated. Among industrial students who scored in the bottom three quartiles of pre-collegiate achievement, the increase in innovation propensity is statistically significant before 1966. In panel C, for example, the data indicate that lower-achieving industrial students with a STEM degree became more likely to innovate by 8.1 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, and by 14.7 percentage points in 1965, relative to pre-reform cohorts and academic students with a STEM degree (Table A12, panel C, column 8). The results are robust to the use of commercial students as a control group (Table A12, panel B, columns 3 and 8).

Third, we estimate equation 1 using weights that keep the average observable characteristics of the sample constant across pre- and post-reform cohorts (DiNardo, Fortin and Lemieux, 1996). These weighted OLS estimators confirm the existence of a decrease in innovation propensity among top industrial students. Compared with academic students, the probability of becoming an inventor of top industrial students decreased by 0.6 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 3.9 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 4.3 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A12, panel A, column 4). Among industrial students scoring in the bottom three quartiles of pre-collegiate achievement, however, the share of inventors increased by 1.3 percentage points between 1965 and 1968 (Table A12, panel A, column 9). The coefficients are close to the baseline OLS estimates in Table 4.

Fourth, we modify the matching process described in Section 4.2. We match STEM graduates in the cohorts between 1961 and 1965 (who enrolled in high school without knowing about the policy) to both pre-1961 and post-1965 students. The results are very similar to the

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<sup>17</sup>Strong anticipation effects were not likely, because the reform was swiftly implemented by a short-lived government. During this time period, the instability of coalition governments created uncertainty in the introduction of new policies. Between 1958 and 1970, 13 different governments retained power on average only 9.5 months.

main findings on the matched sample. Among industrial students scoring in the top quartile of the high school exit exam and receiving a STEM degree, the probability of becoming an inventor decreased by 14.5 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 16.6 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A12, panel C, column 5). Among industrial students scoring in the bottom three quartiles of the high school exit exam and receiving a STEM degree, the probability of becoming an inventor increased by 7.4 percentage points between 1965 and 1968 (Table A12, panel C, column 10).

Fifth, we use a representative survey of the Italian population (the Bank of Italy’s Survey of Household and Income Wealth) to test whether paternal and maternal characteristics of students who enrolled in industrial school after 1961 changed systematically. Compared with industrial students, pre-reform academic students were more likely to have parents who had at least a high school diploma and were employed in higher-paying occupations. There is no evidence, however, that the parental characteristics of academic and industrial students became more homogenous after 1961 (Table A13).

## 6.8 Controlling for Unverified Student–Inventor Matches

In the previous analysis, we dropped all the student-inventor matches that we could not verify through the tax code, social security data, or online searches (4,266 unverified patents, 9.9 percent of all matches). In this section, we explore whether the main findings change when we include the unverified inventors in the sample. We first exploit the verified student-inventor matches to assess how the observable characteristics of patents and inventors correlate to the probability of a correct match. We then use these estimates to predict the probability that the unverified student-inventor combinations are a correct match. In Table A16, we document that the baseline findings are robust to the inclusion of unverified inventors. When we include unverified inventors with a probability of being a correct match above 50 percent, for example, the total number of inventors increases to 901 individuals. The estimates still indicate that the inventor share of top industrial students decreased by 2.7 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 3.9 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A16, panel A, column 5). These coefficients are significant at the 10 and 1 percent levels, respectively. Even when we include all unverified inventors (2,399) in the sample, the intent-to-treat estimates indicate a significant decrease in the innovation propensity of top industrial students who completed high school after 1969 (Table A16, panel A, column 8). These findings are robust across all specifications (Table A16, panels B to E).

## 7 Effects on Labor Market Outcomes

Why did the propensity to innovate increase only among lower-achieving students after 1961? This section addresses this question by exploring how industrial students sorted into different occupations after 1961. Lower-achieving industrial students with STEM degrees remained employees in the private sector, mainly in manufacturing and other industries with a high propensity to patent. In these sectors they became more likely to be employed as managers, who are more often listed as inventors in patent applications. Meanwhile, some higher-achieving industrial students with a STEM degree moved to occupations with relatively low levels of innovation, such as self-employed engineers.

### 7.1 Changes across Occupations

We document how occupational sorting among industrial students with a STEM degree changed after 1961 in panel A of Figure 4. The blue bars represent the difference between the share of post-reform industrial students with a STEM degree and the share of pre-reform industrial students in each occupation. At the top of the graph are occupations that experienced the largest entry of industrial students with a STEM degree. Relative to the pre-reform cohorts, industrial students with a STEM degree became more likely to work as self-employed engineers (+4.3 percentage points); other self-employed professionals (+3 percentage points); public employees for the central government (+2.6 percentage points); or local governments (+1.9 percentage points). At the bottom of the graph are occupations that experienced the largest exit of industrial students with a STEM degree. Industrial students who received a STEM degree after 1961 were less likely to be employed in the private sector (-5.3 percentage points), or to work as artisans (-4.8 percentage points); entrepreneurs (-3.1 percentage points); and self-employed surveyors (-1.2 percentage points). The red bars denote the innovation propensity of different jobs, measured as the share of inventors out of the total number of workers employed in each occupation. The graph reveals that industrial students with a STEM degree abandoned occupations with a relatively high propensity to produce patents: for example, 1.6 percent of private employees, 1.2 percent of artisans, 0.7 percent of entrepreneurs, and 1.9 percent of industrial technicians developed at least one patent during their career. The inflow of industrial students with a STEM degree, however, was mostly concentrated among occupations with a lower propensity to innovate: only 0.6 percent of self-employed engineers, 0.6 percent of other self-employed professionals, 0 percent of public employees in the central government, and 0.1 percent of local public employees produced patents. Although a university STEM degree granted them access to highly innovative jobs, entry into these occupations was limited. For example, the share of

industrial students employed as certified biologists, an innovative occupation that requires a STEM degree, increased by only 0.3 percentage points.

