What Makes Women Want to Leave?

Survey Results from Lebanon

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Abstract

Migration aspirations, the hope and ambition to leave the origin country, lie at the heart of self-selection into migration. This project investigates what shapes young women's aspirations to migrate. Based on a stylized model that integrates aspirations into a standard utility maximization problem, we postulate that individuals develop a desire to migrate if their aspirations cannot be locally fulfilled due to bad prospects and restrictive social environments. Furthermore, we investigate the role of women's networks. We conducted a nationally representative survey in August 2022 with 1500 women aged between 18 and 35, in Lebanon, a major country of emigration. We study the effects of aspirations in different dimensions, namely education, career, marriage and fertility. First, we find that the likelihood of aspiring migration increases with the share of the network planning to migrate. Furthermore, we find that having unlikely career or education aspirations is associated with a higher will to leave the country, while family aspirations do not affect the migration aspirations of young women. These elements support the findings of the theoretical model predicting that individuals with unlikely aspirations would be more likely to want to migrate.

Keywords: Migration, aspirations, young women, social networks
JEL codes: D01, D1, D91, I31, J1, O53, R23

1   Introduction

Aspirations, defined as the desire to achieve specific goals, are pivotal in shaping socio-economic outcomes such as educational achievements, economic empowerment, and business investment (Carlana et al., 2017; Dalton et al., 2018; La Ferrara, 2019). Conversely, a lack of aspirations acts as an internal psychological barrier keeping individuals from making productive investment decisions and risky choices (e.g., Appadurai, 2004; Ray, 2006). In the context of migration studies, aspirations, defined as the desire to leave one's country, are recognized as the key initial step that may lead to actual migration (Bertoli and Ruyssen, 2018; Creighton, 2013; Docquier et al., 2014; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2013). This perspective separates the factors influencing migration decision-making from the capabilities and constraints that determine the realization of these aspirations (Carling, 2002; Carling and Schewel, 2018; De Haas, 2021; Tjaden et al., 2010; Willekens, 2017).[1]

This project investigates what shapes young women's aspirations and expectations to migrate in Lebanon. It uses unique data from a nationally representative survey of 1500 women aged 18 to 35, covering information on their education, career, migration, and family outcomes and aspirations. Conducted in August 2022, amidst one of the most severe economic and financial crises, the survey reveals that more than 4 in 10 young women in Lebanon expressed a desire to migrate. While Lebanon has historically been a major country of emigration, such a finding is striking. It is however in line with the surge in emigration rates that the country witnessed after 2019, especially among the young and educated (Bisat et al., 2021; World Bank, 2020).

In fact, October 2019 represents a critical turning point for Lebanon, as the financial crisis became visible and tangible, marking the unfolding of an unprecedented economic and social collapse. This situation was further aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the devastating Beirut Port explosion, leading to a brutal contraction with the real

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[1]While evidence shows a correlation between migration aspirations and actual migration, it's important to note that not all who aspire to migrate eventually do so. This discrepancy is often due to practical considerations, opportunities, and constraints pertaining to the second step of the migration process, which is outside the scope of this paper.

GDP falling by more than 50% in just two years (Krayem et al., 2022)). A sharp currency depreciation has fueled hyperinflation, disproportionately affecting the poor and the middle class. Unemployment, poverty, and massive migration have been on the rise (World Bank, 2021). Amid these crises, young women might face amplified hardships due to pre-existing inequalities and vulnerabilities, leading many to consider emigration as a response.

Against this backdrop of severe crises at the country level, why do some young women aspire to migrate while others do not? This paper seeks to answer this question by exploring the individual and group-level factors driving migration aspirations and expectations. This paper focuses on how unlikely aspirations in different life dimensions can influence the willingness to migrate and the expectations of migrating. We do so by using a stylized model where individuals differ in the costs of migration they face, which depend on their social networks, and in the level of their aspirations. We focus on four dimensions of aspirations, namely career, education, marriage age (for never married women) and family size (for married women).

The framework suggests that the factors that shape migration decision-making need to be analyzed separately from the capabilities and constraints that determine the execution of the aspirations (Carling, 2002; Carling and Schewel, 2018; De Haas, 2021; Tjaden et al., 2010; Willekens, 2017).[2] First, we hypothesize that individuals who have more people in their social networks who plan to leave or have already left are likely to have increased aspirations and expectations to migrate, as this may reduce perceived migration costs. We also expect that individuals who are unable to fulfil their aspirations locally have a higher willingness to migrate. We use our data to investigate these two main predictions in the Lebanese context where, despite high educational attainment among young women, a large share remains economically inactive or unemployed.

First, looking at respondents' social networks, we find some evidence of a "role model effect" in migration aspirations. Among those who do not have anyone in their close

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[2]The "Aspiration/ability" model proposed by Carling (2002) or the "Aspirations-capabilities" framework of De Haas (2021) recognized a two-step process: (1) the formation of migration aspirations or preferences to leave one's country and (2) the practical realization of the aspirations, that is translating them into actual migration.

network who plan to migrate, 23% aspire to migrate. However, having some people in their network who plan to migrate bumps up the likelihood to aspire migration by 15 percentage points. This increase in aspiration likelihood from not knowing anyone to knowing some is higher than any increase afterwards. Moreover, we investigate how the probability of the close network achieving their migration aspirations relates to respondents' migration aspirations. We find that having few in the respondent's network with a job abroad, compared to not having any, is associated with an increase in the likelihood to aspire migration by 13 percentage points.

Second, our results highlight the importance of different dimensions of life aspirations in determining women's migration aspirations and expectations. We find that having career or education aspirations judged as unlikely to be fulfilled is positively associated with migration aspirations, while family aspirations are uncorrelated with migration aspirations and expectations. Unlikely career aspirations are associated with a 17 percentage point increase in the likelihood of aspiring migration. Similarly, having unlikely education aspirations is associated with an increase in the likelihood of aspiring migration of 22.8 percentage points. Conversely, having unlikely marriage aspirations for unmarried women (marrying at their ideal age of marriage) or unlikely family size aspirations for married women does not have a significant relationship with migration aspirations.

