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Who aspires to stay? Immobility aspirations among youth in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam

Kerilyn Schewel and Sonja Fransen

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Abstract

This article studies immobility aspirations – or aspirations to stay – among individuals with high migration propensities (aged 16 to 23) in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam. Assuming that aspirations to stay are not simply the *absence* of migration aspirations, we explore which individual and household factors determine *who* aspires to stay and *why*, using unique survey data collected for the Young Lives project. We find that the majority of young people surveyed – between 61 percent (Ethiopia) and 82 percent (Vietnam) – aspire to stay in their home country. Between 32 percent (Ethiopia) and 57 percent (Vietnam) of young people aspired to stay at their current location, meaning they aspired to move neither internally nor internationally. Across country contexts, aspirations to stay were most often highest among the poorest. Further, the desire to stay decreases with higher levels of education, which suggests that widening access to formal schooling is an important driver of internal and international migration aspirations. Finally, respondents most often mentioned family-related reasons as the main motivation to stay in place. These findings contribute to a broader debate about the relationship between development and migration by challenging the linear relationship between poverty levels and migration aspirations that conventional migration theories implicitly or explicitly assume. Moreover, our findings on family reasons driving the aspiration to stay highlight the importance of non-economic factors in migration decision-making.

Keywords: Aspirations, immobility, development

Author: Kerilyn Schewel (University of Amsterdam), Sonja Fransen (University of Maastricht)

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Contents

1 Introduction

It is now well established that youth, those between the ages of 15 and 30, are the most likely to aspire to migrate and to realize their migration intentions (Bogue 1959; De Jong and Fawcett 1981; Esipova, Ray and Pugliese 2011). Research provides many explanations for why, as people age, they may be less likely to aspire to migrate or realize their migration plans. For example, as people marry and have children, the material and immaterial costs of migration rise (Ritchey 1976; Haug 2008). Social and economic ties as well as feelings of 'place-attachment' also tend to strengthen over the life cycle (Fischer and Malmberg 2001; Lewicka 2011; Schewel 2019). These findings indicate that both migration aspirations as well as migration behavior tend to be highest among youth. However, we know relatively little about why some young people, and especially those who presumably have good reasons to aspire to migrate, do *not* wish to do so.

In this article, we focus on *immobility* aspirations, and therefore the determinants of 'potential immobility', to complement growing research interest in migration aspirations and 'potential mobility' (see Esipova *et al.* 2011; Docquier, Peri and Ruyssen 2014; Carling and Collins 2018). Our focus on immobility is partly a corrective to the 'mobility bias' in migration studies, that is, a tendency to focus theoretical and empirical attention on the drivers of migration – the forces and conditions that initiate and perpetuate movement – rather than the personal and structural forces that resist or restrict migration (Schewel 2019). A mobility bias in migration research produces theories that tend to overestimate movement (Hammar and Tamas 1997), and ignores two important realities: many people who migration theories assume *should* aspire to migrate do not wish to do so, and many who *do* aspire to migrate lack the capability to leave. As a result, far fewer people migrate than wide disparities in wealth and well-being worldwide would lead us to predict (see Massey et al 1998; Carling 2002; Carling and Schewel 2018; Schewel 2019). In this light, we assume that aspirations to stay are not simply the *absence* of migration aspirations, but may have their own dynamics and drivers that warrant investigation.

Using survey data on migration aspirations from Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam, this paper asks - among the cohort most prone to leave - who aspires to stay? Our survey data is derived from the Young Lives project, a longitudinal study of the causes and consequences of childhood poverty in these four case study countries. In line with the study's overarching aims, poor areas in these countries were over-sampled, while including children from better-off areas for comparison.[1] This design provides an opportunity to give more focused attention to the impacts of poverty on the staying aspirations of young people. Because immobility is always relative—everyone moves to some degree in their daily lives—we define the aspiration to stay in two ways: the aspiration to stay within one's current locality (not migrating), and the aspiration to stay within one's country (migrating internally rather than internationally). Because the data is not nationally-representative, our primary goal in this paper is to discern common drivers of staying aspirations *across* country contexts, rather than to explain country-level variations in staying aspirations. We use descriptive statistics to map and compare the aspirations to stay among youth in these four countries, as well as their reasons for aspiring to stay, after which we apply regression analyses to disentangle the factors that play a role in their immobility aspirations.

Our findings contribute to a broader debate about the relationship between development and migration. Standard economic theory, policy discourse, and common-sense often suggest that poverty and inequality drive migration. Neoclassical migration and push-pull theories frame

[1] For more information on sampling and study design of the Young Lives survey, see: www.younglives.org.uk/content/sampling-and-attrition.

migration as a process driven by wage and opportunity gaps between origin and destination areas (Harris and Todaro 1970). From this perspective, the most disadvantaged should be the most likely to (aspire to) migrate. However, empirical research seems to suggest the opposite: in many places, the poorest are often the least mobile; in fact, some of the poorest countries in the world show the lowest levels of emigration (de Haas 2007; 2010). What is less clear is whether higher levels of immobility among the poor are a result of capability constraints – that is, people aspire to move but lack the financial, human and/or social capital to do so (de Haas 2014) – or whether higher levels of immobility reflect higher staying aspirations. Our findings suggest that immobility among poorer populations is not simply a story of migration constraints; rather, in a pro-poor sample, the majority of respondents – between 61 percent (Ethiopia) and 82 percent (Vietnam) in our four country case studies – aspired to stay in their home country, and across country contexts, aspirations to stay in one's current location were most often highest among the poorest. We explore how these aspirations to stay shift in relation to other socioeconomic characteristics, including levels of education, employment, rural/urban setting, gender, and family networks at origin.