Panel B of Figure 4 shows how the occupational sorting of industrial students without a STEM degree changed after 1961. This graph presents two main features. First, the magnitude of the changes is much smaller, compared with panel A. The decrease in the share of private employees after 1961, for example, is equal to only 3.4 percentage points, instead of 5.3 percentage points. Second, after 1961 industrial students without a STEM degree moved to different occupations, compared to students with a STEM degree. Among the occupations that experienced the largest entry were entrepreneurs, local public employees, workers in the entertainment sector, and health workers. The stark differences between panels A and B of Figure 4 confirm that the occupational sorting of industrial students with STEM degrees is likely not the result of secular changes in the Italian economy, but rather a direct consequence of the expanded access into STEM majors.

In the rest of this section we test our previous findings in a regression format. We also explore the existence of heterogeneous effects across levels of pre-collegiate achievement. We estimate

$$\text{Occupation}_{it} = \alpha + \beta \text{Industrial}_i + \gamma_t + \sum_t \delta_t [\text{Industrial}_i \times \text{Post}_t] + \zeta X_{it} + \phi_y + u_{it}. \quad (6)$$

The unit of observation is a student  $i$  who completed high school in year  $t$  and is observed in the calendar year  $y$ . The dependent variable  $\text{Occupation}_{it}$  denotes one of four different variables.  $\text{Engineers}_{it}$  is 1 for self-employed engineers;  $\text{S-e prof.}_{it}$  is 1 for self-employed professionals, including engineers;  $\text{Top occ.}_{it}$  is equal to 1 for the four occupations (top decile) with the highest share of inventors (chemists, biologists, pharmacists, and academics); and  $\text{Researchers}_{it}$  is 1 for researchers at institutions of higher education.  $\phi_y$  are calendar year fixed effects. The rest of the variables have already been introduced in the previous analysis. To streamline the discussion, for the remainder of the paper we will focus on two different specifications: an intent-to-treat analysis, in which we compare all industrial and academic students; and an analysis focused on students with a STEM degree, using the matching process described in Section 4.2.

After 1961 industrial students in the top quartile of pre-collegiate achievement were more likely to become self-employed engineers, a profession with a relatively low level of innovation propensity. More specifically, the probability of working as a self-employed engineer increased by 1.2 percentage points between 1961 and 1968, and by 1.3 percentage

points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 5, panel A, column 1).<sup>18</sup> The effects are larger if we consider other forms of self-employed professionals (Table 5, panel A, column 2). There is no evidence, however, that higher-achieving industrial students disproportionately entered into highly innovative occupations, in spite of an increase in the number of STEM degrees after 1961. The probability of working in a highly innovative occupation decreased by 3.1 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 5.95 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 2.6 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 5, panel A, column 3). Similarly, the probability of working in a research-based occupation decreased by 3.1 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 5.4 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 2.5 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 5, panel A, column 4).<sup>19</sup>

The data for industrial students who scored in the bottom three quartiles of pre-collegiate achievement do not indicate any significant increase in the probability of working as a self-employed engineer. Especially after 1965, the estimated effects are a precisely estimated zero (Table 5, panel A, column 5). There is additional evidence that lower-achieving students did not move towards highly innovative occupations. The probability of working in the most innovative jobs, for example, decreased by 0.6 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 1.6 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 1.1 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table 5, panel A, column 7). Compared with the coefficients estimated for higher-achieving students, these last estimates have a much smaller magnitude, suggesting that movements across occupations after 1961 were less common among students with lower pre-collegiate achievement.

The results are robust if we re-estimate equation (6) on the smaller sample of matched students with a STEM degree (Table 5, panel B).<sup>20</sup> Overall, these findings are in line with the observed changes in innovation propensity. Higher-achieving students moved to jobs with high barriers to entry, mainly self-employed engineers, that did not produce many patents. In contrast, lower-achieving students remained employed in manufacturing, one of the sectors most active in producing patents. It is possible that their lower human capital or the inferior signal provided by their grades did not allow them to move towards occupations with relatively high barriers to entry. In the next section, we will explore potential mechanisms

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<sup>18</sup>As in the previous analysis, the treatment effects refer to cohorts of high school graduation, not to calendar years. The phrase “between 1969 and 1973,” for example, identifies the average occupational change for the cohorts who completed high school between 1969 and 1973, considering all calendar years in the dataset.

<sup>19</sup>The estimated decrease in employment share is the result of a slight increase among industrial students that is outpaced by a larger rise among academic students.

<sup>20</sup>Multinomial logit (Table A17) and IV (Table A18) estimations (in place of an OLS) confirm the main findings. Differently from other industrial students, top industrial students became more likely to become self-employed professionals (occupations with relatively low propensity to innovate) after receiving a STEM degree.

through which their propensity to innovate might have increased within the private sector.

## 7.2 Changes within the Private Sector

By leveraging additional information that is available only for employees in the private sector, we analyze how industrial students with STEM degrees sorted into different industries (Italian ATECO 91 categorization). In panel A of Figure A4, the blue bars measure the change in employment share within each industry between post-reform industrial students with STEM degrees and pre-reform industrial students. The red bars measure the share of inventors in each industry. After 1961, many industrial students with STEM degrees left manufacturing (-9.9 percentage points), the third industry by share of inventors. Employment share increased in industries with low levels of innovation, such as software distribution (+4.3 percentage points) and education (+3.7 percentage points), as well as in more innovative sectors, such as the extractive industry (+1.4 percentage points) and R&D (+0.9 percentage points). Panel B of Figure A4 shows how industrial students without a STEM degree sorted into different industries after 1961. In this case, there is no entry into highly innovative industries. The employment share in R&D, for example, increased by only 0.2 percentage points.

