



BRAIN FREEZE

Restrictions on International Students, the
STEM workforce, and US economic growth

Michael A. Clemens • Jeremy Neufeld • Amy Nice
July 23, 2025 • NASEM Summit

International Student Exclusion Policy

**Mass visa
cancellation**

**17 country
visa ban**

**Seizures and
detention**

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**Mass contract
breach**

**NSF/NIH
funding ↓ 1/2**

**Tax status,
endowments**

International Student Exclusion Policy

**Mass visa
cancellation**

**17 country
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**Seizures and
detention**

**Mass contract
breach**

**NSF/NIH
funding ↓¹/₂**

**Tax status,
endowments**

**Termination
of OPT**

**H-1B wage
priority**

**End 'Duration
of Status'**



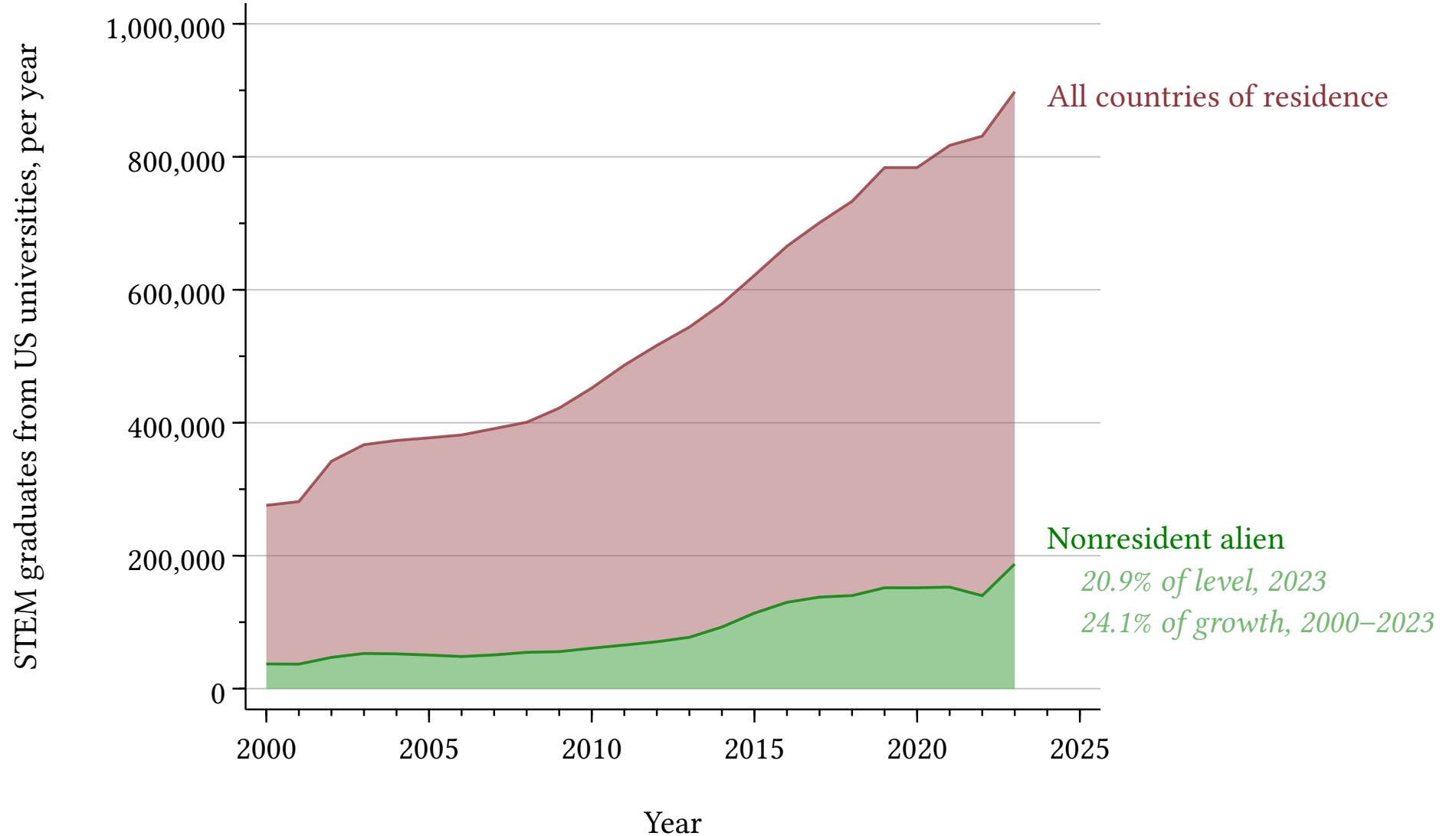
International students are "bad for the American dream, for American kids who want to go to a nice university but can't because their spot was taken by a foreign student."



“This idea that American citizens don’t have the talent to do great things, that you have to import a foreign class of students...to do these things? I just reject it. I just think we should invest in our own people.”

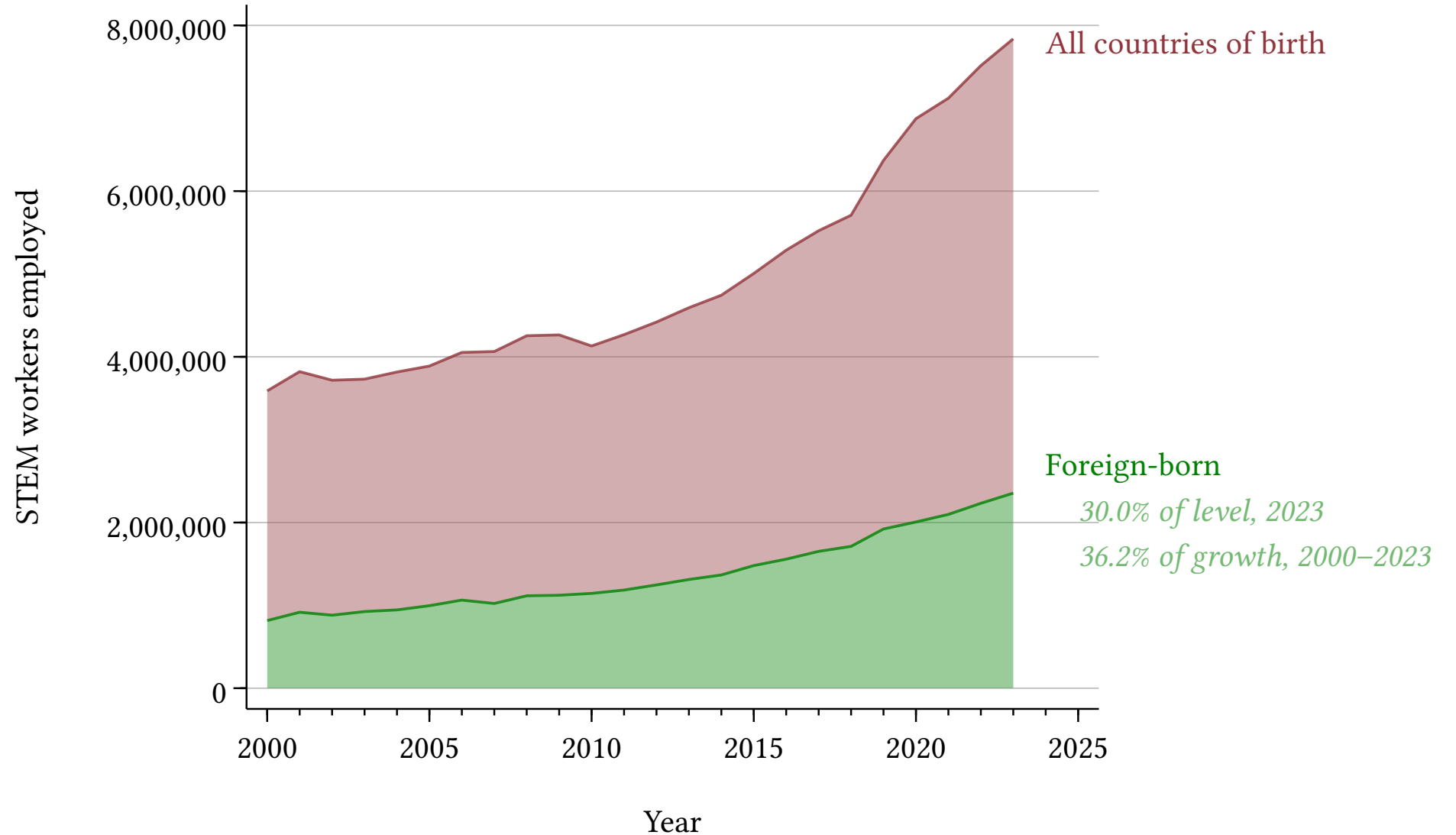
High-skill STEM graduates (*flow*)

