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TO LEAVE OR NOT TO LEAVE: THE ROLE OF ASPIRATIONS AND NETWORKS IN SHAPING YOUNG WOMEN'S MIGRATION DECISIONS IN LEBANON

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Abstract

Migration aspirations, the hope and ambition to leave the origin country, are recognized as the key initial step that may lead to actual migration. Drawing on data from a nationally representative survey conducted in Lebanon among 1,500 women aged 18-35, this study investigates the role of social networks and life aspirations (education, career, marriage and fertility) in shaping migration aspirations, in a context of severe economic crisis and massive emigration wave. Based on a stylized model that integrates aspirations into a standard utility maximization problem, we postulate that individuals aspire to migrate if their life aspirations cannot be locally fulfilled. Furthermore, we focus on local networks to examine their influence on women's migration aspirations. Our analysis reveals a peer effect, where a higher share of women's network planning migration increases their migration aspirations. Additionally, unlikely career and education aspirations, but not family aspirations, are associated with a stronger desire to emigrate. These findings highlight the need for a nuanced approach to understanding the interplay between social networks, aspirations, and migration decisions. They offer valuable insights for researchers and policymakers aiming to address the drivers of women's emigration in Lebanon and other crisis contexts.

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

ملخص

من المسلم به أن تطلعات الهجرة، والأمل والطموح في مغادرة بلد المنشأ، هي الخطوة الأولية والرئيسية التي قد تؤدي إلى هجرة فعلية. واستنادا إلى البيانات المستمدة من دراسة استقصائية وطنية أجريت في لبنان بين 1500 سيدة في سن 18-35، تبحث هذه الدراسة في دور الشبكات الاجتماعية والتطلعات الحياتية (التعليم والوظيفة والزواج والخصوبة) في تشكيل تطلعات الهجرة، في سياق أزمة اقتصادية حادة وموجة هجرة واسعة النطاق. استنادًا إلى نموذج منمق يدمج التطلعات في مشكلة تعظيم الفائدة القياسية، نفترض أن الأفراد يطمحون إلى الهجرة إذا لم يتم تحقيق تطلعاتهم الحياتية محليًا. علاوة على ذلك، نركز على الشبكات المحلية لدراسة تأثيرها على تطلعات الهجرة للمرأة. يكشف تحليلنا عن تأثير الأقران، حيث تزيد نسبة أكبر من شبكة تخطيط الهجرة النسائية من تطلعات الهجرة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، ترتبط التطلعات الوظيفية والتعليمية غير المتوقعة، ولكن ليس التطلعات الأسرية، برغبة أقوى في الهجرة. تسلط هذه النتائج الضوء على الحاجة إلى نهج دقيق لفهم التفاعل بين الشبكات الاجتماعية والتطلعات وقرارات الهجرة. وهي تقدم رؤى قيمة للباحثين وصانعي السياسات بهدف معالجة دوافع هجرة المرأة في لبنان وسياقات الأزمات الأخرى.

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 study investigates what shapes young women's aspirations and expectations to emigrate from Lebanon. As Ruyssen and Salomone (2018) point out, migration has been feminizing for many years. The proportion of single women migrating independently for economic reasons has also been increasing (Oishi, 2005). Since 1990, Lebanese women have accounted for over 41% of the total stock of Lebanese immigrants worldwide (United Nations, 2015). The study 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 four in ten 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).

[1] While evidence shows a correlation between migration aspirations and actual migration, it is 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.

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 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. It 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 with more people in their social networks who plan to leave or have recently 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 fulfill their aspirations locally have a higher willingness to migrate. We use our data to investigate these two main predictions in the

[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.

Lebanese context where, despite high educational attainment among young women, a large share remains economically inactive or unemployed (Bou Khater et al., 2023).

This paper offers additional perspectives on 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 (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; Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018; Mesple-Somps and Nilsson, 2023; Van Dalen et al., 2005). Notably, migrant networks and access to information about migration have an 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).

While substantial research has established a positive association between networks of prior migrants and migration propensities, little research has looked into the role of social networks at home. This paper focuses on local network dynamics, specifically friends and family who still reside in the same country. It highlights the role of the migration plans of these peers in shaping migration aspirations and expectations. The extensive work on the network theory in migration literature shed light on cost- and risk-lowering network effects: Friend and family networks of prior migrants were found to encourage migration by reducing the costs and risks related to migration (Dolfin and Genicot, 2010; Garip and Asad, 2016; Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018; Massey et al., 1993). On the other

hand, the role of social networks in the place of residence is more nuanced, and research on this topic remains scarce and inconclusive. Friends and family at home can facilitate migration through financial and other support, but can also reduce migration intentions due to financial and psychological reasons (Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018). This paper investigates how the prevalence of people in a woman's social network who plan to migrate affects her aspirations and expectations to migrate. Our analysis reveals a significant role for social networks in shaping migration aspirations and expectations. Even though migration is widely recognized, having some network members planning to migrate substantially increases the likelihood of wanting to migrate, highlighting a strong peer effect. Our theoretical model explains this correlation by the decrease in migration costs associated with a higher share of the network planning to leave. This could be driven by information sharing on migration options and processes, and emotional support, among other factors.

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.

[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)

Additionally, this study expands existing research examining the role played by 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). 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. We study the heterogeneous effects of aspirations deemed unlikely to be fulfilled in each of these dimensions on migration aspirations and expectations. Our results show that unlikely career and education aspirations are positively linked with migration aspirations. In contrast, family aspirations, such as marriage or desired family size, do not show any particular significant relationships with migration aspirations or expectations.

Finally, this paper provides new insights into the 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 decisions 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 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. Our results are then presented in three sections: Section 7.1 analyzes our findings on social networks and peer effects. Section 7.2 presents the results for unlikely aspirations and future prospects. Section 7.3 displays some robustness checks. Finally, the paper concludes with a synthesis of our key insights, discussing their broader implications.

2 Lebanese Emigration Trends: A Changing Landscape for Women

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, which 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, notably those aged 24 to 29, which account for half of women migrating from Lebanon (Karam, 2008; Kiwan and Itani, 2011). The reasons for leaving also become more diverse.[4] Women no longer migrate solely for family reunification or to follow their husbands, broth-

[4]More and more women are migrating to support themselves and their families (United Nations, 2004). There are many reasons for migration, including economic opportunities (Meierrieks and Renner, 2017), conflict (Berhanu and White, 2000), and environmental conditions (Gray, 2011; Gray and Mueller, 2012).

ers or fathers.[5] In recent years, women have been increasingly leaving Lebanon for a variety of reasons, including further education, employment opportunities, and other personal aspirations (Kasparian, 2010; Menhem, 2015). Independent female migration has been also growing in the Lebanese society (Menhem, 2015). Recent data from the International Organization for Migration show no gender differences in the reasons given for wanting to leave Lebanon, with economic reasons such as livelihood and debt as the top two reasons for both sex groups (David and Tickler, 2023). Women were however more likely to cite conflict and education as main reasons for migrating.

The emigration 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). According to Arab Barometer data for 2021, unlike most MENA countries surveyed, there is no significant gender gap in migration aspirations in Lebanon, with 49% of men and 46% of women wanting to leave the country.[6] Additionally, while irregular migration is highly male dominated in 2023, the proportion of young women willing to consider irregular migration had more than tripled since 2019 -reaching 22% (David and Tickler, 2023). These figures contrast with the findings of Kasparian's 2009 study in Lebanon (Kasparian, 2009) that shows that a fifth of women intended to migrate (19.2%), compared to a third of men in 2009. These dynamics make Lebanon a particularly compelling case for investigating how young women, at a key moment in shaping their education and career goals, and family plans navigate one of the country's most severe crises.

[5] In 2009, 37% of women migrated to reunite with family compared to only 5% of men. Also, most of the women aged 18 to 35 who migrated between 1992 and 2007 were married (84.3%) (Kasparian, 2009).