In Table A19, we show estimates of equation 6, using three different dependent variables:  $\text{Manufacturing}_{ity}$  is a dummy that identifies manufacturing industries;  $\text{R\&D}_{ity}$  is equal to 1 for research-intensive industries; and  $\text{Top pay}$  is a dummy for the five industries with the highest average salaries for workers with STEM degrees (energy, food/hospitality, transportation/communications, finance/banking, and international organizations).

The intent-to-treat estimates in panel A of Table A19 indicate that lower-achieving industrial students were more likely to work in R&D, one of the most innovative industries, after 1965. Panel B of Table A19 describes industry changes for the matched industrial students with a STEM degree. The higher-achieving industrial students left manufacturing (Table A19, panel B, column 1), but did not move into R&D (Table A19, panel B, column 2).<sup>21</sup> In addition, their likelihood of being employed in a high-paying industry increased by 8.3 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 8.6 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A19, panel B, column 3). In contrast, lower-achieving industrial students either stayed in manufacturing or moved to other innovative sectors. Their probability of working in R&D increased by 7.7 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 5.3 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 3.8 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A19, panel B, column 5).

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<sup>21</sup>In contrast, their employment share increased in industries producing public services, such as education, and private services, such as banking.

In addition to analyzing changes across industries, we can study how the roles held by industrial students changed after 1961. In the Italian labor system, there are seven formal positions within private-sector firms that carry increasing responsibilities: apprentices, blue-collar, high-skilled blue-collar (“*intermedi*”), white-collar, high-skilled white-collar (“*quadri*”), and managers. Higher-ranked positions also have a higher propensity to innovate. Managers, for example, have an inventor share equal to 2.1 percent, compared with only 0.1 percent among blue-collar workers. Panel A of Figure A5 shows how industrial students with a STEM degree sorted into different positions. The share working in blue-collar jobs decreased by 15.2 percentage points, while the share working in higher-ranked positions increased: 8.5 percentage points for high-skilled white-collar, 3.5 percentage points for managers, and 3.3 percentage points for white-collar. Panel B of Figure A5 shows how industrial students without a STEM degree moved across different positions. In this case, the shifts are smaller in magnitude and are not directed towards higher-ranked positions.

We then estimate equation 6 using two alternative dependent variables:  $\text{Top pos}_{ity}$  is equal to 1 for high-skilled white-collar and managers, and  $\text{Managers}_{ity}$  is equal to 1 for managers only. Panel A shows intent-to-treat estimates, computed by comparing all industrial and academic students across subsequent cohorts. Overall, both higher- and lower-achieving industrial students became more likely to work as managers after 1961, but the effect is larger among lower-achieving students. These findings are robust if we estimate equation 6 on the smaller sample of matched students who received a STEM degree after 1961. The likelihood of higher-achieving students holding a top position increased by 17.4 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 18.7 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A20, panel B, column 1). If we include industry fixed effects, the coefficients remain large and statistically significant, suggesting that the previous increase was realized mainly through movements within the same industries (Table A20, panel B, column 3). In contrast, the probability of lower-achieving students holding a top position increased by 26.6 percentage points between 1961 and 1964, by 31.8 percentage points between 1965 and 1968, and by 27.3 percentage points between 1969 and 1973 (Table A20, panel B, column 5). The inclusion of industry fixed effects does not significantly modify these estimates (Table A20, panel B, column 7).

## 8 Conclusions

In this paper, we study how graduating in a STEM major affects the probability of becoming an inventor. Thanks to the historical setting, we can estimate the long-run causal effect of scientific education on the amount and direction of innovation. Moreover, the richness of

the administrative data allows us to link the main findings to changes in the external and internal labor markets.

We find two sets of direct effects of scientific education on patenting activity. First, students who received a university STEM degree became more likely to patent in STEM-oriented fields, such as medicine, chemistry, and IT. Second, students with a STEM degree who found employment in privately owned firms became more likely to hold managerial positions, in which they became more involved in the production of patents. On the extensive margin, however, we also find that scientific education changes sorting into innovative occupations. Some higher-achieving students used their newly acquired STEM degree to enter occupations that could not previously be accessed with only a high school diploma and that did not focus on the production of patents.

These findings depict a complex relationship between education and innovation, which is mediated by the characteristics of the local labor market. To the best of our knowledge, this paper is the first to document how individual-level investments in human capital affect innovation propensity through changes in occupational sorting. We believe that the mechanisms discussed in this paper apply beyond the Italian setting. In many developed countries, STEM skills are now sought after by industries that do not focus on the production of patents, such as finance. According to the US Census Bureau, for example, 74 percent of STEM graduates are not employed in a STEM occupation (Census Bureau, 2014). Any effort to encourage innovation by increasing the number of STEM graduates would need to take into account how these students sort into non-STEM jobs.

Moreover, the Italian reform might be directly informative about other large-scale plans to increase scientific skills in the developing world (for example, UNESCO's Science Education Program). Many developing countries, in fact, are now facing the same issue that induced the Italian government to change enrollment requirements in 1961: they must increase the number of university-educated workers to sustain industrial growth. This paper indicates that these reforms might change the direction of innovation and the selection of individuals in innovation-centric jobs. The Italian experience also suggests that an increase in university STEM education could possibly steer some graduates away from innovative jobs, if demand for university-level STEM skills is strong in other sectors of the economy (even where there is not a large financial sector attracting STEM talent, as in the Italian case).

