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MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS AMONG YOUNG
PEOPLE IN EGYPT: WHO DESIRES TO MIGRATE?

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Abstract

International migration has been a vital aspect of labor markets in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), particularly Egypt. Egypt is among the largest ten remittance-receiving countries in the world (Wahba 2007). The primary objective of this paper is to examine the determinants of migration intentions among youth in Egypt. Studying factors shaping development of migration intentions is important to understanding the migration decision process and predicting future migration flows. I use a recently fielded survey on adolescents and youth: the 2009 Survey of Young People in Egypt (SYPE). Based on SYPE, one in three young men in the age group 15-29 expressed willingness/intention to migrate. I found that having a migrant on one's social network is one of the key factors in developing migration aspirations. The wealthiest youth are more likely to want to migrate to the West. Worrying about future prospects generally is a push-factor.

ملخص

شكلت الهجرة الدولية جانبا حيويا من أسواق العمل في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال افريقيا (MENA)، ولا سيما مصر. تعد مصر من بين أكبر عشرة بلدان متلقية للتحويلات في العالم (وهبة 2007). الهدف الأساسي من هذه الورقة هو دراسة محددات نوايا الهجرة بين الشباب في مصر. ومن المهم دراسة عوامل تشكيل تطوير نوايا الهجرة لفهم عملية اتخاذ قرار الهجرة وتوقع تدفقات الهجرة في المستقبل. وقد استخدمت اخر مسح ميداني على المراهقين والشباب وهو مسح عام 2009 عن الشباب في مصر (SYPE). استنادا SYPE، واحد في ثلاثة شبان في الفئة العمرية 15-29 أعرب عن استعدادهم / نيته للهجرة. لقد وجدت أن وجود المهاجرين على شبكة واحدة الاجتماعية هي واحدة من العوامل الرئيسية في خلق تطلعات للهجرة. ومن المرجح أن الشباب الأكثر ثراء يرغبون في الهجرة إلى الغرب. وعموما، القلق حول احتمالات المستقبل يعتبر بشكل عام عامل دفع.

1. Introduction

International migration has been a vital aspect of labor markets in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region following the re-emergence of migration as a major phenomenon in the region in the 2000's. The number of Egyptian migrants is estimated to be around 4% of the population and represent 1.5% of all world migrants (Nassar 2005). Also, according to recent estimates, Egypt is among the largest ten remittance-receiving countries in the world (Wahba 2007). Recently, remittance flows amounted to over \$9 billion, which constitutes more than 8% of Egypt's GDP.

This has renewed interest among researchers to investigate issues pertaining to international migration. Consistently, issues surrounding international migration, including concerns over irregular migration, are highlighted in ongoing policy discussions. Despite the focus on international migration, to the best of our knowledge, there has not been rigorous examination of youth intentions regarding international migration neither in Egypt nor in other countries in the MENA region.

The primary objective of this paper is to examine the determinants of migration intentions among youth in Egypt. Studying factors shaping development of migration intentions is important to understanding the migration decision process and predicting future migration flows. It is helpful for policy-makers to know about who wants to migrate and why before actual migration takes place. In addition, when it comes to migration, youth are the most important demographic group to study as young adults are much more likely to migrate; Nassar (2005) found that while the average age of the non-migrant Egyptian is 35, the average age of the migrant Egyptian is just under 30.

The international literature examining the determinants of migration aspirations is not well-developed. This paper attempts at filling this gap in the empirical literature, using a recently fielded survey on adolescents and youth: the 2009 Survey of Young People in Egypt (SYPE). Based on SYPE, one in three young men in the age group 15-29 expressed willingness/intention to migrate. The intention to migrate is highest among those in the age group 18-24 and decreases as young people get older. Young Egyptian males mainly aspire to migrate to the Gulf countries.

2. Background

2.1 International Literature on Migration Aspirations

A few studies examined factors shaping the formation of migration intentions. In general, the literature is not extensive. Silva and Neto (1993) examined predictors of migration intention among Portuguese adolescents. The predictors they used are basic socio-demographic characteristics (such as sex and education), having current or return migrants in one's personal network, access to information on migration, favorable attitude towards migration, perception of migrants' experience, and the level of attachment to the family and current environment. Networks, attitudes towards migration and detachment from family were found to be the most important factors contributing to the development of an intention to migrate.

Stinner and Van Loon (1992) focus on the role satisfaction about one's community in forming migration intentions. They found that variables reflecting community satisfaction shape the intention to migrate while community size preference (in terms of population size) affects whether the intended move is short term or long term. Migration is defined as movement out of the current community, and seems to mainly mean internal movement within the United States. Variables they use to capture community satisfaction are respondents' perception of: local government responsiveness, social solidarity (e.g. availability of friendships and help in time of need), urbanity, perceived economic opportunities (in terms of steady employment, career advancement and higher income), public services (such as schools and health service

providers), and the physical environment (such as air and water quality). Satisfaction with local economic opportunities and public services were found to negatively affect formation of migration intentions.

Based on the above, the literature suggests a variety of important determinants of migration aspirations. In addition to socio-demographic background, determinants include exposure to migration networks, access to migration information, variables capturing satisfaction about current community including the perceived economic opportunities therein, and the degree of attachment to the family and the community.

2.2 Literature on Migration in Egypt

Following the end of the First Gulf War and the improvement in regional economic conditions, the stock of migrants increased to 2.90 million in 1997. However, with the slowdown in the world economy that began with the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, the flow of migrants began to decline again in 1998 (Nassar 2005). This downturn was short-lived, however, as the stock of migrants abroad increased rapidly during the 2000s to reach the current figure of 4 million. Young adults are much more likely to migrate; Nassar (2005) found that while the average age of the non-migrant Egyptian population is 35, the average age of the migrant population is just under 30.