[6] Available at: `https://www.arabbarometer.org/2022/04/what-lebanese-citizens-think-about-migration/`

3 Theoretical Framework

Our theoretical framework builds upon the model developed by Detlefsen et al. (2022). It uses migration aspirations, modelled as in the aspiration/ability model of Carling (2002) or the aspirations-capability framework of De Haas (2021), within the standard utility maximization framework. The model also integrates individuals' aspirations on different life dimensions. These might be career, wealth, education and family goals that they want to achieve in their life. Individuals 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 *unfulfilled aspirations*. When they anticipate that their near-future situation will not meet these aspirations they have *unlikely aspirations*. Individuals assess whether their aspirations can be fulfilled locally or abroad. Locally unfulfilled or unlikely aspirations lead to a wish to migrate when individuals believe that these aspirations can be reached abroad. 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 recently 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. We define the decision to migrate as $m = 1$, and to stay as $m = 0$. Women thus maximize their utility:

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

We consider the cost of migrating C^M which depends on the individuals' network (N^M how many people in their network plan to migrate or have recently 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

$$x = \begin{pmatrix} x_w \\ x_c \\ x_e \\ x_f \end{pmatrix} \tag{2}$$

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

$$NPV^o = U(x^o) \tag{3}$$

$$NPV^d = U(x^d) - C^M(N^M) \tag{4}$$

We assume that the costs of migration are decreasing with migration intentions 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 and expectations: Having more people within one's network who are planning to migrate (or who have recently migrated) decreases the cost of migrating and 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 meet or exceed the aspiration threshold:

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

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

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

$$\mathrm{U}_f^A = \begin{cases} u_f^A & \text{if } x_f \geq x_f^A \\ 0 & \text{if } x_f < x_f^A \end{cases} \tag{6}$$

When making a migration decision, women compare the utility level they will achieve 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 believed not to be fulfilled locally - can have different

migration aspirations.

Proposition 2. *Aspirations that are judged unlikely to be fulfilled locally can lead to migration aspirations and expectations if they are believed to be attainable 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 Data

4.1 Data collection

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 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.

4.2 Definition of Main Outcome and Explanatory Variables

4.2.1 Migration Aspirations and Migration Expectations

Our main outcome variables are respondents' migration aspirations and migration expectations. Migration aspiration is a binary 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 wanted to migrate internationally.

On the other hand, migration expectation is a binary variable equal to one if the respondent 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 women in our sample reported that it is likely or very likely for them to leave the country in the next five years. Out of the 617 women who aspired to migrate, 39.06% expected to achieve this goal.

4.2.2 Network's Migration Intentions and Experience

In the survey, we also asked respondents about the distribution of different socio-economic outcomes in their self-reported close networks. The network was described as the current family members and friends of the respondent. More specifically, we asked respondents "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 intentions. 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?".[7] We hypothesize that the more people in the network intend to migrate the more likely the respondent will want to migrate as well. We make a similar hypothesis for respondents

[7]We assume that securing a job abroad is indicative of having acquired experience in the migration process or even having migrated. The latter assumption is supported by the follow-up survey question about when most network members who found a job abroad actually migrated. The majority of respondents (over 90 percent) indicated that most of these network members migrated between 2019 and 2022.

with people in their social network who have secured employment abroad.

4.2.3 Unlikely Life 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. We aim to understand the relationship between these life aspirations and migration aspirations and expectations.

Specifically, we focus on unlikely aspirations for respondents 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 assume that women who do not indicate such a goal have already achieved their life aspirations in these dimensions. For example, 20.11% of women in our sample want a new employment status or occupation in 2022, and 40.57% aspire to continue their education.[8]

To measure unlikely aspirations, we ask respondents to state how likely they believe they will concretely achieve their life aspirations in the next five years. If the respondent answered "Very Unlikely" or "Unlikely", she is considered to have unlikely aspirations. We denote these (i) unlikely career aspirations, (ii) unlikely education aspirations, and (iii) unlikely family aspirations.

We hypothesize that those with career aspirations deemed unlikely to be fulfilled in Lebanon are more likely to aspire to migrate, as they might believe their goals may be fulfilled abroad. This may also reflect their pessimism regarding the local economic future and their belief that achieving their desired wealth level is more feasible abroad. 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, we expect that those who want to pursue a higher education level but judge this goal as unlikely to be reached locally would be more inclined towards migration aspirations if they believe their educational goal can be achieved abroad.

[8]To qualify as having education aspirations, respondents must report being still in education or having recently graduated (after 2016) with at least secondary education.

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 thinks that it is "Very Unlikely" or "Unlikely" she will get married by her ideal age. The second family aspiration type involves married women and focuses on their ideal number of children. Having unlikely family size aspirations is a dummy equal to one if the woman is married and has a desired number of children different from the number of children she currently has and reports that it is "Very Unlikely" or "Unlikely" to achieve this ideal family size in the next five years.

In our survey, we also asked respondents about their life aspirations on the eve of October 2019 and whether they were able to achieve them since that time. This allows us to measure unfulfilled life aspirations. Similar to unlikely life aspirations, we denote these (i) unfulfilled career aspirations, (ii) unfulfilled education aspirations, and (iii) unfulfilled family aspirations. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for a list of all variables and how they are defined and constructed.

5 Descriptive Statistics

5.1 Summary Statistics: Respondent Profiles by Migration Aspirations

Descriptive statistics on the main characteristics of our sample according to the women's aspiration to migrate are given in Table 1. Our analysis focuses on young Lebanese women who are at a key point in their lives in terms of aspiration. In our sample of women aged between 18 and 35, the average age is 25.79. Most of the women live with their parents (58.89%), only 43.10% are married and 66.36% do not yet have children. As can be seen, Lebanese women are relatively well educated. 37% have higher education qualifications and 42% have completed secondary education. However, few of them work, with only 28.25% in paid employment. Table 1 reveals slight differences in socio-demographic characteristics

between women who aspire to emigrate and those who do not. Women who aspire to emigrate appear to have a slightly higher level of post-secondary education but a lower level of secondary education compared to those who do not aspire to emigrate. This might not be surprising as those with post-secondary education may perceive better opportunities abroad, while those with secondary education may find fewer resources or incentives to migrate. Overall, minimal differences are observed in living arrangements, marital status, and the number of children between women who aspire to migrate and those who do not. Employment rates are nearly identical among both groups. Women who aspire to migrate are more likely to be from the lower wealth categories. This hints that economic challenges may drive migration aspirations among women.

Our data collection was carried out during one of the country's biggest crises. Table 1 also describes the main idiosyncratic shocks experienced by respondents. Specifically, only 7.53% reported being physically harmed or losing property in the Beirut port explosion on the 4th of August 2020 and 3.46% being a victim of crime. The economic shock seems to have considerably impacted households, with those reporting a drop in their purchasing power since 2019 representing 61.03% of all respondents and 70.66% of those who aspire to migrate. In contrast to the socio-demographic characteristics, the differences between the two groups are more pronounced for the shocks.[9] With the exception of the Beirut port explosion, the group of women who aspire to emigrate seems to have been more strongly affected by the various shocks. 18.15% had experienced job loss in the family and 13.61% a severe illness or a death of a family member. We add these idiosyncratic shocks to the estimations of unlikely and unfulfilled life aspirations to control for the heterogeneous impact of the different crises on the respondents.

[9]We tested the possibility that the women most affected by these idiosyncratic shocks might react differently (through interactions). However, our results did not show any significant differences between them and their counterparts. This could be due to the fact that the economic shock was of such a magnitude that everyone was strongly affected, resulting in limited variability in the intensity of the shock (61.03% of women report a fall in their purchasing power). Another potential explanation could be that the women most affected may have already left the country, prior to our data collection. The results are available upon request.

Table 1: Respondent Profiles - Comparison by Migration Aspirations

		Aspire to migrate	
	Total	No	Yes
Age	25.79	26.01	25.47
Highest level of education (in %):			
Post-secondary	37.31	36.99	37.76
Secondary	42.37	45.25	38.25
Intermediate	11.59	10.41	13.29
Primary or less	8.73	7.35	10.70
Live with their parents (%)	58.89	57.92	60.29
Currently working (in %)	28.25	28.28	28.20
Married (in %)	43.10	42.99	43.27
Number of children (in %):			
No children	66.36	67.08	65.32
One child	11.93	12.22	11.51
Two children	14.39	13.80	15.24
More than two children	7.33	6.90	7.94
Wealth index (in %):			
Poorest quintile	20.05	15.72	26.26
Second quintile	19.99	18.10	22.69
Third quintile	20.05	20.02	20.10
Fourth quintile	22.45	26.02	17.34
Richest quintile	17.46	20.14	13.61
Respondents or their families have been affected by (in %):			
Crime or physical violence	3.46	2.49	4.86
Drop in purchasing power	61.03	54.30	70.66

Beirut port explosion	7.53	8.71	5.83
Loss of a family member's job	14.99	12.78	18.15
Severe illness or death of a family member	10.59	8.48	13.61

Source: Survey designed by the authors and administered to 1501 women in Lebanon in August 2022.

5.2 Summary Statistics for Main Outcome and Explanatory Variables

Table 2 displays the main variables used in the analysis. As far as the network's migration intentions are concerned, 10.86% of our sample do not know anyone in their network who plans to leave Lebanon, whereas 22.98% of the sample indicates that almost everyone in their network wants to leave. The network experience variable shows that when it comes to finding a job abroad, it is more common to not know anyone who found a job abroad - 24.45% of our respondents - than to have everyone in the network who found one - 2.73%.