This project contributes to the extensive literature addressing the question of the determinants and factors influencing the formation of migration aspirations. Scholars have pinpointed various driving forces at different levels: the macro level, which includes country-specific factors (Black et al., 2011; Berlinschi and Harutyunyan, 2019; Carling et al., 2020; Etling et al., 2020; Hiskey et al., 2014; Van Mol, 2016); the micro level, focusing on individual characteristics (Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018; Migali and Scipioni, 2019; Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith and Floro, 2020; Van Dalen et al., 2005; Williams et al., 2018); and an intermediate level that encompasses community dynamics, social networks, and cultural norms (Auer and Schaub, 2023; Bastianon, 2019; Docquier et al., 2014; Mesple-Somps and Nilsson, 2023; Van Dalen et al., 2005). Notably, migrant networks and access to informa-

tion about migration have a notable influence on migration aspirations. Connections with relatives and friends abroad often heighten the appeal of migrating (Bertoli and Ruyssen, 2018; Docquier et al., 2014), especially when remittances are involved. Conversely, strong social and family ties in the home country can deter aspirations to migrate (Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018). Moreover, awareness of migration risks and the stigma associated with unsuccessful returns may reduce the intentions to migrate (Auer and Schaub, 2023; Tjaden and Dunsch, 2021). This paper highlights the importance of the migration plans of the social network, beyond the actual migration patterns observed in the network. We show that having more people planning to leave is positively associated with the aspirations (and expectations) to migrate. Our theoretical model explains this correlation by the decrease in the cost of migrating associated with a higher share of the network that wants to leave.

We also contribute to this literature by looking at factors influencing both migration aspirations and migration expectations. We define aspirations to migrate as the desire to leave the country recognizing that the concept of "migration aspirations" covers diverse cognitive and emotional states towards the possibility of migrating.[3] In the literature, it is not uncommon to see the terms aspirations to migrate and intentions to migrate used interchangeably (Carling and Schewel, 2018; Mesple-Somps and Nilsson, 2023; Williams et al., 2018). In this paper, we distinguish between the aspirations and the intentions to migrate, which include the planning or preparation for migration (Cirillo et al., 2022; Creighton, 2013; Grubanov-Boskovic et al., 2021; Migali and Scipioni, 2019). Moreover, we define migration expectations as reporting a high likelihood of leaving the country in the next five years. This analysis therefore helps to identify the common and specific factors explaining each of the desire to move abroad, and the perceived likelihood of achieving this migration aspiration.

Additionally, this paper contributes to the literature examining the role played by

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[3]Studies working on migration aspirations use several definitions which encompass desires, preferences, willingness, wants and wishes, consideration, expectations, and likelihood. Each term represents specific nuances of thoughts and feelings about potential migration, which scholars have attempted to capture through survey questions (Aslany et al., 2021; Carling et al., 2020; Carling and Schewel, 2018) or innovative techniques (Böhme et al., 2020).

expectations about the future in determining whether people want to migrate. While the evidence is not entirely conclusive, there is support for the notion that individuals who anticipate positive changes in their current environment are less likely to aspire to migrate (Agadjanian et al., 2008; Berlinschi and Harutyunyan, 2019; Chindarkar, 2014; Dustmann and Okatenko, 2014; Efendic, 2016; Hiskey et al., 2014; Migali and Scipioni, 2019). In this paper, we find that expectations of future prospects are positively related to migration aspirations and expectations. We also delve into the role of different dimensions of life aspirations and frustration in determining migration aspirations and expectations. We modify the definition of life aspirations adopted in Detlefsen et al. (2022) to take into account the multiple dimensions of these aspirations, notably educational, career and family aspirations. By studying the heterogeneous effects of unlikely aspirations in each of these dimensions on the desire to migrate and the likelihood of achieving this migration; We show that while some life aspirations, notably career and education aspirations, are relevant for understanding the drivers of migration aspirations, family aspirations are uncorrelated with migration desire.

Finally, this paper contributes literature focusing on determinants of youth emigration from Lebanon and the wider Middle East North Africa (MENA) region. Various individual and context-related factors influencing Arab youth migration decisions have been explored in the literature (Dennison, 2022; Dibeh et al., 2018, 2019; Etling et al., 2020; Ramos, 2019). Yet, although some have tackled the gender effect noting a higher migration tendency among young men, there is a noticeable lack of research specifically focused on young women. The influence of country conditions, social networks, and individual factors on the migration aspirations of young women remains largely unexplored. More particularly, there appears to be a notable gap in academic literature exploring the dynamics of women's emigration from Lebanon. Even before the 2019 events, research on Lebanese emigration determinants and aspirations was already limited. Our paper investigates the shifts in emigration aspirations among young women within a backdrop of severe financial, economic and political crises at the country level.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: the next section discusses prior research on migration trends in the specific context of Lebanon. Section 3 describes the stylized model we use to guide the empirical analysis. Section 4 presents our unique data. Then, we divide the results into two sections: Section 5 analyzes our findings on social networks and role models. Section 6 presents the results for unlikely aspirations and future prospects. Finally, the paper concludes with a synthesis of our key insights, discussing their broader implications.

2   Lebanese Context

Lebanon presents an interesting case study, not only due to its longstanding emigration history but also owing to the recent severe economic and social collapse. This has precipitated a new massive wave of emigration. Lebanon's emigration, dating back to the 19th century, has been chronicled through distinct waves influenced by political, social, and economic factors (Jozami, 1995; Tabar, 2010). While they vary in intensity, these waves are not isolated but rather interconnected phenomena with each wave peaking in response to significant downturns in Lebanon's stability, such as those following October 2019 (Mendelek, 2022).

Starting in the 90s, the trend of migration in Lebanon changed with a rise in highly educated youth and skilled workers leaving the country in pursuit of better education and employment opportunities overseas (Akl et al., 2007, 2008; Dibeh et al., 2018; Menhem, 2015; Tabar, 2010). This period has also seen a rise in the number of women emigrating, along with a diversification in their reasons for leaving. Previously, women primarily emigrated for family reunification, often accompanying their husbands, or joining other family members abroad. However, women have been increasingly leaving Lebanon for a variety of reasons, including further education, employment opportunities, and other personal aspirations (Kasparian, 2010).

The wave post-2019 has been particularly remarkable, with emigration rates soaring

in the aftermath of compounded political and economic crises, further exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the devastating Beirut port explosion. The number of emigrants rose more than fourfold within a single year, between 2020 and 2021, especially among the young and educated (Bisat et al., 2021), World Bank (2020). Warnings have been raised that this wave of mass emigration could drain the country's youth and human capital, particularly high-skilled professionals (Ali, 2023; Sheikh Moussa, 2022; Taha, 2021). In our survey, more than four in ten young women reported that they want to leave the country.

