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Is the European Union attractive for potential migrants?

AN INVESTIGATION OF MIGRATION INTENTIONS ACROSS THE WORLD

Flore Gubert, Jean-Noël Senne

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Is the European Union attractive for potential migrants? An investigation of migration intentions across the world

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This paper is part of the joint project between the Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs of the European Commission and the OECD's Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs on "Review of Labour Migration Policy in Europe".

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ABSTRACT

This paper is part of the joint project between the Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs of the European Commission and the OECD's Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs on "Review of Labour Migration Policy in Europe".

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The paper investigates the main likely drivers of migration towards the EU. It encompasses a literature review on the determinants of potential and actual migration, followed by an illustrative empirical investigation of worldwide migration intentions – focused on intentions to move permanently in a restricted time span, based on the Gallup surveys on the opinions and aspirations of people around the globe. The paper then continues with a descriptive analysis of migration intentions using both aggregated figures and figures disaggregated by region or country of destination and region or country of origin. It then investigates if individuals intending to move to European countries differ from those intending to move elsewhere using basic individual characteristics such as sex, age, education, and marital and employment status. When feasible, it compares the findings with the profile of recent migrants residing in OECD countries derived from the Database on Immigrants in OECD and non-OECD Countries.

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Introduction

1. Migration intentions are increasingly analysed in migration studies since they are claimed to give fair insights into the relative attractiveness of various destination countries across the globe, by comparison with effective migration flows and stocks which are shaped by migration barriers, costs and policies. The aim of this paper is to provide a descriptive and comparative analysis of migration intentions around the world in order to assess how the European Union is perceived and to what extent/for what reasons it remains attractive by comparison with other main worldwide destinations predominantly within the OECD. The two main issues that are tackled are the following: Is the EU attractive for migrant candidates and if so, for whom? And how do migration intentions correlate with the usual economic determinants of current migration?

2. Before drawing the analysis, the question of how reliable data on migration intentions are needs to be raised. The decision to move is indeed a complex and multi-faceted choice and it could be argued that migration intentions are a poor predictor of effective migrations given all the factors that intervene in the migration decision process.

3. True, migration intentions have to be interpreted with caution, especially when long-distance moves are concerned. However, as suggested by previous papers using the same kind of data (see, *e.g.* the paper by Fouarge and Ester, 2007, using the Eurobarometer data on mobility), there are also some advantages of using migration intention data. Fouarge and Ester list three of them: *"Firstly, in migration models, it is not migration itself which is the issue, but often migration incentives. It is typically the sheer potential for mobility that explains why some countries establish barriers to migration and not mobility itself. Secondly, migration intentions data are gathered in the sending country. This is an advantage compared to host-country migration data because intention data are not biased due to self-selection effects. Thirdly, the policy relevance of examining migration intentions, as well as the factors influencing these intentions, is undisputed and self-evident, with future cross-border migration flows remaining high on the policy agenda."*

4. The second argument put forward by Fouarge and Ester is particularly relevant in the case of this study. Data on migration intentions that provide information on the location or country people intend to move to (as is the case with the Gallup data) have indeed much more to say about countries' or regions' relative attractiveness than data on actual migrations given the selection process underlying the migration process.

5. A final argument is provided by Manski (1990) who shows that under certain circumstances, intentions do have a predictive value for future behaviour. This is especially true when intentions concern relatively specific behaviour in a *restricted* time span. In the case of migration intentions, various studies do suggest intentions might be a good predictor of action: Gordon and Mahlo (1995, cited by Fouarge and Ester *op.cit.*) for *e.g.* report on available evidence from a 1980 British survey on actual and potential migration, which suggests that at least 90% of people who expressed an intent to migrate, did indeed do so within five years.

6. Of course, the size of the correlation between intentions and actual behaviour is likely to be highly dependent on the capacity to cover the costs and overcome the constraints and barriers to migration.[1] It also strongly depends on how the question about plans to migrate is asked. Asking people about their willingness or dreaming of a life abroad is completely different from asking people about their plans to emigrate in the near future.

1. A brief overview of migration theories and determinants

7. There is quite a large body of theoretical and empirical literature on migration. Roughly speaking, migration theories can be classified according to the level they focus on: micro-level theories focus on individual migration decisions, whereas macro-level theories look at aggregate migration trends and explain these trends with macro-level explanations.

1.1. Micro determinants

8. In the standard theory of migration, an individual will move from location A to location B if the expected utility of moving to B is higher than the expected utility from staying in A, net of migration costs. In Sjaastad's human capital theory of migration, for *e.g.*, it is assumed that depending on their skill levels, individuals calculate the present discounted value of expected returns of their human capital in every region or country (Sjaastad, 1962). Migration occurs if the returns, net of discounted migration costs, are larger in a region or country than those in the country of origin, with migration costs not only including travel-related expenses and foregone earnings, but also information costs and the psychological costs of giving up a way of life and proximity to family and/or social relations.

9. Every individual evaluates the returns and costs in a different way so that migration may prove worthwhile for some individuals in a country and not for others. As a result, in the analysis of migration patterns, one should not only pay attention to aggregate labour market variables (such as wage and unemployment differences), but also take into account the importance of individuals' heterogeneity. Human capital endowments, skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation, and labour market status as well as preferences and expectations strongly affect who migrates or intends to migrate and who does not; they also affect destination choices. For instance, the probability of emigrating is assumed to decrease with age because of a lower life expectancy and thus a lower expected gain from the decision to migrate. In other words, young people anticipate net gains from migration that are on average higher than those anticipated by older people. They are therefore less sensitive to uncertainties about living conditions in the region or

[1] See Chort (2014) for evidence on the relationship between intentions to move and actual migration in the case of Mexico.

country in which they are thinking of settling. The probability of emigrating is also assumed to increase with the level of education, as better educated people are in a better position to gather and interpret relevant information, thereby reducing the risks involved in migration.

10. In line with this theoretical framework, most existing studies on migration intentions consider individual human capital or socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age, education, work experience, employment status and language skills as fundamental determinants (see, among others, Avato, 2009; Cai et al, 2014; Chort, 2014; Fouarge and Ester, 2007; Liebig and Souza-Poza, 2004; and van Dalen and Henkens, 2008). Using micro-data covering 23 countries and approximately 28,000 individuals collected by the 1995 International Social Survey Programme and including a question on willingness to move, Liebig and Souza-Poza (2004) find that young, highly-educated, single males constitute the most mobile group. Being highly educated is found to have a particularly strong impact on migration propensity.

11. Nevertheless, the sign of the correlation between education and migration propensity is theoretically speaking not clear-cut, as mobility is also influenced by differences in the return to human capital between the initial place of residence and prospective destinations. Using the seminal self-selection model developed by Roy (1951), Borjas (1987) argues that different locations are characterized by different employment opportunities, as well as different income generating processes. A key prediction of his self-selection theory applied to migration choices is that low-skilled individuals who are at the bottom of the income distribution have a higher propensity to migrate than highly-skilled individuals in countries where the income distribution is highly unequal. In such a setting, there is *negative* self-selection. Conversely, in countries where the income distribution is not very dispersed (*i.e.* where skills are poorly rewarded), the propensity to migrate is the strongest among individuals at the top of the distribution, which results in *positive* self-selection selection.

12. Tests of the self-selection theory have produced rather mixed results, though. Overall, support is found for the positive selection hypothesis, while the negative selection hypothesis is refuted. The result of Liebig and Souza-Poza (*op.cit.*) of a positive effect of education on willingness to move, for *e.g.*, holds after controlling for the presence of high income inequality in the country of origin. The explanation provided by Chiswick (1999) is that migration costs are also decreasing with skills, which reverse any tendency toward negative self-selection arising from higher inequality at origin. Interestingly enough, McKenzie and Rapoport (2010) find that selection is strongly affected by the availability of migrant networks in destination countries. By lowering migration costs, networks benefit most to low-skilled migrants as they are more credit constrained and may have limited host-language skills, so that negative selection might be more prevalent among migrants who can rely on networks at destination.

13. In line with this last finding and turning to the other micro-determinants, the presence of social networks in the destination country has indeed been found to be of crucial importance (Massey, 1988; Hatton and Williamson, 2002; Munshi, 2003; Toma, 2012; Bertoli et al, 2015). Networks not only provide information on job opportunities and labour market conditions at destination that may give a more accurate estimate of what potential migrants can earn abroad. They also offer services such as ways to find and deal with smugglers, assistance in job search and housing and insurance in times of hardship that lower the costs of migration and may increase the utility of the migrant in the host country. The availability of a social network of friends and family abroad is thus expected to increase the probability of emigration and to play a role in the direction of migration flows.

14. Finally, willingness to move is also affected by demographic characteristics such as the presence of a partner or children, and by past mobility. Being free from partner ties can make the decision to move easier than being married with children. Past mobility lowers the psychological cost of mobility as well as its monetary cost due to the availability of better information.

1.2. .Macro determinants

15. At the macroeconomic level, the literature suggests a number of socioeconomic determinants surrounding the decision to migrate. Important *push* factors for emigration countries are a strong population growth and the corresponding lack of employment opportunities, a low level of wealth and/or high incidence of poverty, political instability or low degree of political freedoms, etc. The relationship between GDP at home and emigration is not straightforward, though, and many observers have actually found a hump-shaped relationship between the two variables. The explanation offered by Hatton and Williamson for this paradox is that the structural and demographic changes coincident with industrialization generate more migration in early stages than later on. In addition, poverty constrains migration because poor people lack financial resources to invest in long-distance migration (Hatton and Williamson, 2002).

16. In their analysis of the relation between wealth and migration, Dustmann and Okatenko (2014) examine to what extent individuals' overall contentment with local amenities like public services (transportation systems, schools, water quality), security (property crimes, direct criminal offences, etc.), or governance matters. Using data from the Gallup World Poll, which provide a wealth of information on individuals' assessment of different aspect of their current situation, they find that intentions to migrate monotonically decrease with the level of contentment with the current location for all regions (Latin America, Africa and Asia). Moreover, they find that contentment with various dimensions of local amenities is a far more important factor in shaping migration decisions than household wealth, a finding in line with Cai et al's (2014) evidence that subjective well-being is a better predictor of emigration intentions than household income quintiles.