Moreover, when it comes to unlikely life aspirations, 12.12% of the respondents have unlikely career aspirations, 7.85% have unlikely education aspirations, 26.12% have unlikely marriage age aspirations and 6.84% have unlikely family size aspirations.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics on Main Outcome and Explanatory Variables

	Frequency	**Percent**
Migration Aspiration	617	41.11
Migration Expectation	241	16.06
Network Migration Intentions		
1: No one wants to leave	163	10.86
2	173	11.53
3	410	27.32
4	410	27.32
5: Almost Everyone wants to leave	345	22.98
Network Migration Experience		
1: No one found a job abroad	367	24.45
2	399	26.58
3	400	26.65
4	294	19.59
5: Almost Everyone found a job abroad	41	2.73
Unlikely Career Aspirations	181	12.12
Unlikely Education Aspirations	116	7.85
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations	199	26.12
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations	43	6.84

Source: Survey designed by the authors and administered to 1501 women in Lebanon in August 2022.

6 Estimation strategies

6.1 The Effect of Network's Migration Intentions and Experience

To understand how the migration intentions and experience within women's networks influence their migration aspirations, we estimate the following equation:

$$y_{ik} = \alpha_1 Share_i + \alpha_2 \kappa_g + \alpha_3 X_i + \epsilon_{ik} \tag{7}$$

y_{ik} is the indicator for the outcome variables, specifically migration aspirations and expectations for woman i living in district k. $Share_i$ captures the share of the social network that intends to migrate or that secured a job abroad. We include governorate fixed effects (κ_g).

X_i represents a vector of control variables. We use four sets of control variables across different model specifications. First, we include group-level controls such as the nationality and religion of the respondent. Second, we add individual-level controls. These include indicators for the respondent's education level, her self-reported health status, employment history (ever worked), current employment status, marital history, number of children, living arrangements, and a wealth index serving as a proxy indicator for household wealth level.[10] In the third specification, we add parental controls. 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 job. Due to some matching issues between the household roster and the individual survey, we have missing observations for those. Our fourth specification includes social norm control variables. These involve a dummy equal to one if the respondent gives high importance to the opinion of her family and friends and an index that captures the level of conservatism in her social network.[11] The standard

[10]The wealth index is constructed using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and includes key variables such as ownership of durable goods, household amenities and the number of rooms. Further details on variable selection and weighting are available upon request.

[11]The conservatism index is constructed using PCA and comprises seven variables that reflect the respondent social network's views on gender roles and priorities (e.g., equal educational opportunities for boys and girls, employment preferences between men and women under job scarcity, the distribution of domestic responsibilities, and perspectives on women's marital obligations). Further details on variable selection and

errors are clustered at the district level.

We use the Linear Probability Model (LPM) as our primary estimation method since it provides a straightforward interpretation of coefficients. To ensure the robustness of our baseline findings, we re-estimated our equations using both Logit and Probit models, which better capture the non-linear relationship between the share of the network and the probability of migration aspiration. The results from these models were consistent with those obtained from LPM estimations.[12]

In the theoretical setup, we assume that individuals with more network members planning to migrate experience lower perceived migration costs. There can be various channels through which this relationship may operate. First, awareness of migration possibilities is a prerequisite for individuals to envision it as a viable option and develop migration aspirations. This awareness often comes from observing and learning from peers who are planning to migrate or who have recently migrated, making the idea of migrating more accessible and attractive. Indeed, role models and peer effects have proven effective in raising aspirations (e.g., Beaman et al., 2012; Bernard et al., 2019; Ferrara et al., 2012). In the specific context of migration, family and friends who are planning to migrate can share information on legal and logistical processes, job opportunities, and reliable services. Access to such knowledge can enhance the perceived feasibility of migration by reducing uncertainties and risks. Moreover, migrating might mean separating from family and friends, which imposes costs that might be psychological, social, and financial. Having more network members planning to migrate can alleviate the emotional stress and anxiety associated with leaving friends and family behind, providing a sense of shared experience and communal support. This psychological support can reduce the perceived costs, making the idea of migration less daunting and more appealing. On the other hand, having more family members planning to migrate may increase worry and guilt about not being there for those who might need emotional or health support, such as parents. This can add a layer of psychological stress and complexity resulting in increased perceived costs. We

weighting are available upon request.

[12]The results for the Logit and Probit models are available upon request.

hypothesize that the net variation in costs is negative, such that additional costs are offset by reductions from other factors. We thus expect that a higher share of the social network with migration intentions increases migration aspirations and expectations. The empirical data analysis is employed to test whether this is supported by the evidence.

6.2 The Effect of Unlikely Life Aspirations

The theoretical model suggests that only aspirations that are judged unlikely to be fulfilled in the origin country but more likely to be achieved abroad, increase migration aspirations and expectations. While we expect unlikely career and education aspirations to influence migration aspirations, the effect of family aspirations may be more nuanced. This depends on the specific factors preventing women from reaching their family goals and the ways in which migration could change these. 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 might expect that the likelihood of achieving them does not necessarily increase with migration. The potential for fulfilling these aspirations could diminish due to the lack of networks and co-ethnic communities. Similarly, we can expect that the likelihood of reaching family size aspirations does not necessarily increase with migration. In the literature, the prospect of leaving children behind reduces migration aspirations, but providing better opportunities for them often motivates migration (Agadjanian et al., 2008; J Carling and Schmalzbauer, 2012).

To test these hypotheses, we estimate the following equation for each of the life aspiration dimensions, similar to the one in section 6.1:

$$y_{ik} = \beta_1 Unlikely\_aspirations_{id} + \alpha_2 \kappa_g + \alpha_3 X_i + e_{ik}. \tag{8}$$

y_{ik} is the indicator for migration aspirations and expectations for woman i living in district k. $Unlikely\_aspirations_{id}$ is the indicator that respondent i has unlikely aspirations in dimension d of her life aspirations. 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 6.1. We only add one new set of controls on idiosyncratic shocks S_i, which are presented in Table 1. 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.

Again, the LPM model was used and the robustness of baseline estimations was validated through Logit and Probit models. The following section presents the LPM results for ease of interpretation.[13]

7 Results

7.1 The Role of Network's Migration Intentions

Our results support the proposition that a higher share of the social network with migration intentions increases respondents' migration aspirations, as displayed in Table 3. The likelihood of aspiring to migrate is significantly positively related to the share of the network intending to migrate in all specifications. We find that among those who do not have anyone in their close network who intends to migrate, 17.7% aspire to migrate. As shown in Figure 1, the jump is the highest between this baseline level (no one in the network plans to migrate) and the next level ("Network Migration Intentions: 2"), interpreted as some or few within the network intending to migrate: about 15 percentage points. Afterwards, the coefficient steadily increases with a slope between 5 to 10 percentage points.

These findings support peer effects in migration aspirations. The high baseline aspiration levels indicate that the idea of migration is widely recognized even without direct

[13]The results from the Logit and Probit models are available upon request

Table 3: Determinants of Migration Aspirations: Network's Migration Intentions

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.153***	0.150***	0.155***	0.154***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.194***	0.188***	0.192***	0.198***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.290***	0.286***	0.306***	0.305***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5 (Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.386***	0.383***	0.387***	0.386***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.363***	0.362***	0.370***	0.368***
	(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
Parental 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 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: Indicator for migration aspirations based on the question "Do you want to leave the country today?". Network migration intentions: 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. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and how they are defined and constructed.

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 the network grows. Our results expand previous studies that found that a close network at home may reduce migration aspirations due to the emotional or financial costs associated with abandoning strong social ties (Munshi and Rosenzweig, 2016; Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018). Our findings reveal that this effect can be mitigated or even reversed as more network members plan to migrate. This could indicate that knowing

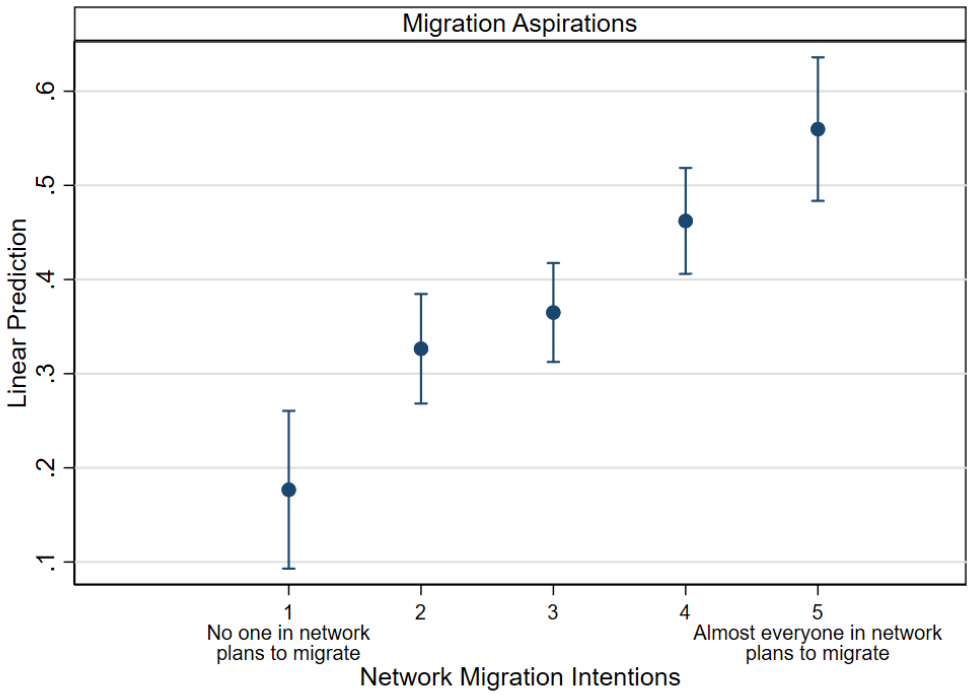

Figure 1: Network's migration intentions and own migration aspirations

some or many ties within one's network are planning to migrate can alleviate the anxiety associated with leaving one's community. It may also suggest that the increase in the costs stemming from abandoning close connections may be offset by the emotional support and sense of shared experience coupled with the benefits of shared information about the migration process.