Despite the importance of migration in the Egyptian economy and society over the past forty years, thus far there has been little research on whether, where, and why Egyptian youth hope to migrate in the future. The exception is Zohry's (2006) study of migration to Europe, which surveyed 1,552 males aged 18-40 about actual migration experience and aspirations for migration to Europe. In addition to Cairo and Alexandria, the study was conducted in localities known for having established migration streams, which were located in four governorates in Lower Egypt and two in Upper Egypt.

Zohry found that while 87% of youth in the study aspired to migrate to Europe (most to Italy or France), they intended to migrate to fulfill specific financial goals and then return to Egypt, following the long standing pattern of temporary migration to the GCC. However, youth are quite aware of the difficulties entailed in migrating to Europe, as well as the potential negative consequences of illegal migration.

Information about migration, and the process of migration itself, also appears to largely operate through friend and family networks rather than official sources. Networks were also an important part of youths' motivations for migration, along with economic conditions in Egypt. The main push factors leading youth to consider migration were poorer income, living conditions and job opportunities in Egypt, whereas the main pull factors were the presence of friends, family or a job offer in the destination country. Finally, the majority of youth who had already experienced migration to Europe aspired to return for another period of work abroad.

3. Aspiring Migrant Youth: A Profile

3.1 Data

The Cairo office of the Population Council has recently conducted a household survey on adolescents and youth in Egypt, the 2009 Survey of Young People in Egypt (SYPE). The analysis in the paper entirely draws on this survey. SYPE was fielded on a nationally representative sample of 15,000 young people aged 10-29 years. Data was collected from all governorates including the border governorates. This is relatively unusual, as most surveys in Egypt exclude the border governorates due to their relatively small population size. The Population Council partnered with the Information and Decision Support Center (IDSC), the research branch of the Egyptian Cabinet, in collecting and processing the SYPE data.

SYPE employed a stratified, cluster, multi-stage sampling design. The sample included 455 primary sample units (PSUs), 239 of which were rural and 216 of which were urban. The survey was designed to include adequate representation of slum areas. The urban PSUs were divided into 44 PSUs in slum areas and 172 in non-slum areas. In order to reach 15,000 young people, the sample included 11,372 randomly selected households. Within these households, 20,200 eligible young people were identified and 16,061 were selected to be interviewed.¹

This survey has a migration module with information on young people's intention to migrate abroad in addition to their actual migration experience. Information on youth migration aspirations include desired destination, reasons behind intentions to migrate and attitudes regarding irregular migration. Information on youth migration experiences include country of destination, reasons behind migration, main sources of information/assistance with migration, cost of migration, legality of status while living abroad (e.g. visa availability, contract, work permit) as well as remittance-sending behavior. The full set of migration questions apply to youth 18-29. For youth 15-17, however, the only information available was whether they aspire to migrate and their desired country of destination.

In addition to information on migration, SYPE collected data on the five key areas of education, work, family formation, health and sexuality, and civic and political participation. Furthermore, SYPE data includes a rich set of questions on current and initial job market outcomes, family formation (marriage and fertility), networks and mobility constraints, skills acquisition and its relevance for the job market, decision making and attitudes in various aspects of work and education, and constraints faced in starting one's own business.

3.2 Incidence of Migration Aspirations

Among all youth 15-29 years old, 18.4% of youth said they hoped to migrate in the future. Of those, 14.3% of all youth chose an Arab country as their destination, compared to 3.9% who chose a Western country. Overall, Egyptian male youth are overwhelmingly more likely to consider leaving Egypt than female youth: 29.7% of male youth had intentions to migrate, compared to 6.7% of female youth.

Migration aspirations also decrease as age increases with 21.8% of youth aged 15-17 planning to migrate, compared to 18.8% of youth aged 18-24 and 14.7% of youth aged 25-29. Younger youth are more likely to aspire to go to a Western countries than older youth; incidence of migration intentions to the West decreased from 5.8% among youth aged 15-17 to 2.2% among youth aged 25-29. These differences in age groups may be explained by older youth awareness of the logistical challenges and legal requirements of migrating to Western countries. Along the same lines, unmarried youth are more likely to want to migrate (22.5%) than married youth (7.8%). It could be the case that some youth migrate to afford marriage costs and then settle in Egypt once married. It is worth noting that the marriage effect is inter-related to the age effect, as married youth tend to be older. However, descriptive statistics alone cannot be used to determine the direction of causality.

Male youth from rural areas are slightly more likely to aspire to migrate (30.7%) compared to those in urban areas (26.6%). However, male youth residing in informal urban housing are the most likely to aspire to migrate (33.4%). The opposite is true for female youth: those residing in rural areas are the least likely to want to migrate. It was also found that youth in the urban governorates are slightly less likely to aspire to migrate compared to youth in other regions.

¹ This number of youth was selected to take into account oversampling of the border governments and non-response. For further details on sampling procedure, please refer to the SYPE Preliminary Report (Population Council 2010).

Figure 1 presents a breakdown of migration aspirations among youth according to current education level at the time of the survey. Generally, as educational attainment rises among youth, the tendency to aspire to migrate increases. Among males, 32.9% of university graduates reported a desire to migrate, in comparison to 31.9% of vocational secondary graduates and 21.3% of male illiterate youth.