17. Turning now to *pull* factors, the choice of a given country is generally found to partly driven by past colonial links, common culture and language and/or a shared frontier. But socioeceonomic conditions, among which higher wages and labour market opportunities in the receiving countries, together with potentially better social security systems matter as well. The generosity of the welfare state in particular is generally assumed to play an important role in migrants' choice of a particular country of destination, which is referred to as the "welfare magnet effect", even though the evidence on this is rather mixed.[2] Other pull factors include information about and perceived images of countries through media and other information channels, perception of the likelihood of finding a job, perception of the functioning of admission and integration policies, etc. (Schoorl, 2000). For migrant workers, it is also likely that security

[2] This effect, for example has not been verified during the recent (and still ongoing) refugee crisis in Europe. When asked to cite their preferred destination choice, only a tiny minority of asylum seekers arriving in Europe mentioned France despite the relative generosity of the French welfare system. The results of Pedersen et al (2008)'s analysis using the amount of public social expenditures (as percentage of GDP) as a proxy for the size of the welfare state do not support the hypothesis of a welfare magnet pattern in migration flows either.

of residence, non-discrimination, access to fundamental social rights and compliance with international labour standard are strong predictors of "attractiveness" (Carrera et al, 2014),

18. In a recent paper, Incaltarau and Juravle (2014) suggest a composite index to assess the relative attractiveness of EU states which takes into account five key issues in migration transition evolution. The first one ('*Attractiveness of the labour market'*) encloses the level of unemployment, the household income, the flexibility of labour market legislation (the ease of hiring and firing practices; in other words, the extent to which firms can react to market fluctuations, increasing their efficiency in order to stay competitive), the skill level of labour and the availability of skilled labour. The second one ('*Attractiveness of the business environment*') takes into account the minimum capital required to start a business, the number of procedures and the time required for this purpose. The third one ('*The quality of institutions'*) refers to political stability and absence of violence or terrorism, which are essential conditions for development, and prosperity. It also includes the quality of regulations and the rule of law. The fourth and fifth ones respectively account for the quality and accessibility of services in health and education and for the quality of infrastructure. On the basis of this composite index, they find that the top three positions among EU destination countries are occupied by the Scandinavian countries, while the bottom four ones include the countries that have joined the EU in the last two enlargement rounds (Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania), along with Greece. They also find that as attractiveness increases, net migration goes from negative to positive.

19. In a similar vein, a report produced in the framework of an applied research project on the attractiveness of European regions and cities for residents and visitors (ATTREG) identifies six potential assets that influence a territorial attractiveness (ESPON, 2013): environmental capital (climate, natural resources, protected landscapes, green areas, rural areas, etc.), anthropic capital (quality of housing, architecture, infrastructure, hotels, etc.), economic capital (firms and sectors, level of economic activity, employment, networks and clusters, innovativeness, etc.), human and social capital (education levels, diversity of population, social networks, gender and ethnic participation, crime, etc.), institutional capital (democracy, efficiency of the system, etc.) and cultural capital (monuments and landmarks, cultural activities, infrastructure and services, higher education institutions, academic production, etc.).

20. What is made clear from the above discussion is that migration and destination choice are driven by various economic, demographic or political processes that are far beyond the scope of migration policies. As emphasized by Czaika and de Haas, this implies that many policies are likely to affect migration including labour market, macro-economic, welfare, trade and foreign policies, and that their influence may be larger than specific migration policies. Moreover, the effect of the latter policies might be further limited through various spatial, categorical and inter-temporal substitution effects, so that they finally seem more effective in determining the selection and composition of migration rather than the overall volume and long-term trends of migration (Czaika and de Haas, 2011).

21. In what follows, we use data on individual migration intentions to assess the relative attractiveness of European countries as a destination for potential migrants and try to infer from this, in a rather speculative way, the role that policies and concurrent other factors have on shaping these intentions.

2. An empirical investigation of migration intentions across the globe: insights from the Gallup data

22. The aim of this section is to provide a descriptive analysis of migration intentions as measured by various waves of the Gallup survey to assess how the European Union is perceived and to what extent and for what reasons it remains attractive in comparison with other main worldwide destinations.

23. In the Gallup questionnaire, several questions relate to migrations intentions that can be ranked by decreasing order of looseness. The first one ("*Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country?") reflects people's wishes or aspirations rather than their intentions. It is followed by two other questions that indicate whether these stated intentions are likely to materialize or not: "If yes, are you planning to move permanently to another country in the next 12 months?"; "If yes, have you done any preparation for this move (for example, applied for residency or visa, purchased the ticket, etc.)?, etc.". There are additional questions on temporary migration intentions ("Would you like to go to another country for temporary work?"; "Would you like to go to another country to study or to participate in a work-study program?")* which are, as the first one, a bit too abstract as there is no restriction on the time span over which migration may take place.

24. In what follows, we present descriptive statistics on all of them, using sampling weights to get extrapolated figures. Yet, we mainly focus our analysis on the questions that relate to migration in a restricted time span *as they* are likely to provide better predictions of respondents' future behavior. Moreover, figures on individuals expressing a desire to move permanently over their lifetime and on temporary migration intentions provide quite unrealistic and alarmist estimates. They are therefore provided for comparison purposes when relevant but left aside in the discussion, so that the core analysis is conducted on the subsample of individuals having more concrete migration plans and intending to migrate in the forthcoming 12 months.

25. This comes at a cost, though, as the sub-sample of individuals with concrete plans to migrate is quite small in the dataset. This implies that when the figures on this particular sample are further disaggregated by region of origin and destination, and main individual characteristics, the small number of observations in each cell sometimes precludes the possibility of getting consistent estimates and making definitive conclusions. Sample sizes are reported in the tables and systematically pinpointed when too small to be reliably considered.

Data and definitions

Databases

The analyses contained in the report draw upon various waves of Gallup surveys conducted between 2007 and 2013. The Gallup surveys are conducted among residents in more than 150 countries representing more than 98% of the world's adult population. A nationally representative sample of about 1,000 individuals aged 15 or more is interviewed generally once per year in each country on various topics including food and shelter, financial well-being, personal health, civic engagement and evaluative well-being. There are also several questions that relate to migration intentions which are the focus of this report.

Those used for the analyses are as follows:

- "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move permanently to another country, or would you prefer to continue living in this country?"
- "To which country would you like to move? (only asked to those who would like to move to another country)"

Individuals who answered "yes" to this question are referred to as individuals who would like to **move permanently over their lifetime.**

- "Are you planning to move permanently to another country in the next 12 months or not? (only asked to those who would like to move to another country)";
- "To which country are you planning to move in the next 12 months? (only asked to those who are planning to move to another country in the next 12 months)";

Individuals who answered "yes" to this question are referred to as individuals who would like to **move permanently in the next 12 months**.

- "Have you done any preparation for this move (for example, applied for residency or visa, purchased the ticket, etc.)? (only asked to those who are planning to move in the next 12 to 24 months.)"

Individuals who answered "yes" to this question are referred to as individuals **who have taken concrete actions**.

- "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to go to another country for temporary work, or not?"
- "Ideally, if you had the opportunity, would you like to go to another country to study or to participate in a work-study program, or not?"

Individuals who answered "yes" to this question are referred to as individuals who would like to **move temporarily to work or study.**

Country classification

For the purpose of the analyses, countries were grouped into different categories.

The destination regions are:

- **EU**: includes the 15 European countries that were members of the European Union (EU) between 1995 and 2004 (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom); the 10 European countries that became members of the EU in 2004 (Czech Republic, Cyprus[3,4], Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovak Republic,

[3] Footnote by Turkey: The information in this document with reference to "Cyprus" relates to the southern part of the Island. There is no single authority representing both Turkish and Greek Cypriot people on the Island. Turkey recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Until a lasting and equitable solution is found within the context of United Nations, Turkey shall preserve its position concerning the "Cyprus issue".

[4] Footnote by all the European Union Member States of the OECD and the European Union: The Republic of Cyprus is recognised by all members of the United Nations with the exception of Turkey. The information in this document relates to the area under the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

Slovenia) and the 3 European countries that became members in 2007 (Bulgaria, Romania) and 2013 (Croatia). In some sections of the document or in some tables, the EU category is sometimes disaggregated into a "Top 5" category that includes the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain and Italy, as being the 5 main desired destination countries within this region and a "Other EU28" category that includes the 23 other EU countries.

- **Other EEA**: includes Iceland, Norway and Switzerland;
- **Non-Europe OECD**: includes the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Israel, Japan, Mexico, South Korea and Turkey. In some sections of the document or in some tables, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are dealt with separately as being the four main desired destinations countries within this region.
- **Non-OECD countries**: includes all non-OECD countries covered by the Gallup survey. In some sections of the document or in some tables, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Russia and South Africa are dealt with separately as being the four destination countries that attract a non-negligible share of potential migrants within this region.

The origin regions are:

- **EU**: includes the same countries as above;
- **Other EEA**: includes the same countries as above;
- **Other Europe** : includes Turkey, Montenegro, Russia, Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine and Kosovo;
- **Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC):** includes Venezuela, Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Argentina, Belize, Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Uruguay, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, Peru, Paraguay, Panama, Nicaragua;
- **North America/Oceania**: includes the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand;
- **Middle East and North Africa (MENA):** includes Israel, Egypt, Morocco, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iran, Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Tunisia, Sudan, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Palestinian territories, Libya;
- **Asia**: includes Singapore, Bangladesh, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Mongolia, Malaysia, Nepal, China India, Indonesia, Afghanistan, South Korea, Japan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Hong Kong;
- **Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA):** includes Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Benin, Madagascar, Malawi, South Africa, Botswana, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Zambia, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Central Africa, Chad, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville & Kinshasa), Gabon, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Togo, Angola, Djibouti, Mauritius

Small sample sizes in each origin countries preclude any analysis at the individual country level.

Definition of terms used

- The **potential adult migrant population** includes all the sample individuals aged 15 and over who say they would like to move to another country. A distinction is made between potential permanent (over the lifetime or in the next 12 months) and temporary (to work or study) migrants depending on the question used.
- Gender is recorded in 2 categories: male and female
- Age is recorded in 3 categories: 15-24, 25-64 and 65 and over
- **Educational attainment** is recorded in 3 categories: low-educated (primary education), medium-educated (secondary education) and high-educated (tertiary education).
- **Marital status** is recorded in 3 categories: single (never married), married and other (divorced, separated or widowed)
- **Employment status** is recorded in 3 categories: employed (full-time, desired part-time or self-employment), Under- or unemployed (unemployed or undesired part-time) and out of workforce.

2.1. Is the EU attractive? Overview of global migration intentions

Size of the potential adult migrant population and desired destination regions

26. According to the latest Gallup surveys which provide data on representative samples of residents aged 15 or more in 150 countries, about 640 million adults would like to migrate to another country *permanently* if they could (Table 1, part a). Roughly speaking, this figure suggests that about 13% of the world's adult population have a desire for long-term migration. However, when the question on migration intentions relates to a restricted time span ('*in the next 12 months*'), **the number of adults who now express an intention to migrate is as expected much lower (53 millions), which suggests that only 1.1% of the world population has true plans to emigrate**. Among those individuals, more than a third has already taken concrete actions to prepare this move.

27. **Turning to temporary migration intentions, the Gallup data suggest that respectively 25% (1,189 millions) and 22% (868 millions) of the world adult population would like to move temporarily to another country to work or to study (or participate in a work-study program).** Again, with no time limit, it is likely that most of these *stated intentions will not materialize.*

Table 1.Size of the potential migrant population, 2011

	Nb. of observations	Population (1,000)(*)	As a % of the total population
a. Including intra-EU/EEA mobility			
Would like to move permanently			
… over lifetime	41,619	640,555	13.3
… in the next 12 months	5,457	52,713	1.1
... has taken concrete actions (**)	*2,056*	*18,920*	*35.8*
Would like to move temporarily			
… to work	41,242	1,188,914	25.4
… to study	31,939	867,748	22.3
b. After excluding intra-EU/EEA mobility			
Would like to move permanently (after excluding intra-EU/EEA mobility)			
… over lifetime	37,981	590,500	12.4
… in the next 12 months	5,105	48,182	1.0
... has taken concrete actions (**)	*1,904*	*17,396*	*36.1*
Would like to move temporarily (after excluding intra-EU/EEA mobility)			
… to work	36,822	1,114,158	24.2
… to study	30,904	854,916	22.0

Source: Gallup surveys 20011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011. Figures on temporary migration intentions relate to year 2010.
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.
(**) Computed on those who said they were planning to move permanently in the next 12 months.