Table 4: Determinants of Migration Expectations: Network's Migration Intentions

	Dependent variable: Migration expectation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.061**	0.057**	0.055*	0.052
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.089)	(0.122)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.075***	0.071***	0.071**	0.077**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.134***	0.129***	0.147***	0.147***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.133***	0.130***	0.140***	0.143***
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.132***	0.129***	0.148***	0.150***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental 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 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. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and how they are defined and constructed.

Furthermore, we investigate how networks shape migration expectations, i.e. judging emigration as likely within the next 5 years. Aspirations and expectations do not refer to the same concept. Aspirations refer to what individuals wish to achieve, while expectations refer to what individuals realistically think they can achieve, given the available information (Reynolds and Pemberto, 2001; Galiani and Undurraga, 2021). Thus, an individual may aspire to migrate, but expect that their current resources are not sufficient to facilitate migration in the near future. Overall, our findings for migration expectations align with those for migration aspirations, although the effects are weaker. Table 4 displays the results

for the social network's migration intentions. Having some people in the network planning to migrate bumps up migration expectations by 5 to 6 percentage points. The significance of the results grows as the share of the network with migration intentions increases. When almost everyone in one's network plans to migrate, the likelihood of expecting to migrate is around 13 to 14 percentage points higher compared to when no one does.

Our survey data supports the notion that leaving family behind is a major challenge for respondents to achieve their migration aspirations. However, a notable decrease in this concern is observed as the proportion of women's social network planning to migrate increases.[14] Another key obstacle to achieving migration goals was perceived financial constraints, unsurprising given the economic crisis and the restricted access to bank deposits. However, the data shows that financial constraints remain substantial, yet less concerning as the share of the network planning to migrate increases.[15] This decrease could be attributed to the belief that a larger network of migrating peers might facilitate resource sharing (e.g., housing, transportation). Additionally, the prospect of receiving remittances from earlier migrants within the network could ease the financial burden of the migration process.

Moreover, the fear of not finding a job abroad is a key perceived obstacle to migration according to the survey respondents. This fear is most pronounced among those with no network members planning to migrate. Interestingly, it drops sharply when a few in the network plan to migrate and resurges as more people in the network have migration intentions. This pattern suggests that while networks can provide valuable information and connections to job opportunities, the competition for limited resources or opportunities abroad might become a concern when many people in one's network are migrating. This could explain why our empirical findings indicate a large jump in the likelihood of aspiring to migrate followed by diminishing incremental effects. As more network members plan to

[14] Specifically, the concern is highest (35.71%) when no one in the network plans to migrate, and it drops to 15.38% when almost everyone in the network plans to leave.

[15] 44% of women who had a network with a large proportion of people planning to emigrate cited budget constraints as a main migration challenge, compared to 60% of women who did not know anyone planning to migrate in their social network.

migrate, the additional reduction in migration costs and the increase in aspirations become less pronounced.

Our analysis, therefore, reveals an additional layer, underscoring the nuanced role of close networks in shaping migration aspirations.

7.1.1 The Role of Network's Migration Experience

To test the robustness of our baseline results, we investigate the relationship between the share of close network members who have recently migrated or are about to migrate (Network's migration experience) and the respondent's migration aspirations and expectations. The results are displayed respectively in Tables A2 and A3 in the Appendix. These results are consistent with those for the network's migration intentions. First, as the proportion of people having found a job abroad in a woman's network increases, the likelihood of her migration aspirations increases as well. Second, for the effect on migration expectations, the results are significant but only for the larger proportion of people in the network who found a job abroad.

7.1.2 Cautionary Note on Causality

The relationships observed are correlational and do not necessarily imply causality. This may be due to several factors. First, the 'correlated effects', factors that are not captured in the control variables can simultaneously drive network migration intentions and experience and influence women's migration aspirations and expectations (Manski, 1993; Manchin and Orazbayev, 2018). For example, one's family might have a long history of migration, which shapes not only the family's attitudes towards migration and its connections abroad but also the respondent's aspirations. Second, the selection of individuals within one's network is not exogenous. What a respondent considers her network could involve friendships that may be based on a common set of beliefs and attitudes, including being open to moving abroad. Third, it is possible that respondents could be projecting their migration aspirations and expectations onto others in their network, thereby shaping their attitudes

towards migration. Furthermore, there might be a mutual influence between a woman and her network. If her migration aspirations are shaped by her network's intentions, and simultaneously, her aspirations influence her network's intentions (or her perceptions of these intentions), this reflection problem makes it also difficult to establish causality.

7.2 The Role of Unlikely Life Aspirations

Table 5 summarizes the results for regressing migration aspirations on having unlikely aspirations for our four dimensions. As expected, we find that unlikely career aspirations (columns 1 and 2) and unlikely education aspirations (columns 3 and 4) are significantly positively associated with migration aspirations. Specifically, having career aspirations that are unlikely to be achieved within five years increases the likelihood of aspiring migration by more than 14 percentage points. Similarly, having unlikely education aspirations is associated with an increase in the likelihood of aspiring to migrate by more than 20 percentage points. However, when it comes to unlikely family aspirations, both marriage-age and family-size aspirations, no significant relationship was found with migration aspirations (columns 5 to 8). We ran similar estimations and replaced the explanatory variables with having no life aspirations (See Appendix Table A24). No significant effects on migration aspirations were found for not having family aspirations. However, we observe significant negative effects on the probability of aspiring migration of having no career aspirations or no education aspirations. This suggests that the absence of ambitious goals in terms of career or education reduces the probability of aspiring migration.

A closer look into our survey data indicates that the perceived barriers to achieving career goals in the next five years are predominantly linked to the lack of available work and the lack of suitable pay.[16] This perception is even more pronounced among those who want to migrate, with nearly half highlighting the lack of employment as the key obstacle to reaching their goal. These insights underscore the critical role of scarce local (decent) employment opportunities in shaping migration decisions. Instead of giving up on their

[16] 43% of all respondents cited the lack of job opportunities as a major challenge to fulfilling their career aspirations.

Table 5: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Aspirations

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.144**	0.155***						
	(0.011)	(0.003)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.214***	0.207***				
			(0.000)	(0.000)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.040	-0.067		
					(0.478)	(0.252)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.076	0.100
							(0.289)	(0.400)
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	1477	1131	762	654	628	425

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?". See section 4.2.3 and Table A1 for the definition of the unlikely aspiration dummies. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and Idiosyncratic Shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

career goals, women might contemplate other possibilities, such as migration, to pursue their aspirations and find better opportunities. In fact, our survey shows that many women have not abandoned their goals despite not being able to achieve them since the start of the compounded crisis in October 2019. Remarkably, most of those with unmet career and education aspirations still maintain career (74%) and education aspirations (84%) almost three years later.[17] In some cases, they may need to pursue additional education to facilitate their visa applications and improve their prospects in the job market abroad.[18] This underscores the importance of addressing local employment challenges to reduce the push factors driving migration.

Additionally, when asked about the main challenges to achieving their education aspirations, 68% of those who want to migrate consider lack of funds as the key barrier. The high cost of private education in Lebanon, the unreliability of the public university system since the onset of the crisis (with several prolonged strikes and closures), and the

[17] This observed determination aligns with the Lebanese people's well-known resilience and drive to seek education and better opportunities.

