

# Where Will the British Go? And Why?\*

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*Objective.* Immigration is a highly salient political issue. We examine the migration preferences of potential emigrants from the United Kingdom to determine whether the migration calculus is primarily economic or political. *Methods.* A conjoint survey experiment was conducted with U.K. subjects drawn from the CESS, Nuffield College, Oxford University, student subject pool to identify causal drivers of emigration preferences. *Results.* Logit estimation of emigration preferences indicates that economics and politics matters. Anti-immigrant rhetoric, “Trumpian policies,” and the United States deter high-skilled U.K. potential emigrants; economic growth, education, and social benefits attract them. Politics and social benefits are more important for those on the political left, while economics and education weigh more heavily for those on the right. *Conclusion.* What will attract the highly skilled migrants from a post-Brexit United Kingdom? Economics matters of course but for many of these potential emigrants politics is important—they are particularly sensitive to anti-immigrant rhetoric.

High-skilled immigration has been shown to positively affect the labor market, national finances, economic growth, and innovation (Chaloff and Lemaitre, 2009; Hunt, 2010; OECD, 2014), and states have increasingly enacted immigration policies to attract the highly skilled (Betts and Cerna, 2011). However, those actions may be ineffective if placed alongside populist or nativist immigration policies. Such policies (and the anti-immigrant sentiment associated with them) can reduce the country’s attractiveness to highly skilled immigrants.

In the future post-Brexit era, with freedom of movement to E.U. countries potentially curtailed, high-skilled emigrants from the United Kingdom might increasingly look beyond Europe. The United States has historically attracted many high-skilled U.K. emigrants (Khoo, 2014). However, this might be changing (USCIS, 2017). Visa quotas and non-point-based systems make it harder to immigrate and the political sentiment, particularly political populism, nativism, and anti-immigrant rhetoric—“Trumpian policies”—may

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convince the highly skilled to emigrate to other countries (Czaika, Parsons, and Parsons, 2017; Czaika and Haas, 2017). They might also increase emigration of foreign-born high-skilled labor from the United States. First signs of the “Trump effect” seem to support both conjectures (Murnane, 2017). Are these “Trumpian policies” discouraging high-skilled U.K. labor from emigrating to the United States?

Countries likely incur significant economic costs from declining rates of high-skilled immigration. Hence, the importance of understanding whether the preferred emigration destinations of high-skilled migrants are influenced by the type of anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies recently favored by President Trump. This study uses conjoint survey experiments to identify political and economic drivers that explain emigration preferences of current and former Oxford University students—generally considered “desirable” high-skilled migrants.

Our findings indicate that politics matters, especially for those on the political left. However, economic considerations matter for everyone. The “Muslim ban,” deportation of illegal immigrants, and identifying a potential destination as being in the “USA” are deterrents for potential U.K. emigrants. Generous social benefits increase the destination’s appeal, especially for those on the political left or center.

### **Motivation and Conjectures**

There has been considerable recent scholarship that focuses on explaining attitudes toward immigrants, particularly anti-immigrant sentiment, which appears to have grown in a variety of countries over the past decade (Bohman and Hjerm, 2016). A key issue is whether anti-immigrant attitudes and immigration policy preferences are determined primarily by economic or sociocultural factors. If self-interested economic concerns about labor market competition shape immigration attitudes, then high(low)-skilled natives will favor low(high)-skilled immigration. Native workers will oppose immigrants who would compete with them in the labor market. Alternatively, attitudes toward immigrants may have little to do with economic self-interest but rather result from social or cultural values and beliefs. A recent comprehensive review of the literature notes that both political economy and psychological studies find little evidence of an association between personal economic circumstances and immigration attitudes (Hainmueller and Hopkins, 2014). Individuals in Europe and the United States, regardless of skill level, seem to favor high-skilled over low-skilled immigration due to the anticipated positive fiscal impact. Sociotropic cultural and economic concerns—such as national identity and the effect of immigration on state finances—seem to weigh more heavily in the formation of immigration attitudes than do egocentric economic concerns. Konitzer et al. (2018) document cross-national variation in ethnic stereotyping and its importance for immigration policy preferences. They find that immigration policy preferences are not driven by general antipathy toward all outsiders but rather by negative attitudes toward the most salient immigrant group. Valentino et al. (2017) conduct an extensive cross-national vignette study, including over 18,000 interviews across 11 countries on four continents, and provide strong support for the sociotropic economic argument: high-skilled immigrants are preferred to their low-skilled counterparts and this preference is independent of the respondent’s socioeconomic status. They conclude that the public, in different national contexts, value skilled immigration. In addition, though, they find that cultural and racial attitudes, as well as immigrants’ religious affiliations, seem to influence immigration attitudes. In particular, immigrants from Muslim-majority countries are opposed at a higher rate.