Moreover, Lebanon is an interesting context to study women's education, career and family aspirations. The average educational attainment of women is high: among the 1500 women interviewed, aged 18-35, 37.3% have started or completed tertiary education and 27.6% are currently continuing their secondary education. Yet, a large share of women is inactive: Of those not in education, 48.8% state being inactive and 13.6% are unemployed. Furthermore, a large share of women transition from education to inactivity. Indeed, we find that only 15.2% of inactive women currently want a job.

3   Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical framework relies on the framework developed by Detlefsen et al. (2022). It adds aspirations, modelled as in the aspiration/ability model of Carling (2002) or the aspirations-capability framework of De Haas (2021), into the standard utility maximization framework. Individuals in our model have aspirations on different life dimensions. These might be career, educational and family goals that they want to achieve in their life. It also includes a wealth level they want to achieve. They compare these aspirations to their current situation or the situation they expect in the near future. When their situation is below the level they aspire they have *unlikely aspirations*. Individuals consider if their aspirations can be fulfilled locally or when migrating. Locally unfulfilled aspirations lead to a wish to migrate when individuals believe that abroad they can fulfil these aspirations. We also add that the migration costs depend on the individual's network: how many other

people within their network plan to migrate, and how many people in their network have already migrated.

Women compare the net present value of migration to the country of destination (d) – NPV^d – to the value of staying in their country of origin (o) – NPV^o. Let's define the decision to migrate as $m = 1$, and to stay as $m = 0$. Women thus maximize:

$$max_{m \in \{1,0\}} m NPV^d + (1-m) NPV^o \qquad (1)$$

We consider the cost of migrating C^M which depends on the individuals' network (N^M how many other people want to leave, how many in their network have already migrated). We define the living conditions in the origin and destination countries as x^o and x^d, respectively. The living conditions are defined on different dimensions: wealth level (x_w), personal career (x_c), education (x_e) and family (x_f), such that

$$x = \begin{pmatrix} x_w \\ x_c \\ x_e \\ x_f \end{pmatrix} \qquad (2)$$

The net present values of staying in the origin country and of migration are thus:

$$NPV^o = U(x^o) \qquad (3)$$

$$NPV^d = U(x^d) - C^M(N^M) \qquad (4)$$

We assume that the costs of migration are decreasing in migration aspirations and experience within the individual's network ($\frac{\partial C^M(N^M)}{\partial N^M} < 0$). From this, it straightforwardly follows that:

Proposition 1. *Social networks influence migration aspirations: Having more people planning to leave or knowing people who have already left decreases the cost of migrating and*

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thus increases the aspirations (and expectations) to migrate.

As in Detlefsen et al. (2022), we integrate life aspirations into the expected utility framework. Women have aspirations which are modelled as reference points or levels they want to achieve. They have these aspirations on the different dimensions (wealth, career, education and family), denoted x_w^A, x_c^A, x_e^A, x_f^A. Women receive an additional utility bonus when they reach each of these aspirations, denoted:

$$U^A = \begin{pmatrix} U_w^A \\ U_c^A \\ U_e^A \\ U_f^A \end{pmatrix} \tag{5}$$

Each of these bonus utilities is positive only if the living conditions the aspiration threshold:

$$U_w^A = \begin{cases} u_w^A & \text{if } x_w \geq x_w^A \\ 0 & \text{if } x_w < x_w^A \end{cases}$$

$$U_c^A = \begin{cases} u_c^A & \text{if } x_c \geq x_c^A \\ 0 & \text{if } x_c < x_c^A \end{cases}$$

$$U_e^A = \begin{cases} u_e^A & \text{if } x_e \geq x_e^A \\ 0 & \text{if } x_e < x_e^A \end{cases}$$

$$U_f^A = \begin{cases} u_f^A & \text{if } x_f \geq x_f^A \\ 0 & \text{if } x_f < x_f^A \end{cases}$$

(6)

When making a migration decision, women compare the utility level they will achieve

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locally and in the destination country. They take into account whether their aspiration levels can be locally fulfilled and if they can be fulfilled in the destination country. When they expect the aspirations not to be fulfilled locally, but in the destination country, this can push them over the migration threshold where the gains from migration are higher than the costs. Thus, two individuals with the same measurable local conditions - but with one having higher aspirations that they do not believe to be fulfilled locally - can have different migration intentions.

Proposition 2. *Aspirations that are judged unlikely to be fulfilled locally can lead to migration aspirations (and expectations) if they believe they can be fulfilled abroad.*

In which dimension the individual has unlikely aspirations also matters as they are compared to how likely they can be fulfilled abroad. Career and wealth aspirations might be more likely to be fulfilled abroad when the economic situation is (judged as) bad. On the other hand, high family aspirations might not lead to the same conclusion as fulfilling them abroad might be equally judged as difficult.

4   Methodology and Data

We use individual survey data collected from 1500 women aged between 18 and 35 in August 2022 in Lebanon. This unique dataset is nationally representative of women in this age bracket and followed a robust sampling methodology based on geographical distribution, per governorate, per district, and per "Circonscription Foncière" (i.e. the smallest administrative and official geographic unit). All surveyors were women, surveys were conducted in Arabic and women participating in the survey were drawn randomly drawn from the household roster among those with their primary residence.

The face-to-face interviews covered information on the household, socio-economic background, and importantly, information on different dimensions including the respondents' career, education, migration and family outcomes, as well as their aspirations and expectations. It also covered different individual or household-level shocks that might have

occurred in the past three years (death in the family, damage due to the Beirut port explosion). Finally, it covered individual and group-level social norms.

Appendix table 4 displays the main variables used in the analysis. Within the sample of surveyed women, the average age of women in our survey is 25.79 years old. Most women either live with their parents (58.89%) or with their husbands (35.38%). Only 0.5% live by themselves. The sample is highly educated: 37% have obtained a tertiary degree, 42% have completed secondary education and 33.38% are still in education.[4] Only 28.25% of all respondents are currently working for a paid job.[5] Among those working, 19.39% are employed in the private or public sectors. 15.72% of women declare being unemployed and 43.57% are inactive (among those, 10.99% are in education).