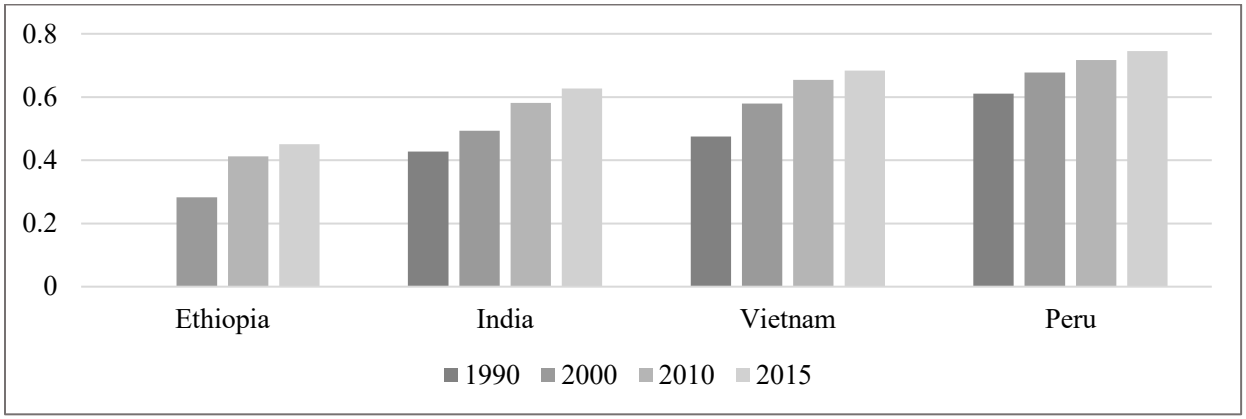
2 Case study contexts

The Young Lives data was collected in four very different countries drawn from four major world regions. Doing justice to their distinct migration histories and drivers is beyond the scope of this paper, where we instead focus on identifying overarching and common trends. Nevertheless, this section provides a brief overview of some development and migration indicators for each country to sketch the contexts in which this study is embedded. It shows that each country experienced relatively significant gains in human development since the 1990s, which provides an opportunity to explore whether there are common features and motivations among young people who do not want to migrate in 'developing' countries.

Regarding economic development, India, Vietnam, and Peru are now categorized as 'middle-income countries' while Ethiopia remains a 'low-income' country. Yet within these general development classifications, poverty levels differ substantially across countries. In 2010, one-third of Ethiopia's population earned less the $1.90 per day (2011 PPP; WDI 2019), compared to 5.5 percent in Peru, 4.2 percent in Vietnam. In India, 21.2 percent of the population earned less the $1.90 per day in 2011 (WDI 2019). However, rural/urban differences in poverty rates are larger in Peru and Vietnam compared to Ethiopia. Thirty percent of the rural population lives at or below the national poverty line in Ethiopia, compared to 25.7 percent of its urban population. In Peru, 61 percent of the rural population lives at or below the national poverty line, compared to just 20 percent in urban areas. The figures are 26.9 percent (rural) and 6.0 percent (urban) in Vietnam in 2010, and 25.7 percent (rural) and 13.7 percent (urban) in India in 2011 (WDI 2019). Thus, poverty levels are higher in the rural areas of each country, but the rural/urban gaps in poverty prevalence differ substantially.