[18] Among women who did not want to pursue their professional careers abroad, 50% reported wanting to migrate. This hints that even though they inherently did not wish for a career abroad, the lack of opportunities might push them to consider migration to improve their career prospects and living conditions.

concentration of higher education institutions in big cities - coupled with the lack of public transportation - may make accessing quality education particularly difficult for many women. Here again, instead of abandoning their education goals, women may seek alternative ways to pursue education abroad.[19] Access to public education abroad, along with potential support from migrant networks, can also make the idea of migration promising to achieve education goals. It is also possible that those who believe it is unlikely to reach their education goals may seek job opportunities abroad, either as an alternative plan or to eventually fund their education.[20] These insights highlight the critical role of accessible and affordable quality education in mitigating migration push factors.

On the other hand, we run the same regressions with unlikely life aspirations on migration expectation as the outcome variable. Results are shown in Table 6. First, the results for unlikely career aspirations align with those observed for migration aspirations, albeit with a weaker effect. Having unlikely career aspirations is associated with an 6 to 8 percentage point increase in the likelihood of expecting migration (columns 1 and 2). By contrast, the results for unlikely education aspirations are not in line with those found with migration aspirations. While unlikely education aspirations showed the strongest positive correlation with migration aspirations, they are negatively related to migration expectations (columns 3 and 4). As for unlikely family aspirations, the findings are not exactly consistent with those for migration aspirations (columns 5 to 8). While family size remains unrelated to migration expectation, marriage age shows a negative correlation. This suggests that women who perceive barriers to marrying at their preferred age believe it is less likely to achieve their migration goal in the next five years (column 6).

It is important to delve deeper into the intriguing differences in the results of unlikely career and education aspirations across migration aspirations and expectations. These differences are not surprising; The different results obtained between migratory aspirations and expectations give a certain credibility to the measures used (Galiani and Undurraga,

[19]Options such as scholarships, grants, or financial aid programs offered by foreign institutions could make this feasible.

[20]Nearly 40% of those who did not want to pursue their education abroad reported wanting to migrate.

Table 6: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Expectations

Dependent variable:	**Migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.056	0.078**						
	(0.127)	(0.034)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.067**	-0.090**				
			(0.042)	(0.023)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.054	-0.068**		
					(0.104)	(0.037)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							-0.000	0.056
							(0.998)	(0.328)
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	1477	1131	762	654	628	425

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?". See section 4.2.3 and Table A1 for the definition of the unlikely aspiration dummies. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

2021). As mentioned earlier, migration aspirations and expectations are two well-separated concepts. While unlikely career aspirations showed consistent results for both, the asymmetric relationship with migration expectations compared to migration aspirations could be attributed to perceived feasibility of migration. Assessing immediate opportunities and challenges of securing a job abroad may lead some women to temper their expectations of actually migrating. Several practical barriers such as logistical, professional, financial, and personal considerations may impede the achievement of migration aspirations, thereby lowering one's expectation of migrating within the next five years.

Similar and more severe barriers may hinder those with unlikely education aspirations from realizing their migration aspirations. This may explain the discrepancy between the strong positive relationship with migration aspirations versus the negative relationship with migration expectations. Interestingly, while our survey data reveal that among those aspiring for more education, no more than 16 percent want to continue their studies abroad, our findings suggest that unlikely education aspirations could be driving migration aspirations. This means that women who believe that their education aspirations are unlikely to be met

within 5 years might want to migrate. Yet, not all will necessarily aim to continue their education abroad. Some may adjust their aspirations and seek to migrate for employment instead. Those adjusting their aspirations and aiming to migrate for employment might encounter significant barriers too, even if securing a job abroad could facilitate their move. In both cases, the perceived likelihood of actually migrating depends on the realities of potential barriers and opportunities. For those aspiring to migrate to continue education, the difficulties are amplified given the need to secure financing, which became, particularly challenging amid the economic crisis, declining purchasing power and the widespread difficulty in accessing savings held in banks.

7.2.1 The Role Unfulfilled Life Aspirations

In addition to examining the effects of unlikely life aspirations which refer to current aspirations, we further explore how past life aspirations that are still unfulfilled influence present migration aspirations and expectations. Specifically, we focus on the aspirations that women might have had in October 2019, before the crises hit, and that were still unmet by the time of the survey (nearly three years later). Appendix Table A4 and Table A5 display the results for migration aspirations and migration expectations respectively. Essentially, these show similar trends to those observed for unlikely life aspirations. No significant relationships were found between unfulfilled family aspirations and migration aspirations or expectations. Unfulfilled career aspirations were positively associated with both migration aspirations and migration expectations. While the magnitudes of the effects were greater for both outcomes compared to those of unlikely career aspirations, the significance was fairly close. As for the effect of unfulfilled education aspirations on migration aspirations, it was weaker than that of unlikely education aspirations in terms of magnitude. Interestingly, the results for unfulfilled education aspirations and migration expectations were found to be positive, unlike those for unlikely aspirations. These findings suggest that individuals' unmet past career aspirations can have an impact on their migration decisions. In contrast, unmet past education aspirations are less influential than

perceptions of the potential of achieving their current aspirations. Thereby, prospects of future outcomes seem to matter more than dissatisfaction or disappointment in shaping individuals' migration aspirations and expectations.

7.2.2 Women's Mental Health and their migration aspirations

We deepen our analysis by incorporating individual mental health, to examine whether a mental state that is more or less depressive at the time of the survey might influence the relationships between life aspirations and migration aspirations and expectations. The findings align closely with our baseline specifications, reinforcing the robustness and reliability of the initial results. Specifically, unlikely career and education aspirations remain significantly positively associated with migration aspirations, whereas no significant relationship is observed with unlikely family aspirations (Table A6). In terms of migration expectations, for specifications with unlikely career and education aspirations, the significance and magnitude of the effects are similar to our baseline results (Table A7). This suggests that perceived barriers to achieving career and education aspirations directly influence migration aspirations and expectations, independent of individual's state of mind.

7.2.3 Migration Duration: Permanent vs. Temporary

We extended our analysis to understand whether the impact of unlikely life aspirations differs if the intended duration of stay abroad is permanent or temporary. Our findings reveal positive and significant effects of similar magnitudes for unlikely career and education aspirations, whether women aim to migrate permanently or temporarily (See Appendix Table A8 and Table A10). This consistency across the different types of migration underscores the strong and stable influence of career and education aspirations on wanting to migrate. Women perceiving barriers to achieving their professional and educational aspirations locally are equally likely to consider migration as a viable solution, regardless of whether it is just for a while or for good. Similarly, we examined the effect on expectations of both temporary and permanent migration. The results are fairly consistent no matter the

duration of migration (See Appendix Table A9 and Table A11). Interestingly, the effects of career and marriage age were more significant for permanent migration expectations compared to temporary or to baseline results, but less significant for education.

7.3 Further Robustness Analysis

7.3.1 Controlling for Remittances

To further validate our findings, we ran the same baseline estimations for the role of social network and unlikely life aspiration, while controlling for the receipt of remittances. This additional analysis aimed to determine whether receiving remittances is significantly correlated with migration aspirations and expectations, and whether it alters the effects of our main explanatory variables. The results indicate that remittances are not a significant factor influencing migration aspirations and expectations. The inclusion of remittances in our model does not change the effects of the main explanatory variables. The relationships between social network's migration intentions (Appendix Table A12 and Table A13) and unlikely life aspirations (Appendix Table A14 and Table A15) and migration aspirations and expectations remain consistent in terms of significance and magnitude. These findings reinforce the robustness of our original results, demonstrating that the observed effects are stable and not confounded by the receipt of remittances.

7.3.2 Controlling for Family Structure

To account for the potential influence of family structure on migration aspirations, we included additional control variables. One key variable is whether a woman's parents are alive. The emotional ties and potential caregiving responsibilities associated with living parents could make a woman more reluctant to migrate. Additionally, we controlled for the number of sisters and brothers a woman has. Siblings can act as a support system, potentially mitigating the emotional and practical challenges of leaving dependent or aging parents behind. The results show that our original findings remain robust, demonstrating that the observed effects are stable and not confounded by these family-related variables.

7.3.3 Analysis of Lebanese Women Only

We conducted additional baseline estimations, focusing specifically on Lebanese women (constituting 90% of our sample), to uncover any unique dynamics or patterns within this demographic. This is particularly relevant because the socio-economic and legal status of Lebanese women differ significantly from those of Palestinian and Syrian respondents, who together represent 10% of our sample. Some might have additional considerations due to their refugee status, potentially influencing their migration aspirations differently from Lebanese women. The findings for social networks and unlikely life aspirations were similar to the baseline results on migration aspirations and expectations.

8 Conclusions

This study uses unique data on young women in Lebanon to investigate the role of social networks and life aspirations in shaping migration decisions. Conducted amidst severe economic and social crises that have spurred a new wave of mass emigration, this research context is particularly compelling. First, the large-scale emigration trend raises critical questions about the influence of peers on migration decisions and other underlying factors that drive certain women to consider migration while others do not. This is particularly intriguing in a context where women have been increasingly emigrating independently to pursue education or employment opportunities. Furthermore, this study addresses a critical gap in the availability of data on aspirations and perceived barriers to achieving those, providing valuable insights into the drivers of migration decisions and their connection with broader life aspirations.