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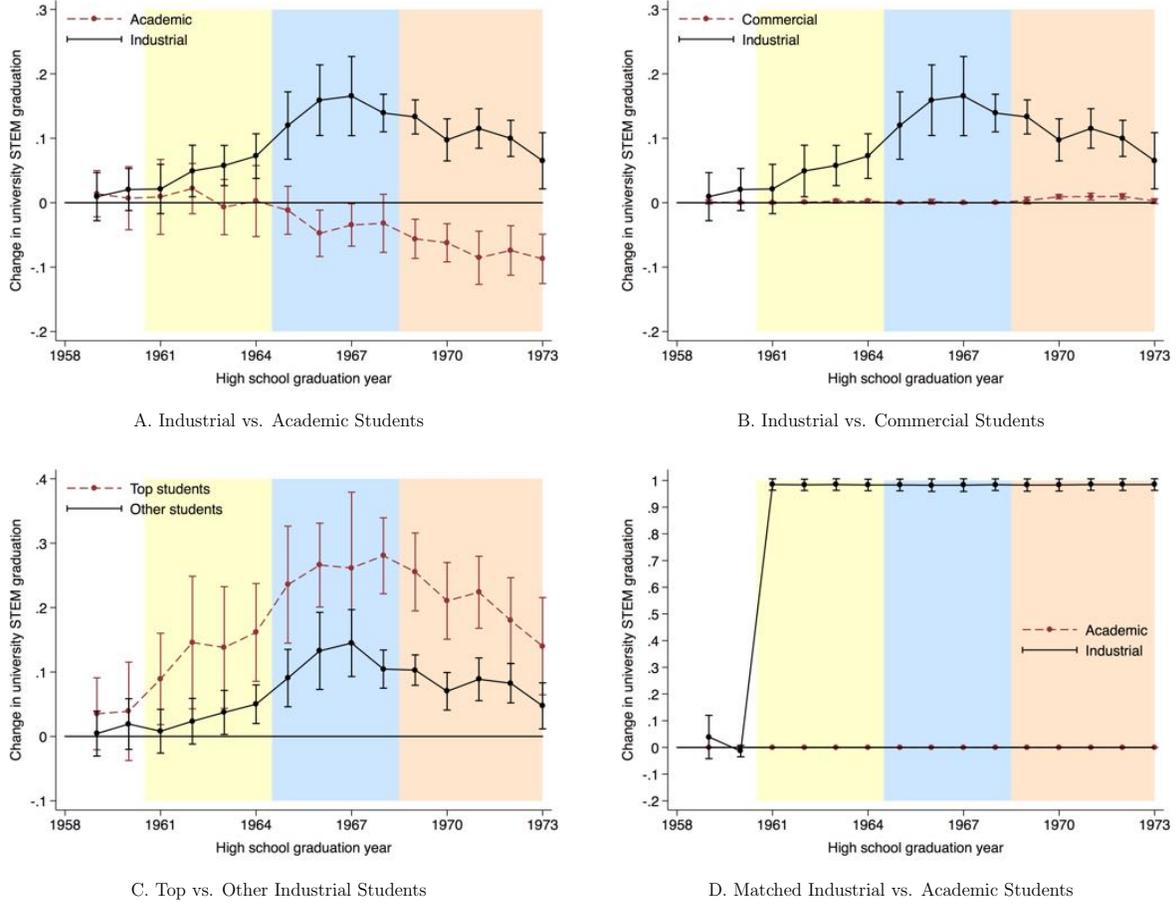
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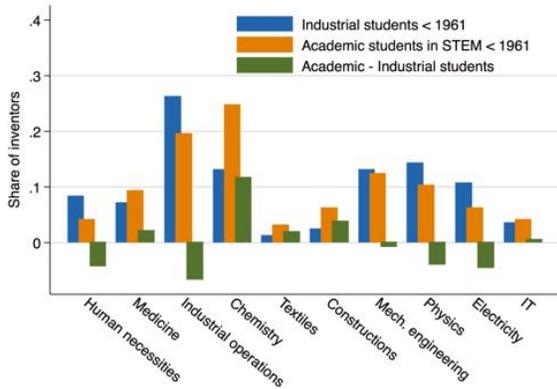
# Figures and Tables

**Figure 1:** Differential Increase in Graduation Rates from University STEM Majors

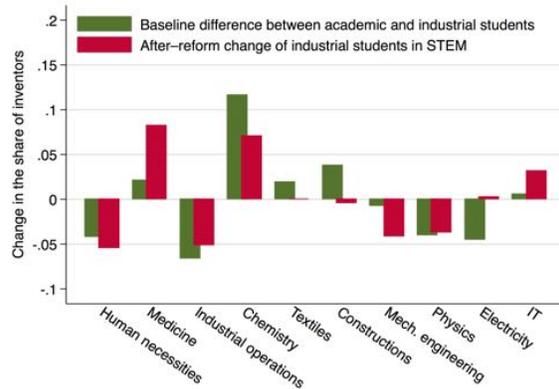


Notes: This graph shows the change (and 95 percent CIs) in the graduation rate from university STEM majors for different groups of students. Industrial students could enroll in STEM majors for the first time in 1961. In the yellow-shaded area, industrial students faced enrollment caps in STEM majors. In the blue-shaded area, industrial students could freely enroll in STEM majors. In the orange-shaded area, students had more freedom in the choice of the university curriculum. Academic students (panel A) had access to STEM majors throughout the time period under analysis. Commercial students (panel B) could not enroll in university STEM majors until 1969, when any high school diploma started granting access to all majors. Top industrial students (panel C) received a final high school grade in the top quartile of their school distribution. Panel D uses propensity score matching to identify a subgroup of academic and industrial students in the pre-period with the same observable characteristics of students in the post-period with a STEM degree. The regressions control for gender, province of birth fixed effects, high school fixed effects, the high school standardized score, the average standardized score of the closest peers in high school, a dummy for home-schooled students, and a dummy for students who graduated high school at 19 (and likely never repeated a grade). Standard errors clustered by school and cohort.