28. When intra-EU/EEA mobility is put aside, as it might not be considered as migration per se due to free mobility agreements within this area, all the above figures are of course modified (Table 1, part b) and give a more accurate picture of the potential worldwide migrant population. As an indication, **potential mobile individuals within the EU/EEA account for 50 million adults who would like to move permanently, 4.5 million of which expressing the desire to move in the next 12 months. Besides, almost 75 million would like to move temporarily to work and an additional 13 million to study.** Intra-EU/EEA mobility will be systematically excluded in the remainder of this note, unless otherwise specified.

29. **EU/EEA and other OECD destinations outside Europe are the most attractive countries: in 2011, they were the desired destinations of almost 60% of the potential permanent migrants and of respectively 2/3 and 3/4 of those who would like to move temporarily to work or study**, the remaining minor share intending to move to non-OECD countries (Table 2). As the question on willingness to move in the next 12 months is only asked to those who have expressed a desire to move permanently to another country, the first two columns of Table 2 provide very similar figures for desired destinations except for the proportion of those who do not know where they would like to move which is, as expected, lower among those planning to move in the next 12 months.

30. **Among the potential permanent migrants, the United States (US) is by far the number 1 desired destination country**. 22% of those intending to migrate permanently said they would like to move to the US (11 million people in the next 12 months). This proportion is even higher for those wishing to move temporarily to work (26%) or to study (33%). Even though this last figure has to be interpreted with caution given the looseness of the question used, it does suggest that the US are highly attractive to people who express a desire to study abroad for a while. In a global competition for talents, fast application processing, certainty of selection but also access to permanent residence status and citizenship for students, and strong immediate as well as long-term employment outcomes have now been acknowledged to attract students but also retain high-skilled migrants. The US pioneered the link between international study and skilled migration, notably by increasingly facilitating students' transition from temporary to extended or permanent-resident stay with priority processing in uncapped migration categories. They particularly launched policy initiatives designed to stem the post-September 11 decline in international student numbers, including improved visa regulations and new strategic initiatives favouring priority student source countries in Asia, LAC but also MENA. They were followed by OECD countries outside Europe, especially Canada, Australia and New-Zealand, who gradually introduced over the last decade a range of programs to enhance attractiveness as study destinations but also foster students' stay after their studies (via simplified online applications, postgraduate work permit programs, liberalized rights for employment or reduced duration to obtain citizenship). Virtually all OECD countries are now introducing active measures not only to recruit and ease international students' entry but also to further retain high-skilled workers on the labour market, in a two-step migration scheme.

31. **Taken as a whole, the EU/EEA category that unites the EU member States and three EEA States (Iceland, Norway and Switzerland) is the desired destination of 24% of those individuals intending to migrate permanently, after excluding intra EU/EEA mobility** (11 million in the next 12 months). However, not all countries within the EU sound attractive. **Due to their economic importance but also their history and colonial past, traditional immigration countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) and France rank unsurprisingly first and far ahead, followed by Germany and the so-called new European "Eldorados" that were Spain and Italy in the last decades (Table 3). All together, these top-5 countries are the desired destinations of more than three quarters of the potential migrants who would like to move to the EU/EEA.** These countries tend to be relatively less attractive for potential temporary migrants but are still reported by about a quarter of temporary workers and students. One notable exception is the UK who stands far ahead for individuals intending to migrate temporarily. Referring to the discussion above, the EU strategy to attract students focused for long on maintaining near-zero tuition fees, while neglecting the additional effect of easing long-term residence and facilitating access to the labour market for graduate foreign students. Only recently, in a marked deviation from tradition, the German federal Ministry of Education and Research recognized in 2005 the students' potential to increase high-skilled migration, stating that "it is more difficult to attract high-skilled professionals than to train them directly in Europe" and prompting EU countries to redouble their efforts to attract international students. Since 2006, the UK pioneer and new managed migration system encourages students to shift from education to sponsored employment status by granting job-search extensions of residence permits, while France and Germany still lag behind with sometimes strong restrictions on the transition from temporary to permanent stay and restrained access to the labour market for graduate international students.

32. **The country group composed of Canada, Australia and New Zealand is found to rank third and is cited by around 10% of the potential migrants who would like to move permanently or temporarily**. Among the remaining non-OECD destinations that altogether attract between 1/4 and 1/3 of the potential permanent migrants, only four countries stand apart, *i.e.* Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Russia and South Africa. While non-OECD countries are the desired destinations of a minor but non-negligible share of potential permanent migrants and temporary workers, they tend to be far less attractive for students.

33. Finally, the proportion of potential permanent migrants having taken concrete actions to prepare their move does not strongly vary across destinations, the shares being somewhat above average for the country group composed of Canada, Australia and New Zealand and Saudi Arabia and the UAE, which might somehow reflect their higher selectiveness but also stricter measures to obtain visas and legal documents at entry.

Table 2.Size of the potential migrant population by desired destination, 2011

2.a. Individuals who would like to move permanently

Destination	Over lifetime			In the next 12 months			Has taken concrete actions (%)(**)
	Sample	Population (1,000) (*)	%	Sample	Population (1,000) (*)	%	
EU/EEA (***)	**10,205**	**139,557**	**23.6**	**1,361**	**11,163**	**23.2**	***38.2***
Top 5	8,147	110,236	18.7	1,083	8,950	18.6	*38.2*
Other EU28	1,456	19,994	3.4	207	1,766	3.7	*44.5*
Other EEA	602	9,325	1.5	71	447	0.9	*12.4*
Non-Europe OECD	**13,294**	**208,407**	**35.3**	**1,660**	**17,375**	**36.1**	***36.4***
United States	8,238	130,218	22.1	1,009	11,234	23.3	*33.7*
Canada	2,261	32,354	5.5	340	3,089	6.4	*44.5*
Australia/NZ	1,720	29,665	5.0	151	1,571	3.3	*40.0*
Other OECD	1,075	16,170	2.7	160	1,482	3.1	*36.0*
Non-OECD	**10,611**	**152,362**	**25.8**	**1,880**	**16,512**	**34.3**	***36.4***
Saudi Arabia/UAE	2,181	38,981	6.6	308	3,857	8.0	*44.1*
South Africa	1,065	8,696	1.5	211	1,530	3.2	*37.8*
Russia	815	6,168	1.0	96	606	1.3	*31.5*
Other	6,550	98,517	16.7	1,245	10,519	21.8	*33.7*
Don't know/refused	**2,769**	**65,629**	**11.1**	**223**	**3,131**	**6.4**	***25.7***
Missing	**1,102**	**24,545**	**4.2**	-	-	-	-
Total (***)	**37,981**	**590,500**	**100.0**	**5,105**	**48,182**	**100.0**	***36.1***

2.b. Individuals who would like to move temporarily

Destination	To work			To study		
	Nb. of obs.	Population (1,000) (*)	%	Nb. of obs.	Population (1,000) (*)	%
EU/EEA (***)	**9,330**	**253,672**	**22.8**	**9,775**	**215,292**	**25.2**
Top 5	8,177	220,210	19.8	8,929	198,689	23.2
Other EU28	864	23,224	2.1	613	12,288	1.5
Other EEA	289	10,239	0.9	233	4,314	0.5
Non-Europe OECD	**14,390**	**471,272**	**42.3**	**12,754**	**414,537**	**48.5**
United States	9,648	291,027	26.1	9,032	278,612	32.6
Canada	1,934	56,482	5.1	1,857	41,751	4.9
Australia/NZ	1,107	41,739	3.8	552	29,201	3.4
Other OECD	1,701	82,024	7.3	1,313	64,972	7.6
Non-OECD	**9,411**	**253,947**	**22.8**	**6,141**	**126,328**	**14.8**
Saudi Arabia/UAE	1,414	58,939	5.3	961	27,064	3.2
South Africa	489	5,194	0.5	365	4,094	0.5
Russia	1,032	13,980	1.2	516	9,467	1.1
Other	6,476	175,835	15.8	4,399	85,704	10.0
Don't know/refused	**2,939**	**129,488**	**11.6**	**1,897**	**97,113**	**11.4**
Missing	**752**	**5,779**	**0.5**	**337**	**1,645**	**0.1**
Total (***)	**36,822**	**1,114,158**	**100.0**	**30,904**	**854,916**	**100.0**

Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011. Figures on temporary migration intentions relate to year 2010.
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.
(**) Computed on those who said they were planning to move permanently in the next 12 months.
(***) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

Table 3.Distribution of potential migrants to the EU/EEA across desired countries of destination, 2011

	Would like to move permanently (%)			Would like to move temporarily (%)	
	Over lifetime	In the next 12 months	Has taken concrete actions (**)	To work	To study
United Kingdom	24.7	23.3	*42.7*	30.3	38.1
France	18.6	24.4	*38.0*	17.1	17.9
Germany	15.3	11.6	*49.0*	15.6	16.6
Spain	11.3	11.5	*25.2*	13.3	12.5
Italy	9.1	9.3	*31.0*	10.6	7.3
Other EU28	14.3	15.8	*44.7*	9.2	5.7
Other EEA	6.7	4.0	*12.4*	4.0	2.0
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	***38.3***	**100.0**	**100.0**
Nb. of observations	**10,205**	**1,361**	**-**	**9,330**	**9,775**
Population (1,000) (*)	**139,557**	**11,163**	**-**	**253,672**	**215,292**

Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011. Figures on temporary migration intentions relate to year 2010. They exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.
(**) Computed on those who said they were planning to move permanently in the next 12 months.

Size of the potential adult migrant population by region of origin

34. It is now interesting to further disaggregate the figures provided in Table 1 by region of origin (Table 4). If we first look at the figures in column, several interesting features emerge.

35. First, there is a strong variation in the percentages of individuals expressing a desire to move to other countries permanently. **In relative terms, residents in Sub-Saharan African countries are the most likely to say they would like to move (28.7%)**. By contrast, residents in Asia are, with those in North America and Oceania, the least likely to say they would like to move (7.9%). Residents in EU/EEA stand in-between if one excludes intra-EU/EEA mobility from the analysis**. In absolute terms, the picture is rather different. Given the size of its population, Asia hosts the highest number of individuals wishing to move (211 million).** It is 1.6 times higher than that of Sub-Saharan Africa (128 million) and four times that of EU/EEA countries (51 million).

36. The percentage of individuals intending to migrate in the next twelve months is also found to vary between regions, with a ranking that is slightly different from the previous one: as before, **Sub-Saharan Africa ranks first, with 4.4% of the total population intending to migrate in the short-term, but it is now followed by MENA and Latin American countries**. This implies that about 20, 8 and 7 million individuals respectively intend to move in the next twelve months from SSA, MENA and LAC countries, about a third of which has already taken concrete steps to prepare this move.