Focusing on males aspiring to migrate to Arab countries, male youth with vocational degrees are the most likely to aspire to migrate (27.2%). However, male university graduates are the most likely group to want to migrate to Western countries (8.9%), in comparison with male vocational secondary graduates (4.7%) and illiterate youth (2.8%).

Unemployment and lack of job opportunities in Egypt are significant push-factors for migration. Focusing on males, the desire to migrate is highest among the group of unemployed youth (38.9% of male youth). Males who are unpaid family workers are the second most likely to want to migrate (34.5%). The least to aspire to migrate are males who are self-employed/employers (21.5%) and those who are waged employees (28.4%). Even for youth with relatively good jobs, still a considerable percentage is aspiring to leave the country.

There is only a small difference in aspiration likelihood between youth from different wealth quintiles. However, when the group of youth interested in migration to the West is isolated, the percentage of aspiring migrants jumped from 2% among the lowest quintile wealth group to 7.2% in the wealthiest quintile, indicating that wealthier youth are more likely to want to migrate to the West. In contrast, among youth interested exclusively in Arab countries, the opposite is true: 15% of youth in the poorest group hope to migrate to Arab countries, compared to only 12.2% of the wealthiest youth.

The percentage of migration aspiring youth interested in permanent migration shows that an overwhelming 89% of youth who aspire to migrate plan to stay abroad temporarily. This is consistent with the literature which indicates that Egyptian migrants tend to be temporary migrants. There is some variation in the preference for temporary migration by destination region and by education. Youth aspiring to migrate to Arab countries are more likely to want to stay abroad temporarily (91%) compared to those aspiring to migrate to Western countries (82%). This is not surprising given that migration to Arab countries is mainly labor migration. Low-educated youth are generally more likely to want to migrate temporarily. University-educated youth aspiring to migrate to the West are the least likely to want to migrate temporarily (78%).

3.3 Aspired Destination

A reported 14.3% of all youth would prefer to migrate to an Arab country while only 3.9% chose a Western country. Among aspiring migrants, 68.4% of the respondents wanted to migrate to an Arab Gulf country, compared to 21.39% who chose a Western destination, and 9.6% interested in other Arab countries. Younger youth 15-17 are more likely to aspire to migrate to Western countries (26%) whereas older youth 25-29 were more likely to want to migrate to Gulf countries (76%).

While Arab countries represent the top destination for urban youth, urban youth are more likely to want to migrate to Western countries than their rural counterparts. Thirty-one percent of migration aspiring urban youth preferred a Western country, compared to 21% of migration aspiring youth overall.

Education level also has an effect on preferred countries of migration. Illiterate youth are more likely to prefer to migrate to “other Arab countries” than vocational secondary and university graduates. Twenty five percent of illiterate youth stated they wanted to migrate to

Libya whereas only 4.6% of youth with vocational degrees and close to none of university graduates stated they aspire to migrate to Libya.

3.4 Reported Reasons of Migration Intentions

Youth reported that low income and lack of work are their main reasons for leaving Egypt. Among the different pull factors to destination countries, an overwhelming 94.6% of males cited interest in earning money abroad. This is consistent with the finding above that youth with unfavorable labor market outcomes such as those unemployed and those in unpaid family jobs are more likely to want to migrate.

Youth with migration intentions were asked about their willingness to accept a job abroad that does not match their educational qualifications and/or occupational specialization. A remarkable 79.4% of migration aspiring youth reported that they would accept an unsuitable job abroad. Overall, youth who come from settings with limited opportunities are more willing to accept an unsuitable job in comparison to youth with more resources. This trend is apparent along the lines of education level, residence, household wealth, and employment status.

Youth with existing social networks are significantly less likely to want to leave Egypt (13.1%) compared to those with fewer friends and less established social connections (24.9%). In addition, 19.2% of youth who reported positive self-worth indicated plans to go abroad while only 8.5% of youth who reported feeling worthless showed a desire to leave Egypt².

General uncertainty about one's future seems to have a U-shaped effect on youth. Among individuals who indicated great uncertainty about their future, 28.9% reported a desire to migrate. This percentage dropped to 14.3% amongst youth with moderate levels of uncertainty, but rose again to 25.5% amongst youth who expressed marked certainty about their future. The U-shaped effect could result from the desire of the least successful youth, who are uncertain about their future in Egypt, to look for opportunities abroad, while the most successful aspire to migrate as they are confident about their ability to find opportunities in foreign labor markets.

3.5 Social Networks

A connection between networks of relatives and friends living abroad and the formation of migration aspirations was observed. While only 14% of youth not aspiring to migrate reported having migrants in their networks, 55% of youth aspiring to migrate reported having friends or relatives who are migrants. An even larger percentage was reported among those aspiring to migrate to the West (65%). However, having relatives/friends abroad was not among the top cited reasons for migration. Therefore, networks could be facilitating migration but not motivating it.

Sixty seven percent of those who have migrants in their network reported being in continuous contact with their relatives, whereas 27% were in contact with friends. Youth aspiring to migrate, however, were relatively more likely to report being in continuous contact with friends (39%). This percentage is even higher for those aspiring to migrate to the West (45%). It could be that as a result of continuous contact with migrant friends, youth become more interested in migration. The causality may also work the other way around: because they aspire to migrate, youth are maintaining contact with their migrant friends in order to obtain migration-related information and support.

² Information on feelings of self-worth is part of the mental health and social development module of SYPE.

Aspiring migrants were asked about who would provide them with the information needed for migration. Reportedly 81% said that friends and relatives are their source of information about migration destinations. Networks are an even more important source of information in rural areas (85%) and in informal urban housing areas (81%) compared to urban areas (72%). It was not specified whether friends/relatives providing information are in Egypt or abroad.