Most of the respondents are Lebanese (89%) – the survey focused on residents and was not conducted in refugee camps. Still, we find that 7.46% of respondents have Syrian nationality, and 2.53% are Palestinian. Concerning their family status, 56.8% of our sample are unmarried, 39% married and 4.14% divorced or widowed. Finally, 66% have no children, 11.9 % have one child, 14.4% have two children, and 7.33% have more than two children.

Our two main outcome variables are migration aspirations and migration expectations. The migration aspiration variable is a dummy variable equal to one if the respondent answered "Yes" to the survey question "Do you want to leave the country today?". It focuses on aspirations for international migration outside of the country in August 2022. We find that 41.11% of women in our sample want to internationally. For the migration expectations, it is a dummy equal to one if the woman answered "Very Likely" or "Likely" to the question "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve this migration goal in the next five years?". 16.06% of our sample report that it is likely or very likely for them to leave the country in the next five years. Out of the 617 women who aspire to migrate, 39.06% of them expect to achieve this migration.

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[4]56.44% of secondary school graduates (both technical and general secondary) are continuing their education.

[5]24.05% of respondents are working for a paid job and are not in education.

5 Migration Intentions and Experience within the Respondent's Network

5.1 Defining and measuring networks' Intentions and Experience

In the survey, we asked respondents about the distribution of different socio-economic outcomes in their close networks. The network was described as the current family members and friends of the respondent. More specifically, we ask respondents to answer the question "From a scale of 1 (no one) to 5 (almost everyone), in your social network, how many are planning to leave Lebanon?". Based on respondents' answers, we construct a measure of the network's migration intention. We also build a measure of the network's migration experience based on the question "From a scale of 1 (no one) to 5 (almost everyone), in your social network, how many have found a job outside Lebanon?". We hypothesize that the more people in the network intend to migrate the more likely the respondent will want to migrate as well. The same holds for respondents with people in their social network who have secured employment abroad.

To understand the relationship between the network's migration intentions and experience influence the respondent's migration aspirations, we estimate the following equation:

$$y_{ik} = \alpha_1 Share_i + \alpha_2 Gov_i + \alpha_3 G_i + \alpha_4 X_i + \alpha_5 Z_i + \alpha_6 N_i + \epsilon_{ik} \tag{7}$$

y_{ik} is the indicator for migration aspirations of woman i living in district k. This is a dummy variable if she states wanting to migrate in August 2022 and 0 otherwise. $Share_i$ captures the share of the social network that intends to migrate or that secured a job abroad. We include governorate fixed effects (Gov_i).

We use four vectors of control variables for the different specifications. First, we include group-level controls (nationality and religion of the respondent) G_i. Second, we add individual-level controls X_i. These include an indicator for the respondent's level of education, a health indicator (based on self-declared health status), an indicator for ever having

worked, an indicator for currently working, an indicator for ever married, the number of children, her living arrangements, and a wealth index built using Principal Component Analysis (PCA).[6] Third, we add parental controls Z_i. These include the father's highest education level, the mother's highest education level and an indicator equal to one if the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Due to some matching issues between the household roster and the individual survey, we have missing observations for those. Finally, we include social norm control variables N_i. This includes a dummy equal to one if the respondent gives high importance to the opinion of her family and friends and a conservatism index constructed using PCA that indicates the level of conservatism in her social network.[7] The standard errors is clustered at the district level.

In the theoretical setup, we postulate that a higher share of the networks planning to leave decreases own cost of migration. There can be different channels for this relationship: First, one needs to know about the option to migrate to develop migration aspirations. For this, people need a "role model". Indeed, role models have proven effective in raising aspirations (e.g., Beaman et al., 2012; Bernard et al., 2019; Ferrara et al., 2012). Second, migrating might mean leaving one's social network, such as family and friends behind, which imposes costs that might be psychological but also financial. These costs decrease if the family and friends are also aspiring to migrate. Yet, the costs of integrating into a new country are reduced when one already has connections there. We thus expect the social network to matter not only for migration aspirations but also for migration expectations.

5.2 Results

We find that the network's migration intentions are highly predictive of the respondent's migration aspirations, as displayed in table 1. We find that among those who do not

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[6]The wealth index is composed of key asset ownership variables such as durable goods, households amenities and the number of rooms, and is used as a proxy indicator of household level wealth.

[7]The conservatism index relies on seven questions where respondents were asked about their social networks' preferences. More particularly, seven statements were given and the respondents needed to indicate the share of her social network (No one (1) to Most (5)) who agrees, from which: "Boys and girls should be equally prioritized in education, including higher education."; "There must be a priority in getting jobs for men than women, when there are less employment opportunities."; "Boys and men should help more with domestic work as much as girls and women do."; "Women should get married."; etc.

Table 1: Determinants of Migration Aspirations: Network's Migration Intentions

| | Dependent variable: Aspiration to migrate | | | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.153**	0.152**	0.159**	0.158**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.195***	0.189***	0.198***	0.204***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.290***	0.285***	0.310***	0.308***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.386***	0.382***	0.398***	0.397***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.363***	0.360***	0.378***	0.376***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parents Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1501	1500	1151	1141

Note: Baseline level: "Network Migration Intentions": 1 (No one in your network plans to migrate). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $< p$ .01. Dependent variable is an indicator for migration aspirations based on the question "Do you want to leave the country today?". Network migration intentions are based on the question "From a scale of 1 (no one) to 5 (almost everyone), in your social network, how many are planning to leave Lebanon?". The network migration intention index maps the scale to a linear index from 0 to 1. Group controls include: nationality and religion. Individual controls include: highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Social norm controls include an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends and a conservatism index.

have anyone in their close network who intends to migrate, 22.7% aspire to migrate. The likelihood of aspiring to migrate is significantly positively related to the share of the network indenting to migrate in all specifications. The jump is the highest between the baseline level (no one in the network plans to migrate) and the next step ("Network Migration Intentions: 2"), interpreted as some or few within the network intending to migrate: between 15 and 16 percentage points. Afterwards, the coefficient steadily increases with a slope between 5

to 10 percentage points.

These findings support the role model effect to some extent. The high baseline aspiration levels indicate that the idea of migration is widely recognized even without direct influences from one's immediate social network. Still, having some people in the network who intend to migrate is associated with a sharp increase in migration aspiration levels. This suggests that having even a few people in one's network who plan to migrate can significantly boost migration aspirations, with diminishing incremental effects as the share of potential migrants in their network grows.