All degrees,
bachelor's+



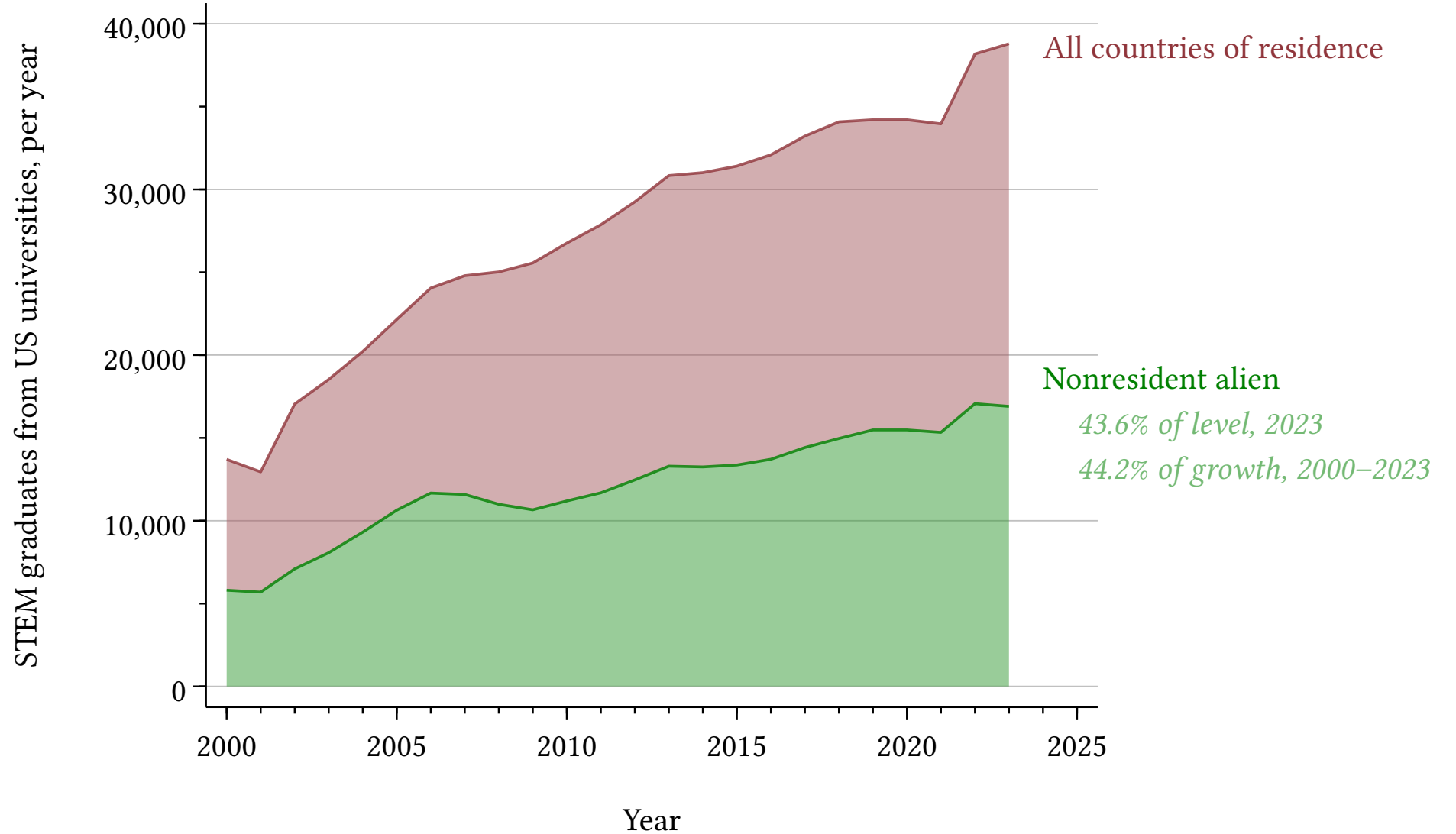
High-skill STEM workers (*stock*)

*All degrees,
bachelor's+*



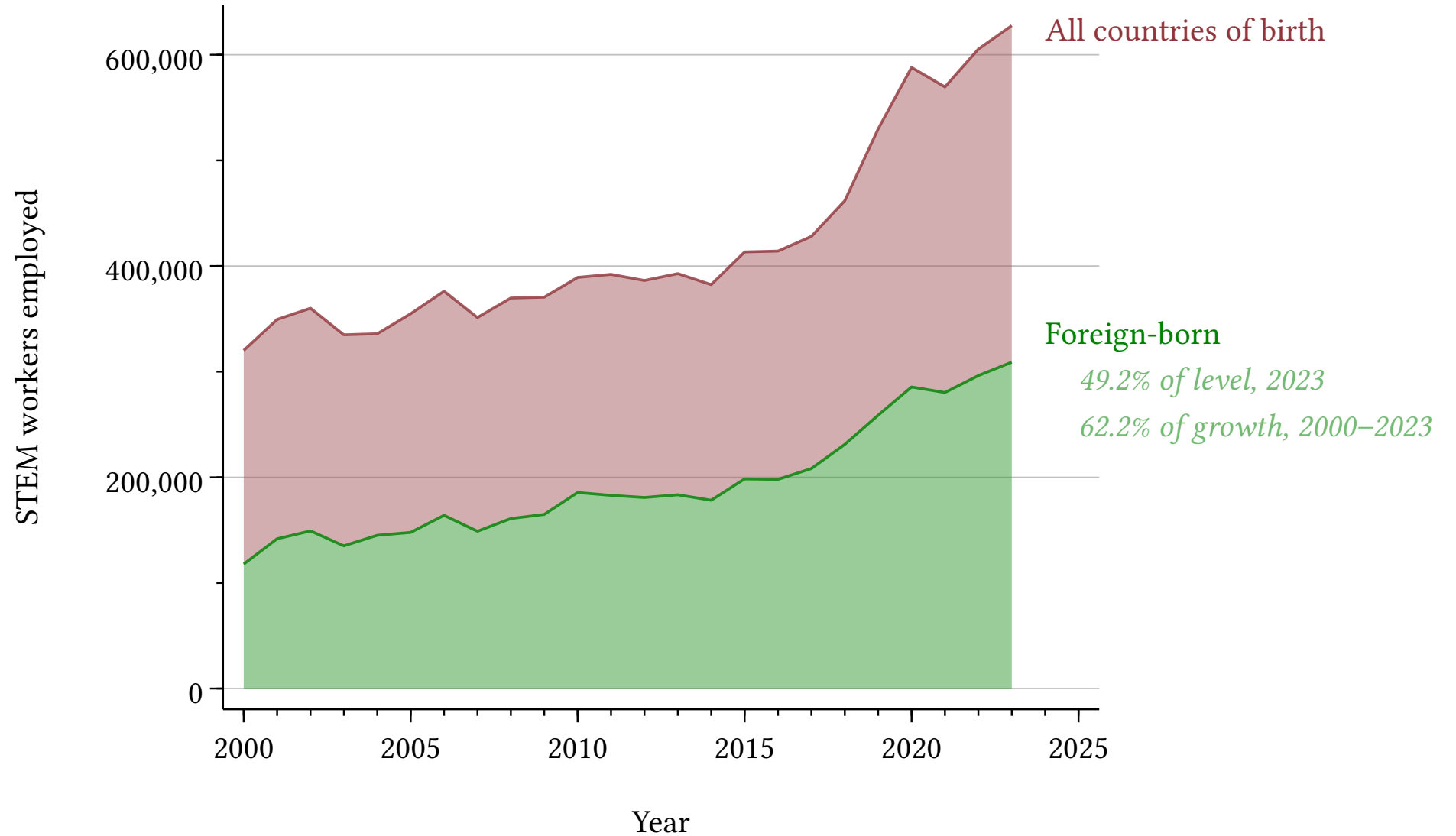
High-skill STEM graduates (*flow*)