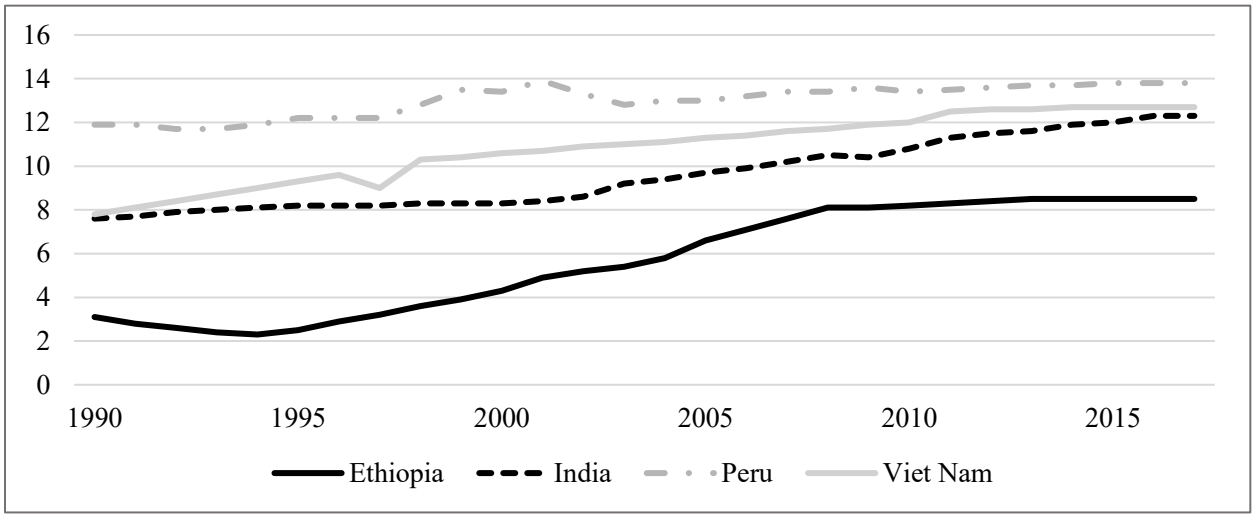
Beyond economic indicators, the Human Development Index, measured on a scale of 0 to 1, provides a composite picture of three basic dimensions of human development—life expectancy, education, and gross national income. All four countries have experienced rising levels of human development over the last few decades, though at varying levels (see Figure 1). The most dramatic rise in human development is seen in Ethiopia, in part because of the relatively recent and rapid expansion in primary education (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. Human Development Index Trends by Country (1990-2015)



Source: UNDP Human Development Report 2019

Figure 2. Expected Years of Schooling by Country (1990-2017)

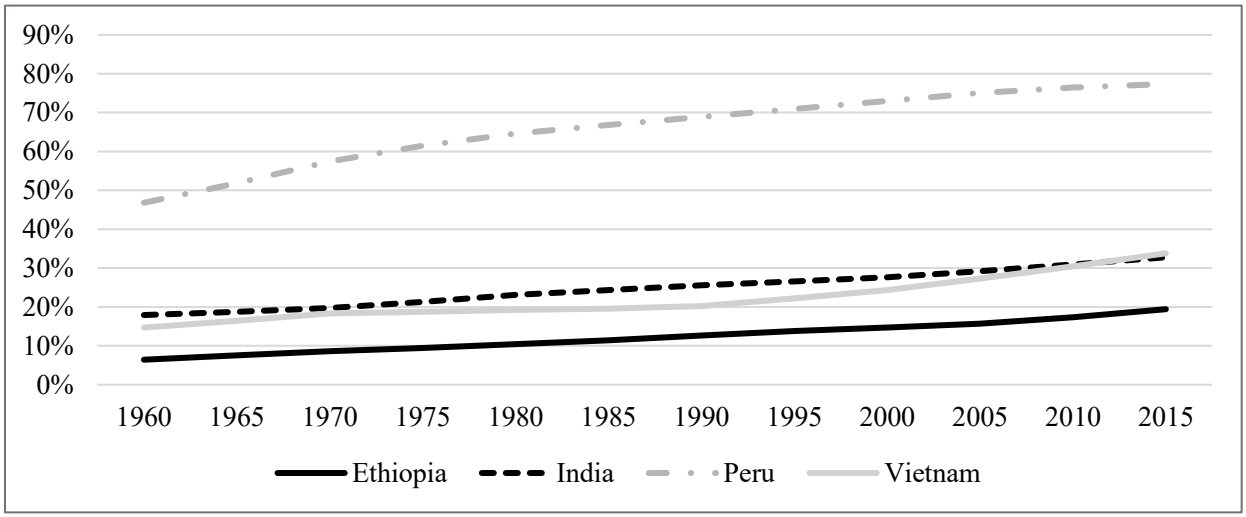


Source: UNDP 2019

As these countries have been experiencing fundamental social transformations associated with economic growth and human development over the last several decades, population movements also shifted. All four case study countries experienced a steady process of urbanization over the last half-century, with Peru showing much higher levels of urbanization than the other three case study countries (Figure 3). We find the percentage of each country's population now living in urban areas mirrors the sectoral make-up of employment (see Figure 4): Peru shows the highest level urban population and employment in the service sector; India and Vietnam, despite wide differences in population, show similar sectoral employment and rural/urban profiles, and Ethiopia is the most rural and agricultural, with some 80 percent of its population living in rural areas as small-holder farmers as of the last national census (CSA 2010).