Next, we investigate the relationship between the share of close network members achieving their migration aspirations and the respondent's migration aspirations. The results are displayed in Table 2. Again, we find that having a social network where some have found a job abroad is highly predictive of migration aspirations. At the baseline level, among those who do not have anyone in their social network who found a job abroad, 33.24% of women aspire to migrate. This increases by 12 percentage points when some have found a job abroad. The predicted likelihood to aspire migration among those who state that most of their network found a job abroad ("Network Experience: 4") is 50.15%.

One should note that the relationship captured is not necessarily causal: an exogenous increase in the network migration intention might not lead to such a significant increase in migration aspirations. Factors that are not captured in the control variables can drive both outcomes. For example, the family might have a long history of migration in the past or their neighbourhood which shapes both the family's attitudes towards migration and their connection abroad as well as the respondent's aspirations. Furthermore, the social network is not exogenous as it includes friendships that might be based on a common set of attitudes, including being open to moving abroad.

Furthermore, when analyzing the expectation to migrate (that is the likelihood of migrating within 5 years), we find similar results to a certain extent. Table 6 in the Appendix shows the results for the social network's migration intentions. When everyone in one's network plans to migrate, the predicted migration likelihood is 14 percentage points higher

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Table 2: Determinants of Wanting to Migrate: Network's Migration Experience

| | Dependent variable: Aspiration to migrate | | | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Experience from 1 to 4				
Network experience: 2	0.127**	0.131**	0.128**	0.126*
	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Network experience: 3	0.102*	0.101*	0.105*	0.108*
	(0.024)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.021)
Network experience: 4				
(More than 75% of your network found a job abroad)	0.242***	0.251***	0.280***	0.282***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Experience Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Experience Index	0.206***	0.214***	0.239***	0.243***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parents Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1501	1500	1151	1141

Note: Baseline level: "Network Migration Experience": 1 (No one in your network found a job abroad). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $< p$ .01. Dependent variable is an indicator for migration aspirations based on the question "Do you want to leave the country today?". Network Migration Experience are based on the question "From a scale of 1 (no one) to 5 (almost everyone), in your social network, how many have found a job outside Lebanon?". The network migration experience index maps the scale to a linear index from 0 to 1. Group controls include: nationality and religion. Individual controls include: highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Social norm controls include an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends and a conservatism index.

compared to not knowing anyone. We also find that having a large share of the respondent's network who found a job abroad is associated with an increase in migration expectations by 13 to 17 percentage points (Table 7 in the Appendix).

6 Unlikely life aspirations

6.1 Defining and measuring unlikely aspirations

Beyond migration aspirations, the survey also explores the aspirations of young Lebanese women in different dimensions of their lives, namely education, employment, marriage and fertility. This section aims to understand the relationship between these life aspirations and migration aspirations and expectations. We measure currently unfulfilled aspiration as the respondent wanting to (i) change their employment status or job, (ii) continue education, and (iii) get married at an ideal age (for unmarried women) or achieve their ideal number of children (for married women). We denote these (i) career, (ii) education, and (iii) family aspirations. We thus assume that women who do not indicate such a goal have already achieved their life aspirations in these dimensions.

Furthermore, we ask them to state how likely they believe they will realize these aspiration levels in the next five years. For example, 20.11% of our sample aspire to a new employment status or occupation in 2022. We combine this with their expectation to concretely achieve this in the next five years. If the respondent answered very unlikely or unlikely, she is considered to have unlikely career aspirations. We hypothesize that unlikely career aspirations are positively correlated with migration aspirations as they might believe that, contrary to staying in Lebanon where they will not fulfil their aspirations, they can be fulfilled abroad. However, this might also be reflective of them being pessimistic of the future economic situation and they will reach their desired wealth level abroad but not locally. The hypothesis is in line with the literature showing that labor market situation, unemployment ratio and job opportunities can drive migration aspirations (Aslany et al., 2021; Van Mol, 2016).

Similarly, for education, respondents who have unlikely aspirations are those who want to pursue their education to achieve a higher level but judge reaching this goal as unlikely. Indeed, 40.57% of our sample want to continue their education – this is conditional on being still in education or having graduated recently (after 2016) with at least secondary

school. Again, We expect that unlikely education aspirations locally would increase the migration aspiration of respondents if the respondent thinks she can better achieve them abroad.

For the family dimension, we consider two types of aspirations. The first one is relevant for those never married and looks at their aspirations in terms of marriage age. A woman with unlikely marriage-age aspirations in 2022 is either a woman who was never married in 2019 and did not get married at her ideal age or a woman who is never married in 2022, and wants to marry but does not think she will get married by her ideal age. The second family dimension variable focuses on married women and their aspirations about their ideal number of children. Having unlikely family size aspirations is a dummy equal to one if the woman is married, has a desired number of children different from the number of children she currently has (29.52% of married women aspire for a change in their nuclear family size) and reports that it is unlikely or very unlikely to achieve this ideal family size in the next five years.

From the theoretical model, we understand that only aspirations that are judged unlikely to be fulfilled in the origin country but are judged are more likely to be fulfilled when migrating, increase migration aspirations and intentions. The effect of this dimension thus crucially depends on the factors that keep women from reaching their family goals and what migration would change about them. In the literature, marital status is found to have mixed effects on migration aspirations. Still, the most pronounced tendency is for a negative relation between marriage and migration aspirations (Agadjanian et al., 2008; Berlinschi and Harutyunyan, 2019; Chindarkar, 2014; Crisan et al., 2019; Graham and Markowitz, 2011; Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018; Migali and Scipioni, 2019; Sadiddin et al., 2019)). For marriage aspirations, one could expect that the ability to achieve this aspiration would not increase with migration, on the contrary, it might be reduced by the lack of networks and co-ethnics. Similarly, we can expect that the perceived capacity to achieve ideal family size aspirations does not necessarily increase with migration. In the literature, the prospect of leaving children behind reduces migration aspirations, but pro-

viding better opportunities for them often motivates migration (Agadjanian et al., 2008; J Carling and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

To test these predictions, we estimate the following equation for each of the life aspiration dimensions, similar to the one in section 5.1:

$$y_{ik} = \beta_1 Unlikely\_aspirations_{id} + \beta_2 Gov_i + \beta_3 G_i + \beta_4 X_i + \beta_5 Z_i + \beta_6 N_i + \beta_7 S_i + e_{ik}. \quad (8)$$

y_{ik} is the indicator for migration aspirations of woman i living in district k wants to migrate and 0 otherwise. $Unlikely\_aspirations_{id}$ is the indicator that respondent i has unlikely aspirations in dimension d of her life aspirations, and 0 otherwise. The four dimensions considered, as described above, are employment, education, marriage age (for never-married women) and family size (for married women). The fixed effect structure and the control variables are the same as in section 5. We only add one new set of controls on idiosyncratic shocks S_i. These include an indicator for being or having a family member or a close friend been victim of physical violence or crime since October 2019, an indicator for having a family member severely ill or who died since October 2019, an indicator for having a family member who lost their job since October 2019, an indicator for a loss in purchasing power of the respondent's household since October 2019 and an indicator for being or having a family member harmed by the explosion of the Beirut port in 2022 or if their property was lost. We focus on two specifications: (i) with the full set of controls and (ii) all controls excluding parental controls as they induce a drop in the sample size.