The positive attitudes toward high-skilled immigration may reflect high-skilled immigration's positive net fiscal impact (OECD, 2014); its ability to relieve pressure on welfare states and to defer demographic change (Gagnon, 2014); its contribution to research, innovation, and entrepreneurship (Hunt, 2010; Kerr and Lincoln, 2010; Wadhwa, 2009); and its ability to alleviate skills shortages (Chaloff and Lemaitre, 2009). There clearly is evidence that the public recognizes some of the fiscal benefits from skilled immigration. And many, if not most, governments signal their enthusiasm for high-skilled immigration.

Our conjecture is that skilled migrants take into account the destination country's public sentiment toward immigrants; skilled migrants are aware of official immigration policies; and these political factors shape their preferences over emigration locations. With post-Brexit changes regarding the freedom of movement of U.K. citizens on the horizon, we examine what factors shape the emigration destination preferences of U.K. high-skilled labor. In particular, we are interested in how political versus economic signals shape their emigration preferences.

### *Do the Preferences of Emigrants Matter?*

There is a high demand in most developed economies for high-skilled immigration to fill skill shortages (Chaloff and Lemaitre, 2009). While the United States has historically attracted a large proportion of the world's highly skilled migrants, other countries, such as Australia and Canada, have increasingly tried to replace the United States by enacting immigration policies favoring the highly skilled (Betts and Cerna, 2011; Czaika, Parsons, and Parsons, 2017; Karaca, 2018). More than 120,000 British citizens emigrated in the year following the Brexit referendum in June 2016; the United States has been a favorite destination for high-skilled U.K. labor emigrants, alongside Australia and Western Europe (ONS, 2017). However, the attractiveness of the United States seems to be in decline, as indicated by fewer H-1B visa petitions for U.K. high-skilled workers (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> We provide insights into these trends by implementing an experiment designed to explore the factors shaping the demand (on the part of skilled potential emigrants) for migration destinations.

### *Social Welfare*

There is mixed evidence suggesting that emigration decisions of high-skilled individuals are determined by social welfare policies, such as after-tax wages, the wage premium for education, welfare benefits, and health and education systems (Boeri et al., 2012; Czaika, Parsons, and Parsons, 2017; Geis, Uebelmesser, and Werding, 2013).<sup>2</sup> For example, De Giorgi and Pellizzari (2009), Boeri (2010), and Borjas (1999) find that generous welfare states attract more (and predominantly lower skilled) immigrants. However, Giulietti et al. (2013) conclude that there is no significant relationship between welfare and immigration.

### *The Politics of Emigration Decisions*

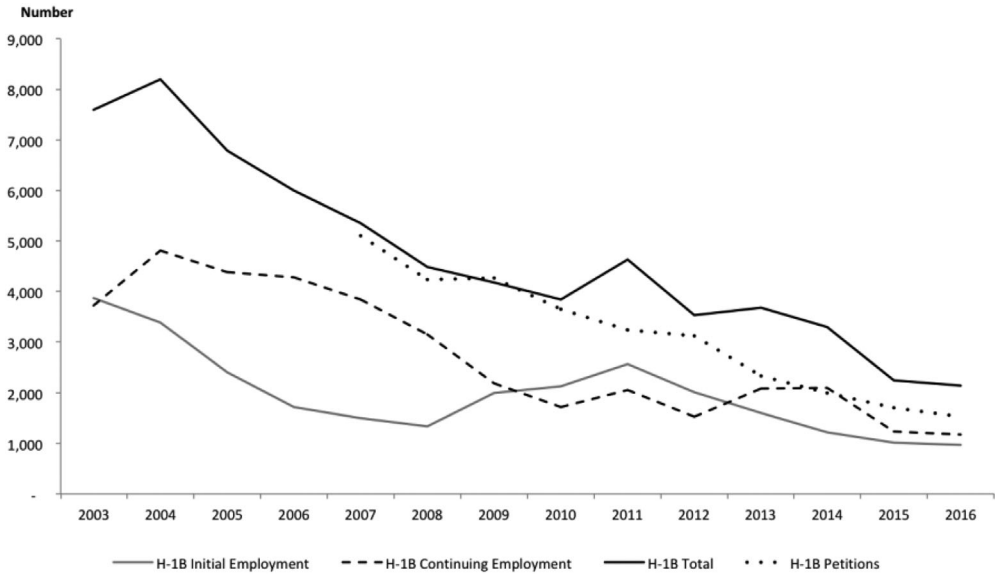
Other aspects that potentially shape emigration decisions are social attitudes and the political discourse around immigration in the destination country. Assuming equal socioe-

<sup>1</sup>The H-1B visa is employer-sponsored and the largest visa program for temporary skilled immigration to the United States. For an overview of the program, see Kerr and Lincoln (2010).