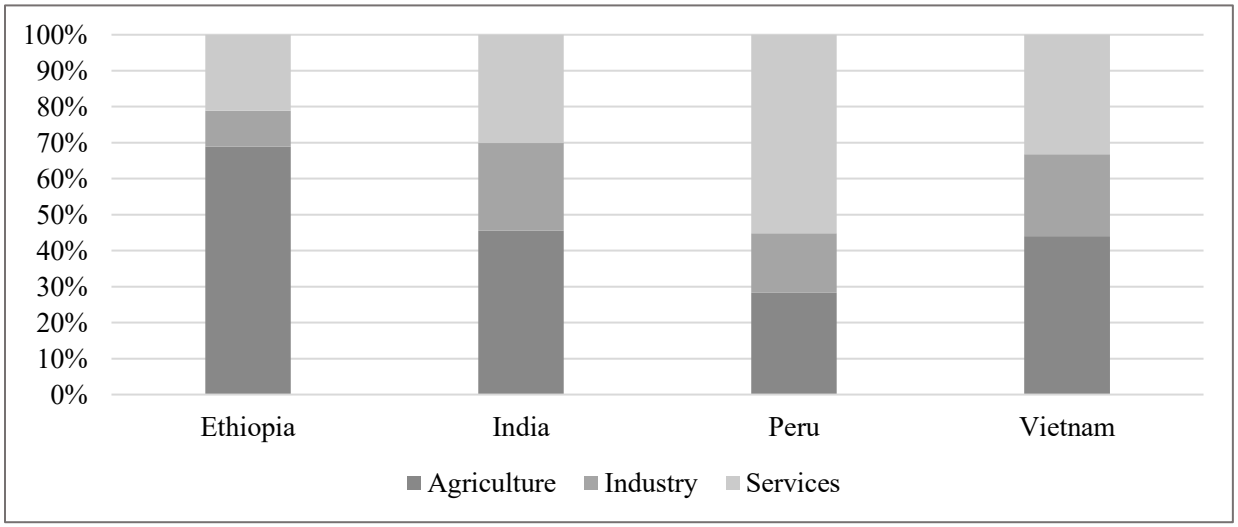
Rural-urban migration seems to have increased as each country experienced the transformations associated with 'development' over the last several decades. So, too, have levels of international migration, though to varying degrees. Emigration rates, defined as total emigrant stock per total population, follow somewhat similar patterns as urbanization trends. Peru shows the highest levels of emigration, jumping from 2.6 percent in 2000 to 4.6 percent in 2015 (UNDESA 2015). India and Vietnam also show steady but less dramatic growth in their emigration rates: from 0.8 percent in 2000 to 1.2 percent in 2015 in India, and 2.3 percent to 2.8 percent over the same period in Vietnam. Ethiopia shows the lowest levels of emigration, 0.7 percent, with little to no reported increase since 2000 (UNDESA 2015).

Figure 3. Urban Population as Percentage of Total Population



Source: WDI 2019

Figure 4. Employment by Sector (% of total, modeled ILO estimate) in 2015



Source: WDI 2019

Table 1 shows the top ten international destinations of migrants from each country in 2015, based on migrant stock data from UNDESA (2015). The United States is the top destination for each country except India, which shows much higher levels of emigration to the Middle East, particularly the United Arab Emirates. In Ethiopia, after the United States, most migrants leave for Middle Eastern or African destinations, while Peruvian migrants tend concentrate in other South American and European destinations. Vietnamese migrants see the greatest share of its emigrants in the United States – some half of all overseas Vietnamese – due to refugee flows and family reunification after the Vietnam War ended in 1975.

Table 1. Top Ten Destinations of emigrants in 2015

Ethiopia		India		Peru		Vietnam	
Destination country	Migrant stock	Destination country	Migrant stock	Destination country	Migrant stock	Destination country	Migrant stock
USA	184 022	UAE	3 499 337	USA	442 615	USA	1 302 870
KSA	124 347	Pakistan	2 000 908	Argentina	195 320	Australia	227 298
Israel	80 474	USA	1 969 286	Spain	183 529	Canada	182 847
Sudan	60 734	KSA	1 894 380	Chile	178 385	France	125 731
S. Africa	44 891	Kuwait	1 061 758	Italy	116 038	Rep. of Kor.	113 998
Kenya	36 889	Oman	777 632	Japan	48 837	Germany	112 958
Italy	30 401	U.K.	776 603	Venezuela	47 007	Malaysia	87 272
Canada	27 608	Qatar	645 577	Canada	30 099	Japan	72 620
Germany	20 809	Canada	621 469	Germany	18 568	Czech Rep.	47 475
U.K.	16 654	Nepal	446491	Brazil	17931	Cambodia	36436
World	**753 492**		**15 575 724**		**1 409 676**		**2 558 678**

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2015). Notes: Total migrant stock at mid-year. KSA = Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, USA = United States of America, UAE = United Arab Emirates.

3 Methodology

We use data from the Young Lives project, a longitudinal study on child and youth poverty, funded by the UK Department for International Development (DfID). This study collected panel data over a fifteen-year period in four countries – Ethiopia, India (in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana), Peru, and Vietnam – among a younger cohort (2,000 children born in 2001-02 in each country) and an older cohort (between 700 and 1,000 children born in 1994-95 in each country). We use data from the older cohort, who were roughly between 18 and 20 years old, and who were interviewed for the fourth survey round, in 2013 and 2014. In total, our analyses are based on a sample of 3,383 individuals: 909 in Ethiopia, 952 in India, 635 in Peru, and 887 in Vietnam.[2]

[2] Attrition rates between round 1 and round 4 of data collection ranged from 11.3 percent in Vietnam to 4.3 percent in India. In India, Peru and Vietnam, the main reasons for attrition among the older cohort include refusals to continue with the research or respondents were 'untraceable,' which may be due to migration. Only in Ethiopia was international migration the main reason for attrition (6.4 percent). More information on sampling and attrition in the four research sites can be found in the Round 4 Survey Design and Sampling Factsheets, which are available online at: www.younglives.org.uk. The fact that internal and international migration, particularly in the case of Ethiopia, is one reason for attrition, may mean that individuals who (aspire to) stay are slightly overrepresented in our sample.