6.2 Results

Table 3 summarizes the results for regressing migration aspirations on having unlikely aspirations for our three dimensions. First, we find that having unlikely career aspirations is significantly associated with an increase in migration aspirations (columns 1 and 2). Unlikely career aspirations increase the predicted likelihood of aspiring migration by more than 15 percentage points. Second, unlikely education aspirations are also positively

associated with migration aspirations (columns 3 and 4). Having unlikely education aspirations is associated with an increase in the likelihood of wanting to migrate by more than 22 percentage points. Yet, when it comes to unlikely family aspirations, both unfulfilled marriage-age aspirations and unlikely ideal family size aspirations, are not significantly related to migration aspirations (columns 5 to 8).

Table 3: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Aspirations

	Dependent variable: Aspiration to migrate							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.155***	0.168***						
	(0.005)	(0.001)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.224***	0.230***				
			(0.000)	(0.000)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.041	-0.068		
					(0.450)	(0.224)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.097	0.127
							(0.171)	(0.293)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Other Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Idiosyncratic Shocks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1492	1143	1470	1125	762	654	628	425
R^2	0.126	0.130	0.124	0.126	0.161	0.170	0.147	0.197

p-values are in parentheses * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Note: Dependent variable is an indicator for migration aspirations based on the question "Do you want to leave the country today?". Unlikely Career Aspirations are based on both "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your desired employment status in the next five years ?" and "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your desired occupation in the next five years ?". Unlikely Education Aspirations are based on "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your desired educational level in the next five years ?". Unlikely Marriage Aspirations are based on "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your wanted age in the next five years?", asked to never married respondents. Unlikely Family size Aspirations are based on "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your ideal family size in the next five years?", asked to married respondents. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Other controls include: nationality, religion, an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends, a conservatism index, highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Idiosyncratic shocks controls include an indicator for being exposed to crime or physical violence since October 2019, an indicator for having a family member severely ill or who died since Oct. 2019, an indicator for having a family member who lost their job since Oct. 2019, an indicator for a loss in purchasing power in the household since Oct. 2019 and an indicator for having a family member harmed by the explosion of the Beirut port or if property was lost.

We also run the same regression with migration expectation as the outcome variable, summarised in table 8 in the appendix. We find that having unlikely career aspirations is positively associated with migration expectation: the predicted likelihood of expecting migration increases by around 9 percentage points. Again, unlikely family aspirations, including age at marriage and family size, are not found to be correlated with migration expectations. Interestingly, we find that the positive association of unlikely education aspirations which is the strongest for migration aspirations, does not home for migration expectations. Having unlikely education aspiration is unrelated to migration expectations in our specifications.

On the other hand, it seems that pessimism with regard to future prospects in the origin country is positively associated with migration aspirations and expectations: the more pessimistic the respondent is about the economic situation, the higher their migration aspirations (Table 9 in the Appendix). We find that respondents who believe that the situation will deteriorate a little in the country have a higher likelihood of aspiring migration by 29 percentage points, while those who think it will deteriorate a lot see this likelihood increase by 36 percentage points. Furthermore, Table 10 in the Appendix shows that expectations on future prospects are associated with the expectation to migrate: When expectations about future prospects are very bad, the probability of reporting a high expectation to migrate increases by about 22 percentage points. Moreover, being optimistic about how the living conditions will evolve over the next five years in Lebanon is associated with a significant decrease in the expectation to migrate by 7 percentage points. Thereby, having negative expectations of future prospects increases the likelihood of wanting to migrate and the expectation to migrate. Moreover, being optimistic about the future is significantly associated with a decrease in migration expectations.

7 Conclusions and Policy Implications

Our results support the role model effect to some extent. We find that migration aspirations and expectations are positively and significantly associated with the migration plans of their self-declared social networks. This is in line with our theoretical framework that links higher shares of the network planning to leave with lower migration costs and therefore higher migration aspirations.

Additionally, we find that having unlikely career or education aspirations is associated with a higher will to leave the country and a higher expectation to achieve migration in the near future. On the other hand, family aspirations do not affect the migration aspirations of young women in Lebanon. These elements also support the findings of the theoretical model: Individuals with local unlikely life aspirations, which they expect to fulfil in the destination country, are more likely to want to migrate.

Building on these insights, our study suggests several policy implications and recommendations. First, initiatives aimed at improving local career and educational opportunities for young women could significantly reduce their inclination to migrate. By aligning educational and career prospects more closely with the aspirations of young women, it may be possible to decrease the drive towards migration as an alternative for achieving personal and professional goals.

Additionally, addressing the factors that contribute to the perception of unlikely career or educational success is vital. This may involve enhancing access to quality education, providing career guidance, ensuring equal opportunities in the job market, and protecting young women from the disproportionate impact of the economic crisis.

It also entails addressing long-lasting barriers to womenâs participation in the workforce such as discrimination, accessibility of care services, regional disparities such as discrimination, the accessibility of care services, and regional disparities in development, education, and employment opportunities (Bou Khater et al., 2023).

Furthermore, given the strong influence of social networks on migration aspirations,

such initiatives should not focus solely on young women. Strategies to stabilize and reform the Lebanese economy should prioritize sectors that offer promising opportunities to all citizens, including young women. This inclusive approach is vital for curbing the ongoing wave of migration that is depleting the country's human capital.

Apart from the practical implications for Lebanon, our findings offer valuable insights for researchers and policymakers interested in understanding the drivers of migration. They underscore the role of life aspirations and group influences in shaping migration aspirations, suggesting a need for a comprehensive approach in policy making. Such an approach should address the multifaceted dynamics of migration, acknowledging the interplay of individual goals and social influences.