<sup>2</sup>Policies to facilitate or restrict emigration could also affect migration decisions but have received little academic attention (McKenzie and Yang, 2013).

FIGURE 1

H-1B Visa Petitions and Approvals for U.K. Citizens in the United States, FY 2003–2016



SOURCE: USCIS (2017) and Annual USCIS Reports to Congress.

conomic benefits from migration, migrants would presumably relocate to a country where they feel welcome rather than to one where they are greeted with hostility.

President Trump seems to be shutting the door to (high-skilled) immigration despite individual attitudes in the United States in favor of high-skilled immigration (Iyengar et al., 2013; Valentino et al., 2017), a widening gap between demand and supply of skilled labor (Chaloff and Lemaitre, 2009), and job openings at record high levels and low unemployment (Desilver, 2017). Strict immigration policies, alongside political populism, nativism, anti-immigrant rhetoric, and xenophobia might deter or deflect the highly skilled (Czaika and Haas, 2017).

Nativism, “an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (the nation) and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state” (Mudde, 2012:2) has been on the rise in the United States (Wadhwa, 2009). The “Muslim ban”—immigration restrictions for Muslim-majority countries, defamations of Hispanics and African Americans as criminals and rapists, the claim that immigrants take American jobs, that Mexico is sending its criminals to the United States, and Trump’s alleged dismissal of Haiti, El Salvador, and African nations as “shithole countries” are all examples of nativist frames in contemporary U.S. discourse.

This anti-immigrant discourse is clearly not aimed at high-skilled U.K. emigrants. Our contention is that, nevertheless, this intolerant rhetoric creates a general perception of hostility toward immigrants, irrespective of their country of origin. There are signs that the “Trump effect” has already led to decreased interest in American jobs from foreign high-skilled individuals (Murnane, 2017). Although the British continue to have a favorable view of the United States, the majority have negative views about Trump and his policies

(de Vries and Hoffmann, 2018; Wike et al., 2017). These findings further indicate that individuals from countries with higher average skill levels, the young, those on the political left, and women are more critical of Trump's policies. The "Trump effect" might therefore particularly discourage young female leftist high-skilled U.K. emigrants from relocating to the United States.

Populism and nativism might not only deter foreign high-skilled immigration, they might also encourage foreign high-skilled workers already in the destination country to emigrate. There are signs that "Trumpian" immigration policies have contributed to high-skilled individuals' intentions to leave the United States (Wadhwa, 2009).

Having highlighted early signs that nativism and populism might have a detrimental effect on the preferences of foreign high-skilled labor to immigrate to the United States, we aim to causally identify their effect—as well as the effect of classic migration drivers—on emigration preferences of high-skilled U.K. citizens. We make two contributions. First, a novel quantitative measure of the importance of different migration drivers, including salary, welfare benefits, education opportunities, nativist immigration policies, and the destination country itself. Second, our findings could help to inform post-Brexit immigration policy and give insight into future migration flows between the United States and the United Kingdom. We summarize our conjectures below.

### ***Politics: Nativist Policy Cues***

Our core contribution is to isolate the causal effect of strident anti-immigration rhetoric and policies on the migration decisions of highly skilled potential immigrants. Given the above discussion, we expect that

1. the United States may no longer be the only (or the most) preferred destination for high-skilled foreign individuals; high-skilled U.K. citizens might increasingly prefer to relocate to Australia or Canada;
2. associating "United States" with skilled job offers significantly reduces their appeal to prospective employees in highly skilled foreign labor pools;
3. associating "Trumpian" immigration policies with skilled job offers significantly reduces their appeal to prospective employees in highly skilled foreign labor pools; and
4. these effects are stronger for high-skilled U.K. citizens with less favorable views of the United States and who are more critical of Trump's policies (e.g., those on the political left, the young, and women).

### ***Socioeconomic Conditions Shaping Migration Decisions***

As pointed out earlier, there are also socioeconomic characteristics of destination countries that make them more, or less, attractive to migrants. Our estimation strategy will allow us to assess the extent to which these factors, compared to the nativist policy signals described above, shape the migration decision. Our conjectures are as follows.