Our findings suggest that local social networks play a significant role in shaping migration aspirations. Specifically, they reveal a strong positive association between the proportion of women's social network planning to migrate and their own migration aspirations and expectations. While the concept of migration seems widely recognized even without influences from one's network, the presence of a few network members planning to

migrate can significantly amplify migration aspirations. Our results provide evidence for a peer effect, whereby exposure to friends and family migration plans can normalize the idea of emigration and make it seem more feasible, encouraging women to consider migration.

The implications of our findings extend beyond individual decision-making to the broader societal and economic context. While the 'snowball effect' observed within social networks can empower individuals seeking better opportunities abroad, it is crucial to consider the potential consequences at a larger scale. The collective migration intentions within a network can create momentum for massive emigration. The loss of human capital can be detrimental to the demographic fabric of the country, undermining its economic stability and growth prospects. This phenomenon is particularly concerning when it involves the educated and skilled population, leading to a potential brain drain and weakening the country's ability to develop.

Furthermore, our analysis examines the relationship between aspirations in several life dimensions and migration aspirations. It reveals that having unlikely career or education aspirations is positively associated with a higher willingness to leave the country. Unlikely career aspirations are also linked with a higher expectation to achieve migration in the near future. On the other hand, family aspirations do not significantly affect the migration aspirations or expectations of young women in Lebanon. These findings support the theoretical model proposing that individuals with life aspirations perceived as unattainable locally are more inclined towards migration if they believe these aspirations can be achieved abroad. The results are robust to controls for socio-demographic characteristics and migration characteristics, and when focusing on the Lebanese subsample. Not only did unlikely career and education aspirations in the near future have significant effects, but unmet aspirations also mattered, albeit to varying extents. These findings imply that unlikely career and education aspirations serve as strong push factors, encouraging women to consider migration as a viable path to achieve their goals.

Yet, several practical barriers, including logistical, professional, and financial obstacles, can render these migration aspirations unfeasible. This can explain the gap between the

effects of unlikely life aspirations on migration aspirations versus expectations. This situation can amplify the frustration of women who are determined to achieve their goals and are open to alternative means. Despite their willingness to consider migration, these barriers prevent them from escaping the hardships and scarcity of opportunities at home, thus exacerbating their sense of entrapment and unfulfilled potential.

While these findings provide valuable insights, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations in our study.. The analysis relies on cross-sectional data, which limits our ability to infer causal relationships and track changes over time. Unobserved factors not included in our control variables could influence migration aspirations simultaneously with life aspirations and/or with the network's migration plans, potentially confounding our results. Additionally, issues of reverse causality, where migration aspirations may impact life aspirations or influence perceptions of network's migration plans, cannot be ruled out. Other constraints on making causal claims for the role of social networks include selection and reflection problems. The way respondents identify their network could introduce bias, and there may also be mutual influence between individuals and their networks, complicating causal interpretation.

Additional limitations could stem from measurement errors in self-reported data, which can lead to inaccuracies in our understanding of respondents' true aspirations or also the extent of their network with migration plans. It is also important to consider potential biases associated with asking respondents to recall their aspirations from about three years ago. Recall bias may lead to inaccuracies as respondents might not be able to remember their past aspirations accurately. Moreover, social desirability and hindsight biases could influence respondents to report aspirations that align with their current circumstances or societal expectations rather than their true past aspirations. These biases could affect the validity and generalizability of our findings, which should be interpreted with caution. Some of these limitations could be addressed through access to panel data, which is not available at this stage of the research.[21]

[21]In the setup of our survey, we inquired whether respondents would consent to future contact for a follow-up survey, and a significant numberagreed. This opens the possibility of gathering longitudinal data

Despite these limitations, our study offers valuable insights into the dynamics and motivations behind migration, which have important policy implications. Regarding actionable recommendations, it is crucial to reflect on whether higher migration aspirations are advantageous or unfavorable. Although aspirations may reflect a proactive approach toward seeking better opportunities and enhancing life quality, they also reveal dissatisfaction or despair with existing conditions. Specifically for Lebanon, accustomed to emigration flows, the significant increase in emigration since 2019 poses a risk of depleting the country's human capital. Therefore, implementing measures to address the underlying causes of this migration is imperative. Primarily, these involve enhancing the socio-economic conditions in the country through a comprehensive reform plan. Nonetheless, it is essential to place women at the center of these efforts. Targeted measures should be developed to specifically address and mitigate the disproportionate impacts they may have experienced.

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 goals. This includes enhancing access to quality education, providing career guidance, ensuring equal opportunities in the job market, and protecting young women from the repercussions of the economic crisis. It also entails addressing long-lasting barriers to women's participation in the workforce such as discrimination, accessibility of care services, 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, especially the youth. This inclusive approach is vital for halting the ongoing wave of migration that is draining the country's workforce, altering its demographics, and compromising its ability to recover and grow.

to provide a deeper insight into the dynamic nature of migration decisions over time.

Beyond the practical implications for Lebanon, this paper serves as a useful resource for researchers interested in investigating migration aspirations in other contexts. This study sheds light on the interplay between individual life aspirations and the under-researched role of local networks, in shaping migration aspirations. Our findings provide rare evidence of the significant influence of peers' migration plans on migration decision-making. This underscores the importance of a comprehensive approach in migration studies that considers both the supportive and limiting aspects of social networks. Additional research is needed to explore the intricate dynamics of (women and youth) migration aspirations, life aspirations, and social networks across diverse global contexts. Ultimately, these insights can guide policymakers in developing targeted interventions to address the root causes of migration aspirations and strengthen community resilience in crisis-affected settings.

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9 Appendix

9.1 Additional tables

Table A1: Variable definitions

Variables	Definitions
Main Variables	
Individual Migration Profile	
Migration aspiration	= 1 if the respondent reported that she wanted to leave the country at the time of the survey (2022)
Migration expectation	= 1 if the respondent reported that it is "Very Likely" or "Likely" that she will concretely achieve this migration goal in the next five years
Social Network	
Network migration intentions	Five distinct binary variables representing different levels of migration intentions within the respondent's social network, 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?"
Network migration intentions: 1	= 1 if the respondent selected "1 (no one)" on the survey question
Network migration intentions: 2	= 1 if the respondent selected "2" on the survey question
Network migration intentions: 3	= 1 if the respondent selected "3" on the survey question
Network migration intentions: 4	= 1 if the respondent selected "4" on the survey question
Network migration intentions: 5	= 1 if the respondent selected "5 (almost everyone)" on the survey question
Network migration intentions index	A linear index ranging from 0 to 1 that rescales the responses on network migration intentions into a continuous spectrum where 0 represents "no one" and 1 "almost everyone"
The Role of Network's migration experience	Five distinct binary variables representing different levels of migration experience within the respondent's social network, 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?" It is assumed that having found a job abroad is indicative of having migrated (experienced migration)
Network migration experience: 1	= 1 if the respondent selected "1 (no one)" on the survey question
Network migration experience: 2	= 1 if the respondent selected "2" on the survey question
Network migration experience: 3	= 1 if the respondent selected "3" on the survey question
Network migration experience: 4 & 5	= 1 if the respondent selected "4" or "5" on the survey question. The scales 4 and 5 are merged into one group to avoid having a group with too few observations
Network migration experience index	A linear index ranging from 0 to 1 that rescales the responses on network migration experience into a continuous spectrum where 0 represents "no one" and 1 "almost everyone"
Life Aspirations	
Unlikely Career Aspirations	= 1 if the respondent reported that it is "Unlikely" or "Very unlikely" she will concretely achieve her desired employment status or occupation within five years after the survey