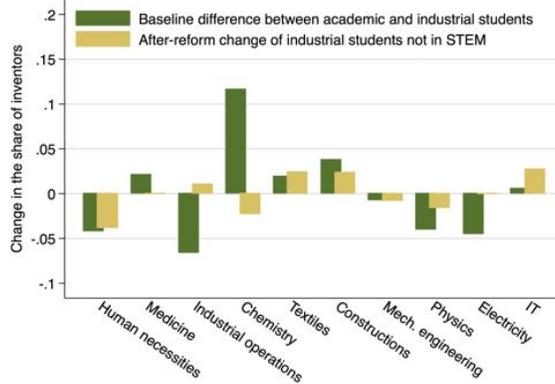
**Figure 2:** Distribution of Inventors across Technological Fields



A. Academic Students with STEM Degree vs. Industrial Students Before 1961



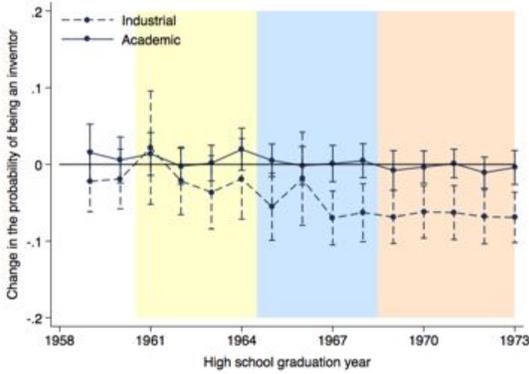
B. After-reform Change for Industrial Students with a STEM Degree



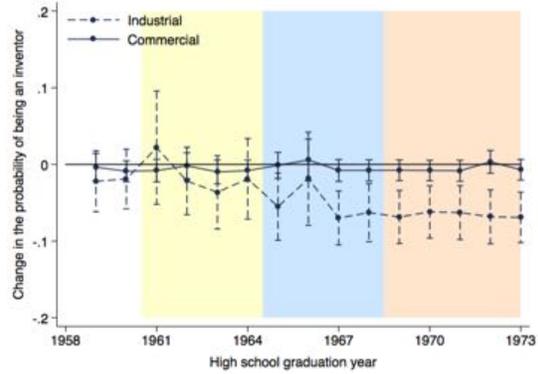
C. After-reform Change for Industrial Students without a STEM Degree

Notes: These graphs show the distribution of inventors across different technological fields. Panel A shows the pre-reform distribution of academic students with a STEM degree and industrial students across technological fields. Panel B shows the post-reform change for industrial students who received a STEM degree after 1961. Panel C shows the post-reform change for industrial students who did not receive a STEM degree after 1961.

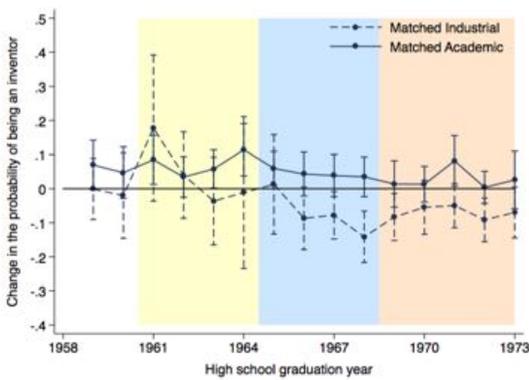
**Figure 3: Cross-Cohort Change in Inventor Share**



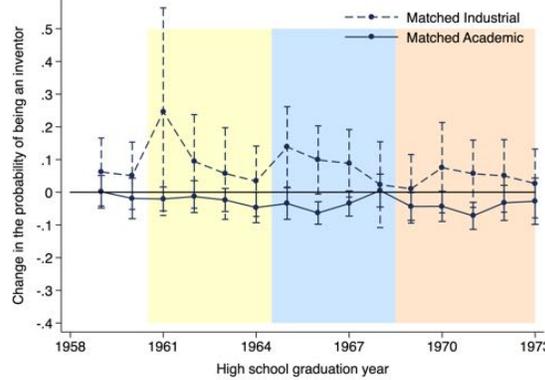
A. Top Industrial vs. Top Academic Students



B. Top Industrial vs. Top Commercial Students



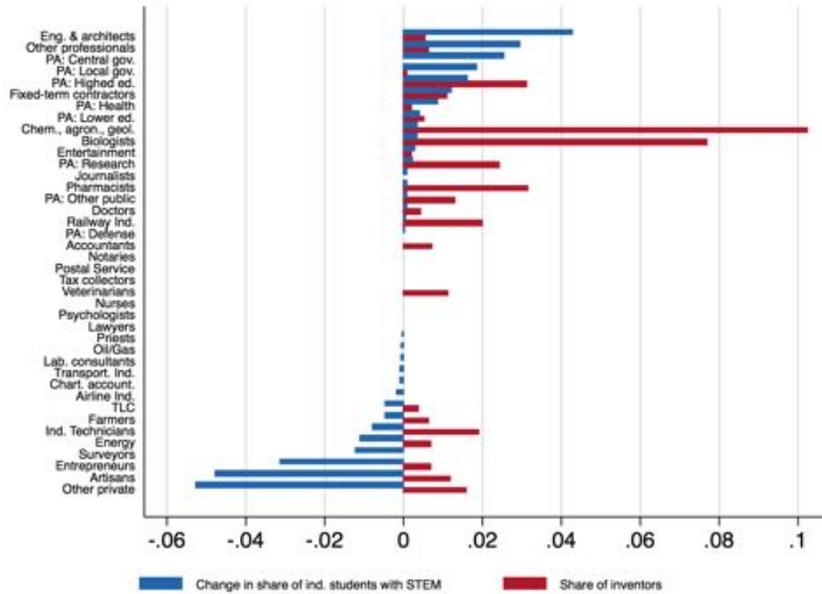
C. Top Matched Industrial vs. Academic Students