1. Economic self-interest should certainly play a role in the emigration decision. Countries with higher average salaries are expected to be more appealing, as are countries that have experienced above average rates of GDP growth. Higher levels of economic growth should signal greater prospects for suitable employment. And since our focus

is on high-skilled potential U.K. emigrants, the expectation is that levels of salaries in the service sector would be of particular interest.

2. The generosity of a country's welfare benefits can be a positive signal for many potential migrants, particularly those emigrating from countries with a generous welfare state. Government policies, such as a guaranteed monthly family allowance and a generous minimum wage, may significantly increase a country's appeal to prospective employees in highly skilled foreign labor pools. While it is true that these high-skilled U.K. migrants will not benefit from these welfare policies, we know that they receive strong support from a large majority of the U.K. population and particularly from the highly skilled and educated segments of society (Heath, Evans, and Martin, 1994).
3. High-skilled emigrants are expected to give considerable weight to the quality of the education infrastructure in the countries to which they are considering migrating. Countries that rank at the top of the international league tables for education, such as is the case for U.S. universities, should weigh significantly in the migration decisions of high-skilled potential migrants.

### **Experiment Design**

Our intuition is that highly skilled potential emigrants from the United Kingdom will seek out, and be exposed to, various characteristics of destination countries. And again our intuition here is that the messages that resonate will be primarily economic and political. We focus on three economic characteristics: welfare benefits, educational opportunities, and salary levels. With respect to politics, we are interested in whether strident anti-immigrant messages play a relatively important causal role in forming emigration preferences compared to the other salient information potential migrants acquire. We believe that conjoint survey experiments might be ideal for teasing out the causal effect of this strident anti-immigrant rhetoric.

The power of conjoint survey experiments for identifying the causal effect of different choice attributes has been extensively developed in political science (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto, 2013; Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Yamamoto, 2015). But of course, conjoint experiments have a long history and have been widely implemented in the social sciences.

Our conjoint design has the following features. Subjects choose between Employment Destination 1 and Employment Destination 2 (those exact choice names are provided). Each employment destination has five attributes and each attribute has three values. The values associated with each attribute are randomly assigned to each of the two destinations for each choice set presented to the subjects. There are three conjoint experiments, which vary the attributes displayed to the participant. Subjects make three choices per conjoint, for a total of nine choices. The five attributes of the conjoint design correspond to the factors we conjectured drive the migration decision for skilled labor. Table 1 summarizes the attributes and their values. Screenshots of the conjoint treatments are presented in the Online Appendix.

We have implemented different immigration treatments to tease out the immigration rhetoric, or simple country cues, which might cause potential high-skilled immigrants to avoid migrating to specific destination countries. There are four treatments designed to capture the classic factors that might affect emigration preferences of high-skilled labor: social benefits, the economy, education opportunities, and the attractiveness of service-sector jobs. These treatments are implemented in all three conjoint experiments. There

TABLE 1  
Immigration Conjoint Experiment Treatments

	Conjoint 1	Conjoint 2	Conjoint 3
Social benefits			
Generous guaranteed monthly family allowance (+)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Basic hourly minimum wage (neutral)	Yes	Yes	Yes
No state minimum wage or income support (–)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Economy			
Annual GDP growth of 6% (+)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Annual GDP growth of 4% (neutral)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Annual GDP growth of 2% (–)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education (average international rank)			
Universities: 90th percentile (+)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Universities: 60th percentile (neutral)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Universities: 40th percentile (–)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Service jobs (average international rank)			
Service salaries 90th percentile (+)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Service salaries 70th percentile (neutral)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Service salaries: 50th percentile (–)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Immigration 1			
Implementation of point system (positive) (+)	Yes	No	No
Change in visa processing centers (neutral)	Yes	No	No
Restriction on Muslim immigration/tourist visas (–)	Yes	No	No
Immigration 2			
Implementation of point system (positive) (+)	No	Yes	No
Change in visa processing centres (neutral)	No	Yes	No
Deportation of all illegal immigrants (–)	No	Yes	No
Country			
United States (–)	No	No	Yes
Australia (neutral)	No	No	Yes
Canada (+)	No	No	Yes

are three different immigration treatments corresponding to the three conjoint experiment columns in Table 1. The first two conjoint experiments simply vary the nature of the anti-immigration rhetoric or policy. In the third conjoint, we vary the country name: the idea is that the U.S. “brand” has been sufficiently tarnished by “Trumpian” policies and rhetoric to cause potential highly skilled migrants to avoid the United States.