The next step of this project is to deepen our understanding of how social network composition and outcomes are correlated with life aspiration formation in different dimensions. We have information on the distribution of employment and education outcomes among the close self-declared networks of the respondents. We plan on using this information to test the hypothesis that a higher-achieving social network might lead to higher life aspirations.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Additional tables

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics

	Frequency	Percent
Dummy For Migration Aspiration		
Want to migrate	617	41.11
Otherwise	884	58.89
Dummy For High Migration Likelihood		
Likely to achieve migration	241	16.06
Otherwise	1,260	83.94
Highest Education Level		
Post-Secondary Education	560	37.31
Secondary Education	636	42.37
Intermediate Education	174	11.59
Primary or less	131	8.73
Religion		
Maronite	296	19.72
Sunni	435	28.98
Shia	465	30.98
Druze	138	9.19
Orthodox	80	5.33
Other religious minorities	64	4.26
No answers	23	1.53
Nationality		
Lebanese	1,347	89.74
Palestinian	38	2.53
Syrian	112	7.46
Other Nationality	4	0.27
Age Category		
Aged between 18 and 20 yo	384	25.58
Aged between 21 and 25 yo	326	24.98
Aged between 26 and 30 yo	112	21.72
Aged between 31 and 35 yo	416	27.71
Dummy for Feeling Unhealthy		
Feels Unhealthy	60	4.00
Otherwise	1,440	96.00
Dummy for Having Ever Worked		
Ever worked	601	40.04
Never worked	900	59.96
Dummy for Being Currently Employed		
Currently Employed	424	28.25
Otherwise	1,077	71.75
Living Arrangement		
Living with spouse only	531	35.38
Living with her parent/s	884	58.89
Other	86	5.73
Dummy for Being Ever Married		
Ever Married	647	43.10
Never Married	854	56.90
Number of Children		
No children	996	66.36
One child	179	11.93
Two children	216	14.39
More than two children	110	7.33
Wealth Index		
Poorest quintile	301	20.05
Second wealth quintile	300	19.99
Third wealth quintile	301	20.05
Fourth wealth quintile	337	22.45

	Frequency	Percent
Richest quintile	262	17.46
Father's Highest Education Level		
Post-Secondary Education	136	11.14
Secondary Education	340	27.85
Intermediate Education	336	7.52
Primary or less	409	33.50
Missing Observations	280	
Mother's Highest Education Level		
Post-Secondary Education	134	10.04
Secondary Education	347	25.99
Intermediate Education	406	30.41
Primary or less	448	33.56
Missing Observations	166	
Dummy for Mother Having a Paid Job		
Mother has worked for a paid job	264	17.65
Otherwise	1,232	82.35
Missing Observations	5	
The Importance of the Opinion of Family and Friends		
Not important at all	60	4.00
Not important	258	17.19
Indifferent	381	25.38
Important	523	34.84
Very Important	272	18.12
Other	7	0.47
Conservatism Index in Social Network		
Very Conservative	300	20.16
Conservative	307	20.63
Middle	348	23.39
Liberal	276	18.55
Very Liberal	257	17.27
Missing Observations	13	

Survey conducted on 1501 women in Lebanon in August 2022.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics on Idiosyncratic shocks

	Frequency	Percent
Dummy For Experiencing Crime or Physical Violence		
Victim of violence	52	3.46
Otherwise	1,449	96.54
Dummy For a Drop in Purchasing Power		
Household lost purchasing power	916	61.03
Otherwise	585	38,97
Dummy for Exposure to the Beirut port explosion		
Household lost property or members were harmed	113	7.53
Otherwise	1,388	92.47
Dummy for Having a Family Member Losing their job		
Family member lost job	225	14.99
Otherwise	1276	85,01
Dummy for Having a Family Member Severely Ill or Dying		
Family member was ill or died	159	10.59
Otherwise	11,342	89.41

Survey conducted on 1501 women in Lebanon in August 2022.

Table 6: Determinants of Higher Likelihood to Migrate: Network's Migration Intentions

	Dependent variable: Likelihood to migrate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.0640*	0.0586*	0.0602	0.0567
	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.069)	(0.098)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.0789**	0.0743**	0.0776**	0.0828**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.140***	0.133***	0.156***	0.155***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.136**	0.130**	0.147***	0.149***
	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.134**	0.130**	0.155***	0.155***
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parents Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1501	1500	1151	1141

Note: Baseline level: "Network Migration Intentions": 1 (No one in your network plans to migrate). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $< p$ .01. Dependent variable is an indicator for reporting a high likelihood to migrate based on the question "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve this migration goal in the next five years?". Network migration intentions are based on the question "From a scale of 1 (no one) to 5 (almost everyone), in your social network, how many are planning to leave Lebanon?". The network migration intention index maps the scale to a linear index from 0 to 1. Group controls include: nationality and religion. Individual controls include: highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Social norm controls include an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends and a conservatism index.

Table 7: Determinants of Higher Likelihood to Migrate: Network Experience

	Dependent variable: Likelihood to migrate			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Experience from 1 to 5				
Network experience: 2	0.00977	0.0147	0.0131	0.0100
	(0.757)	(0.639)	(0.730)	(0.801)
Network experience: 3	0.0457	0.0401	0.0511	0.0579
	(0.185)	(0.236)	(0.177)	(0.154)
Network experience: 4				
(More than 75% of your network found a job abroad)	0.129**	0.130**	0.169***	0.175**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Panel B: Network Migration Experience Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Experience Index	0.126**	0.123**	0.161***	0.170***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parents Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1501	1500	1151	1141

Note: Baseline level: "Network Migration Experience": 1 (No one in your network found a job abroad). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $< p$ .01. Dependent variable is an indicator for reporting a high likelihood to migrate based on the question "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve this migration goal in the next five years?". Network Migration Experience are based on the question "From a scale of 1 (no one) to 5 (almost everyone), in your social network, how many have found a job outside Lebanon?". The network migration experience index maps the scale to a linear index from 0 to 1. Group controls include: nationality and religion. Individual controls include: highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Social norm controls include an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends and a conservatism index.