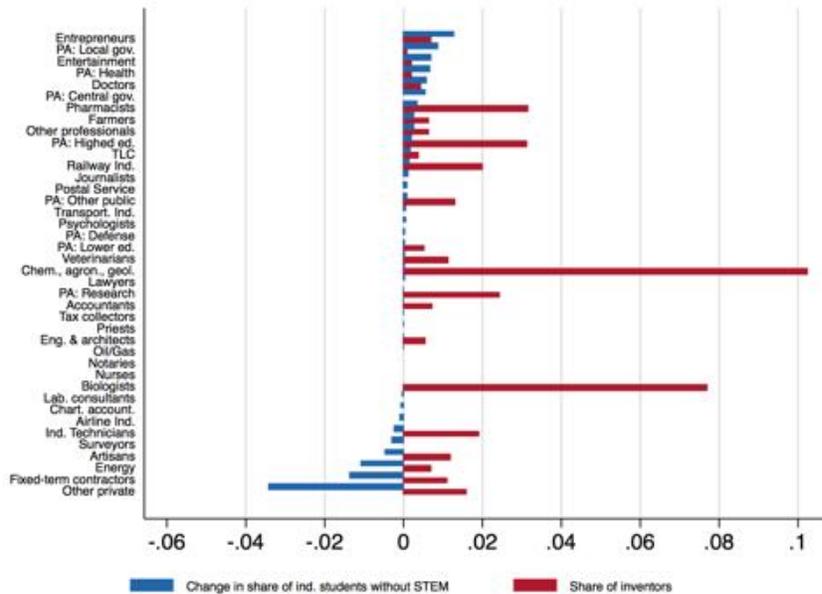
D. Other Matched Industrial vs. Academic Students

Notes: This graph shows the change (and 95 percent CIs) in the inventor share across subsequent cohorts for different groups of students. Industrial students could enroll in STEM majors for the first time in 1961. In the yellow-shaded area, industrial students faced enrollment caps in STEM majors. In the blue-shaded area, industrial students could freely enroll in STEM majors. In the orange-shaded area, students had more freedom to choose the university curriculum. Academic students (panel A) had access to STEM majors throughout the time period under analysis. Commercial students (panel B) could not enroll in university STEM majors until 1969, when any high school diploma started granting access to all majors. Panel C uses propensity score matching to identify a subgroup of top academic and industrial students in the pre-period with the same observable characteristics of top students in the post-period with a STEM degree. Top students received a final high school grade in the top quartile of their school distribution. Panel D shows results on matched industrial and academic students who did not score in the top quartile of their high school class in the final high school exam. The regressions control for gender, province of birth fixed effects, high school fixed effects, the high school standardized score, the average standardized score of the closest peers in high school, a dummy for home-schooled students, and a dummy for students who graduated high school at 19 (and likely never repeated a grade). Standard errors clustered by school and cohort.

Figure 4: Distribution of Inventors across Occupations



A. Change for Industrial Students with a STEM Degree



B. Change for Industrial Students without a STEM Degree

Notes: These graphs show how the distribution of industrial students across different occupations changed among the cohorts who completed high school after 1961. Panel A shows how the distribution of industrial students who received a STEM degree after 1961 changed, relative to the pre-reform distribution. Panel B shows how the distribution of industrial students who did not receive a STEM degree after 1961 changed, relative to the pre-reform distribution. Share of inventors measures the percentage of inventors in each occupation, pooling all available years of patent data (1968-2010).

**Table 1: Summary Statistics**

	Inventors	Non-inventors	Difference
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Observations	869	45,604	
Male	0.962	0.721	0.229***
Birth year	1945.44	1946.29	0.771**
<u>Patent data</u>			
Number of patents	4.010	-	-
Number of technological fields	1.478	-	-
<u>Education data</u>			
Academic diploma	0.320	0.409	-0.044
Industrial diploma	0.641	0.351	0.233***
HS exit score	0.256	-0.005	0.246***
Score of HS peers	0.009	0.000	0.020
Home schooled	0.043	0.102	-0.046***
Non-repeater	0.959	0.930	0.019*
Enrolled	0.653	0.568	0.133***
Enrolled in a STEM major	0.490	0.192	0.304***
University degree	0.479	0.343	0.162***
University STEM degree	0.392	0.125	0.265***
<u>Labor market outcomes</u>			
Private employees	0.936	0.885	0.051***
Researchers	0.026	0.015	0.011**
Manufacturing*	0.838	0.521	0.317***
R&D*	0.023	0.009	0.014**
Managers*	0.556	0.292	0.264***
Highly skilled white collar*	0.209	0.154	0.055***

Notes: The sample is composed of 46,473 individuals who completed high school in Milan between 1958 and 1973. The high school score is the grade received on the high school final exam. It is standardized by cohort and high school. The HS peers are groups of 20-30 students within a cohort attending all lectures together. Home-schooled students took only the final exam in the school, even though they studied elsewhere during the regular school year. They could be enrolled in private schools that could not administer the final exam or they could be home-educated. Non-repeaters were 19 years old at the time of the final exam (the standard age of high school graduation). STEM majors are engineering, physics, mathematics, biology, geology, natural science, and chemistry. Researchers are employees of institutions of higher education. (\*) These variables are available only for employees in the private sector and only starting in 1983.

Sources: High school archives; university transcripts; patents issued by the Italian patent office between 1968 and 2010; international patents collected by the European Patent Office's PATSTAT database; social security data.