### ***Subject Pool***

The subject pool plays a critical element in our experimental design. Our goal is to identify economic and political factors that could influence high-skilled migration to the United States. The subjects in this experiment are drawn from a convenience sample consisting of University of Oxford students who are registered in the Nuffield College Centre for Experimental Social Sciences subject pool. These students have the high-skilled labor profiles that would be of interest to U.S. firms. Online Appendix Table B1 summarizes the subject profiles for this experiment. The experiments were conducted with Nuffield CESS Online facilities and implemented on Qualtrics. In addition, the experiments were

incentivized and offered subjects proper compensation for their time. On average, subjects took 18 min and earned £5. All participants are 18 or older, each of them signed a consent form before taking part in the survey, and no deception was used.

Participants in the study are predominantly young (mean age = 26, standard deviation = 8.6), as expected with a (current and former) student subject pool that includes postgraduates. Female participants (56 percent) slightly outnumber males. The ideological self-placement of subjects follows a fairly normal distribution, although, as we expected with student subjects, the distribution is skewed to the left. Participants' interest in migrating is relatively high, with a mean of 5.5 on a one- to seven-point scale, indicating the relevance of the subject pool as representatives of potential high-skilled migrants. The self-reported likelihood of emigrating is also high, with a mean of 4.9 on a one- to seven-point scale; however, it is somewhat lower than interest in migration. Including these variables as controls does not alter the results of the estimation (see Online Appendix Table D1). The full summary statistics (Online Appendix Table B1) and relevant density plots are available in the Online Appendix.

Overall, participants rated Canada and Australia more favorably than the United States ( $p < 0.000$  and  $p = 0.000137$  for pairwise  $t$ -tests). This result possibly stems from the slight overrepresentation of females and those who identify as on the political left in the subject pool. However, the negative evaluation of the U.S. brand persists in the logit estimations that control for age and gender (Online Appendix Table D1).

Balance tests were carried out to evaluate adequate implementation of the randomization protocol (Online Appendix Tables E1–E5). Multinomial logit estimations of the likelihood of observing a specific attribute indicate that people most interested in migrating were presented the Canada attribute a significantly lower amount of times. Given the importance of having a balanced potential migrant sample across treatments, we included this variable as a control in the estimations. However, it is not a substantive or consistent predictor of destination choice and omitting it does not alter results (data in replication material). Age also has a significant association with the likelihood of observing “No state minimum wage”; however, it is not associated with any other of the conjoint attributes and including “Age” as a control does not alter the results of the estimations. This could be caused by the existence of a few older participants in the sample. The “Other” gender category also appears significant in the balance tests but is because only one person identified as such.

## Estimation Strategy and Results

We adopt a very simple strategy for recovering the causal effects of the specific characteristics of emigration destinations: we estimate a logistic regression of destination choice (whether subjects choose or do not choose any of the destination choices) with clustered standard errors at the individual level. Recall that subjects make choices for nine two-destination choice sets—each subject makes three dichotomous choices for each of the three conjoint treatments. Figure 2 presents graphical summaries of the estimated effects of the regression coefficients with 95 percent confidence intervals—see the full regression table in the Online Appendix. The reference categories for the conjoint attributes are the neutral categories indicated in Table 1 and they are included as dots with coefficient 0 in Figure 2.

The logit results nicely confirm our expectations regarding immigration policy. In the first immigration treatment, the “Muslim Ban” attribute has a large negative coefficient. In the second immigration treatment the “Deportation” treatment is negative and large, while the “Point System” treatment is positive. In the third treatment, the U.S. label has a negative coefficient, indicating a large negative country brand effect (relative to the baseline Australia).