Table 4.Size of the potential migrant population by region of origin, 2011

Region of origin		EU/EEA	EU/EEA (***)	Other Europe	NA & Oceania	MENA	SSA	LAC	Asia	Total (***)
Would like to move permanently (%)										
Over lifetime	Nb. of obs.	6,812	3,174	3,445	329	6,062	13,126	5,086	6,759	37,981
	Population (*)	101,303	51,248	45,407	31,397	47,198	128,480	75,366	211,403	590,500
	As % of pop.	**22.9**	**13.1**	**18.9**	**10.3**	**17.6**	**28.7**	**17.6**	**7.9**	**12.3**
In the next 12 months	Nb. of obs.	563	211	343	27	953	2,545	649	376	**5,105**
	Population	7,736	3,206	2,402	399	6,656	19,697	8,145	7,676	**48,183**
	As % of pop.	**1.8**	**0.7**	**1.0**	**0.1**	**2.5**	**4.4**	**1.9**	**0.3**	**1.0**
Has taken concrete actions (**)		*34.3*	*34.3*	*44.0*	*39.3*	*39.9*	*32.1*	*30.9*	*46.4*	***35.9***
Would like to move temporarily (%)										
… to work	Nb. of obs.	7,821	3,401	2,185	1,536	2,929	10,302	7,677	8,792	36,822
	Population (*)	148,439	73,741	56,209	111,326	31,042	146,405	151,303	544,132	1,114,217
	As % of pop.	**35.4**	**18.8**	**25.0**	**37.4**	**20.8**	**49.7**	**36.9**	**18.9**	**24.2**
… to study	Nb. of obs.	1,578	543	1,834	-	4,847	10,107	7,645	5,928	30,904
	Population (*)	19,218	6,386	51,553	-	42,681	136,364	156,191	461,741	854,916
	As % of pop.	**21.3**	**8.2**	**23.0**	**-**	**29.1**	**46.3**	**38.1**	**16.9**	**22.0**

Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011. Figures on temporary migration intentions relate to year 2010.
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.
(**) Computed on those who said they were planning to move permanently in the next 12 months.
(***) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility

37. Table 5 provides the same figures as above for the sub-sample of individuals intending to migrate in the next 12 months, except that they are now further disaggregated by region or country of destination. Looking at the last column, the table shows that the three categories "EU/EEA", "Non-Europe OECD" and "non-OECD" are not equally attractive: while the EU/EEA is the desired region of destination of about one fourth of migrant candidates (after excluding intra EU/EEA mobility), this proportion reaches respectively 36 and 34% for the two other groups. The picture is even more contrasted when regions of origin are considered separately.

Table 5.Distribution of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) across desired regions of destination, by origin 2011

Region of origin → Region of destination ↓	EU/EEA	EU/EEA (**)	Other Europe	NA & Oceania	MENA	SSA	LAC	Asia	All (**)
EU/EEA	**58.6**	-	**54.2**	14.2	**32.9**	**25.5**	**19.0**	**13.6**	**23.2**
Top 5	37.1	-	32.4	14.2	26.0	22.0	16.6	9.3	18.6
Other EU28	19.1	-	19.7	0.0	6.3	2.7	0.6	4.0	3.7
Other EEA	2.4	-	2.2	0.0	0.6	0.9	1.8	0.4	0.9
Non-Europe OECD	**19.6**	**47.3**	**23.9**	59.5	**25.3**	**30.8**	**50.0**	**42.0**	**36.1**
United States	6.0	14.5	13.6	7.6	7.8	23.0	41.5	26.0	23.3
Canada	2.1	5.1	4.2	25.9	11.2	5.6	5.0	6.1	6.4
Australia/NZ	8.5	20.4	1.1	26.0	2.7	1.0	0.8	4.7	3.3
Other OECD	3.0	7.3	4.9	0.0	3.7	1.4	2.7	5.2	3.1
Non-OECD	**15.6**	**37.6**	**14.8**	19.3	**38.1**	**37.1**	**23.4**	**40.6**	**34.3**
Saudi Arabia/UAE	0.6	1.4	0.0	0.0	16.2	4.8	0.0	23.4	8.0
South Africa	0.4	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.2	3.2
Russia	0.7	1.6	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.7	3.0	1.3
Other	14.0	33.7	7.8	18.9	21.8	24.4	22.7	14.0	21.8
Don't know/refused	**6.2**	**15.1**	**7.1**	7.1	**3.7**	**6.6**	**7.7**	**3.7**	**6.4**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	100.0	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Nb. of observations	563	211	343	27	953	2,545	649	376	5,105
Population (1,000)(*)	7,736	3,206	2,402	399	6,655	19,697	8,145	7,676	48,182

Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011. Figures in grey are considered as unreliable because a small sample size and are left aside (nb. of observations < 50). The shaded area refers to intra-EU/EEA mobility.
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.
(**) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility

38. **Starting with the first column, the figures reveal that there is a high desire of mobility in the EU/EEA: nearly 60% of the potential migrants from this region would like to move permanently to another country *within* the region** (shaded area). This is by far the highest desired intra-regional mobility rate in the world. After destinations within the EU/EEA, residents of the EU/EEA who intend to move permanently to another country in the next 12 months say they would like to move to non-European OECD countries (19.6%) or to a country belonging to the "other" category.

39. Turning to migrant candidates belonging to the "Other Europe" category, which includes countries such as Turkey and several States of the former Yugoslavia among others, their preferred destinations are countries of the EU/EEA region, the US and Russia, probably for proximity reasons and past common history during the communist era .

40. **In the MENA and SSA regions, about ¼ of the migrant candidates intends to move to one of the Top 5 European countries (UK, France, Germany, Spain and Italy);** another quarter or so intends to move to non-Europe OECD (with a strong preference for the US in the case of candidates originating from SSA) and more than a third targets non-OECD countries. **Interestingly enough, the figures relating to Sub-Saharan Africa suggest that the US are ranked ahead of the Top 5 European countries**. Given the strong historical links that exist between SSA and Europe, this result suggests that other factors play a role in destination choices and that these factors outweigh the magnet effect exerted by past colonial relationships. Besides huge economic opportunities in the US, it is likely that the country's social and

political institutions, which are quite adept in promoting assimilation and social mobility, have contributed to its attraction among African emigrants. In the meantime, negative changes in once friendly European host countries towards their former colonial subjects and the rise in xenophobia among their citizens have certainly contributed to make Europe a less attractive choice for emigrants from Africa.

41. **Results relating to LAC, by contrast, do not come as a surprise, as individuals intending to migrate in this region are found to be strongly biased towards the United States, a large share of them coming from Mexico**. Together with Canada, both countries are the desired destinations of half of them.

42. Finally, **about 50% of Asian migrant candidates mention the US and the group that unites Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates as their desired destination** while the other 50% have quite diversified preferences. In the last category "North America and Oceania", the sample of migrant candidates is much too small (27 observations) to be considered.

43. For migrant candidates whose desired destination is the EU/EEA, a disaggregation of the figures by desired destination country is provided by Table 6. Again, some of them need to be considered with caution given small sample sizes. As suggested by the table, **the United Kingdom is mainly attractive to migrant candidates from SSA and Asia, while France and Spain are mainly attractive to migrant candidates from MENA (followed by SSA) and LAC countries respectively**. Past colonial history, common languages but also network formation across different and former waves of migrations might explain most of these results. Germany and Italy, by contrast, are always chosen by a minority of migrant candidates, but from quite diverse origins.

Table 6.Distribution of potential migrants to the EU/EEA (in the next 12 months) across desired countries of destination, by origin 2011

Region of origin → Country of destination ↓	EU/EEA	Other Europe	NA & Oceania	MENA	SSA	LAC	Asia	All (**)
United Kingdom	21.4	7.4	100.0	15.0	31.3	8.6	39.8	**23.3**
France	5.5	21.3	0.0	38.8	27.3	11.4	4.9	**24.4**
Germany	20.5	12.5	0.0	7.2	11.8	16.0	13.1	**11.6**
Spain	6.5	2.7	0.0	4.1	10.6	40.1	0.6	**11.5**
Italy	9.4	15.8	0.0	13.9	5.1	11.1	9.5	**9.3**
Other EU28	32.6	36.3	0.0	19.1	10.4	3.1	29.3	**15.8**
Other EEA	4.2	4.0	0.0	2.0	3.5	9.6	2.8	**2.8**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Nb. of observations	**352**	**186**	**4**	**259**	**715**	**128**	**69**	**1,361**
Population (1,000)(*)	**4,530**	**1,303**	**56**	**2,188**	**5,025**	**1,545**	**1,046**	**11,163**

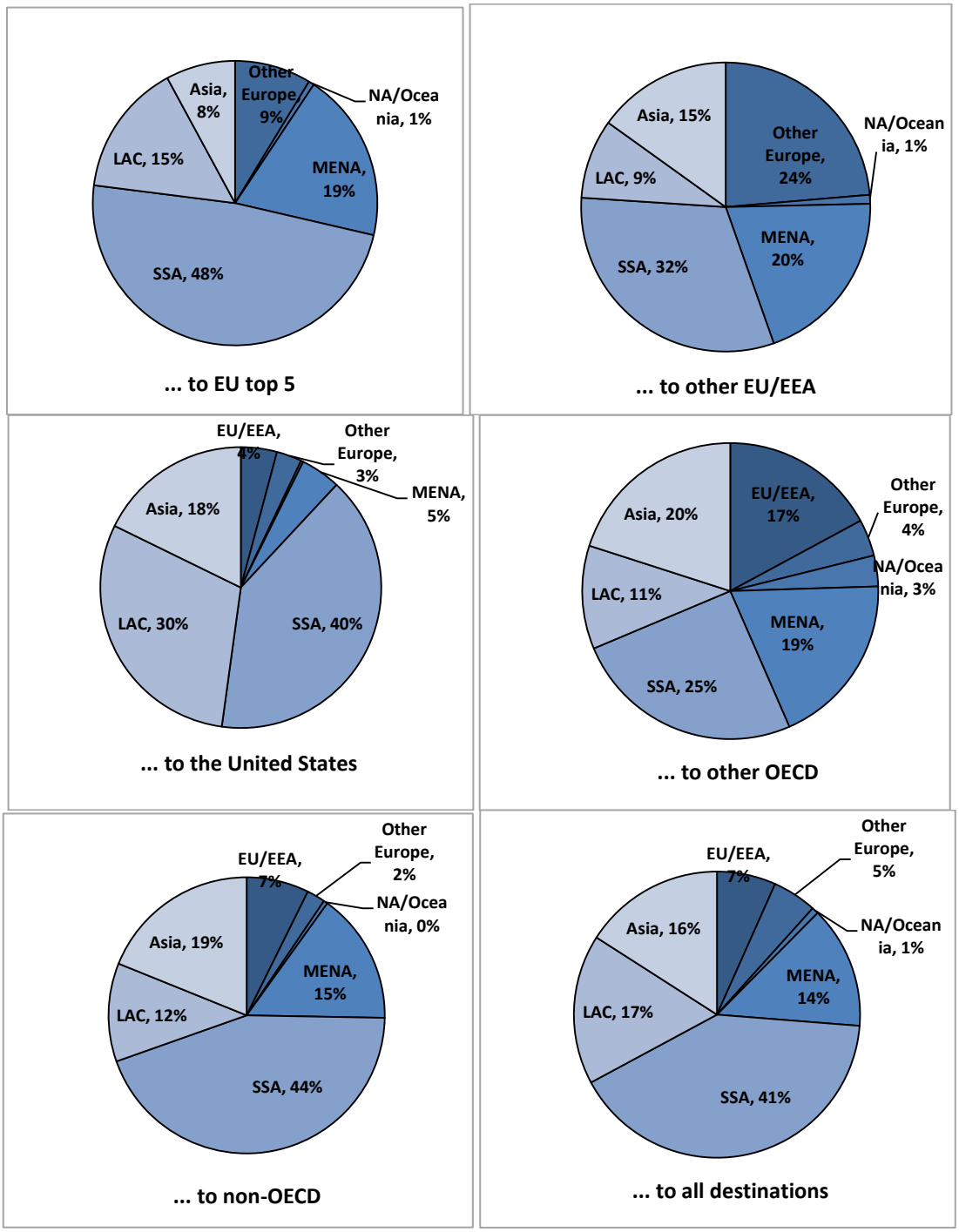
Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011. Figures in grey are considered as unreliable because a small sample size (nb. of observations < 50) and are left aside. The shaded area refers to intra-EU/EEA mobility.
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.
(**) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility

44. This differential attractiveness ends up in quite diverging profiles of potential migrants across destinations. Figure 1 shows the distribution of potential migrants by region of origin for the main regions

or countries of destination. Again, several interesting features emerge. First, **people who intend to move permanently to the EU/EEA or to the group of other OECD countries[5] in the next 12 months come from more diversified origins than people who would like to move to the United States and, to a lesser extent, to non-OECD countries**. If we exclude mobility within the region, about half of the potential migrants to the EU/EEA come from SSA, 20% from MENA, 14% from LAC and 9 and 8% from other Europe and Asia respectively. By contrast, individuals intending to move permanently to the US mainly come from three regions, with SSA ranking first (40%) followed by LAC and Asia (respectively 30 and 18%). No region of origin strongly dominates among migrant candidates to the "other OECD" region.

[5] This category includes countries as diverse as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Israel, Japan, Mexico, South Korea and Turkey, but the six last ones are almost never cited as desired destination.

Figure 1. Region of origin of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) to…, 2011



Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.

Note: Figures relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014. They exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

45. A second interesting feature is that if one excepts the "Other EU/EEA category", **Sub-Saharan Africa stands as the first region of origin of individuals intending to move in the next 12 months whatever their desired region of destination**. So even if the population of the African continent is more than four times smaller than that of Asia, the higher migration propensity in the former makes it the main provider of potential migrants in absolute terms.

46. Interestingly enough, **this picture stands in sharp contrast with the actual composition of the foreign-born population who migrated recently in OECD countries** (in the last five years, see table A1 in appendix). Indeed, while a consistent diversity in profiles is observed across destinations, **migrants from SSA represent a much lower and minor 8%** (13% if we exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility) **and 6% of recent migrants to the EU/EEA and other OECD countries** (including the United States) respectively. Conversely, migrants from Asia tend to represent the largest shares of recent migrants to almost all OECD destinations (27% in the EU/EEA and more than half in the group composed of Canada, Australia and New-Zealand) with the exception of the United States where migrants from LAC dominate. Those discrepancies between desired and actual migrations put forward a differential selectivity in migration among individuals from different origins that might be due to differential self-selection, barriers to migration or migration policies linked to specific individual characteristics. A more detailed analysis on these aspects is provided in the next section.

2.2. Are migrant candidates to the EU different from migrant candidates to non-EU destinations?

47. Are individuals intending to move to the EU/EEA in the next 12 months different from those intending to move elsewhere? This section first aims at investigating the differential attractiveness of destination regions or country by comparing groups of potential migrants in terms of their distribution by sex, age, level of education, and marital and employment status. When relevant, it additionally draws a comparison with the composition of the foreign-born population currently living in OECD countries and who migrated recently (that is, in the last 5 years), in order to shed light on potential discrepancies between desired and actual migrations. The section ends with a simple econometric exercise undertaken on the sub-sample of individuals intending to migrate in the next 12 months to assess the role of each individual characteristic, net of other factors, on destination choice.

Main characteristics of the potential adult migrant population by desired destination region

48. Table 7a provides basic descriptive statistics relating to sex, age and education of individuals intending to migrate in the next 12 months depending on their desired region or country of destination. Table 7b focuses specifically on potential migrants to the EU/EEA.

Gender

49. **All origins and destinations pooled, 60% of individuals intending to migrate in the next 12 months are men**. The predominance of men is observed whatever the region of destination, **which stands in sharp contrast with the sex composition of migrant stocks in OECD countries.** Based on actual numbers of recent migrants only, Table A2 in Appendix shows indeed that, all origins pooled, 49% of the recent migrants currently living in OECD countries are males. This discrepancy suggests that migration intentions are far from being a perfect predictor of actual migrations, even when a time limit is considered. One interpretation is that women more than men internalize their limited capacity to cover the costs and

overcome the constraints and barriers to migration, and are consequently less prone to declare themselves as wishing or intending to migrate.

50. Disaggregated figures show that the percentage of males among migrant candidates varies by desired destination. Saudi Arabia, the UAE and to a lesser extent the EU and Canada are found to be much more attractive to male migrant candidates than to female migrant candidates, while South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and to a lesser extent the United States and Russia attracts men and women equally.

51. Contrasted patterns are also observed among migrant candidates to the EU/EEA. **Men represent about ¾ of migrant candidates who cite Spain, Italy or any other country of the EU28 (excluding the top 5) while they represent slightly more than 50% of those who cite France**. Traditionally less restrictive family reunification laws might explain the latter results. Indeed, since the mid-1970s, family reunification remains the most important way to enter an EU member state legally, so that some member states are tempted to modify these rules with a view to better managing migration flows, basically making the rules harder. Many EU countries, such as the UK, Germany, the Netherlands or Denmark, did so in the recent years.

Table 7.Gender, age and education of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) by desired destination, 2011

		Age (%)				Education (%)			
	Male (%)	**15-24**	**25-64**	**65+**	**NA**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**	**NA**
EU/EEA (*)	**63.1**	**37.2**	**60.2**	**2.3**	**0.3**	**28.6**	**56.1**	**13.2**	**2.1**
Top 5	62.2	37.8	59.1	2.7	0.4	29.2	57.7	10.4	2.7
Other EU28	71.3	38.2	61.0	0.8	0.0	23.7	48.4	27.9	0.0
Other EEA	47.5	21.8	78.1	0.1	0.0	35.8	55.8	8.2	0.0
Non-Europe OECD	**57.7**	**37.7**	**58.2**	**3.5**	**0.6**	**26.0**	**59.2**	**14.4**	**0.4**
United States	56.7	41.7	55.7	2.5	0.1	28.4	61.1	10.3	0.3
Canada	64.9	34.0	59.9	4.6	1.5	15.6	61.9	22.4	0.1
Australia/NZ	51.9	22.5	69.9	5.1	2.5	24.8	43.9	30.1	1.2
Other OECD	56.1	30.9	61.3	7.4	0.3	30.4	53.6	14.2	1.8
Non-OECD	**59.2**	**39.7**	**58.4**	**1.8**	**0.1**	**41.7**	**47.4**	**9.7**	**1.2**
Saudi Arabia/UAE	76.8	39.5	60.0	0.5	0.0	49.9	37.9	12.2	0.0
Russia	53.1	61.6	38.1	0.4	0.0	16.1	73.3	10.6	0.0
South Africa	50.1	39.0	60.8	0.2	0.0	43.4	50.9	2.3	3.4
Other	54.4	38.7	58.6	2.6	0.1	39.9	49.0	9.6	1.4
Don't know/refused	**61.4**	**39.5**	**59.0**	**0.8**	**0.7**	**23.5**	**63.0**	**12.4**	**1.1**
All (*)	**59.7**	**38.4**	**58.8**	**2.5**	**0.3**	**31.8**	**54.7**	**12.4**	**1.1**

Table 7b. Gender, age and education of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) to the EU/EEA, 2011

		Age (%)				Education (%)			
	Male (%)	**15-24**	**25-64**	**65+**	**NA**	**Low**	**Medium**	**High**	**NA**
United Kingdom	59.1	34.0	63.3	2.2	0.6	12.6	70.2	12.5	4.7
France	53.9	41.1	57.4	1.5	0.0	48.3	45.5	5.9	0.3
Germany	61.4	46.0	51.4	0.7	0.0	30.8	49.5	13.1	6.7
Spain	76.6	44.7	53.8	1.5	0.0	32.2	59.2	16.0	1.6
Italy	75.0	20.0	69.2	10.9	0.0	25.3	67.6	7.1	0.0
Other EU28	71.3	38.2	61.0	0.8	0.0	23.7	48.4	27.9	0.0
Other EEA	47.5	21.8	78.1	0.1	0.0	35.8	55.8	8.2	0.0
All	**63.1**	**37.3**	**60.3**	**2.3**	**0.1**	**28.6**	**56.1**	**13.2**	**2.1**
Nb. of observations	**1,361**								
Population (1,000) (*)	**11,163**								

Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures on permanent migration intentions generally relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014 because of missing data in 2011.
(*) Extrapolated figures using sampling weights.

Age

52. The age structure of individuals intending to migrate in the next 12 months is as expected strongly biased towards active ages. Overall, 59% of the potential migrants belong to the 25-64 age category. More than a third is younger, which suggests that there may be a significant share of migration intentions that are study-related. A look at the same figures disaggregated by desired region or country of destination reveals some contrasting patterns. Russia and, to a lesser extent, the US are found to be more attractive to migrant candidates of younger ages than the average, which suggest that they are relatively more attractive to students, while the reverse holds true for the "Other EEA" category and Australia and New Zealand.

Education

53. More interesting is the distribution of potential migrant candidates by education level and how it compares with the actual distribution of current migrants.

54. **All destinations pooled, the potential adult migrant population is predominantly composed of medium-educated individuals (55%), followed by the low-educated (32%) and the high-educated (12%).** Moreover, the medium-educated dominate whatever the desired destination region, except among the migrant candidates who express a desire to move to Saudi Arabia and the UAE, which are mainly low-educated. Again, contrasted patterns are observed among migrant candidates to the EU/EEA. As an illustration, **medium-educated migrants are found to be strongly over-represented among migrant candidates to the UK (they account for 70.2% of them) while nearly half of the migrant candidates to France are low-educated**. This difference in the profile of migrant candidates to the UK and France may be due to the fact that admission is easier for medium-skilled migrants in the UK than in France as no employment contract is required and eligibility is assessed on the basis of a number of different factors such as previous experience and age in addition to professional qualifications.