The fourth survey round of the Young Lives study is particularly interesting for our study, because it is the only round in which respondents were asked about their migration aspirations. In particular, the survey asked: *'Would you like to move from your current location to a different place at some point within the next 10 years?'* and if yes, '*Do you know where you would like to move?'* (yes/no) and '*If you were to move, where would you be most likely to move to?*' By allowing for a range of responses across administrative boundaries, this data provides a unique opportunity to consider staying aspirations relative to internal and international destinations at the same time.

In line with the overall focus of the study on childhood poverty, districts with higher food shortages were, for example, oversampled to ensure the inclusion of poor children, and urban and rural areas were purposively sampled so that children from both areas were included. Although this means that the data is not nationally representative, this sampling strategy is theoretically generative in the context of this study's research interests. The deliberate incorporation of poor youth allows us to compare how economic and educational factors impact aspirations to stay in poorer contexts.

3.1 Aspirations to stay: descriptive statistics

Table 2 shows the prevalence of staying aspirations among the youth in our sample in each of the four countries, as well as the variables that we used to explore the determinants of their aspirations to stay. These descriptive statistics reveal that approximately one-third of the young respondents in our sample aspired to stay *in their current locations* in Ethiopia, India and Peru. Reported aspirations to stay are significantly higher in Vietnam, where 57 percent of the interviewed youth aspired to stay at the location they were in when the interview took place.[3] Aspirations to stay *within the country*, which includes youth who aspire to stay at home *and* those who aspire to move internally, are significantly higher. Between 61 percent and 68 percent of youth aspired to stay in Ethiopia, India and Peru, whereas aspirations to stay were again highest in Vietnam, where 82 percent of the interviewed individuals aspired to stay within the country.

The individual and household characteristics of the young respondents in our sample are also shown in Table 2. These characteristics were chosen to study how they relate to the respondents' aspirations to stay. The respondents were on average between 18 and 19 years old at the time of survey (2013/2014), and there is a relatively equal distribution of males and females.

To study how aspirations to stay relate to formal schooling, we included three education variables: 1) whether or not respondents were in school, 2) their educational attainment, and 3) their aspired educational attainment. Many of the respondents were still in school at the time of the survey. In Ethiopia, approximately 60 percent of respondents were still in school, whereas in India and Peru this was approximately 50 percent. In Vietnam, 46 percent of the young respondents were still in school. Educational attainment refers to the highest level of education completed and was recoded to match the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) so that the data is comparable across countries.[4] The educational attainment scale ranges from 0 (no education or early childhood education) to 8 (doctoral or equivalent). Educational attainment is highest in India (M = 2.52), followed by Vietnam (M = 2.04), Peru (M = 1.72), and Ethiopia (M = 1.60).

[3] Locations refer to *Kebeles* in Ethiopia, *villages* in India, *villages* or *hamlets* in Peru, and *communes* in Vietnam.
[4] ISCED scores refer to: 0 "Early childhood education or no education", 1 "primary education", 2 "lower secondary education", 3 "upper secondary education", 4 "post-secondary non-tertiary education", 5 "shorty-cycle tertiary education", 6 "bachelor or equivalent", 7 "master or equivalent", 8 "doctoral or equivalent".

Table 2. Youth Interviewed in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam

	All countries		Ethiopia		India		Peru		Vietnam	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Migration aspirations										
Aspiration to stay at current location	0.38	0.49	0.32	0.47	0.35	0.48	0.25	0.43	0.57	0.50
Aspiration to stay in country	0.72	0.45	0.61	0.49	0.71	0.45	0.69	0.46	0.87	0.34
Background characteristics										
Age	18.62	0.53	18.51	0.55	18.72	0.46	18.41	0.57	18.76	0.47
Gender (1 = male)	0.51	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.49	0.50	0.53	0.50	0.48	0.50
Currently in school	0.51	0.50	0.59	0.49	0.49	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.46	0.50
Educational attainment[1]	1.84	1.09	1.04	0.95	2.51	0.88	1.72	0.48	2.04	1.17
Aspired educ. attainment[2]	5.13	1.78	5.34	1.79	4.84	1.86	4.73	1.80	5.44	1.58
Self-efficacy[3]	2.15	0.49	2.26	0.55	2.16	0.48	2.12	0.49	2.06	0.43
Farm work past 12 months	0.37	0.48	0.47	0.50	0.36	0.48	0.16	0.36	0.43	0.50
Paid empl. past 12 months	0.41	0.49	0.35	0.48	0.36	0.48	0.51	0.50	0.45	0.50
In business past 12 months	0.18	0.38	0.25	0.44	0.10	0.30	0.18	0.39	0.19	0.40
Migration since 2009[4]	0.46	0.50	0.36	0.48	0.53	0.50	0.41	0.49	0.53	0.50
Household characteristics										
Subjective wealth[5]	2.66	0.74	2.64	0.81	2.54	0.85	2.74	0.55	2.77	0.64
Wealth index	0.55	0.19	0.37	0.16	0.61	0.15	0.63	0.17	0.61	0.13
Access to services	0.66	0.27	0.48	0.25	0.72	0.23	0.88	0.19	0.61	0.25
Housing quality	0.57	0.24	0.39	0.20	0.71	0.23	0.53	0.25	0.63	0.16
Consumer durables	0.42	0.22	0.23	0.18	0.39	0.14	0.49	0.21	0.59	0.15
Livestock ownership	0.49	0.50	0.63	0.48	0.41	0.49	0.42	0.49	0.48	0.50
Number of people to rely on for material support[6]	1.80	1.18	1.89	1.20	1.98	1.07	1.47	0.90	1.75	1.38
Number of relatives/family in the community[7]	2.07	1.60	1.68	1.46	1.67	1.11	1.43	1.24	3.37	1.71
Urban residence	0.41	0.49	0.43	0.50	0.30	0.46	0.84	0.37	0.19	0.39