FIGURE 2  
Conjoint Results

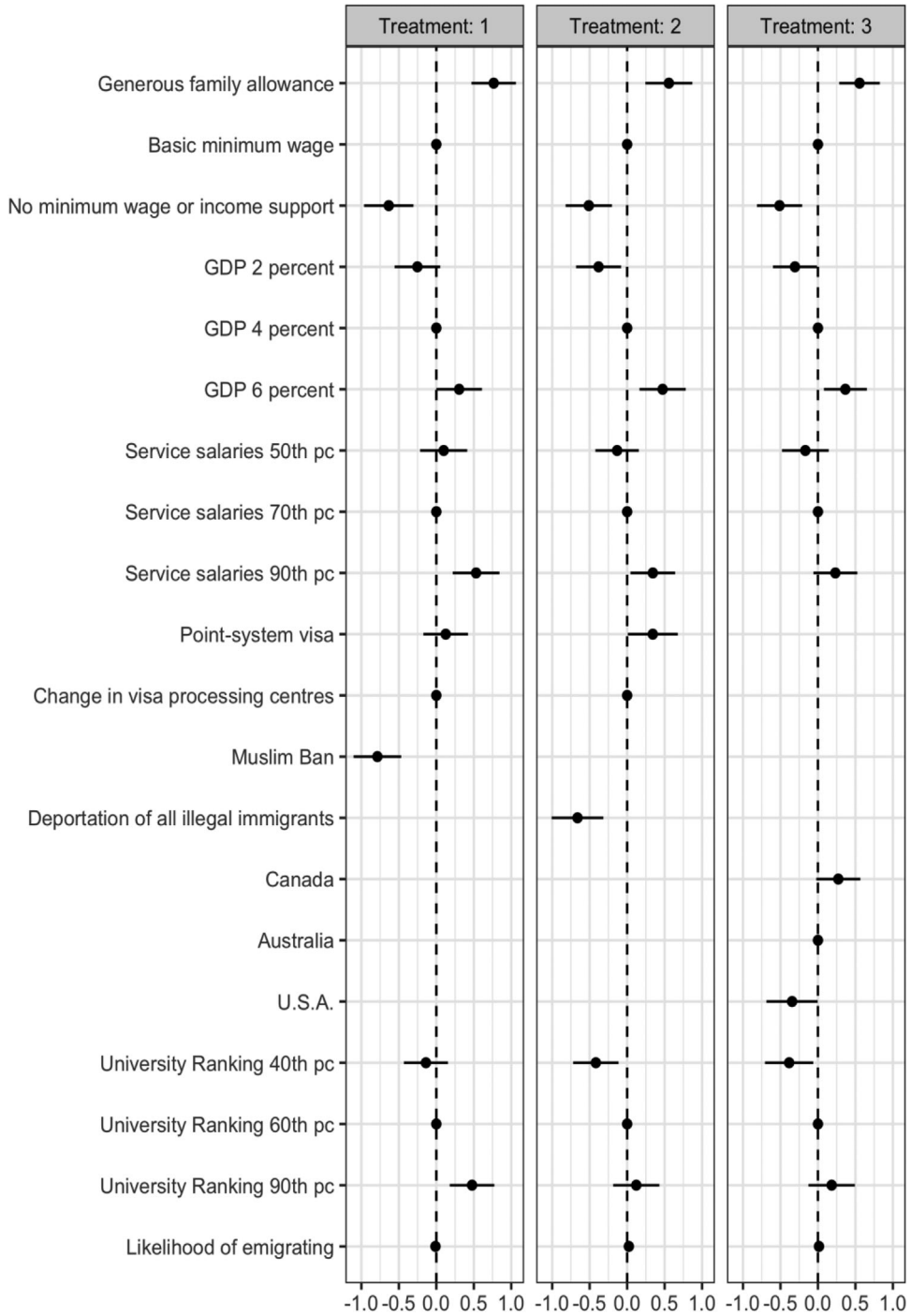
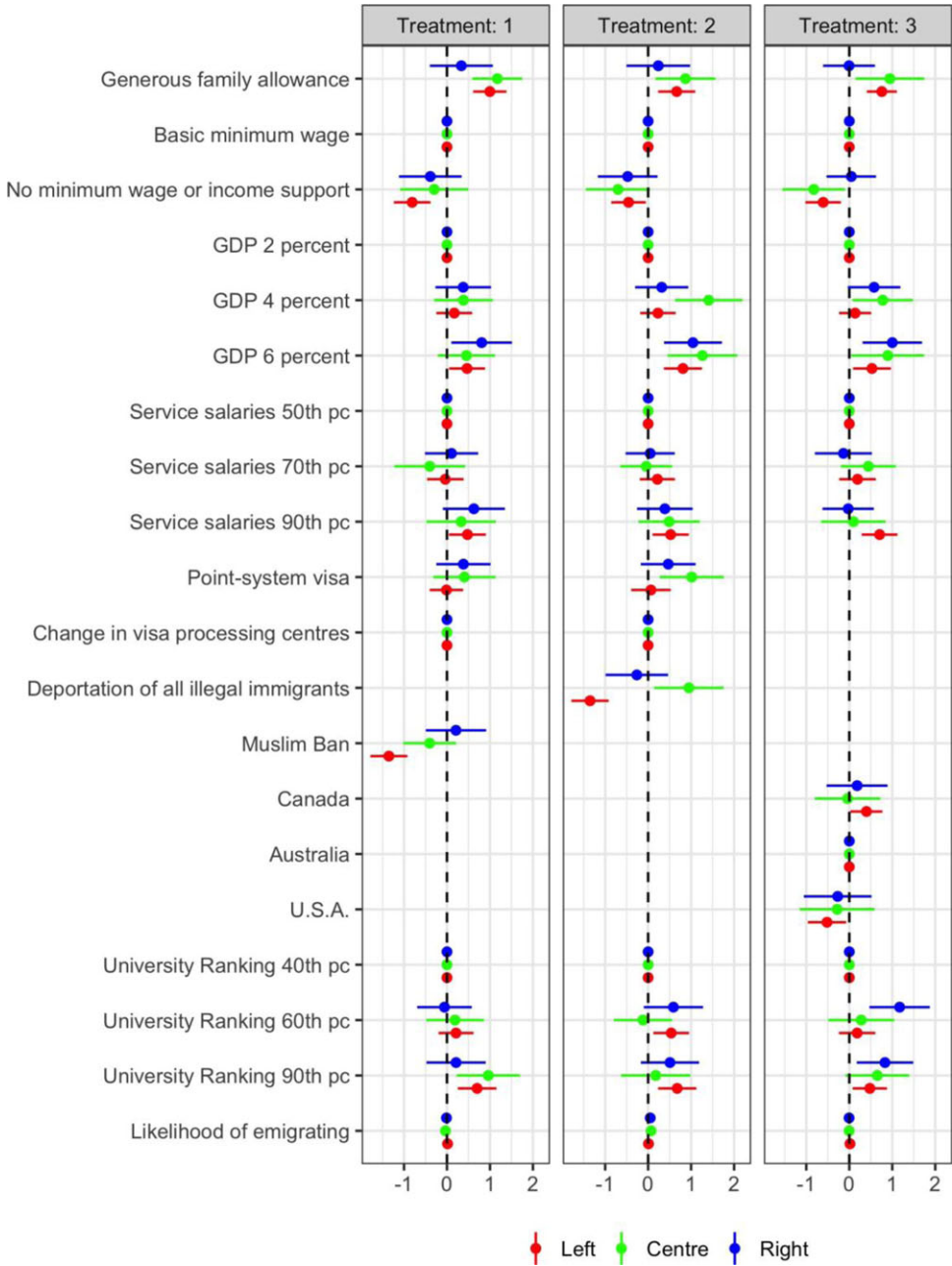