With respect to actual help in migrating, it appears that networks in Egypt are more important than networks of friends and relatives abroad³. Of the 40% aspiring migrants who expected to receive help from someone in order to migrate, more than 75% expected assistance from networks in Egypt (particularly relatives), while only 18% said they knew people abroad who might help them migrate. The types of help migration aspiring youth were expecting are not specified but it could include help with migration logistics and/or help in financing the costs of migration.

4. Methodology

4.1 Sample and Dependent Variables

Regression analysis is employed to study the determinants of aspiring to migrate. In the analysis, I focus on the age-group 18-29. Due to their young age, the 15-17 year-olds were not asked about all migration-related information. In addition, information on the independent variables I use are not available for that age-group.

Youth were asked about whether they had migrated in the past and in case they did, they were not asked about their future migration intentions. Therefore, the sample excludes past migrant youth. This results in a sample of 8,356 observations, of which 1,225 youth aspire to migrate.

While past migrant youth were asked in details about their migration experience, which may have given an opportunity to compare the determinants of migration intentions to the determinants of actual migration, this paper will not be undertaking this comparison due to the small size of the past migrant youth sample.⁴⁵

The dependent variables used in the paper are as follows: (1) youth is aspiring to migrate (to any destination), (2) youth is aspiring to migrate to an Arab destination, (3) youth is aspiring to migrate to a Western destination, (4) youth is aspiring to migrate permanently. Since all the dependent variables are binary, probit models will be employed for all.

4.2 Independent Variables

A uniform set of variables are used as explanatory variables in regressions for the different dependent variables. Mean and standard deviations are provided in Table 1. The variables include individual characteristics (sex, age, ever-marriage, years of schooling) including employment variables, household socio-economic characteristics, including father's and mother's years of schooling⁶, a group of dummies reflecting to which wealth quintile the

³ However, networks in Egypt may contain relatives/friends that were previously abroad.

⁴ Overall, 1.8% of youth aged 18-29 migrated to other countries in the past (132 observations). The small incidence of migration among youth is not surprising. For migrant youth to be captured in the survey, they must have migrated and returned, which may not be possible due to their young age. In addition, current migrants are not captured in the survey and therefore, this may underestimate actual migration among youth.

⁵ Past migrant youth may not have migrated on their own as adults. Some of the youth who reported past migration experiences may have been abroad to accompany their parents. More than a third of the sample of past migrants aged 18-29 departed more than 15 years prior to 2009, suggesting that their migration was possibly to accompany their migrant parents.

⁶ SYPE had information on parents' years of schooling only if they reside in the same household where the interviewed youth lives. About 30% of youths were not living with their parents. In order not to lose these observations, mean father and mother years of schooling were assigned to non-present parents.

household belongs, whether youth lives in an owned household, and in which region the youth resides.

The employment status variables are important to capture the actual prospects an individual faces in the domestic labor market and which can be a key push-factor. The socio-economic variables including education and wealth are also important. Their effect can work via different mechanisms. Youth high on the socio-economic ladder can have better access to migration information and can afford the costs needed to finance migration. The less wealthy may be more in need of migration and therefore may be more likely to resort to migration to generate income. Youth from different backgrounds face different costs and benefits of migration as they are likely to have different access to opportunities and future prospects both in Egypt and abroad.

In addition to the variables mentioned above, this paper use svariables to capture the individual's psychosocial well-being and quality of life in Egypt. These are: whether he/she has friends to discuss with problems and worries, whether he/she feels loved, whether he/she feels unhappy. A variable reflecting the perceived level of worry about the future on a scale of 1 to 10 is also used. A square term of this variable is also used to investigate if the U-shape pattern discussed in the descriptive section will still hold. This variable is important to capture an individual's perception of his/her future prospects and economic opportunities in the home country.

To signal for community/country satisfaction, a variable reflecting the perceived level of corruption in public institutions on a scale of 1 to 10 is also used. Again, a squared term is also added to the regressions. Finally, a variable showing access to migration networks whereby a youth is asked if they have a friend/relative/neighbor who is a current international migrant is included in the regressions.⁷⁸

5. Results

The parameter results are presented in Table 2. In addition, marginal effects are shown. Table 3 shows marginal effects of an *average young man*: male living in Cairo whose household is in the third wealth quintile. He feels happy and has friends. The rest of the variables are evaluated at their mean value if continuous, and at zero if discrete. Table 4 shows the marginal effects evaluated at the mean value of continuous variables and at zero of discrete variables.

As shown in Table 2, highly statistically significant variables include: male, being ever-married. Being a male and having more years of school increase the likelihood of aspiring to migrate while marriage decreases it. A female who is out of labor force is less likely to want to migrate. These results also hold for migration to Arab and to Western countries. Parents' years of schooling do not seem to have an effect on developing migration plans. Surprisingly, being unemployed or unpaid family member (relative to being a waged employee) does not significantly affect migration plans. However, discouraged unemployed youth are likely to aspire to migrate. Being a student negatively affects development of migration aspiration to Arab countries. However, being a student positively affects the likelihood of wanting to migrate to Western countries.

⁷ While it could have been useful to include past migration as an explanatory variable since there could be a potential for repeat migration, this was not possible as past migrant youth were not asked about their future migration plans. as mentioned in the data section.

⁸ I also plan to include community characteristics pending on data availability such as the percentage of wage employment, unemployment rates, population density, and access to public services and infrastructure.