Notes. [1] Educational attainment ranges from 1) no education/early childhood education to 4) higher secondary education. [2] Aspired educational attainment is measured as 1) early childhood education/no education, 2) primary education, 3 lower secondary education, 4) upper secondary education, 5) post-secondary non-tertiary education, 6) bachelor or equivalent, and 7) master or equivalent, following ISCED classification. [3] Self-efficacy was measured with the question 'I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort'. The scale was recoded to range from 1) disagree, 2) agree, and 3) strongly agree. [4] Migration since 2009 refers to a move to a different location for at least two months since Round 3 of Young Lives data collection (0 = no, 1 = yes). [5] Subjective wealth was measured with the question 'Which of the following best your household?' with answer categories ranging from 'very rich (1) to 'destitute' (6). We recoded the responses into four categories: 1) poor/destitute, 2) never have quite enough, 3) comfortable, and 4) rich/very rich. [6] Measured with 'Suppose you are in need of material support. How many people can you rely on in time of need?', ranging from 0) none to 7) over 30. [7] Measured with 'How many relatives/family live in this community (excluding those in your own household)?', ranging from 0) none, to 5) 30 or more.

Aspired educational attainment was measured by asking youth what level of education they aspired to attain, imagining they had no constraints. The average score on this variable across the four countries is 5.13, which corresponds to an education level in between post-secondary education and bachelor levels. Aspired education levels were highest in Vietnam (M = 5.44) and Ethiopia (M = 5.34), and lowest in India (M = 4.84) and Peru (M = 4.73). To see how aspirations for the future relate to a person's confidence to achieve them, we also include a variable for 'self-efficacy,' which generally refers to a person's confidence in their ability to succeed (see Bandura 1977). It is one indicator of the personal characteristics that also shape migration or staying aspirations (see e.g. Schewel and Fransen 2018). In this study, self-efficacy was measured using the statement 'I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort', with answer categories recoded to range from 1 (disagree), 2 (agree), or 3 (strongly agree). The highest expressions of self-efficacy were reported in Ethiopia (M = 2.26), and the lowest were reported in Vietnam (M = 2.06).

To explore how local employment affects aspirations to stay, we incorporated variables that captured whether youth had engaged in farm work, paid employment and/or business activities over the 12 months previous to data collection.[5] The descriptive statistics show that 37 percent of youth in our sample had engaged in farm work, and 41 percent had been involved in paid employment in this period. Significant differences can be discerned across countries, with youth in Ethiopia being most likely to have been engaged in farm work (47 percent) and youth in Peru most likely to have been engaged in paid employment (51 percent). Fewer youth across the four countries (18 percent) were engaged in business activities.

We also control for previous migration episodes in the analyses. The variable 'Migration since 2009' refers to a move to a different location for at least two months since Round 3 of Young Lives data collection (0 = no, 1 = yes). Almost half of the respondents had previous migration episodes, particularly those residing in Vietnam and India. Previous research using Young Lives data from Ethiopia found that youth who had migrated for work were more likely to aspire to migrate again (Schewel and Fransen 2018). We thus we hypothesize that having no migration experience may predict higher staying preferences.

To study the relationship between household wealth and migration aspirations, we included several wealth-related variables, including a subjective measure of wealth and a wealth index. Subjective wealth was measured with the question 'Which of the following best describes your household?' with answer categories ranging from 'very rich (1) to 'destitute' (6). As few respondents had opted for the 'extreme' categories, we recoded the responses into four categories: 1) poor/destitute, 2) never have quite enough, 3) comfortable, and 4) rich/very rich. The average score on the subjective wealth variable was 2.66, with significantly higher scores in Vietnam and Peru. The wealth index was included in the dataset and is composed of three indices measuring housing quality, consumer durables, and access to services (see Outes-Leon and Sanchez 2008 for more information on the construction of the wealth index). Housing quality includes the number of rooms per person, floor quality of the house, and roof quality. Good floor quality refers to floors