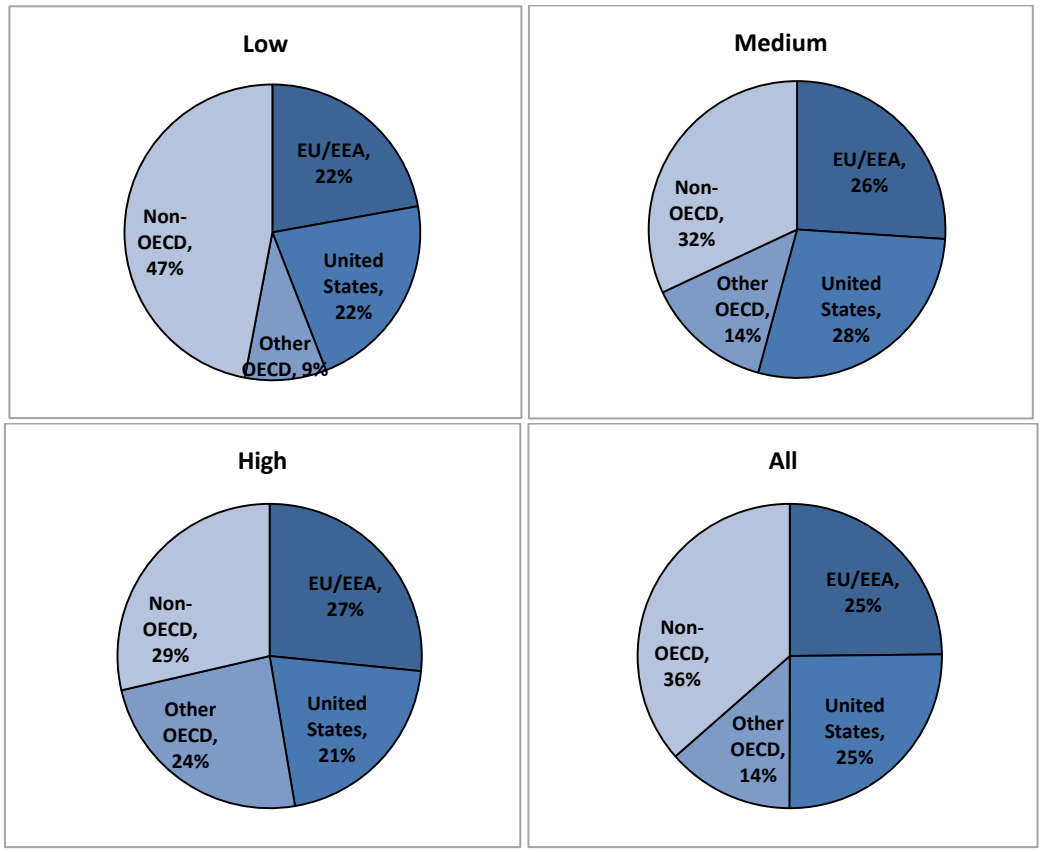
55. Except for a few OECD countries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other EU28), **the share of high-educated individuals among potential migrant candidates is always lower than 20%**, and even 14% among candidates to non-European OECD countries taken as a whole. As could be expected, it **is systematically lower than the share of high-educated individuals among current migrants** (Table A2 in appendix): in European and non-European OECD countries indeed, the share of recent migrants with

high education amounts to 33 and 38% respectively, to be compared with 13 and 14% of the migrant candidates. This suggests that within the pool of migrant candidates, those for which intentions become reality are over-represented among the high-educated ones, partly because destination countries are more opened and/or selective to high-educated individuals than to low-educated ones.

56. However, to some extent, the discrepancy observed for the high-educated also applies to the low-educated among individuals intending to migrate to the EU/EEA: 37% of the (recent) migrants currently living in the EU/EEA are low-educated to be compared with only 29% of the migrant candidates. The discrepancy goes the other way round, though, in the case of those intending to migrate to Australia and New Zealand: within this group, 25% are low-educated, while in the group of current migrants residing in these two countries, only 9% are. As mentioned by a Gallup report, these differences may partly reflect the emphasis each country's immigration policy places on different categories of migrants. In the US, family-sponsored migrants account for the largest percentage of those who become legal permanent residents each year, so that migration ends up in not being selective on education. It is also likely that in the US or Europe's traditional immigration countries, policies aiming at increasing the educational quality of the migrants are highly constrained by existing migrant networks. Related to this, it is worth noting that **the distribution of potential migrant candidates to the US by level of education is similar than that of potential migrant candidates to the Top 5 European countries**. **The reverse situation is observed in the group of countries composed of Canada, Australia and New Zealand,** where applicants with higher levels of education, job experience and skills make up the largest portion of legal permanent residents. This is likely to be internalized by individuals during their migration decision process, which might explain why those intending to migrate to one of these three countries are more educated on average than those intending to move elsewhere: anticipating that they will encounter harsher restrictions when attempting to enter Canada, New Zealand and Australia, low-educated individuals intending to move abroad mention as their desired destination countries that impose less restrictions on low-skilled migration.

57. Given the higher-than-average proportion of low-educated individuals within the pool of potential migrants intending to migrate to non-OECD countries, these destinations are over-represented among the low-educated (Figure 2): while they are the desired destination of 36% of the whole potential adult migrant population, they are the desired destination of 47% of the low-educated migrant candidates. The exact opposite is observed for the group of countries composed of Canada, Australia and New Zealand which is over-represented among the high-educated and, to a lesser extent, the medium-educated.

Figure 2. Distribution of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) by education level and desired destination, 2011



Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.

Note: Figures relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014. They exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility

Marital and Labour status

58. Table 8 provides additional descriptive statistics on the potential migrants' marital and labour status. As being free from partner ties makes the decision to move easier than being married with children, **individuals intending to migrate are for the most part (54%) single individuals**. However, a few destination countries including Russia, South Africa and countries of the European Union (excluding the Top 5 ones) to a lesser extent are found to be relatively more attractive to married migrant candidates. Whether this is due to less restrictive policies regarding accompanying family members, to the age distribution of migrant candidates to these countries that may be a confounding factor, or to some other causes is hard to tell and deserves further investigation. As a first step, the econometric exercise that follows will allow us to see whether marital status does indeed play a role in a model of destination choice once the age of migrant candidates and their region or country of origin are controlled for.

59. **Regarding employment status, Table 8 shows that about half of those intending to migrate in the next 12 months are employed, another quarter are either under- or unemployed, while the remaining ones are inactive. So while migration may be seen as a solution for labour market disequilibrium in origin countries, migrant candidates are far from being all under- or unemployed.** A disaggregation by region or country of destination reveals some differences. Among non-OECD destinations, for *e.g.*, individuals intending to migrate to South Africa or Saudi Arabia in the next 12 months are more likely to be under- or unemployed than those intending to migrate to Russia. This may be due to the respective countries of origin which migrant candidates to South Africa, Saudi Arabia and Russia originate from. Most of the migrant candidates attracted by South Africa (respectively Saudi Arabia) come from other African (respectively poor Asian) countries where the level of underemployment is high, and maybe higher than in the countries of origin of migrant candidates attracted by Russia.

Table 8.Marital and labour status of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) by desired destination, 2011

	Marital Status				Labour status		
	Single	**Married**	**Other** (*)	**NA**	**Employed**	**Under- or unemployed**	**Inactive**
EU/EEA (**)	**58.0**	**37.3**	**4.4**	**0.3**	**47.5**	**20.5**	**32.0**
Top 5	57.9	36.6	5.1	0.4	47.8	22.0	30.2
Other EU28	52.9	45.4	1.7	0.0	43.3	15.8	40.9
Other EEA	81.4	17.3	1.3	0.0	57.6	11.2	31.2
Non-Europe OECD	**54.6**	**37.1**	**7.4**	**0.9**	**49.7**	**23.0**	**27.4**
United States	54.5	38.2	7.3	0.1	50.5	22.2	27.3
Canada	55.2	35.2	5.9	3.8	45.4	26.4	28.3
Australia/NZ	55.9	32.3	10.7	1.1	41.6	28.0	30.4
Other OECD	53.2	38.0	8.3	0.5	60.9	16.2	23.0
Non-OECD	**50.2**	**43.0**	**6.4**	**0.5**	**45.6**	**25.2**	**29.2**
Saudi Arabia/UAE	57.4	28.0	14.7	0.0	39.6	27.2	33.2
Russia	48.7	49.1	1.6	0.6	51.4	19.8	28.8
South Africa	47.0	47.5	5.5	0.0	40.2	33.9	25.8
Other	50.8	41.0	7.8	0.5	44.7	25.7	29.6
Don't know/refused	**55.9**	**31.9**	**10.7**	**1.5**	**45.1**	**26.5**	**28.4**
All (**)	**54.0**	**38.8**	**6.6**	**0.6**	**47.5**	**23.4**	**29.1**

Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014.
(*) This category includes all those individuals that are either separated, divorced or widowed.
(**) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

Main characteristics of the potential adult migrant population by region of origin

Gender

60. Though men globally dominate among potential migrants, some disparities emerge across regions of origin and destination (Table 9**). All destinations pooled, men account for the majority of potential adult migrants from every region of origin and are especially over-represented among those from MENA (65%, see total in column) and Asia (63%). By contrast, their over-representation is less marked among individuals intending to migrate from Europe (55%).** Looking now at the figures disaggregated by region of destination, the proportion of males among individuals intending to move to EEU/EEA countries is found to be higher (63%, see total in row) than that found among individuals

intending to move to the United States (57%) or non-OECD countries (59%). This is especially so for individuals coming from MENA or Asian countries.

61. There are however some strong discrepancies between the figures computed using data on migration intentions and those computed using data on recent migrants in OECD countries (see Table A3 in appendix). One illustration is provided by Asia: according to Table 9, individuals from this region intending to move to the EU/EEA or to non-OECD countries are mainly men (about 75%), while those intending to move to the US are mainly women. At first sight, these figures would suggest that there are strongly differentiated migration patterns from Asia depending on the chosen destination. However, data on actual migration behaviour contradicts this finding as the share of males among recent migrants from Asian origin residing in the EU/EEA and in the US is found to be of similar magnitude (49% in the case of the EU/EEA and 45% in the case of the US). Such a discrepancy casts some doubts on the accuracy and reliability of the data used, due to small samples when disaggregated by origin and destination.

Education

62. **All destination pooled, the share of high-educated among potential adult migrants is rather low whatever the region of origin, except among migrant candidates from non-EU Europe and, to a lesser extent, Asia**, for whom this share amounts to respectively 28% and 19% (Table 9). At the other extreme is SSA with a share of 5%. To some extent, the same pattern is observed whatever the region of destination.

63. The discrepancy observed between actual migrants and potential migrants with regards to their educational attainment (see above) is also reflected in the figures disaggregated by region of origin and destination, the share of high-educated individuals among potential migrant candidates being systematically lower than the share of high-educated individuals among current migrants (Table A3 in appendix).

64. A last interesting feature emerges from a systematic comparison between migration intentions among the high-educated population and the total population. Indeed, **the potential emigration rate of the high-educated (1.4%) is on average higher than the overall potential emigration rate (1.0%). It is more than three times higher for migrant candidates from Asia and more than twice as high for those from SSA** (for whom it is the highest by far (9.8%), followed by migrants from MENA (3.9%)).