Table A1: Variable definitions

Variables	Definitions
Unlikely Education Aspirations	= 1 if the respondent reported that it is "Unlikely" or "Very unlikely" she will concretely achieve her desired educational level within five years after the survey
Unlikely Marriage Aspirations	= 1 if the unmarried respondent reported that it is "Unlikely" or "Very unlikely" she will get married at her wanted marriage age within five years after the survey
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations	= 1 if the married respondent reported that it is "Unlikely" or "Very unlikely" she will concretely achieve her ideal family size within five years after the survey
Unfulfilled Career Aspirations	= 1 if the respondent reported that, in October 2019, she wanted to change her employment status, but she could not by the time of the survey
Unfulfilled Education Aspirations	= 1 if the respondent reported that, in October 2019, she wanted to continue her education, but she could not by the time of the survey
Unfulfilled Marriage Aspirations	= 1 if the unmarried respondent reported that she did not get married at the age she wanted in October 2019 by the time of the survey
Unfulfilled Family Size Aspirations	= 1 if the married respondent reported that she did not achieve the number of children she desired in October 2019 by the time of the survey
No Career Aspirations	= 1 if the respondent reported that she does not want to change her employment status or occupation
No Education Aspirations	= 1 if the respondent reported that she does not want to continue her education
No Marriage Age Aspirations	= 1 if the unmarried respondent reported that she does not have marriage age aspirations
No Family Size Aspirations	= 1 if the married respondent reported that she does not aspire for a change in her nuclear family size
Control Variables	
Governorate	Fixed effects for the 8 governorates in Lebanon
Group Controls	
Nationality	Four binary variables characterizing respondents according to having any of the following nationalities: Lebanese, Palestinian, Syrian or other.
Religion	Seven binary variables characterizing respondents identifying as having any of the following religions: Maronite, Sunni, Shia, Druze, Orthodox, other religious minorities, or no answer
Individual controls	
Highest level of education	Four binary variables categorizing respondents according to their highest level of education: Post-secondary education, secondary, intermediate, and primary or less
Unhealthy	= 1 if the respondent reported that her health is "Bad" or "Very Bad" in general
Ever worked	= 1 if the respondent reported having ever worked
Currently working	= 1 if the respondent reported being employed in the past 3 months
Ever married	= 1 if the respondent reported having ever married
Number of children	The number of children that the married respondent reported having at the time of the survey
Living arrangement	Three binary variables categorizing respondents according to whether they are: living with spouse only, living with parent/s, or other (with in laws or with other family members)

Table A1: Variable definitions

Variables	Definitions
Wealth index	The wealth index is constructed using Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and includes key variables such as ownership of durable goods, household amenities, and the number of rooms [22]
Wealth index: Poorest quintile	= 1 if the respondent falls into the lowest 20% of the wealth index distribution
Wealth index: Second quintile	= 1 if the respondent falls into the second 20% of the wealth index distribution
Wealth index: Third quintile	= 1 if the respondent falls into the third 20% of the wealth index distribution
Wealth index: Fourth quintile	= 1 if the respondent falls into the fourth 20% of the wealth index distribution
Wealth index: Richest quintile	= 1 if the respondent falls into the highest 20% of the wealth index distribution
Parental controls	
Father's highest education level	Four binary variables categorizing respondents according to their fathersâ highest level of education: Post-secondary education, secondary, intermediate, and primary or less
Mother's highest education level	Four binary variables categorizing respondents according to their mothersâ highest level of education: Post-secondary education, secondary, intermediate, and primary or less
Mother's paid job	= 1 if the respondent reported that her mother has ever worked for a paid job
Social norms controls	
Social influence	= 1 if the respondent reported that the opinion of her friends and family is very important for her
Social network conservatism index	The conservatism index is constructed using PCA and comprises seven variables that reflect the respondent social network's views on gender roles and priorities (e.g., equal educational opportunities for boys and girls, employment preferences between men and women under job scarcity, the distribution of domestic responsibilities, and perspectives on women's marital obligations)
Idiosyncratic shocks	
Experienced crime or violence	= 1 if the respondent reported being exposed to crime or physical violence since October 2019
Drop in purchasing power	= 1 if the respondent reported experiencing a loss in purchasing power in the household since October 2019
Exposed to Beirut port explosion	= 1 if the respondent reported having a family member harmed by the explosion of the Beirut port or if property was lost
Family member lost their job	= 1 if the respondent reported having a family member who lost their job since October 2019
Family member severely ill or dying	= 1 if the respondent reported having a family member severely ill or who died since October 2019
Other controls & robustness checks	
Anxious	= 1 if the respondent reported feeling nervous, anxious or depressed "Frequently" or "Very Frequently"
Pessimistic outlook	= 1 if the respondent reported thinking that their living conditions "Will deteriorate a little bit" or "will deteriorate a lot" over the next five years

[22] Further details on variable selection and weighting are available upon request.

Table A1: Variable definitions

Variables	**Definitions**
Remittances	= 1 if the respondent reported having remittances among their main sources of personal income other than work.
Parents Alive	= 1 if both parents are still alive.
Number of Brothers	Number of brothers of the respondent.
Number of Sisters	Number of sisters of the respondent.

Source: Primary data collected in August 2022 from a survey designed by the authors, targeting 1501 women in Lebanon.

Table A2: Determinants of Migration Aspirations: Network's Migration Experience

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Experience from 1 to 5				
Network experience: 2	0.127***	0.128***	0.123**	0.120**
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.012)	(0.014)
Network experience: 3	0.101**	0.104**	0.101**	0.103**
	(0.023)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.024)
Network experience: 4 and 5				
(Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.241***	0.251***	0.273***	0.275***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Panel B: Network Migration Experience Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Experience Index	0.266***	0.282***	0.304***	0.306***
	(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
Parental 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 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. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration, network migration experience and the list of controls.

Table A3: Determinants of Migration Expectations: Network Experience

	Dependent variable: Migration expectation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Experience from 1 to 5				
Network experience: 2	0.007	0.012	0.007	0.005
	(0.826)	(0.701)	(0.849)	(0.906)
Network experience: 3	0.043	0.040	0.044	0.050
	(0.219)	(0.246)	(0.238)	(0.205)
Network experience: 4 and 5				
(Almost everyone in your network found a job abroad)	0.125***	0.127***	0.159***	0.166***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Panel B: Network Migration Experience Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Experience Index	0.149***	0.147***	0.187***	0.198***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental 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 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. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectation, network migration experience and the list of controls.

Table A4: Unfulfilled Life Aspirations in 2019 and Migration Aspirations

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unfulfilled Career Aspirations 2019	0.191***	0.178***						
	(0.002)	(0.002)						
Unfulfilled Education Aspirations 2019			0.138***	0.153***				
			(0.003)	(0.003)				
Unfulfilled Marriage Age Aspirations 2019					0.068	0.068		
					(0.318)	(0.427)		
Unfulfilled Family Size Aspirations 2019							-0.032	-0.027
							(0.497)	(0.745)
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	1489	1141	1495	1146	925	779	488	320

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

Note: See section 4.2.3 and Table A1 for the definition of the migration aspiration dummy and the unfulfilled aspiration dummies. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A5: Unfulfilled Life Aspirations in 2019 and Migration Expectations

	Dependent variable: Migration expectation							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unfulfilled Career Aspirations 2019	0.094**	0.072						
	(0.037)	(0.108)						
Unfulfilled Education Aspirations 2019			0.093**	0.082*				
			(0.029)	(0.079)				
Unfulfilled Marriage Age Aspirations 2019					-0.010	-0.046		
					(0.874)	(0.504)		
Unfulfilled Family Size Aspirations 2019							0.006	0.001
							(0.851)	(0.987)
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	1489	1141	1495	1146	925	779	488	320

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

Note: See section 4.2.3 and Table A1 for the definition of high migration expectation dummy and unfulfilled aspiration dummies. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A6: Unlikely Life Aspirations, Migration Aspirations and Anxiety

Dependent variable:	**Migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.139**	0.148***						
	(0.014)	(0.005)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.211***	0.203***				
			(0.000)	(0.000)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.043	-0.075		
					(0.447)	(0.192)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.057	0.068
							(0.427)	(0.589)
Anxious	0.098***	0.134***	0.101***	0.137***	0.162***	0.196***	0.129**	0.125*
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.031)	(0.089)
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	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
No of Observations	1492	1143	1477	1131	762	654	628	425

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

Note: Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and anxious dummy. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A7: Unlikely Life Aspirations, Migration Expectations and Anxiety

Dependent variable:	**Migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.053	0.075**						
	(0.152)	(0.047)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.070**	-0.092**				
			(0.034)	(0.022)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.057*	-0.072**		
					(0.090)	(0.024)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							-0.013	0.037
							(0.819)	(0.568)
Anxious	0.062**	0.068**	0.069***	0.077**	0.137***	0.117*	0.088**	0.073
	(0.013)	(0.032)	(0.009)	(0.027)	(0.004)	(0.054)	(0.025)	(0.151)
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	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
No of Observations	1492	1143	1477	1131	762	654	628	425

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

Note: Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of high migration expectation dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and Anxious dummy. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A8: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Temporary Migration Aspirations

Dependent variable:	**Temporary migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.151***	0.157***						
	(0.008)	(0.003)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.226***	0.216***				
			(0.000)	(0.000)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.048	-0.075		
					(0.374)	(0.187)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.060	0.113
							(0.418)	(0.362)
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	1446	1106	1432	1095	738	633	612	414

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

Note: The estimates are based on a restricted sample. We excluded women aspiring for permanent migration. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A9: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Temporary Migration Expectations