PhD only



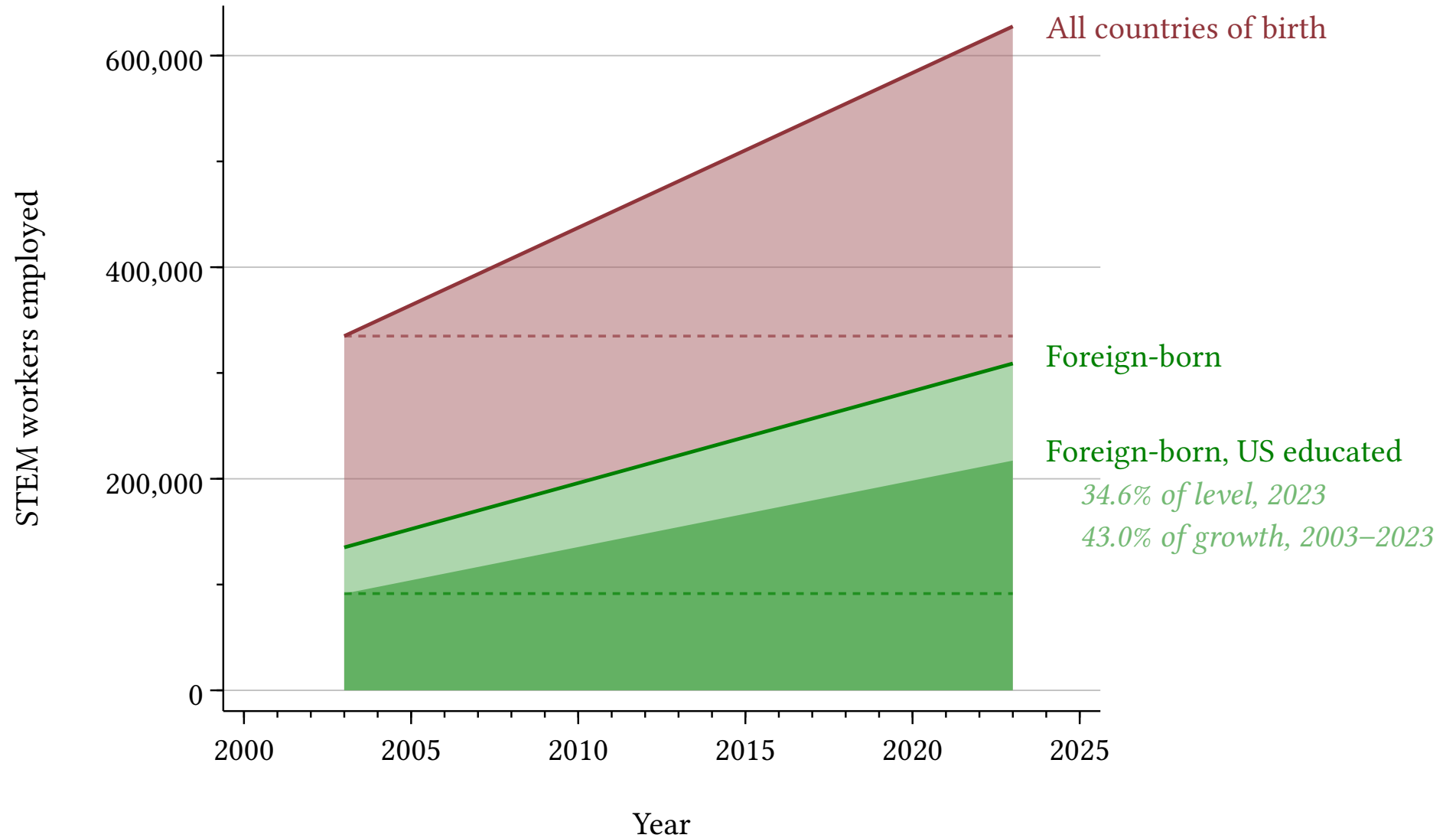
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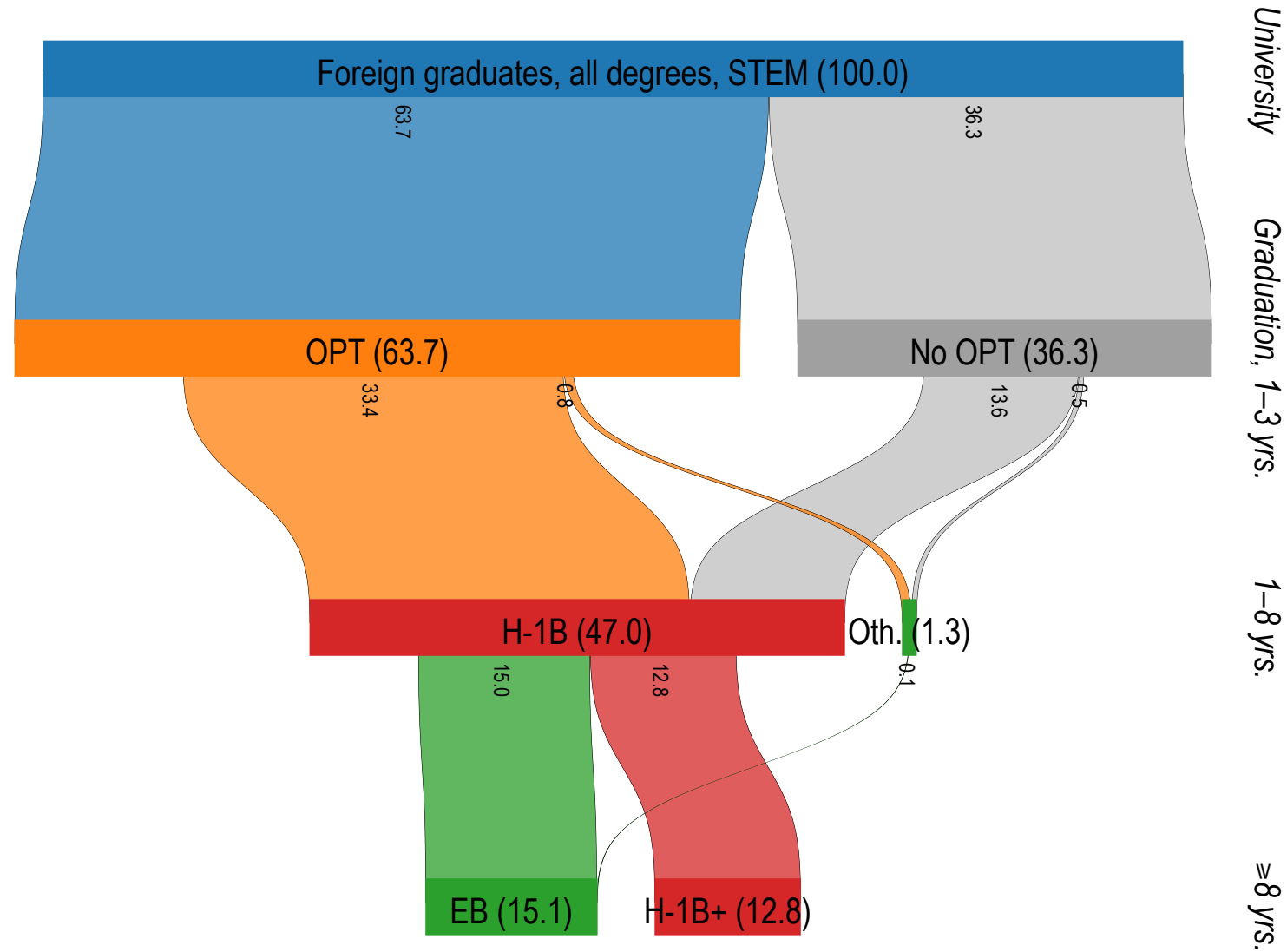
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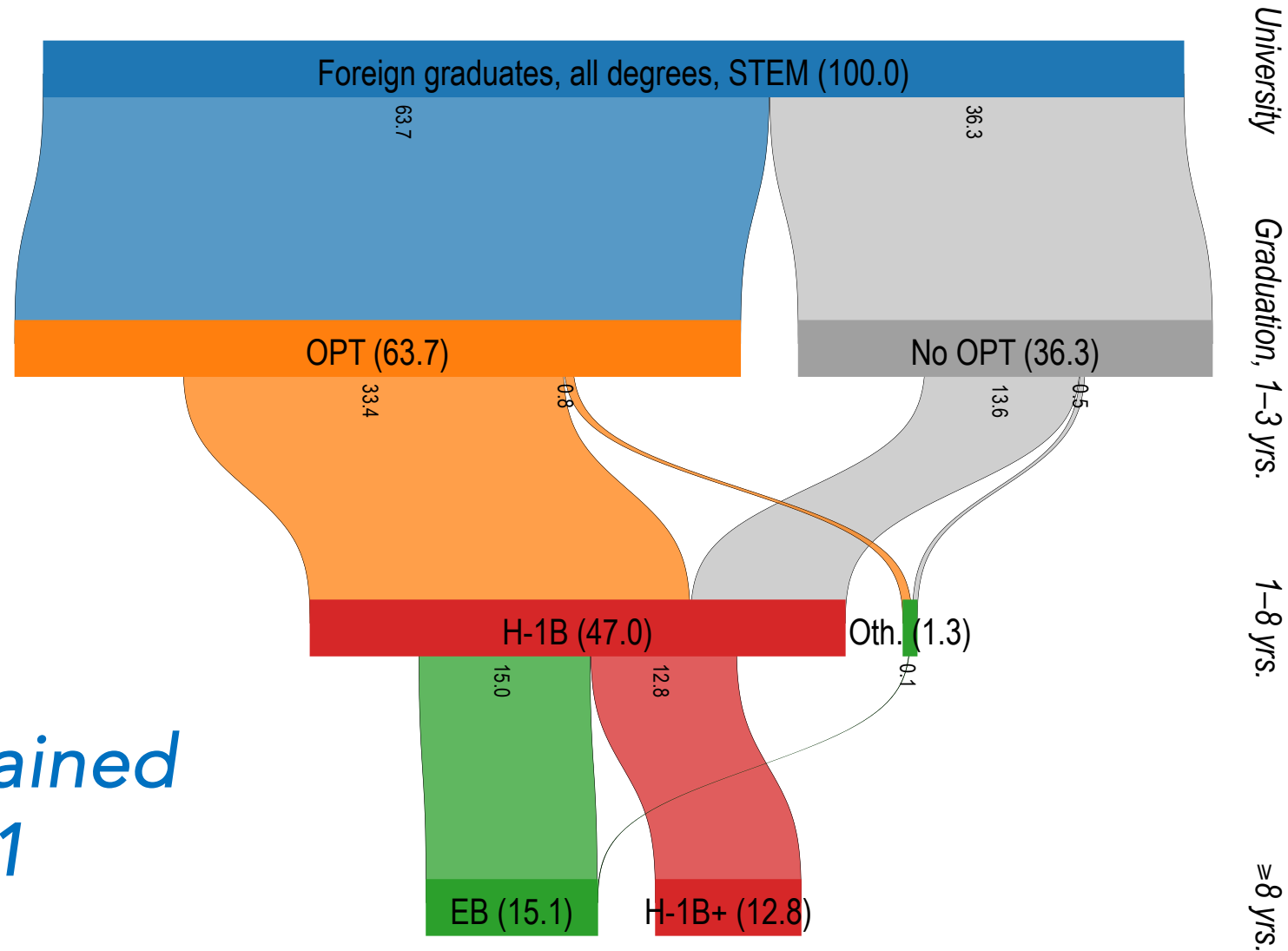