Table 9.Characteristics of potential migrants (in the next 12 months) by origin and desired destination, 2011

Region of origin → Region of destination ↓	EU/EEA	Other Europe	NA & Oceania	MENA	SSA	LAC	Asia	All (*)
EU/EEA								
Male (%)	59.6	61.6	28.5	69.4	62.4	53.1	71.6	**63.1**
25-64 (%)	60.6	64.0	72.2	64.3	58.0	53.9	67.1	**60.2**
High (%)	11.5	19.7	28.5	9.9	6.5	13.8	41.2	**13.2**
Employed (%)	37.0	51.8	56.3	44.4	45.5	57.5	43.3	**47.5**
Underemployed (%)	31.6	19.4	43.7	16.6	24.5	22.0	8.0	**20.5**
Married (%)	35.9	45.9	100.0	26.4	38.5	34.5	37.8	**37.3**
United States								
Male (%)	64.0	93.5	87.4	61.2	55.7	67.1	32.0	**56.7**
25-64 (%)	70.8	21.0	100.0	62.7	54.9	58.0	53.2	**55.7**

High (%)	19.9	28.8	58.3	12.7	4.6	14.0	10.7	**10.3**
Employed (%)	44.0	26.8	53.8	32.0	51.4	46.8	64.6	**50.5**
Underemployed (%)	30.9	8.3	4.5	29.6	20.3	32.4	8.1	**22.2**
Married (%)	32.6	1.9	0.0	45.9	34.5	48.5	34.1	**38.2**
Other OECD								
Male (%)	43.2	32.8	87.9	63.0	71.0	50.9	60.9	**59.5**
25-64 (%)	73.0	73.0	42.4	67.5	61.3	56.5	56.4	**62.8**
High (%)	16.9	39.5	54.4	21.1	14.2	13.5	32.6	**22.1**
Employed (%)	39.7	41.2	39.4	48.0	47.8	44.9	60.0	**48.2**
Underemployed (%)	29.4	11.7	52.1	17.3	30.7	38.1	9.9	**24.3**
Married (%)	48.0	54.6	26.0	31.6	28.8	20.6	40.0	**34.9**
Non-OECD								
Male (%)	44.6	25.6	1.9	63.6	54.2	57.9	78.9	**59.2**
25-64 (%)	61.9	60.0	58.5	49.2	62.7	64.3	50.6	**58.4**
High (%)	22.5	32.4	5.8	15.5	3.7	9.0	11.5	**9.7**
Employed (%)	39.6	74.0	45.3	42.7	41.1	58.9	49.5	**45.6**
Underemployed (%)	27.2	20.0	0.0	21.6	33.6	20.6	11.9	**25.2**
Married (%)	27.5	13.3	1.9	40.3	50.2	40.2	39.3	**43.0**
All (*)								
Male (%)	**49.7**	**55.4**	**63.7**	**64.9**	**58.8**	**59.5**	**62.7**	**59.7**
25-64 (%)	**70.9**	**60.5**	**58.2**	**59.1**	**58.5**	**58.2**	**54.4**	**58.8**
High (%)	**18.5**	**28.1**	**40.0**	**14.4**	**5.5**	**12.7**	**18.9**	**12.4**
Employed (%)	**40.0**	**50.2**	**48.3**	**43.0**	**45.9**	**51.0**	**53.5**	**47.5**
Underemployed (%)	**30.4**	**17.8**	**33.6**	**19.2**	**28.0**	**26.8**	**10.5**	**23.4**
Married (%)	**36.2**	**36.2**	**30.2**	**34.9**	**40.1**	**40.5**	**37.7**	**38.8**
Emigration rate of the high-educated (*)	**0.9**	**1.9**	**0.2**	**3.9**	**9.8**	**2.6**	**0.9**	**1.4**
Total emigration rate (*)	**0.7**	**1.0**	**0.1**	**2.5**	**4.4**	**1.9**	**0.3**	**1.0**

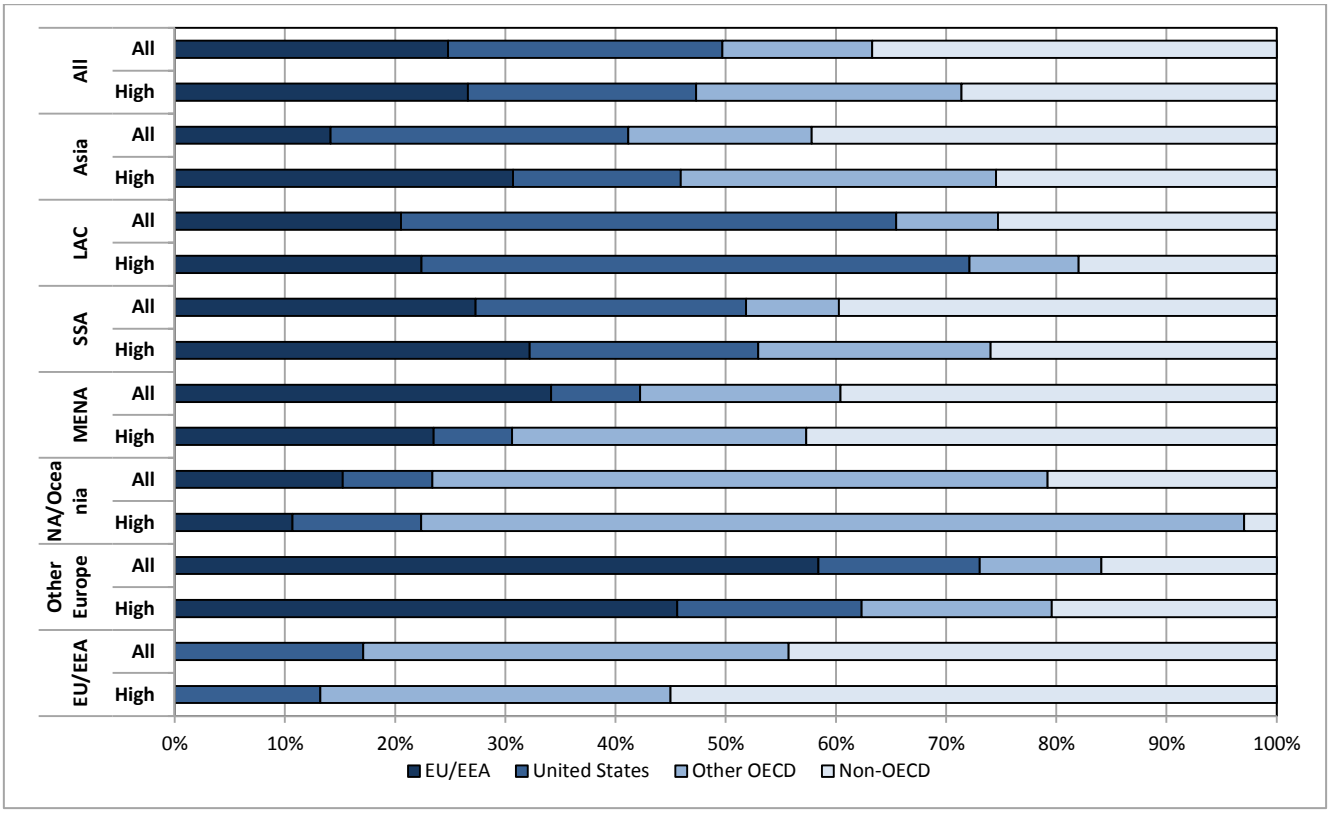
Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.
Note: Figures relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014. Figures in grey are considered as unreliable because a small sample size (nb. of observations < 50) and are left aside. The shaded area refers to intra-EU/EEA mobility.
(*) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

65. Figure 3 shows the distribution of migrant candidates by desired region of destination for each region of origin. The first bar ("All") concerns all migrant candidates (whatever their level of education), while the second one ("High") only concerns the high-educated migrant candidates.

66. **All regions of origin pooled, the high-educated migrant candidates are found to be over-represented among those individuals intending to migrate to the "Other OECD" region and, to a lesser extent, the EU/EEA, while they are under-represented among those individuals intending to migrate to the US and non-OECD countries.** This pattern is particularly marked among migrant candidates from Asia where high-educated migrant candidates are found to be much more attracted by the EU/EEA and countries of the "other OECD" region than their low-educated counterparts. The same holds true for the high-educated migrant candidates from SSA: they show a much stronger preference for the "Other OECD" region as well as for the EU/EEA (although in a less pronounced way) than their low-educated counterpart. These findings are interesting in what they tell us about the relative attractiveness of European countries as compared to that of the US and the other OECD countries, on a group that is usually the object of attraction strategies. Whilst the US has employed migration policies that allow for the admission of high-educated and/or highly-skilled individuals for many years, **the recent adoption of specifically favourable rules for this category of migrants by some European member states on the one hand and the European Blue Card Directive on the other hand seem to have contributed to some extent to make the EU at least as attractive for highly-skilled migrants as the US**. This does not mean

that the Directive has had any statistically significant impact on the actual inflows of high-skilled third country nationals yet. But still, this outcome runs counter to the general public perception of the US as an immigrant-friendly country of destination, and Europe as a place with zero-migration policies (see Wiesbrock and Hercog 2010 for an in-depth comparison of EU and US legal framework for highly-skilled migration).

Figure 3. Distribution of high-educated potential migrants (in the next 12 months) by origin and desired destination, 2011



Source: Gallup surveys 2011-2014, Authors' computations.

Note: Figures relate to year 2011 except for a few countries for which they relate to years 2012, 2013 or 2014. Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

2.3. A model of destination choice using individual-level data on migration intentions

67. To push the descriptive analysis a bit further and investigate to what extent migrant candidates attracted by European countries differ from those attracted by other destinations, this section presents the results of a model of destination choice estimated on the sub-sample of individuals intending to move in the next 12 months.

68. Concretely, we estimated a multinomial logit model in which each individual *i* intending to migrate in the next 12 months is assumed to make a choice between four alternative destinations (j=1,…,4): EU/EEA countries ($j=1$), the United States ($j=2$), other non-European OECD countries ($j=3$) and non-

OECD countries (*j=4*). The choice is based on a comparison of the utilities associated with each choice, the chosen destination being the alternative maximizing utility.

69. Formally, the utility associated with alternative *j* for individual *i* is given by:

$$U_{ij} = z_i \beta_j + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

where z_i is a vector of individual characteristics, β_j a vector of unknown parameters and ε_{ij} an error term. Individual *i* will choose alternative *j* if:

$$U_{ij} > U_{ik} \text{ for all } k \neq j.$$

The probability of choosing alternative *j* among 4 alternatives is thus given by:

$$P(J=j) = P\,(U_{ij} > U_{ik} \text{ for all } k \neq j) = \frac{\exp(x\beta_j)}{\sum_{l=1}^{4} \exp(x\beta_l)}$$

70. Explanatory variables include a variety of individual characteristics that are expected to influence migrant candidates' considerations when choosing their region of destination: sex, age, a dummy variable for whether there is a family member abroad (as a proxy measure of network), employment status, education level and income quintile (as a proxy measure of socio-economic status). Dummy variables for regions of origin are also included to control for the fact that migrant candidates originating from different regions are likely to make differentiated destination choices even if they share common individual characteristics, because of geographic or cultural proximity historical links, etc. A further crucial factor that may influence migrant candidates' considerations concerns the possibility to be accompanied or joined by members of their family. As a result, the rights granted to family members upon arrival can play a decisive role in their decision-making process. We thus include two dummy variables on marital status to see whether they are found to influence destination choice. Regression results are presented in Table 10. For ease of interpretation, the table provides the average marginal effect of each explanatory variable on the probability to move to a given region of destination. Significant coefficients are indicated in bold characters.