As for wealth, belonging to the wealthiest household does not have an effect on migration aspirations in general. However, looking for migration aspirations to Arab countries, it can be seen that wealthiest youth are less likely to want to move to Arab countries. On the other hand, they are significantly more likely to aspire to migrate to Western countries.

The region variables are generally statistically significant so where a youth lives affects if they wish to migrate. Having friends in Egypt increases the likelihood of migration intentions. One would expect youth with established social life in Egypt would be more likely to stay in Egypt. However, it could be that this variable is also capturing personal qualities such as being outgoing and interactive.

The level of worrying about future prospects displays a U-shape effect as in the descriptive section. Youth worrying the most want to migrate. Those not worrying are also likely to want to migrate which may result from being confident in their prospects not only in Egypt but also abroad. Perceived corruption displays an inverted-U-shape. Those not worrying about corruption are satisfied with staying in Egypt as one would expect. However, as perceived level of corruption increases beyond a certain threshold, youth would not want to migrate. It may be that these youth are more concerned with state of their home country and would not like to leave in the hope corruption would decline in the future.

Finally, consistent with the literature, having a migrant in one's personal network has a strong effect on intending to migrate. In fact, according to the marginal effects, this is the variable with the strongest effect. An "average" young man's probability of wanting to migrate increases from 14% by over 30 percentage points. In terms of marginal effect, being a discouraged unemployed also has a big effect.

With respect to permanent migration aspirations, the only significant variables are years of schooling (positive effect), being out of the labor force (negative effect), mother's years of schooling (negative effect) and feeling loved (negative effect), worrying about future (U-shaped effect), and having migrants in one's personal network.

I also tried additional variables but they were not statistically significant. These include; religion, being an unemployed university graduate, squared years of schooling and squared age. An additional specification including youth 15-17 is shown in Table 5. It excludes permanent migration from the dependent variables. It also excludes corruption and having migrants in one's personal networks from the explanatory variables. As seen in Table 5, age becomes significant under this specification. It seems the young group 15-17 is more likely to aspire to migrate as seen in the descriptive section.

6. Conclusion

The main objective of this paper is to understand why youth intend to migrate from Egypt and to identify the determinants of such aspiration. Migration intentions may not materialize into actual migration intentions as a result of facing legal hurdles and/or inability to finance migration or a change in anticipated costs/benefits of life in Egypt and in the destination country. Nonetheless the study of current youth migration intentions offers important insight into trends of future Egyptian migration outflows.

We found that having a migrant on one's social network is one of the key factors in developing migration aspirations. Being a discouraged unemployed also has a positive effect. The wealthiest youth are more likely to want to migrate to the West. Worrying about future prospects generally is a push-factor.

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Figure 1: Percentage of Aspiring Migrants Aged 15-29, by Education Level