Table 8: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Expectations

Dependent variable:	**Likely to leave Lebanon**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.062* (0.084)	0.087** (0.018)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.062 (0.032)	-0.074 (0.042)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.053 (0.033)	-0.064 (0.032)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.007 (0.0558)	0.066 (0.0513)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Other Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Idiosyncratic Shocks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1492	1143	1470	1125	762	654	628	425
R^2	0.053	0.071	0.053	0.069	0.089	0.111	0.101	0.146

p-values are in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Dependent variable is an indicator for reporting a high likelihood to migrate based on the question "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve this migration goal in the next five years?". Unlikely Career Aspirations are based on both "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your desired employment status in the next five years ?" and "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your desired occupation in the next five years ?". Unlikely Education Aspirations are based on "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your desired educational level in the next five years ?". Unlikely Marriage Aspirations are based on "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your wanted age in the next five years?", asked to never married respondents. Unlikely Family size Aspirations are based on "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve your ideal family size in the next five years?", asked to married respondents. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Other controls include: nationality, religion, an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends, a conservatism index, highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Idiosyncratic shocks controls include an indicator for being exposed to crime or physical violence since October 2019, an indicator for having a family member severely ill or who died since Oct. 2019, an indicator for having a family member who lost their job since Oct. 2019, an indicator for a loss in purchasing power in the household since Oct. 2019 and an indicator for having a family member harmed by the explosion of the Beirut port or if property was lost.

Table 9: Unlikely Life Aspirations, Optimism and Migration Aspirations

Dependent variable:	Want to leave Lebanon							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.140* (0.0511)	0.144*** (0.0480)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.222*** (0.052)	0.224*** (0.054)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.012 (0.050)	-0.042 (0.052)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.080 (0.072)	0.051 (0.125)
Situation will get a lot better	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Situation will get a little better	-0.076** (0.024)	-0.045 (0.157)	-0.062** (0.045)	-0.033 (0.212)	-0.087** (0.037)	-0.061 (0.102)	0.001 (0.980)	0.020 (0.751)
Situation will stay the same	-0.052 (0.228)	-0.033 (0.526)	-0.036 (0.377)	-0.011 (0.809)	-0.098 (0.125)	-0.102* (0.098)	0.006 (0.916)	0.008 (0.908)
Situation will deteriorate a little	0.256*** (0.000)	0.289*** (0.000)	0.278*** (0.000)	0.314*** (0.000)	0.371*** (0.000)	0.371*** (0.001)	0.224 (0.107)	0.195 (0.229)
Situation will deteriorate a lot	0.318*** (0.000)	0.343*** (0.000)	0.346*** (0.000)	0.375*** (0.000)	0.313*** (0.005)	0.292** (0.019)	0.440*** (0.000)	0.510*** (0.000)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Other Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Idiosyncratic Shocks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1492	1143	1470	1125	762	654	628	425
R^2	0.173	0.171	0.174	0.170	0.219	0.217	0.200	0.254

p-values are in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Dependent variable is an indicator for migration aspirations based on the question "Do you want to leave the country today?". Unlikely Career Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieve desired employment status and occupation in the next 5 years. Unlikely Education Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieving desired educational level in the next 5 years. Unlikely Marriage Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieving wanted age in the next 5 years, asked to never married respondents. Unlikely Family size Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieving ideal family size in the next 5 years, asked to married respondents. Parental controls include father's and mother's highest education levels and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Other controls include: nationality, religion, an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends, a conservatism index, highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Idiosyncratic shocks controls include an indicator for being exposed to crime or physical violence since October 2019, an indicator for having a family member severely ill or who died since Oct. 2019, an indicator for having a family member who lost their job since Oct. 2019, an indicator for a loss in purchasing power in the household since Oct. 2019 and an indicator for having a family member harmed by the explosion of the Beirut port or if property was lost.

Table 10: Unlikely Life Aspirations, Optimism and Migration Expectations

Dependent variable:	Want to leave Lebanon							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.056 (0.034)	0.069* (0.035)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.064 ((0.033)	-0.0834 (0.043)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.037 (0.028)	-0.051 (0.028)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.000 (0.0549)	0.066 (0.0627)
Situation will get a lot better	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Situation will get a little better	-0.085*** (0.003)	-0.069*** (0.009)	-0.089*** (0.004)	-0.075*** (0.009)	-0.099** (0.016)	-0.095** (0.031)	-0.021 (0.400)	-0.007 (0.806)
Situation will stay the same	-0.078*** (0.006)	-0.087*** (0.004)	-0.083*** (0.006)	-0.095*** (0.003)	-0.121*** (0.003)	-0.165*** (0.000)	-0.004 (0.920)	0.008 (0.875)
Situation will deteriorate a little	0.026 (0.724)	0.086 (0.362)	0.037 (0.639)	0.103 (0.291)	0.184* (0.079)	0.160 (0.224)	-0.084* (0.092)	-0.062 (0.476)
Situation will deteriorate a lot	0.188** (0.030)	0.210** (0.038)	0.172** (0.040)	0.199** (0.043)	0.245** (0.011)	0.200* (0.057)	0.268*** (0.001)	0.317*** (0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Other Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Idiosyncratic Shocks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1492	1143	1470	1125	762	654	628	425
R^2	0.093	0.106	0.091	0.069	0.148	0.111	0.152	0.146

p-values are in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Dependent variable is an indicator for reporting a high likelihood to migrate based on the question "What is the likelihood that you will concretely achieve this migration goal in the next five years?". Unlikely Career Aspirations are based on both the likelihood of concretely achieve desired employment status and occupation in the next five years. Unlikely Education Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieving desired educational level in the next five years. Unlikely Marriage Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieving wanted age in the next five years, asked to never married respondents. Unlikely Family size Aspirations are based on the likelihood of concretely achieving ideal family size in the next five years, asked to married respondents. Parental controls include father's highest education level, mother's highest education level and an indicator for whether the mother has ever worked for a paid wage. Other controls include: nationality, religion, an indicator for giving high importance to the opinion of family and friends, a conservatism index, highest level of education, a health indicator, an ever worked indicator, a currently working indicator, an ever married indicator, number of children, living arrangement, and a wealth index. Idiosyncratic shocks controls include an indicator for being exposed to crime or physical violence since October 2019, an indicator for having a family member severely ill or who died since Oct. 2019, an indicator for having a family member who lost their job since Oct. 2019, an indicator for a loss in purchasing power in the household since Oct. 2019 and an indicator for having a family member harmed by the explosion of the Beirut port or if property was lost.