| | Total employed | | Foreign-born, US deg. | | Scenario: Int'l grads down 1/3 | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| | <i>2003</i> | <i>2023</i> | <i>2003</i> | <i>2023</i> | <i>Level</i> | <i>Growth</i> |
| STEM, all deg. | 3,730,767 | 7,837,989 | 532,311 | 1,464,701 | -6.2% | -7.6% |
| STEM master's | 1,049,766 | 2,339,946 | 225,688 | 659,446 | -9.4% | -11.2% |
| STEM PhD | 334,926 | 627,638 | 91,477 | 217,226 | -11.5% | -14.3% |

The 'front door' STEM pipeline

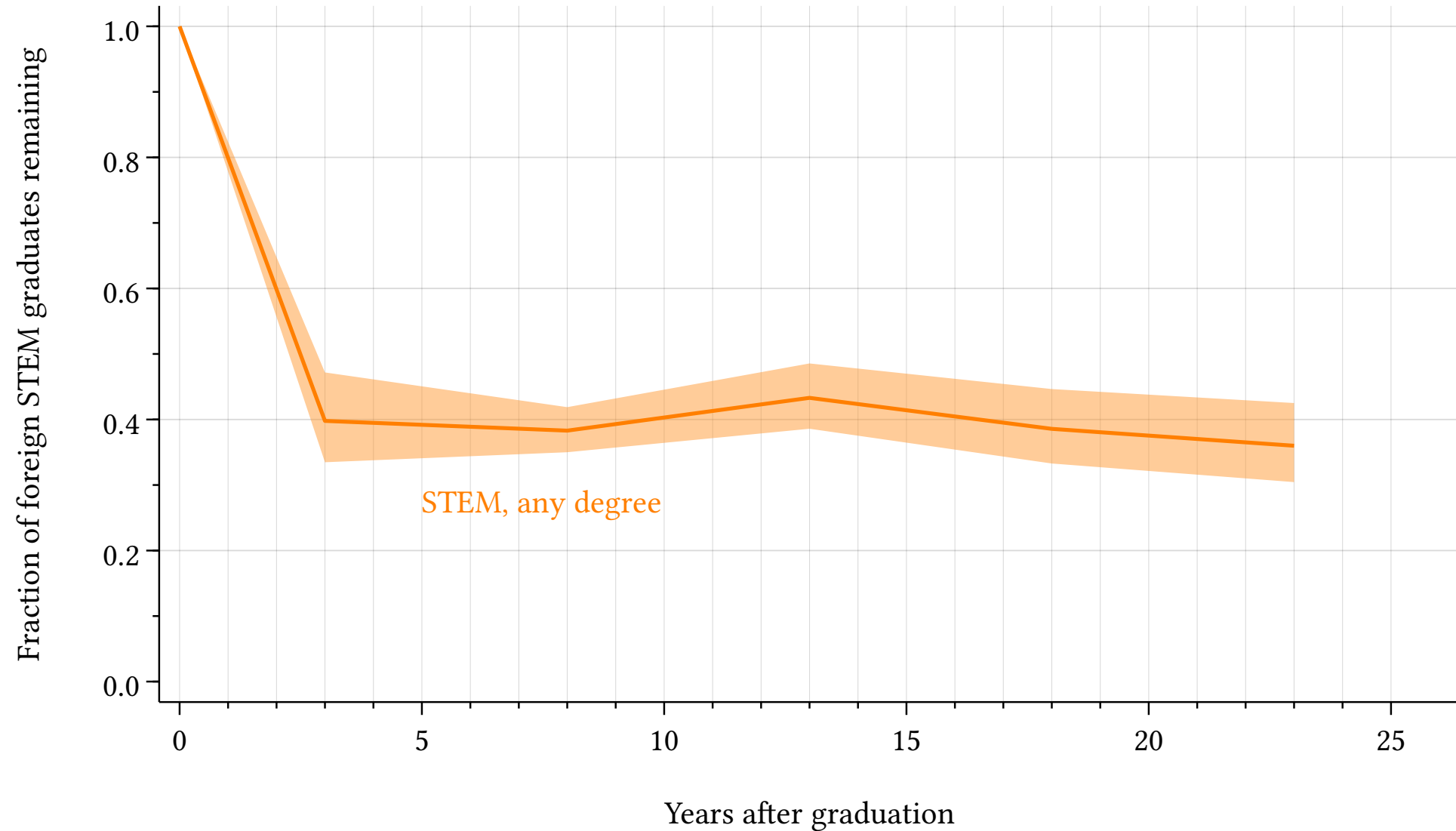


The 'front door' STEM pipeline

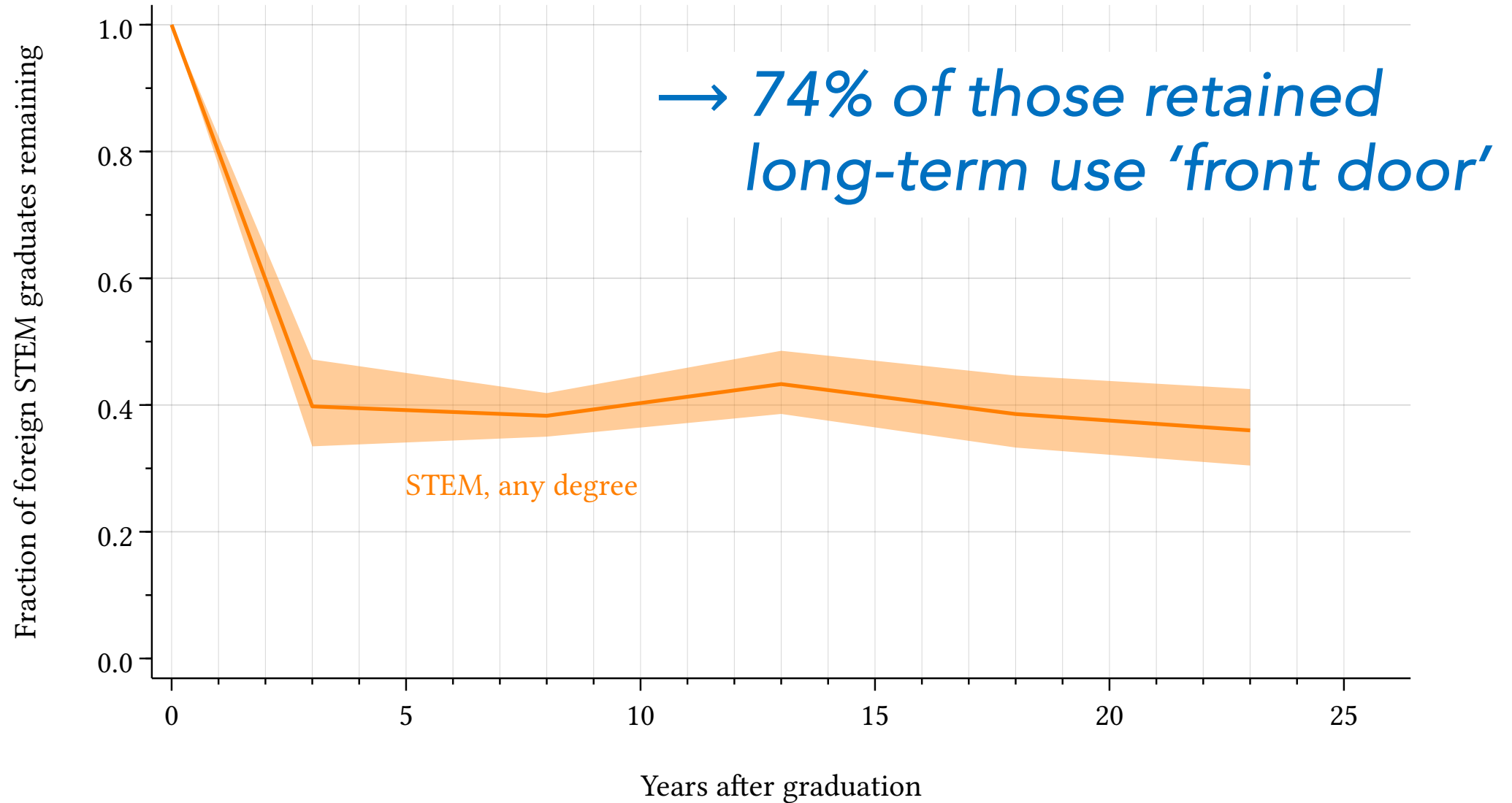


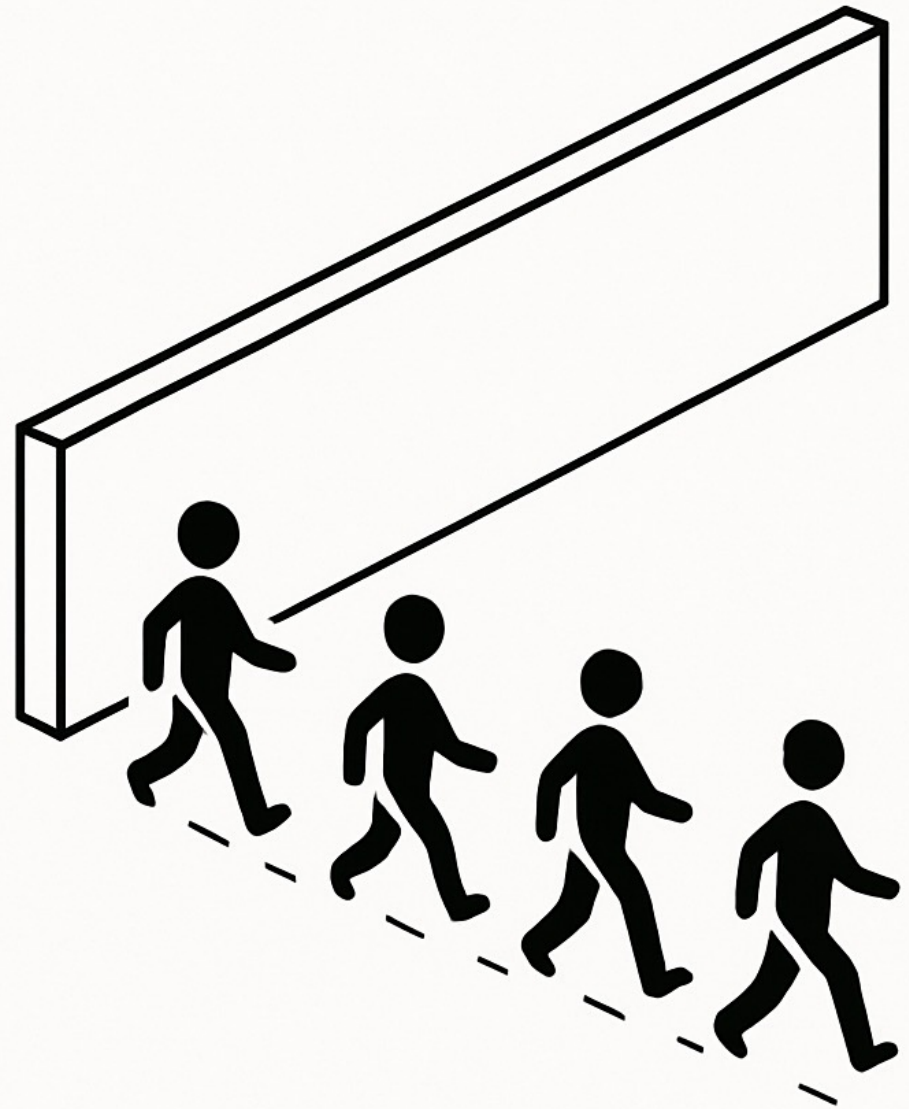
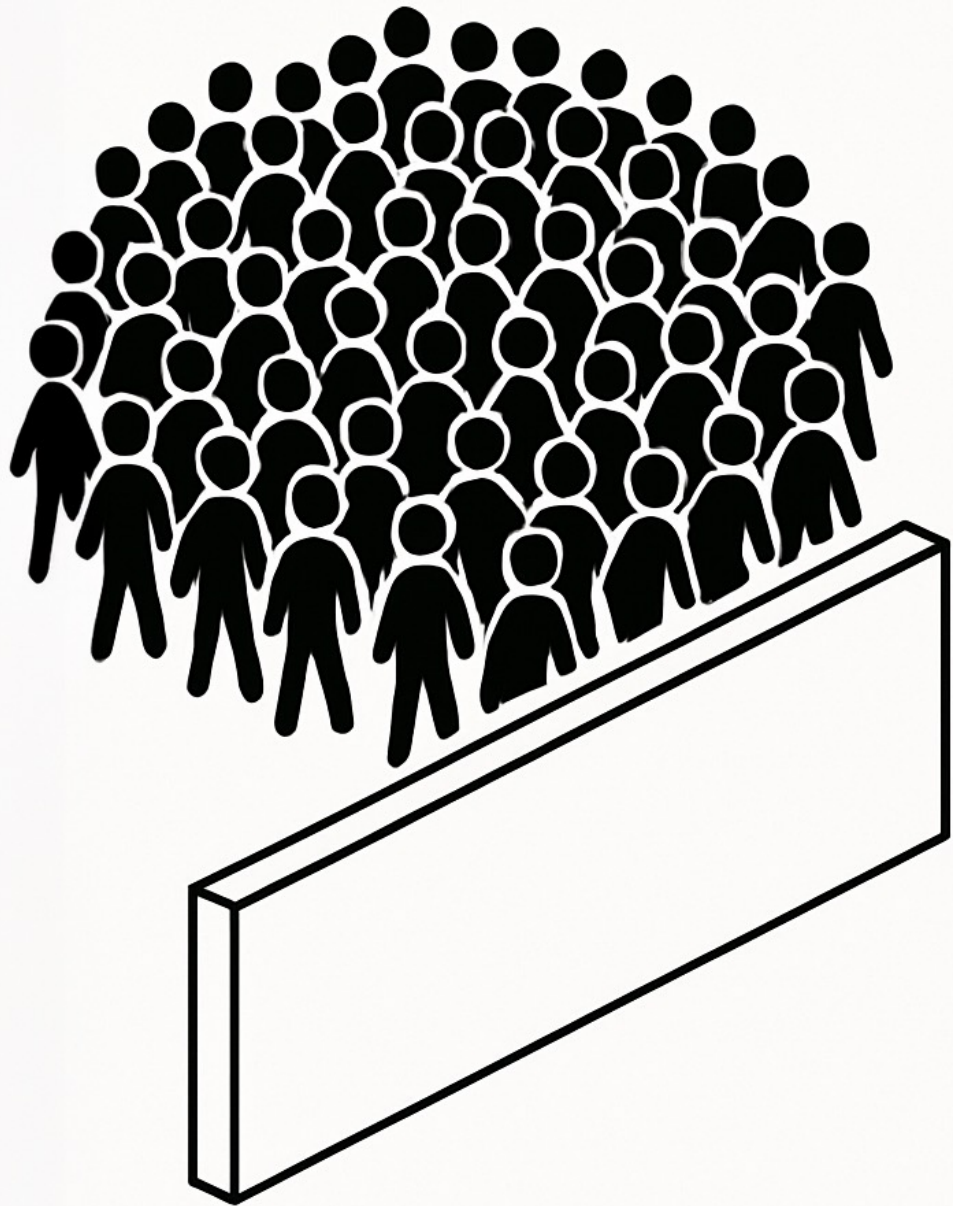
→ 78% retained
in year 1