[5] Farm work referred to work 'on a farm owned or rented by you or any member of your household (e.g. cultivating crops, farming tasks, caring for livestock'. Paid employment referred to work 'for someone who is NOT a member of your household (e.g. a company, the government, neighbours farm)' and could include agricultural and non-agricultural work. Finally, business activities referred to work 'on your own account or in a business enterprise belonging to you or someone in your household (e.g. shop-keeper)' (Young Lives child questionnaire, older cohort, available here: https://www.younglives.org.uk/sites/www.younglives.org.uk/files/et-r4-oc-child-questionnaire.pdf). The job categories are not mutually exclusive, meaning that Young Lives respondents could have engaged in multiple activities.

made of a finished material (cement, tile or laminated material), whereas good roof quality refers to roofs that are made of iron, concrete tiles or slates. The consumer durables index includes ownership of large household assets such as a radio, bicycle, TV, motorbike or scooter, motorised vehicle or truck, landline telephone, and a modern bed or table. Finally, the services index includes whether the household has access electricity, piped water source, a pit latrine or flush toilet, and if the household uses electricity, gas or kerosene for cooking.

In the analyses, we explore the effects of both the wealth index and its subcategories separately. Finally, in Ethiopia, India and Vietnam the majority of respondents, between 19 and 43 percent, resided in rural areas at the time of the survey, whereas 84 percent of respondents resided in urban areas in Peru.

4 Findings: Who aspires to stay?

4.1 Who aspires to stay: Descriptive statistics

To gain first insights into *who* aspires to stay, Table 3 details the characteristics of young people who aspire to stay in their current location and within their country. Regarding the aspiration to stay in one's immediate locality – that is, those who have no migration aspirations, whether internal or international – a few characteristics appear to be particularly significant.

First, education was significantly related to the respondents' aspirations to stay. Those who were not enrolled in school, or those with no or only a few years of education, most often expressed a desire to stay as compared to their peers who were either in school or had attained higher levels of education. These trends also hold concerning educational aspirations: those who did not aspire to higher levels of education were more likely to envision a future where they were and did not aspire to migrate, either internally or internationally. Related to education is the variable of self-efficacy. Those with lower expressions of self-efficacy were also more likely to prefer to stay where they were. These patterns also hold for young people who aspire to stay within their country – in other words, when incorporating young people who aspire to move internally but not internationally. The only exception is related to educational attainment. Aspirations to stay within the current location were highest among those with lower levels of education, whereas aspirations to stay within the country were highest among those with the lowest and the highest levels of educational attainment.

Second, trends regarding subjective wealth or more objective measures through the wealth index were less linear. Those who were most likely to express an aspiration to stay were those who were among the poorest and those who were financially 'comfortable,' while those who feel they 'never have quite enough' and those were saw themselves as 'rich' or 'very rich,' more often aspired to migrate. Regarding the wealth index, those in the middle quintile – neither the richest nor poorest – more often expressed an aspiration to stay in their locality, although these findings do not hold in the regression analyses when other factors are controlled for. It is worth noting that the three components of the wealth index – access to services, housing quality, and consumer durables – showed associations with stay aspirations in different directions. For example, youth with the lowest access to services more often expressed an aspiration to stay. However, youth with more consumer durables inside their homes more often expressed an aspiration to stay. These trends were similar regarding the aspiration to stay within one's country.

Table 3. Who Aspires to Stay? Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Categories	Aspiration to stay in locality (%)	Aspiration to stay in country (%)	Variable	Categories	Aspiration to stay in locality (%)	Aspiration to stay in country (%)
Age	Age group 16-18	0.33	0.69	Subjective wealth	Poor/destitute	0.45	0.75
	Age group 19-23	0.42	0.74		Never have quite enough	0.29	0.65
		***	***		Comfortable/can manage	0.40	0.73
Gender	Male	0.40	0.71		Rich/very rich	0.30	0.66
	Female	0.36	0.73			***	***
		**		Wealth index	Lowest quintile	0.38	0.68
Currently in education	No	0.50	0.79		Middle quintile	0.42	0.76
	Yes	0.27	0.65		Highest quintile	0.35	0.72
		***	***			***	***
Educational attainment	No educ./pre-primary	0.52	0.75	Access to services index	Lowest quintile	0.43	0.74
	Primary	0.46	0.76		Middle quintile	0.34	0.71
	Lower secondary	0.31	0.66		Highest quintile	0.33	0.70
	Upper secondary	0.33	0.73			***	*
		***	***	Housing quality index	Lowest quintile	0.35	0.68
Aspired educ. Attainment	Low (no educ/primary)	0.57	0.79		Highest quintile	0.35	0.72
	Medium (sec. & voc.)	0.50	0.77			***	***
	High (BA/MA >)	0.33	0.70	Consumer durables index	Lowest quintile	0.35	0.68
		***	***		Middle quintile	0.39	0.75
Self-efficacy	(Strongly) disagree	0.49	0.78		Highest quintile	0.42	0.76
	Agree	0.40	0.74			***	***
	Strongly agree	0.29	0.64	Livestock ownership	No	0.37	0.71
		***	***		Yes	0.40	0.73
Farm work past 12 months	No	0.35	0.70			*	
	Yes	0.44	0.76	People for material support	None	0.46	0.77
		***	***		One or more	0.37	0.71
Paid empl. past 12 months	No	0.37	0.71			***	**
	Yes	0.39	0.73	No. of relatives in the comm.	None	0.37	0.67
					One or more	0.38	0.73
Business past 12 months	No	0.38	0.72				**
	Yes	0.39	0.73	Urban/rural	Rural	0.42	0.77
					Urban	0.33	0.65
Migration since 2009	No	0.40	0.69			***	***
	Yes	0.36	0.75				
		*	***				

Notes. *** indicates that the difference is significant at the 1% level. ** indicates that the difference is significant at the 5% level. * indicates that the difference is significant at the 10% level.