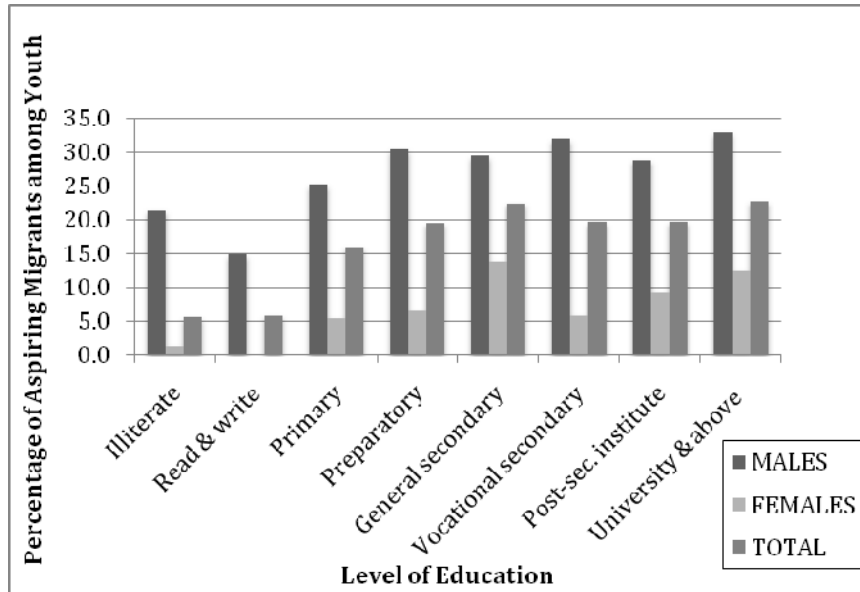


Table 1: Variable Means and Standard Deviations among Youth 18-29

Variable	All Sample		Sample of Youth Aspiring to Migrate		Sample of Youth Aspiring to Migrate to Arab Countries		Sample of Youth Aspiring to Migrate to Western Countries		Sample of Youth Aspiring to Migrate Permanently	
	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.
Age	22.94	3.38	22.56	3.32	22.65	3.35	22.25	3.15	23.22	3.50
Ever-married	0.36	0.48	0.16	0.37	0.18	0.39	0.08	0.27	0.15	0.36
Years of Schooling	10.33	4.32	11.53	3.33	11.33	3.41	12.31	2.87	11.97	3.07
Employment										
Waged Employee	0.33	0.47	0.48	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.37	0.48	0.52	0.50
Employer/self-employed	0.01	0.12	0.02	0.12	0.02	0.13	0.00	0.06	0.03	0.18
Unpaid family worker	0.03	0.17	0.05	0.22	0.05	0.23	0.04	0.19	0.10	0.31
Unemployed	0.07	0.26	0.13	0.33	0.12	0.32	0.16	0.37	0.10	0.30
Out of labor force & student	0.15	0.35	0.17	0.38	0.14	0.35	0.27	0.45	0.15	0.36
Out of labor force	0.40	0.49	0.16	0.37	0.17	0.37	0.15	0.36	0.09	0.28
OLF X female	0.35	0.48	0.07	0.26	0.07	0.26	0.06	0.24	0.05	0.23
Discouraged unemployed	0.03	0.17	0.05	0.21	0.05	0.22	0.03	0.17	0.06	0.24
Father years of schooling	6.69	4.19	6.69	4.66	6.49	4.56	7.40	4.97	6.90	4.27
Mother years of schooling	4.60	4.23	4.68	4.67	4.45	4.42	5.51	5.45	3.69	4.22
Wealth Quintiles										
Lowest	0.18	0.39	0.17	0.37	0.19	0.39	0.11	0.31	0.12	0.33
Second	0.21	0.41	0.18	0.38	0.19	0.40	0.11	0.31	0.17	0.38
Third	0.22	0.42	0.23	0.42	0.25	0.43	0.18	0.38	0.22	0.41
Fourth	0.21	0.41	0.24	0.43	0.23	0.42	0.28	0.45	0.32	0.47
Highest	0.18	0.38	0.18	0.39	0.15	0.35	0.33	0.47	0.17	0.38
Own house	0.81	0.39	0.82	0.39	0.82	0.38	0.80	0.40	0.78	0.42
Regions										
Urban Governorates	0.22	0.42	0.20	0.40	0.19	0.39	0.23	0.42	0.22	0.42
Urban Lower Egypt	0.12	0.32	0.13	0.33	0.11	0.31	0.22	0.41	0.16	0.37
Rural Lower Egypt	0.32	0.47	0.32	0.47	0.34	0.48	0.25	0.44	0.35	0.48
Urban Upper Egypt	0.08	0.27	0.10	0.30	0.08	0.28	0.15	0.36	0.09	0.29
Rural Upper Egypt	0.25	0.43	0.24	0.43	0.27	0.45	0.14	0.35	0.17	0.38
Frontier Governorates	0.02	0.13	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.10
Having friends in Egypt	0.92	0.27	0.99	0.08	0.99	0.08	0.99	0.07	0.99	0.09
Feeling loved	0.98	0.13	0.98	0.12	0.98	0.12	0.98	0.12	0.95	0.22
Feeling unhappy	0.22	0.41	0.22	0.41	0.20	0.40	0.29	0.45	0.21	0.41
Level of worrying about future*	6.62	2.02	6.91	2.12	6.91	2.10	6.96	2.20	6.42	2.47
Squared level of worrying about future	47.88	26.26	52.26	27.29	52.15	27.07	53.22	28.04	47.25	29.52
Perceived corruption level*	7.38	1.73	7.51	1.62	7.47	1.60	7.68	1.70	7.62	1.60
Squared perceived corruption level	57.50	24.05	59.00	23.00	58.36	22.55	61.89	24.56	60.57	23.26
Having migrant in network	0.21	0.41	0.55	0.50	0.53	0.50	0.64	0.48	0.57	0.50
N (un-weighted)	8356		1225		970		245		88	

Notes: * Scale of 1 to 10

Table 2: Determinants of Migration Intentions among Youth 18-29

	(1) All Destinations	(2) Arab Countries	(3) Western Countries	(4) Permanent Migration
Male	0.595*** (0.060)	0.543*** (0.064)	0.367*** (0.093)	0.099 (0.128)
Age	-0.012 (0.008)	-0.014* (0.008)	0.003 (0.013)	-0.014 (0.017)
Ever-married	-0.244*** (0.057)	-0.133** (0.059)	-0.458*** (0.107)	-0.147 (0.129)
Years of Schooling	0.028*** (0.006)	0.022*** (0.006)	0.044*** (0.013)	0.028* (0.016)
Employment				
Employer/self-employed	-0.199 (0.151)	-0.133 (0.152)	-0.708 (0.458)	0.390 (0.242)
Unpaid family worker	0.030 (0.114)	-0.010 (0.115)	0.126 (0.186)	0.295 (0.199)
Unemployed	0.045 (0.072)	-0.017 (0.075)	0.185* (0.109)	-0.061 (0.154)
Out of labor force & student	-0.189*** (0.068)	-0.302*** (0.073)	0.224** (0.105)	-0.230 (0.154)
Out of labor force	-0.144 (0.091)	-0.177* (0.094)	0.058 (0.148)	-0.645** (0.278)
OLF X female	-0.400*** (0.113)	-0.405*** (0.118)	-0.205 (0.184)	0.019 (0.307)
Discouraged unemployed	0.551*** (0.113)	0.591*** (0.116)	0.035 (0.206)	0.755*** (0.241)
Father years of schooling	-0.001 (0.006)	0.000 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.009)	0.022* (0.013)
Mother years of schooling	0.004 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.036*** (0.013)
Wealth				
Second	-0.072 (0.071)	-0.046 (0.072)	-0.156 (0.142)	-0.006 (0.170)
Third	-0.056 (0.070)	-0.047 (0.071)	-0.043 (0.130)	-0.053 (0.169)
Fourth	0.025 (0.074)	-0.033 (0.077)	0.140 (0.132)	0.128 (0.170)
Highest	0.020 (0.088)	-0.178* (0.092)	0.453*** (0.148)	0.063 (0.204)
Own house	-0.048 (0.054)	-0.083 (0.057)	0.077 (0.084)	-0.071 (0.118)
Regions				
Urban Lower Egypt	0.148** (0.071)	0.046 (0.076)	0.262** (0.102)	0.005 (0.158)
Rural Lower Egypt	0.129** (0.065)	0.130* (0.067)	0.011 (0.106)	-0.014 (0.144)
Urban Upper Egypt	0.218*** (0.084)	0.061 (0.090)	0.438*** (0.119)	0.117 (0.179)
Rural Upper Egypt	0.139* (0.073)	0.145* (0.075)	-0.016 (0.124)	-0.096 (0.170)
Frontier Governorates	-0.237** (0.098)	-0.285*** (0.105)	-0.007 (0.157)	-0.020 (0.203)
Having friends in Egypt	0.543*** (0.139)	0.564*** (0.151)	0.316 (0.254)	0.183 (0.320)
Feeling loved	-0.017 (0.165)	0.078 (0.176)	-0.238 (0.245)	-0.564** (0.245)
Feeling unhappy	0.052 (0.049)	-0.005 (0.051)	0.127* (0.076)	-0.024 (0.111)
Level of worrying about future	-0.220*** (0.050)	-0.194*** (0.052)	-0.129 (0.081)	-0.251** (0.102)
Squared level of worrying about future	0.022*** (0.004)	0.019*** (0.004)	0.013** (0.006)	0.021*** (0.008)
Perceived corruption level	0.257*** (0.069)	0.265*** (0.073)	0.051 (0.112)	0.281 (0.187)
Squared perceived corruption level	-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.021*** (0.005)	-0.004 (0.008)	-0.019 (0.013)
Having migrant in network	1.145*** (0.042)	0.987*** (0.044)	0.797*** (0.066)	0.534*** (0.092)
Constant	-2.385*** (0.387)	-2.455*** (0.409)	-3.106*** (0.633)	-2.289** (0.901)
N	8,356	8,356	8,356	8,356