US retention of int'l STEM graduates

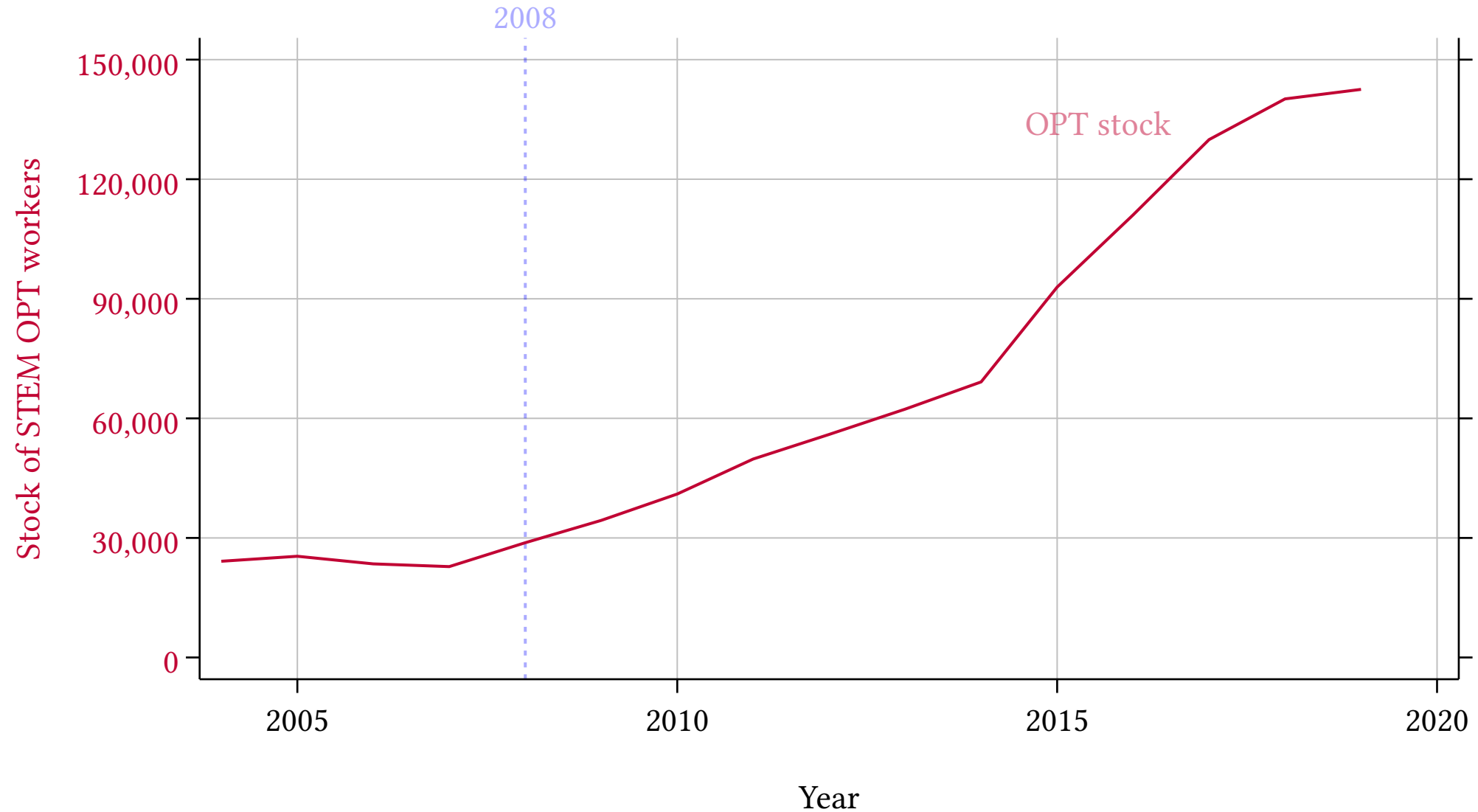


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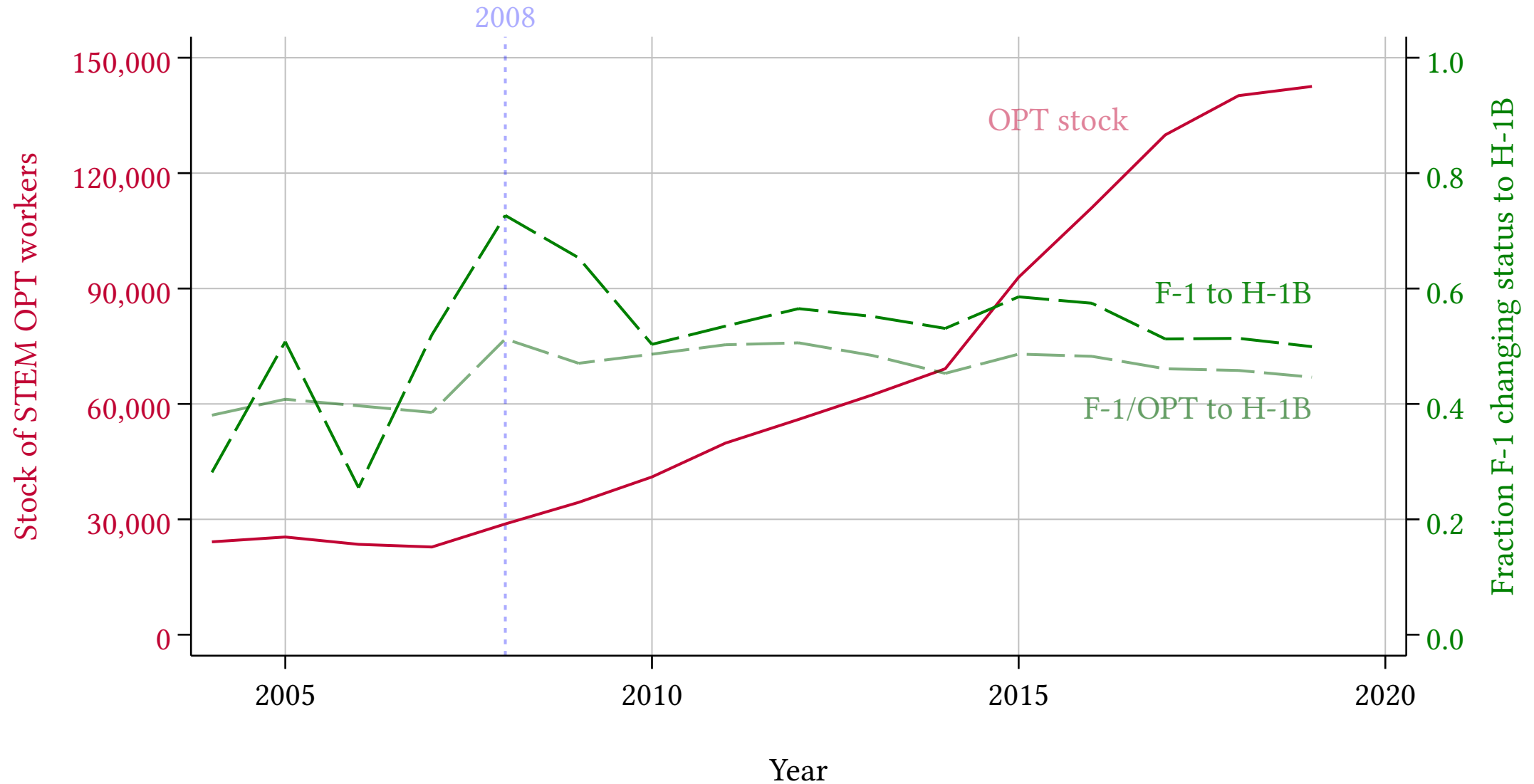




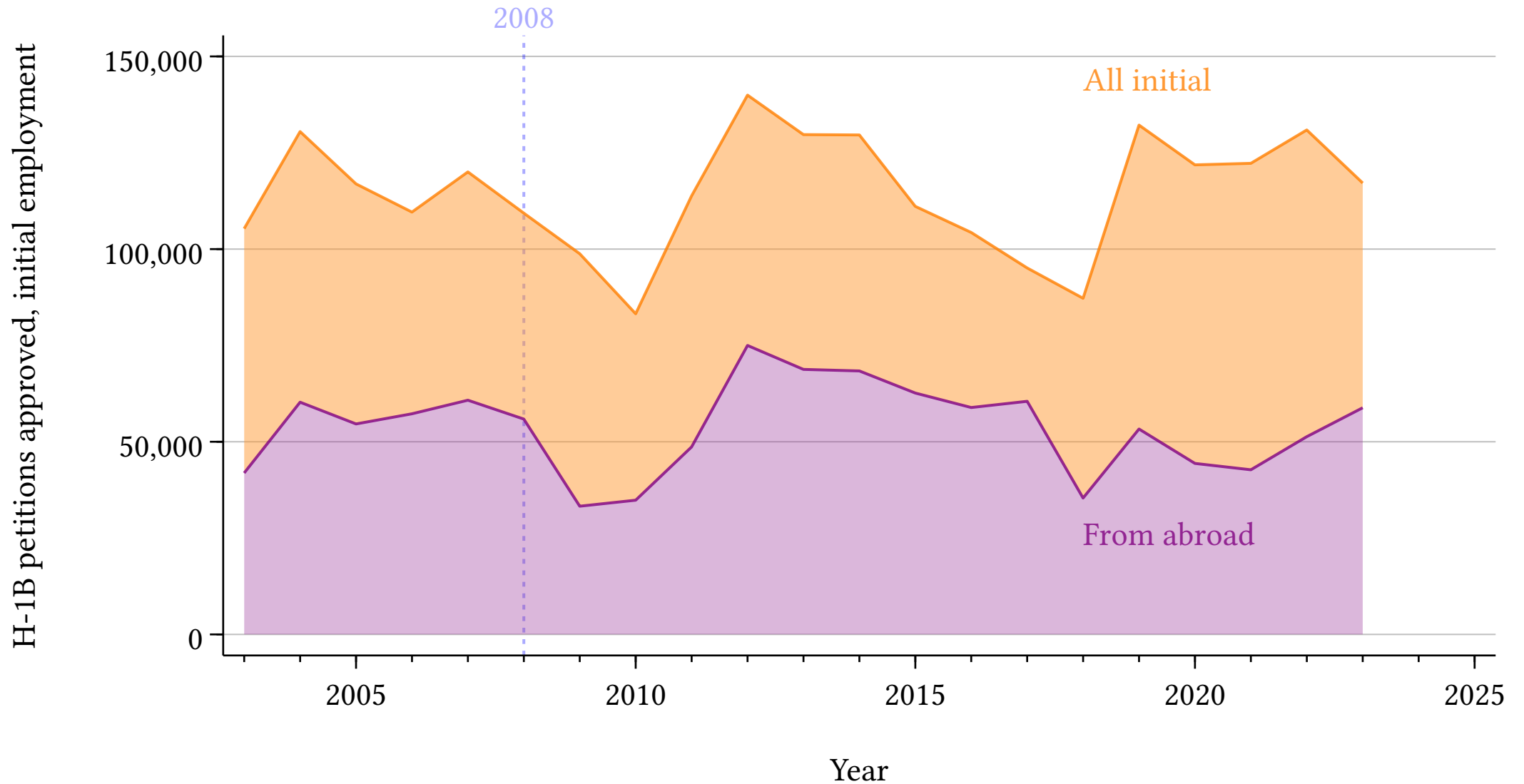
Non-US graduates are not substitutes



Non-US graduates are not substitutes



Non-US graduates are not substitutes



US natives are not substitutes

US natives are not substitutes



One lost international student →
0.62–0.93 lost domestic students



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Do international students crowd-out or cross-subsidize Americans in higher education?