71. **Consistent with the previous findings, potential migrants originating from non-EU Europe, SSA and MENA are far more likely to report EU/EEA as their first desired destination compared to Asian nationals (after excluding mobility within the EU/EEA). Conversely, being a native of LAC and Asian countries significantly increases the probability of intending to move to the United States.** Only the SSA and LAC dummies are found to be (negatively) significant for the other OECD alternative, but with relatively small marginal effects, which reflect the quite diverse profile of potential migrants to these destination countries. Finally, non-OECD countries tend to be less attractive for potential migrants from non-EU European and LAC countries, while they are equally attractive for migrant candidates from Asia, MENA and SSA, i.e. mainly other non-OECD countries, which echoes the prevalence of intra-regional "South-South" migration between these countries.

72. Turning now to individual characteristics and conditional on origin, **medium and high-educated potential migrants are alternatively far more likely to report non-European OECD countries**, with an increased probability between 4 and 6 percentage points, and far less likely to report non-OECD countries, with a decreased probability between 7 and 8 percentage points, as their main desired destination. **Interestingly enough, no significant variability is found according to education level with respect to potential migration to the EU/EEA**. These results are again consistent with the differential attractiveness and/or selectivity of migration policies targeted to educated individuals across destination regions.

73. **Everything being equal, being married is found to reduce the probability of intending to move to European countries and to non-European OECD countries, with the notable exception of the United States.** This result might reflect the fact that family reunification remains the largest avenue through which individual qualify for admission in the US. Interestingly enough, being married is found to increase the probability of intending to move to non-OECD countries. The latter effect is quite strong: the probability of choosing a non-OECD country is on average 7 percentage points higher for married individuals than for single ones all else equal.

74. Being of a relatively high socio-economic status is found to increase the probability of intending to move to other OECD destination countries, while it significantly decreases the probability of intending to migrate in non-OECD countries. **Comparatively, no significant variability is found in migration intentions to the EU/EEA and the United States according to the socio economic-status**. Once more, this result might be linked to the higher costs and selectivity of migration policies in countries such as Canada, Australia and New-Zealand but also the prevalence of "South-South" migrations within the non-OECD area.

75. A final interesting feature is that gender, age, employment status and the availability of a family network abroad do not play a significant role in shaping patterns of migration intentions, conditional on origin and other factors. **As a consequence, education, socio-economic and marital statuses are found to be the main determinants of destination choices among potential migrants**. This might not come as a surprise since the most advertised specific migration policies, and somewhat perceived as effective, tend to target skilled migration, as well as family reunification rules. In these prospects, they are likely to be internalized by potential migrants

76. Yet, caution is required. First, part of the employment effect might be captured by education level and socio-economic status. Second, the quite surprising result related to network, which stands in contrast with previous findings in the migration literature, is probability linked to the poor measure provided in the Gallup survey which does not extend to non-family networks and made no distinction in the network localisation at destination, so that further investigation is needed.

Table 10. Regression results of a multinomial logit model of destination choice

Dependent variable is desired region of destination among individuals intending to migrate in the next 12 months

(1: EEU/EEA; **2**: US; **3**: other OECD; **4**: non OECD countries)

	Probability of choosing as desired destination…			
	EU/EEA	**US**	**Other OECD**	**Non-OECD**
Male	0.001	0.013	-0.015	0.001
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Age	-0.001	0.001	**0.001****	**-0.001*****
	(0.001)	(0.001)	**(0.000)**	**(0.000)**
Marital status [ref.: Single]				
Married	**-0.046*****	0.002	**-0.025****	**0.070*****
	(0.016)	(0.015)	**(0.012)**	**(0.018)**
Other	**-0.055***	-0.021	-0.026	**0.102*****
	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.020)	**(0.033)**
Education level [ref.: Low]				
Medium	-0.006	**0.044*****	**0.044*****	**-0.081*****
	(0.016)	**(0.014)**	**(0.011)**	**(0.017)**
High	-0.027	**0.034***	**0.062*****	**-0.070*****
	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.016)	**(0.025)**
Employment status [ref.: Employed]				
Under/Unemployed	0.001	0.001	-0.019	0.017
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.019)
Inactive	**0.046*****	-0.009	-0.007	**-0.030***
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.012)	**(0.018)**
Income quintile [ref.: Poorest 20%]				
Second 20%	-0.036	-0.007	0.017	0.026
	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.016)	(0.026)
Middle 20%	0.027	0.001	0.017	**-0.045***
	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.016)	**(0.025)**
Fourth 20%	-0.021	0.004	**0.028***	-0.011
	(0.022)	(0.021)	**(0.016)**	**(0.025)**
Richest 20%	0.028	-0.011	**0.041*****	**-0.057****
	(0.022)	(0.020)	**(0.015)**	**(0.024)**
Network abroad	0.011	-0.013	-0.012	0.014
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.016)
Region of origin [ref. Asia]				
EU/EEA	-	0.873	0.545	1.428
		(24.919)	(14.544)	(46.249)
Other Europe	**0.418*****	**-0.115****	-0.020	**-0.282*****
	(0.038)	**(0.045)**	(0.028)	**(0.053)**
North America/Oceania	-2.848	0.883	0.541	1.398
	(0.995)	(125.73)	(73.385)	(233.35)
MENA	**0.108*****	**-0.114*****	0.018	-0.012
	(0.031)	**(0.028)**	(0.018)	(0.032)
SSA	**0.091*****	-0.005	**-0.057*****	-0.029
	(0.029)	(0.024)	**(0.018)**	(0.029)
LAC	-0.034	**0.153*****	**-0.062*****	**-0.124*****
	(0.034)	**(0.026)**	**(0.022)**	**(0.034)**
Number of observations	**4,244**			

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ANNEX

Table A1. Region of origin of recent migrants (<5 years) by region or country of residence

Region of origin → Region of destination ↓	EU/EEA (*)	Other Europe	NA & Oceania	MENA	SSA	LAC	Asia	Unknown	Total
EU/EEA	**-**	**18.3**	**7.2**	**15.9**	**12.9**	**18.7**	**26.7**	**0.4**	**100.0**
Top 5	-	13.0	8.3	15.7	12.7	21.7	28.4	0.2	100.0
Other EU28	-	33.3	3.7	17.6	13.2	9.7	21.8	0.7	100.0
Other EEA	-	27.6	7.5	10.3	14.0	15.4	23.5	1.7	100.0
Non-Europe OECD	**8.7**	**3.0**	**3.7**	**5.4**	**5.7**	**34.0**	**35.4**	**4.2**	**100.0**
United States	6.8	2.6	2.5	4.6	5.2	46.6	31.2	0.5	100.0
Canada	9.4	4.8	3.0	12.2	7.1	12.5	50.9	0.2	100.0
Australia/NZ	17.5	1.3	10.9	4.0	7.3	2.5	52.8	3.6	100.0
Other OECD	7.7	6.8	2.6	2.5	3.4	15.1	9.1	52.7	100.0
All (*)	**5.0**	**9.5**	**5.2**	**9.8**	**8.7**	**27.6**	**31.7**	**2.6**	**100.0**

Source: DIOC databases, OECD, Authors' computations.
(*) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

Table A2. Gender and education of recent migrants (<5 years) by region or country of residence

		Education (%)			
	Male (%)	Low	Medium	High	NA
EU/EEA (*)	**47.2**	**37.4**	**26.9**	**33.4**	**2.3**
Top 5	47.0	35.8	26.5	36.4	1.4
Other EU28	48.5	44.8	27.7	23.0	4.5
Other EEA	43.0	24.9	30.2	40.0	4.9
Non-Europe OECD	**49.8**	**26.9**	**33.7**	**38.4**	**0.9**
United States	50.1	31.7	35.3	33.0	0.0
Canada	47.0	14.6	25.2	60.2	0.0
Australia/NZ	49.1	9.3	35.5	48.6	6.6
Other OECD	54.5	40.9	30.7	28.1	0.3
All (*)	**48.7**	**31.4**	**30.8**	**36.3**	**1.5**

Source: DIOC databases, OECD, Authors' computations.
(*) Figures exclude intra-EU/EEA mobility.

Table A3. Gender and education of recent migrants (<5 years) by origin and region or country of residence, (OECD countries only), 2010

Region of origin → Region of destination ↓	EU/EEA	Other Europe	NA & Oceania	MENA	SSA	LAC	Asia	Unknown	All (*)
EU/EEA									
Male (%)	**49.4**	**42.1**	**49.5**	**51.0**	**50.1**	**43.7**	**48.6**	**53.6**	**47.2**
High (%)	**38.1**	**22.6**	**58.4**	**25.7**	**30.9**	**28.8**	**43.3**	**26.7**	**33.4**
Top 5									
Male (%)	48.9	40.0	49.2	49.0	50.1	44.3	49.0	**56.6**	**47.0**
High (%)	29.0	26.4	58.6	25.1	33.7	28.8	47.6	**50.5**	**36.4**
Other EU28									
Male (%)	48.2	45.3	49.1	56.5	49.1	41.8	49.4	**46.3**	**48.5**
High (%)	48.8	17.2	49.1	25.7	22.2	24.4	25.4	**9.6**	**23.0**
Other EEA									
Male (%)	55.8	38.1	56.6	53.4	55.7	34.5	36.0	**65.7**	**43.0**
High (%)	52.8	28.0	79.3	40.8	31.0	44.1	44.9	**25.8**	**40.0**
Non-Europe OECD									
Male (%)	**48.8**	**39.9**	**49.1**	**53.3**	**50.0**	**53.3**	**45.3**	**64.8**	**49.8**
High (%)	**53.7**	**53.7**	**48.7**	**47.7**	**36.3**	**16.8**	**53.6**	**25.2**	**38.4**
United States									
Male (%)	47.4	40.9	49.3	54.6	50.0	54.1	44.9	**48.4**	**50.1**
High (%)	52.8	48.4	54.7	40.7	30.5	14.4	53.2	**9.6**	**33.0**
Canada									
Male (%)	51.9	45.1	50.3	50.6	49.7	46.8	44.8	**48.1**	**47.0**
High (%)	64.3	70.4	64.6	65.5	55.2	50.2	60.2	**29.8**	**60.2**
Australia/NZ									
Male (%)	52.1	42.4	49.3	54.6	49.3	48.0	47.8	**48.4**	**49.1**
High (%)	53.9	53.2	38.1	45.2	44.7	61.6	50.5	**28.2**	**48.6**
Other OECD									
Male (%)	37.0	27.3	41.2	47.9	54.4	40.7	33.8	**69.1**	**54.5**
High (%)	34.3	51.3	51.3	16.3	10.8	22.5	28.9	**26.3**	**28.1**
All (*)									
Male (%)	**48.8**	**41.7**	**49.3**	**51.7**	**50.1**	**50.6**	**46.5**	**64.2**	**48.7**
High (%)	**53.7**	**28.2**	**54.4**	**32.7**	**32.9**	**20.2**	**49.9**	**25.3**	**36.3**

Source: DIOC databases, OECD, Authors' computations.
Note: The shaded area refers to intra-EU/EEA mobility. (*) Figures exclude intra-E