**Table 2:** Pre-Reform Trends in Innovative Activity

	Inventor count (1)	Inventor count (2)	Patent num. (3)	Patent num. (4)
Panel A: Industrial vs. academic students				
Industrial x Pre-reform trend	-0.0109 (0.0455)		-0.0589 (0.0913)	
Industrial x 1959		-0.0007 (0.0768)		-0.0587 (0.2005)
Industrial x 1960		-0.0222 (0.0911)		-0.1178 (0.1829)
Panel B: Matched, Industrial vs. academic students				
Industrial x Pre-reform trend	-0.0001 (0.0800)		-0.2119 (0.1784)	
Industrial x 1959		0.1135 (0.1763)		-0.0508 (0.5284)
Industrial x 1960		-0.0169 (0.1607)		-0.4704 (0.3488)
Panel C: Industrial vs. commercial students				
Industrial x Pre-reform trend	0.0018 (0.0420)		-0.0371 (0.0874)	
Industrial x 1959		-0.0041 (0.0704)		-0.0425 (0.1898)
Industrial x 1960		0.0050 (0.0843)		-0.0752 (0.1751)
Panel D: Top vs. other industrial students				
Top x Pre-reform trend	0.0357 (0.1043)		0.0715 (0.1754)	
Top x 1959		0.0048 (0.1849)		0.1195 (0.3924)
Top x 1960		0.0715 (0.2092)		0.1429 (0.3521)

Notes: The dependent variables are the average number of inventors (columns 1 and 2) and the average number of patents by unit of observation (columns 3 and 4). Industrial is a dummy that equals 1 for students who attended an industrial high school. Top is a dummy that equals 1 for the students who ranked in the top quartile of their school's grade distribution. For the double differences, the single interactions of the variables are not reported. For the triple differences, the single and double interactions of the variables are not reported. The unit of observation is a pre-reform cohort of high school graduation (between 1958 and 1960)–high school class (small groups of 20-30 students)–quartile of pre-collegiate achievement combination. The number of observations is equal to 756 in panel A, 316 in panel B, 582 in panel C, and 275 in panel D. Standard errors clustered by high school class and quartile of ability in parentheses, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

**Table 3: Type of Innovation**

	STEM field (1)	STEM field (2)	STEM field (3)	STEM field (4)	STEM field (5)	STEM field (6)
Panel A: Industrial vs. academic students						
Industrial x Post 1961	0.1485 (0.0930)	0.1406 (0.0925)	0.2948 (0.1994)	0.2230 (0.2361)	0.0145 (0.1376)	0.0199 (0.1285)
Industrial x Post 1965	0.2637*** (0.0864)	0.2609*** (0.0869)	0.2874 (0.2192)	0.1870 (0.2451)	0.2369* (0.1229)	0.2871** (0.1243)
Industrial x Post 1969	0.2145** (0.0988)	0.2810*** (0.0926)	0.3979* (0.2366)	0.3228 (0.2405)	0.0989 (0.1196)	0.1926* (0.1137)
Panel B: Matched, Industrial vs. academic students						
Industrial x Post 1961	0.1557 (0.1571)	0.0890 (0.1482)	0.3657 (0.3738)	0.1666 (0.4129)	-0.0423 (0.2963)	0.0582 (0.2863)
Industrial x Post 1965	0.6997*** (0.1627)	0.6773*** (0.1563)	0.5784 (0.3855)	0.3130 (0.3810)	0.7473*** (0.2208)	0.7417*** (0.2019)
Industrial x Post 1969	0.4672*** (0.1728)	0.5070*** (0.1665)	0.7695** (0.3584)	0.6805* (0.3660)	0.4265* (0.2179)	0.4613** (0.2021)
Sample	All	All	Top	Top	Other	Other
STEM fields	Three	Five	Three	Five	Three	Five
Pre-reform dep. var. (panel A)	0.3676	0.3971	0.2800	0.3200	0.4186	0.4419
Pre-reform dep. var. (panel B)	0.2857	0.2857	0.3000	0.3000	0.2500	0.2500
Observations (panel A)	818	818	241	241	577	577
Observations (panel B)	310	310	118	118	192	192

*Notes.* This table shows changes in the type of innovation. Columns 1 to 3 show estimates using the whole sample, columns 4 to 6 use only students in the top quartile of the ability distribution, and columns 7 to 9 use only the students in the bottom three quartiles of the ability distribution. The dependent variable is a dummy that equals 1 if the individual patented at least once in a STEM field. In columns 1, 3, and 5, the STEM fields are medicine, chemistry, and IT. In columns 2, 4, and 6, the STEM fields are medicine, chemistry, textiles, constructions, and IT. Standard errors clustered by high school and cohort in parentheses, \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

**Table 4:** Probability of Becoming an Inventor, Industrial vs. Academic Students

	Inventor (1)	Inventor (2)	Inventor (3)	Inventor (4)	Inventor (5)	Inventor (6)
Panel A: Industrial vs. academic students						
Industrial x Post 1961	-0.0004 (0.0066)	-0.0033 (0.0091)	-0.0002 (0.0172)	-0.0066 (0.0213)	-0.0011 (0.0059)	-0.0041 (0.0110)
Industrial x Post 1965	0.0035 (0.0059)	0.0005 (0.0088)	-0.0317** (0.0144)	-0.0381* (0.0193)	0.0122** (0.0061)	0.0093 (0.0111)
Industrial x Post 1969	-0.0109** (0.0052)	-0.0138* (0.0083)	-0.0403*** (0.0120)	-0.0467*** (0.0177)	-0.0028 (0.0053)	-0.0058 (0.0108)
Industrial x Pre-reform trend		-0.0029 (0.0060)		-0.0060 (0.0128)		-0.0029 (0.0069)
Panel B: Matched, Industrial vs. academic students						
Industrial x Post 1961	0.0412 (0.0377)	0.0440 (0.0449)	-0.0044 (0.0501)	-0.0219 (0.0554)	0.0664* (0.0387)	0.1120** (0.0512)
Industrial x Post 1965	0.0225 (0.0248)	0.0253 (0.0341)	-0.0679** (0.0334)	-0.0854** (0.0410)	0.0795*** (0.0292)	0.1252*** (0.0448)
Industrial x Post 1969	-0.0001 (0.0215)	0.0027 (0.0319)	-0.0629** (0.0296)	-0.0806** (0.0378)	0.0532* (0.0272)	0.0991** (0.0435)
Industrial x Pre-reform trend		0.0030 (0.0262)		-0.0209 (0.0339)		0.0408 (0.0283)
Sample	All	All	Top	Top	Other	Other
Pre-reform inventor share (panel A)	0.0427	0.0427	0.0740	0.0740	0.0346	0.0346
Pre-reform inventor share (panel B)	0.0897	0.0897	0.1176	0.1176	0.0563	0.0563
Observations (panel A)	35,479	35,479	7,662	7,662	27,817	27,817
Observations (panel B)	4,718	4,718	1,807	1,807	2,911	2,911