Kevin Shih ✉

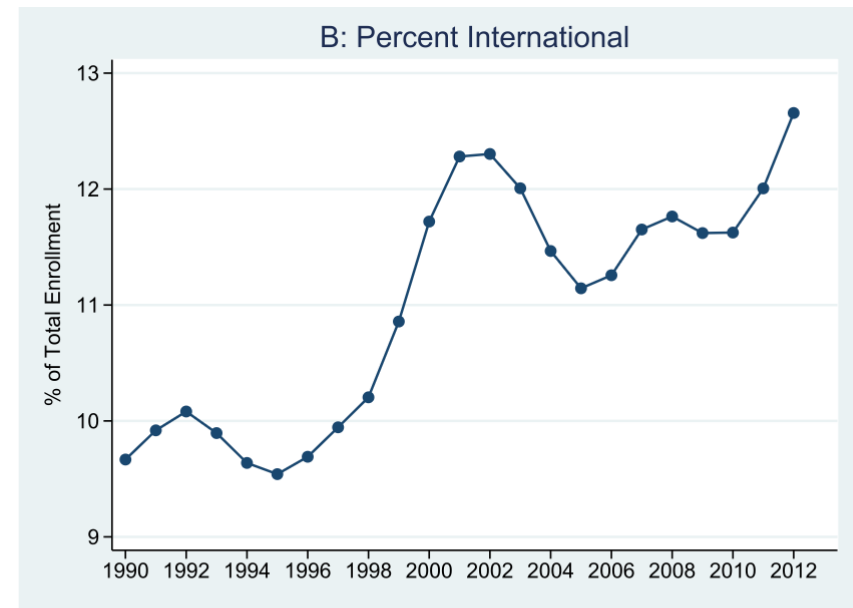
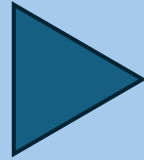
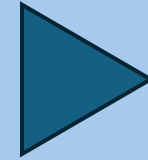


Fig. 3. Trends in international graduate enrollment in the U.S., 1990–2013. Note: Series constructed from IPEDS Fall Enrollment Surveys, 1990–2013. Figures above include total international graduate enrollment (in Panel A) and international graduate enrollment as a percent of total graduate enrollment (Panel B).

1/3 fewer
int'l STEM
students

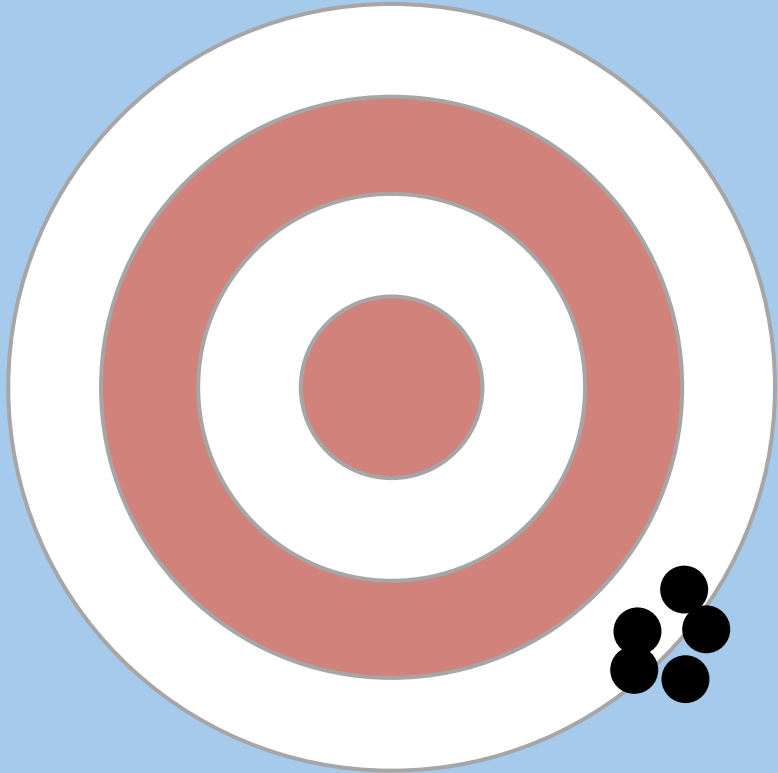


6.2% fewer
high-skill
STEM workers

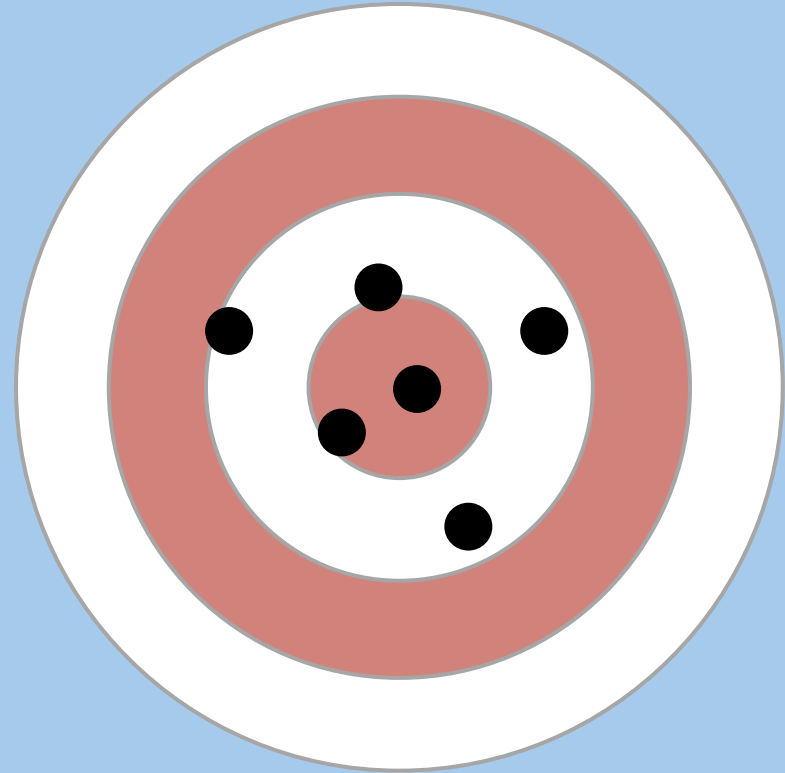


Growth,
productivity?

Precisely
wrong



Imprecisely
right



Lost productivity and growth



6.2% fewer high-skill
STEM workers →

STEM Workers, H-1B Visas, and Productivity in US Cities

Giovanni Peri, *University of California, Davis*

Kevin Shih, *University of California, Davis*

Chad Sparber, *Colgate University*

- 0.079–0.158 pct. points
lower productivity growth

Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) workers are fundamental inputs for innovation, the main driver of produc-

American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics 2 (April 2010): 31–56
<http://www.aeaweb.org/articles.php?doi=10.1257/mac.2.2.31>

How Much Does Immigration Boost Innovation?[†]

By JENNIFER HUNT AND MARJOLAINE GAUTHIER-LOISELLE*

We measure the extent to which skilled immigrants increase innovation in the United States. The 2003 National Survey of College Graduates shows that immigrants patent at double the native rate, due to their disproportionately holding science and engineering

Lost productivity and growth



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- 0.079–0.158 pct. points lower productivity growth
- **\$220–439 billion lost per year after 10 years**
- GDP of So. Carolina, Utah

<http://mclem.org>