FIGURE 3

Conjoint Treatments: Left-Right Divide



In line with expectations, the destination's economic conditions are relevant. Oxford subjects clearly preferred destinations with higher economic growth and those with higher service-sector salaries. Also as expected, the generosity of social welfare benefits shapes migration decisions: the Oxford subjects favor destinations with generous family allowances and they are less attracted by those with no minimum wage or income support. Overall, socioeconomic and political factors have a similar effect size on the migration preferences of the highly skilled. In particular, the spread in effect size between the "No minimum wage/no income support" value and "Generous family allowance" is quite large—more than the immigration policy effect.

The pattern of effects in the second immigration treatment is very similar to Treatment 1. Socioeconomic factors matter, but immigration policy clearly influences migration destination choice. In fact, the spread between the positive "Point system visa" and negative "Deportation of illegal immigrants" immigration policies is slightly wider than was the case in the first immigration treatment.

The negative values for the two immigration policy attributes were meant to reflect some of President Trump's nativist rhetoric. Our intuition is that potential high-skilled immigrants to the United States are quite informed of this nativist rhetoric and this has tarnished (at least for certain elements of the highly skilled foreign labor pools) the U.S. brand. Our expectation is that we would see exactly the same outcome if we replaced the immigration policy attribute with a country name attribute that included the United States as one of the randomly assigned values. The right panel of Figure 2 presents the results from the third immigration treatment. While the U.S. political disadvantage is large (coefficient of  $-0.345$ ), this effect is roughly half of the other politics treatments—the "Muslim Ban" has a coefficient of  $-0.787$ , relative to the neutral baseline "Change in visa processing centers," and "Deportation of illegal immigrants" has a coefficient of  $-0.662$ , relative to the same baseline. These results suggest that while the content of "Trumpian" rhetoric is a strong deterrent for potential U.K. migrants, the U.S. brand itself does not deter high-skilled U.K. immigrants as much as the specific nativist policies and proposals advocated by President Trump.

The highly skilled potential U.K. emigrants who took part in this experiment express a strong and significant preference to migrate to countries with generous social policies. Certainly with respect to the United Kingdom, the United States does not have such generous social benefits. This would represent an additional disadvantage for trying to attract high-skilled migrants to the United States (at least for emigrants from the United Kingdom).