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3: Marginal Effects for Average Egyptian Young Man - Migration Intentions among Youth 18-29

	(1) All Destinations	(2) Arab Countries	(3) Western Countries	(4) Permanent Migration
Base probability	0.14	0.112	.0149	.004
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003* (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)
Ever-married	-0.053*** (0.012)	-0.025** (0.011)	-0.017*** (0.005)	-0.002 (0.002)
Years of Schooling	0.006*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)
Employment				
Employer/self-employed	-0.040 (0.027)	-0.023 (0.025)	-0.013*** (0.005)	0.008 (0.008)
Unpaid family worker	0.007 (0.026)	-0.002 (0.022)	0.005 (0.009)	0.005 (0.005)
Unemployed	0.010 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.014)	0.008 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.002)
Out of labor force & student	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.050*** (0.011)	0.010 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.002)
Out of labor force	-0.032 (0.020)	-0.033* (0.018)	0.002 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.005)
OLF X female	-0.086*** (0.022)	-0.074*** (0.020)	-0.007 (0.006)	0.000 (0.004)
Discouraged unemployed	0.156*** (0.039)	0.152*** (0.038)	0.001 (0.008)	0.025 (0.017)
Father years of schooling	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Mother years of schooling	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000* (0.000)
Wealth				
Second	-0.016 (0.015)	-0.009 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.002)
Fourth	0.006 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.014)	0.006 (0.007)	0.002 (0.003)
Highest	0.005 (0.020)	-0.032** (0.014)	0.023* (0.014)	0.001 (0.003)
Own house	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.016 (0.011)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Regions				
Urban Lower Egypt	0.035** (0.018)	0.009 (0.015)	0.012* (0.007)	0.000 (0.002)
Rural Lower Egypt	0.030* (0.015)	0.026* (0.014)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.002)
Urban Upper Egypt	0.054** (0.023)	0.012 (0.018)	0.025** (0.011)	0.002 (0.003)
Rural Upper Egypt	0.032* (0.018)	0.029* (0.016)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.002)
Frontier Governorates	-0.047*** (0.017)	-0.047*** (0.015)	-0.000 (0.006)	-0.000 (0.002)
Feeling unhappy	0.012 (0.011)	-0.001 (.)	0.005 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.001)
Level of worrying about future	-0.049*** (0.012)	-0.037*** (0.010)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.003* (0.002)
Squared level of worrying about future	0.005*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.001* (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)
Perceived corruption level	0.057*** (0.016)	0.050*** (0.015)	0.002 (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)
Squared perceived corruption level	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Having migrant in network	0.339*** (0.020)	0.255*** (0.019)	0.052*** (0.013)	0.011** (0.005)
N	8,356	8,356	8,356	8,356

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4: Marginal Effects - Migration Intentions among Youth 18-29