Dependent variable:	**Temporary migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.061	0.084**						
	(0.107)	(0.031)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.075**	-0.098**				
			(0.027)	(0.012)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.050	-0.055*		
					(0.125)	(0.087)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.003	0.053
							(0.963)	(0.464)
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	1211	934	1200	924	617	527	503	349

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

Note: The estimates are based on a restricted sample. We excluded women aspiring for permanent migration. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of high migration expectation dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A10: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Permanent Migration Aspirations

Dependent variable:	**Temporary migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.125**	0.123**						
	(0.027)	(0.027)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.212***	0.199***				
			(0.001)	(0.001)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.024	-0.060		
					(0.679)	(0.300)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.074	0.109
							(0.342)	(0.355)
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	1396	1064	1381	1052	699	598	601	408

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

Note: The estimates are based on a restricted sample. We excluded women aspiring for temporary migration. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of the migration aspiration dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A11: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Permanent Migration Expectations

Dependent variable:	**Permanent migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.072**	0.094***						
	(0.028)	(0.005)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.065*	-0.074*				
			(0.069)	(0.083)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.055*	-0.073**		
					(0.084)	(0.026)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.000	0.053
							(1.000)	(0.412)
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	1396	1064	1381	1052	699	598	601	408

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

Note: The estimates are based on a restricted sample. We excluded women aspiring for temporary migration. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of high migration expectation dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A12: Determinants of Migration Aspirations: Network's Migration Intentions controlling for remittances

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.154***	0.151***	0.157***	0.156***
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.194***	0.188***	0.191***	0.197***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.289***	0.285***	0.306***	0.304***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.384***	0.380***	0.384***	0.383***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.360***	0.358***	0.366***	0.364***
	(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
Parental 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 network plans to migrate). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** < p .01. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration, network migration intentions, the remittances indicator and the list of controls.

Table A13: Determinants of Migration Expectations: Network's Migration Intentions controlling for remittances

	Dependent variable: Migration expectation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.063**	0.059**	0.058*	0.055
	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.080)	(0.112)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.074***	0.071***	0.069**	0.075**
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.133***	0.128***	0.146***	0.145***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.129***	0.125***	0.135***	0.138***
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.127***	0.124***	0.142***	0.144***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental 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 network plans to migrate). P-values in parenthesis are based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** < p .01. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectations, network migration intentions, the remittances indicator and the list of controls.

Table A14: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Aspirations, controlling for Remittances

Dependent variable:	**Migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.144**	0.154***						
	(0.011)	(0.004)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.219***	0.212***				
			(0.000)	(0.000)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.041	-0.067		
					(0.455)	(0.238)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.073	0.094
							(0.313)	(0.433)
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	1477	1131	762	654	628	425

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

Note: Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspirations dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies, the remittances indicator and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A15: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Expectations, controlling for Remittances

Dependent variable:	**Migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.056	0.077**						
	(0.121)	(0.035)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.065**	-0.086**				
			(0.049)	(0.029)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.055	-0.067**		
					(0.100)	(0.035)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							-0.002	0.052
							(0.973)	(0.356)
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	1477	1131	762	654	628	425

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

Note: Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectations, unlikely aspiration dummies, the remittances indicator and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A16: Determinants of Migration Aspirations: Network's Migration Intentions (restricted to Lebanese women)

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.163***	0.157**	0.176***	0.178***
	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.192***	0.186***	0.202***	0.211***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.294***	0.287***	0.317***	0.318***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.374***	0.375***	0.382***	0.383***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.347***	0.350***	0.356***	0.354***
	(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
Parental Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1347	1346	1052	1042

Note: Sample restricted to only Lebanese women. Baseline level: "Network Migration Intentions": 1 (No one in network plans to migrate). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** < p .01. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, Network migration intentions and the list of controls.

Table A17: Determinants of Migration Expectations: Network's Migration Intentions(restricted to Lebanese women)

	Dependent variable: Migration expectation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.060**	0.054**	0.069**	0.066*
	(0.021)	(0.029)	(0.038)	(0.052)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.077***	0.072***	0.076***	0.084***
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.139***	0.131***	0.153***	0.155***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5				
(Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.148***	0.143***	0.157***	0.162***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.148***	0.145***	0.160***	0.163***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1347	1346	1052	1042

Note: Sample restricted to only Lebanese women. Baseline level: "Network Migration Intentions": 1 (No one in network plans to migrate). P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** < p .01. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectations, Networks migration intentions and the list of controls.

Table A18: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Aspirations (restricted to Lebanese women)

Dependent variable:	**Migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.120**	0.138***						
	(0.020)	(0.007)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.192***	0.192***				
			(0.002)	(0.001)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.028	-0.055		
					(0.606)	(0.293)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.097	0.159
							(0.234)	(0.218)
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	1341	1047	1324	1032	705	605	533	373

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

Note: Sample restricted to Lebanese women. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A19: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Expectations (restricted to Lebanese women)

Dependent variable:	**Migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.060	0.080**						
	(0.117)	(0.030)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.085**	-0.105**				
			(0.028)	(0.044)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.052	-0.067*		
					(0.156)	(0.055)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.017	0.091
							(0.746)	(0.207)
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	1341	1047	1324	1032	705	605	533	373

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

Note: Sample restricted to only Lebanese women. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectations, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A20: Determinants of Migration Aspirations: Network's Migration Intentions (controlling for family)

	Dependent variable: Migration aspiration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.150***	0.146***	0.150**	0.149**
	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.014)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.195***	0.190***	0.193***	0.198***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.294***	0.290***	0.311***	0.308***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Network Migration Intentions: 5 (Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.389***	0.383***	0.383***	0.381***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.368***	0.365***	0.370***	0.366***
	(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
Family Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1497	1496	1151	1141

Note: P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** < p .01. In this table, we add family controls including a dummy for parents being alive, number of brothers and number of sisters. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, Network migration intentions and the list of controls.

Table A21: Determinants of Migration Expectations: Network's Migration Intentions (controlling for family)

	Dependent variable: Migration expectation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Network Migration Intentions from 1 to 5				
Network Migration Intentions: 2	0.062**	0.057**	0.056*	0.053
	(0.016)	(0.027)	(0.096)	(0.126)
Network Migration Intentions: 3	0.075***	0.071***	0.071**	0.077**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Network Migration Intentions: 4	0.134***	0.130***	0.149***	0.148***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Network Migration Intentions: 5 (Almost everyone in your network plans to migrate)	0.136***	0.130***	0.139***	0.141***
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Panel B: Network Migration Intentions Index (0 to 1)				
Network Migration Intentions Index	0.134***	0.130***	0.148***	0.149***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Group Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Family Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Parental Controls	No	No	Yes	Yes
Social Norms Controls	No	No	No	Yes
No of Observations	1497	1496	1151	1141

Note: P-values in parenthesis, based on robust standard errors clustered on the district level. * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** < p .01. In this table, we add family controls including a dummy for parents being alive, number of brothers and number of sisters. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectations, Networks migration intentions and the list of controls.

Table A22: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Aspirations (controlling for family)

Dependent variable:	**Migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.145**	0.159***						
	(0.010)	(0.003)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			0.212***	0.201***				
			(0.000)	(0.001)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.038	-0.065		
					(0.495)	(0.273)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.079	0.107
							(0.290)	(0.379)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Family Controls	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	1488	1143	1473	1131	762	654	625	425

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

Note: In this table, we add family controls including a dummy for parents being alive, number of brothers and number of sisters. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A23: Unlikely Life Aspirations and Migration Expectations (controlling for family)

Dependent variable:	**Migration expectation**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Unlikely Career Aspirations	0.057	0.079**						
	(0.115)	(0.029)						
Unlikely Education Aspirations			-0.068**	-0.091**				
			(0.043)	(0.027)				
Unlikely Marriage Age Aspirations					-0.054*	-0.067**		
					(0.098)	(0.036)		
Unlikely Family Size Aspirations							0.002	0.059
							(0.975)	(0.296)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Family Controls	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	1488	1143	1473	1131	762	654	625	425

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

Note: In this table, we add family controls including a dummy for parents being alive, number of brothers and number of sisters. Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration expectations, unlikely aspiration dummies and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks and how they are defined and constructed.

Table A24: No Life Aspirations and Migration Aspirations

Dependent variable:	**Migration aspiration**							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
No Career Aspirations	-0.144***	-0.143***						
	(0.001)	(0.001)						
No Education Aspirations			-0.140***	-0.107**				
			(0.002)	(0.031)				
No Marriage Age Aspirations					0.014	0.079		
					(0.883)	(0.444)		
No Family Size Aspirations							0.018	0.069
							(0.727)	(0.280)
Governorate FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Family Controls	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	1500	1151	1500	1151	1500	1151	1500	1151

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

Note: Refer to Appendix Table A1 for the definition of migration aspiration dummy, no aspirations and for the list of controls and idiosyncratic shocks.