*Notes.* This table shows the effect of the promotion of STEM education on the probability of becoming an inventor by comparing industrial to academic students (panel A), and matched industrial to academic students (panel B). The matching selects students in the pre-period who share the same observable characteristics of individuals with a STEM degree in the post-period. The dependent variable, Inventor, is a dummy that equals 1 for students who patented at least once from 1968 to 2010. Post 1961 is 1 for cohorts who graduated between 1961 and 1964, Post 1965 is 1 for cohorts who graduated between 1965 and 1968, and Post 1969 is 1 for cohorts who graduated between 1969 and 1973. Pre-reform trend is a linear trend for pre-reform cohorts. Columns 3 and 4 restrict the sample to students who ranked in the top quartile of their school's grade distribution. Columns 5 and 6 restrict the sample to students who are not in the top ability quartile. The regressions also include cohort fixed effects, gender, province of birth fixed effects, high school fixed effects, the high school standardized score, the average standardized score of the closest peers in high school, a dummy for home-schooled students, and a dummy for students who graduated high school at 19 (and likely never repeated a grade). Standard errors clustered by high school and cohort in parentheses, \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.1$ .

**Table 5: Changes in Occupation**

	Engineers (1)	S-e prof. (2)	Top occ. (3)	Researchers (4)	Engineers (5)	S-e prof. (6)	Top occ. (7)	Researchers (8)
Panel A: Industrial vs. academic students								
Industrial x Post 1961	0.0120** (0.0058)	0.0150* (0.0080)	-0.0308*** (0.0092)	-0.0314*** (0.0093)	-0.0050** (0.0023)	-0.0079** (0.0034)	-0.0057** (0.0029)	-0.0062** (0.0024)
Industrial x Post 1965	0.0120** (0.0061)	0.0200** (0.0082)	-0.0595*** (0.0110)	-0.0539*** (0.0109)	-0.0007 (0.0023)	-0.0028 (0.0033)	-0.0155*** (0.0036)	-0.0170*** (0.0032)
Industrial x Post 1969	0.0128** (0.0061)	0.0212*** (0.0079)	-0.0259*** (0.0072)	-0.0248*** (0.0070)	-0.0006 (0.0024)	0.0002 (0.0033)	-0.0113*** (0.0030)	-0.0076*** (0.0021)
Panel B: Matched, Industrial vs. academic students								
Industrial x Post 1961	0.0442*** (0.0160)	0.0638*** (0.0196)	0.0056 (0.0258)	-0.0119 (0.0256)	0.0019 (0.0109)	-0.0020 (0.0167)	0.0528* (0.0317)	0.0497 (0.0314)
Industrial x Post 1965	0.0222* (0.0120)	0.0352** (0.0153)	-0.0052 (0.0228)	0.0003 (0.0232)	-0.0054 (0.0081)	-0.0093 (0.0121)	-0.0021 (0.0120)	-0.0023 (0.0120)
Industrial x Post 1969	0.0052 (0.0132)	0.0240 (0.0150)	-0.0453*** (0.0149)	-0.0410** (0.0160)	-0.0221** (0.0099)	-0.0226* (0.0129)	0.0055 (0.0085)	0.0033 (0.0077)
Sample	Top	Top	Top	Top	Other	Other	Other	Other
Pre-reform dep. var. (panel A)	0.000	0.009	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.008	0.000	0.000
Pre-reform dep. var. (panel B)	0.000	0.004	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.007	0.000	0.000
Observations (panel A)	234,961	234,961	234,961	234,961	802,657	802,657	802,657	802,657
Observations (panel B)	59,122	59,122	59,122	59,122	93,272	93,272	93,272	93,272

*Notes.* This table shows the effect of the promotion of STEM education on the occupation choice. Engineers is 1 for freelance professional engineers (occupation “Engineers” in Table A1); S-e prof. is 1 for self-employed professionals (“Engineers” + “Other professionals” in Table A1); Top Occ. is a dummy for the top 10 percent occupations in terms of share of inventors: self-employed biologists, self-employed chemists, pharmacists, and public employees of institutions of higher education (“Biologists” + “Chem., agron., geol.” + “Pharmacists” + “PA: Higher ed.” in Table A1); Researchers is 1 for research-intensive occupations in institutions of higher education (“PA: Higher ed.” in Table A1). Post 1961 is 1 for cohorts who graduated between 1961 and 1964, Post 1965 is 1 for cohorts who graduated between 1965 and 1968, and Post 1969 is 1 for cohorts who graduated between 1969 and 1973. Columns 1 to 4 restrict the sample to students who ranked in the top quartile of their school’s grade distribution. Columns 5 to 8 restrict the sample to students who ranked in the bottom three quartiles of their school’s grade distribution. The regressions include cohort and calendar year fixed effects, gender, province of birth fixed effects, high school fixed effects, the HS score, the average standardized score of the closest peers in high school, a dummy for home-schooled students, and a dummy for students who graduated high school at 19. Standard errors clustered by student in parentheses, \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.