	(1) All Destinations	(2) Arab Countries	(3) Western Countries	(4) Permanent Migration
Base probability	.077	.061	.009	.004
Male	0.092*** (0.010)	0.070*** (0.009)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
Age	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Ever-married	-0.034*** (0.008)	-0.016** (0.007)	-0.010*** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.001)
Years of Schooling	0.004*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.001*** (0.000)	0.000* (0.000)
Employment				
Employer/self-employed	-0.025 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.015)	-0.008*** (0.002)	0.008 (0.007)
Unpaid family worker	0.004 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.014)	0.003 (0.006)	0.005 (0.005)
Unemployed	0.007 (0.011)	-0.002 (0.009)	0.005 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.002)
Out of labor force & student	-0.025*** (0.008)	-0.031*** (0.006)	0.007* (0.004)	-0.002* (0.001)
Out of labor force	-0.021 (0.013)	-0.021* (0.011)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.008** (0.004)
OLF X female	-0.055*** (0.015)	-0.047*** (0.013)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.000 (0.004)
Discouraged unemployed	0.112*** (0.030)	0.107*** (0.028)	0.001 (0.005)	0.024* (0.014)
Father years of schooling	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Mother years of schooling	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)
Wealth				
Second	-0.010 (0.010)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.002)
Third	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Fourth	0.004 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.009)	0.004 (0.004)	0.002 (0.002)
Highest	0.003 (0.013)	-0.020** (0.009)	0.015** (0.007)	0.001 (0.003)
Own house	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.007)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Regions				
Urban Lower Egypt	0.023* (0.012)	0.006 (0.010)	0.008** (0.004)	0.000 (0.002)
Rural Lower Egypt	0.019* (0.010)	0.016* (0.009)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.002)
Urban Upper Egypt	0.036** (0.016)	0.008 (0.012)	0.017** (0.007)	0.002 (0.003)
Rural Upper Egypt	0.021* (0.012)	0.019* (0.010)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Frontier Governorates	-0.030*** (0.010)	-0.029*** (0.009)	-0.000 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.002)
Having friends in Egypt	0.057*** (0.010)	0.048*** (0.008)	0.006* (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)
Feeling loved	-0.003 (0.024)	0.009 (0.019)	-0.007 (0.010)	-0.014 (0.011)
Feeling unhappy	0.008 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)
Level of worrying about future	-0.032*** (0.007)	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003** (0.001)
Squared level of worrying about future	0.003*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)
Perceived corruption level	0.037*** (0.010)	0.032*** (0.009)	0.001 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)
Squared perceived corruption level	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Having migrant in network	0.256*** (0.013)	0.184*** (0.011)	0.036*** (0.005)	0.010*** (0.003)
N	8,356	8,356	8,356	8,356

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: Determinants of Migration Intentions among Youth 15-29

	(1) All Destinations	(2) Arab Countries	(3) Western Countries	(4) Permanent Migration
Male	0.634*** (0.043)	0.641*** (0.048)	0.317*** (0.063)	0.149 (0.123)
Age	-0.023*** (0.006)	-0.022*** (0.006)	-0.016 (0.010)	-0.009 (0.017)
Ever-married	-0.149*** (0.051)	-0.076 (0.053)	-0.328*** (0.096)	-0.142 (0.126)
Years of Schooling	0.033*** (0.005)	0.028*** (0.006)	0.039*** (0.010)	0.033** (0.016)
Employment				
Employer/self-employed	-0.139 (0.138)	-0.116 (0.142)	-0.271 (0.303)	0.356 (0.239)
Unpaid family worker	0.175* (0.093)	0.101 (0.096)	0.269* (0.150)	0.341* (0.192)
Unemployed	0.127** (0.064)	0.075 (0.067)	0.206** (0.098)	-0.036 (0.150)
Out of labor force & student	-0.085* (0.051)	-0.203*** (0.055)	0.263*** (0.082)	-0.193 (0.149)
Out of labor force	-0.110 (0.081)	-0.139* (0.084)	0.017 (0.135)	-0.678** (0.284)
OLF X female	-0.377*** (0.095)	-0.333*** (0.100)	-0.298* (0.160)	0.073 (0.309)
Discouraged unemployed	0.517*** (0.100)	0.533*** (0.104)	0.116 (0.178)	0.749*** (0.244)
Father years of schooling	-0.000 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.004 (0.007)	0.020 (0.013)
Mother years of schooling	0.004 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.007)	-0.036*** (0.013)
Wealth				
Second	-0.022 (0.055)	-0.042 (0.057)	0.062 (0.102)	0.003 (0.167)
Third	0.015 (0.055)	-0.006 (0.057)	0.092 (0.098)	0.003 (0.164)
Fourth	0.103* (0.059)	0.023 (0.061)	0.265*** (0.101)	0.189 (0.166)
Highest	0.122* (0.070)	-0.065 (0.074)	0.472*** (0.115)	0.128 (0.199)
Own house	0.011 (0.043)	-0.032 (0.047)	0.099 (0.066)	-0.063 (0.114)
Regions				
Urban Lower Egypt	0.093 (0.057)	0.084 (0.063)	0.073 (0.083)	0.038 (0.152)
Rural Lower Egypt	0.118** (0.051)	0.168*** (0.055)	-0.075 (0.081)	0.029 (0.139)
Urban Upper Egypt	0.213*** (0.067)	0.083 (0.075)	0.344*** (0.092)	0.180 (0.172)
Rural Upper Egypt	0.209*** (0.057)	0.251*** (0.061)	-0.020 (0.092)	-0.019 (0.165)
Frontier Governorates	-0.152** (0.073)	-0.136* (0.079)	-0.118 (0.115)	-0.011 (0.197)
Having friends in Egypt	0.639*** (0.117)	0.637*** (0.129)	0.442** (0.208)	0.266 (0.320)
Feeling loved	-0.128 (0.119)	-0.101 (0.126)	-0.127 (0.187)	-0.590** (0.233)
Feeling unhappy	0.133*** (0.039)	0.090** (0.041)	0.152** (0.060)	0.010 (0.107)
Level of worrying about future	-0.180*** (0.039)	-0.114*** (0.041)	-0.225*** (0.057)	-0.239*** (0.092)
Squared level of worrying about future	0.016*** (0.003)	0.011*** (0.003)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.020*** (0.007)
Constant	-1.308*** (0.246)	-1.567*** (0.264)	-2.116*** (0.394)	-1.471** (0.644)
N	10,850	10,850	10,850	8,361

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1