### *Left–Right Divide*

We conjectured above that potential emigrants may have partisan leanings that might affect their preferences for different employment destinations. Online Appendix Table B1 suggests that the Oxford current and former student subject pool had a slightly disproportionately large number of subjects who identify as left on the left–right self-placement scale. The tendency for subjects to self-place on the left may partly explain the preferences for destination countries with generous welfare benefits as well as the antipathy for countries with anti-immigrant policies.

We divided the subjects into left, center, and right groups and then estimated the same conjoint models that were presented in Figure 2.<sup>3</sup> Figure 3 presents the graphical results

<sup>3</sup>Participants on the left were operationally defined as those who indicated they were 4 or lower on an 11-point scale, center those who selected 5, and right those who selected 6 or more.

from these three models.<sup>4</sup> Clearly, politics matters! Participants who self-identify as on the political right are almost exclusively concerned with economic performance in all three immigration treatments—they favor employment destinations that have high GDP growth and high service-sector salaries. In addition to these economic factors, left-leaning subjects appear to be very much concerned about immigration policy and social welfare. They were clearly put off by the immigration treatments that mentioned a “Muslim Ban” and “Deportation of illegal immigrants,” and they were deterred by the United States as a migration destination. Finally, they responded positively to destinations with highly ranked universities, albeit less so than right-leaning subjects.

## **Conclusion and Discussion**

The United Kingdom has historically witnessed comparatively high levels of emigration to countries throughout the world (in particular to its former colonies). In a post-Brexit world, some expect these numbers to rise. Where will the British go? Traditionally, the United States has been a favored destination for U.K. emigrants, particularly the highly skilled. This essay examines whether the recent immigration politics and policies in the United States have negatively affected its ability to attract high-skilled immigrants.

The findings from our conjoint experiment suggest that both economy and politics matter for U.K. emigrants. Politics is of particular concern to potential emigrants on the left and center, while economic considerations shape the destination preferences of all potential emigrants.

In general, anti-immigrant rhetoric seems to discourage highly skilled potential emigrants from the United Kingdom. Moreover, the “Trumpian” policies and rhetoric seem to have tarnished the U.S. brand, at least for the highly skilled participants in our sample. In line with our conjectures, the United States is not currently viewed as favorably as Canada or Australia, and associating the “United States” with skilled job offers significantly reduces their appeal to prospective high-skilled employees.

Furthermore, associating “Trumpian” immigration policy proposals, such as the “Muslim Ban” and “Deportation of illegal migrants,” with an employment destination strongly reduces its attractiveness to potential high-skilled immigrants. However, these predispositions have a strong partisan flavor, with those on the political left less likely than those on the right to choose the United States as an emigration destination and less likely to select one associated with “Trumpian” immigration policies.

Consistent with our conjectures, destinations with higher economic growth and better universities are more attractive—though education is not a strong driver of these choices. These results suggest that countries such as the United States with high salaries and universities of excellence are attractive destinations for high-skilled labor, especially for potential migrants on the political right. There are, on the other hand, aspects of the U.S. economy and current immigration policies that will dissuade highly skilled immigrants from the United Kingdom: skilled migrants from the United Kingdom, on both the political left and right, prefer destinations with generous social benefits; and high-skilled migrants are dissuaded by populist or nativist politics.

Our effort to understand how U.S. politics and economic fundamentals shape the migration decision of highly skilled immigrants is based on potential skilled migrants from the United Kingdom. Ongoing research will explore whether these migration preferences

<sup>4</sup>The numeric logistic estimations are presented in Tables D3–D5 in the Online Appendix.

generalize to the broader global talent pool from which the United States attracts skilled immigration.

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## Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

**Figure A1:** Screenshot Conjoint Treatment 1

**Figure A2:** Screenshot Conjoint Treatment 2

**Figure A3:** Screenshot Conjoint Treatment 3

**Table B1:** Characteristics of the Subject Pool and Summary Statistics

**Figure B1:** Age Distribution of U.K. Subject Pool

**Figure B2:** Gender Distribution of U.K. Subject Pool

**Figure B3:** Ideological Distribution of U.K. Subject Pool

**Table C1:** Logistic Regression Results

**Table D1:** Logistic Regression Results Including Control Variables

**Table D2:** Comparison of Logistic Results for Treatment 3 by Country Pair

**Table D3:** Model Breakouts by Gender and Ideology (Treatment 2)

**Table D4:** Model Breakouts by Gender and Ideology (Treatment 2)

**Table D5:** Model Breakouts by Gender and Ideology (Treatment 3)

**Table E1:** Balance Test: Social Benefits

**Table E2:** Balance Test: Economy

**Table E3:** Balance Test: Service Jobs

**Table E4:** Balance Test: Education

**Table E5:** Balance Test: Immigration