Third, regarding employment, the only significant difference between youth who aspired to stay and those who did not concerned whether young people had engaged in farm work in the past 12 months. Those who had worked in agriculture were more likely to aspire to stay where they were or within the country. Perhaps relatedly, young people in rural areas also expressed a desire to stay more often. Interestingly, there was no significant difference between the aspiration to stay in one's locality and having relatives present, while those who had relatives more often expressed an aspiration to stay in the country. In both cases, those who did not have anyone on whom they could rely upon for material support – most likely the most vulnerable youth – more often expressed a desire to stay.

In addition to these overarching trends, there were some important country-level differences as well (see Table A.1 in the Appendix). For example, gender was only significantly related to staying aspirations in India, where women were more likely to aspire to stay. Paid employment was significantly related to a stronger desire to stay in India, but not strongly related to staying aspirations in other countries. Youth who engaged in farm work over the last year showed higher staying aspirations in India, Vietnam and Peru, but not in Ethiopia, where the highest percentage of youth sampled were engaged in agriculture. Regarding wealth, those who perceived themselves to be rich or very rich – and those who were in the highest quintile of the wealth index – were generally less likely to aspire to stay in their current localities in India and Vietnam. Ethiopia and Peru showed trends in the opposite direction, although these were not significant.

Access to services likewise had divergent relationships on the country-level; in Ethiopia, those with greater access to services were more likely to aspire to stay where they were, whereas in India and Vietnam, the opposite was the case. In Ethiopia, where less than half of the sample had access to basic services, the relative scarcity of basic services may increase the desire to stay if one has access to them, whereas in India and Vietnam, greater access to services may enhance awareness of opportunities and thus desires to move elsewhere. Peru shows the highest level of access to services, probably related to the largely urban sample, and this is likely one reason why no effect is seen in that context. Although country-level differences are not the main focus of our analyses, these findings show that some relationships between individual and household characteristics on the one hand, and staying aspirations on the other, are often country specific. The regression analyses will examine these relationships in greater detail to see to what degree the overarching (and country specific) trends hold when controlling for other factors.

4.2 Reasons for aspiring to stay

Table 4 gives insights into the reasons that the Young Lives respondents themselves reported for aspiring to stay at their current location.[6] The most important finding here is that the majority of respondents indicated that their main motivation to stay was because they have family at their current location. This was particularly the case in Vietnam, where approximately 70 percent of respondents stated that family was their main motivation to stay in their current location. The presence of 'family' as a reason to stay could reflect several different realities. It gives support to the positive notion that family and friends are a valued aspect of life that tends to reduce desires

[6] The question on reasons for aspiring to stay was only asked to those who did not want to migrate (internally or internationally) and not to those who aspired to stay within their country.

to leave (Ritchey 1976; de Jong and Fawcett 1981). However, it may also signal social or economic responsibilities to family that are 'location-specific' and require a person to stay where they are.

Other important reasons for respondents to aspire to stay were related to schooling or studying and having work at the current location. In India, approximately 20 percent of young people mentioned property such as housing or land as the main reason to aspire to stay in their current location. However, this was much lower in the other country cases, which highlights the importance of understanding local norms regarding land-holding and the age at which people generally inherit property. Enrollment in school was only a common response in Ethiopia and Peru, and much less common in India or Vietnam. Finally, a general of feeling of 'happiness' in the current place was mentioned often as well.

Table 4. Main Reasons to Stay in Current Location

	Ethiopia (%)	India (%)	Peru (%)	Vietnam (%)	All countries (%)
I have family here	44.59	49.24	50.00	69.25	56.11
I have a job I like here/work here	12.84	15.50	5.77	8.13	10.82
I am happy here/have a good life	9.46	8.51	12.82	9.33	9.57
I have house/land/property here	3.72	19.76	4.49	4.17	8.09
I am at school here/studying here	15.88	0.91	11.54	2.78	6.38
I have community here	0.68	2.43	0.64	2.78	1.95
I have responsibilities here	1.69	1.52	7.05	0.40	1.79
I do not know where to go	3.04	0.61	-	0.79	1.40
Other	8.11	1.51	7.69	2.39	3.90
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 5 examines the respondents' motivations for staying split by rural/urban location, different levels of the wealth index, and educational attainment. These findings show that family-related motivations for staying were higher in rural areas and among those with no education, while there were no large differences by wealth. Youth with higher levels of education more often mentioned their work as a motivation for staying. Having land or property was more often a motivation for staying in rural areas, while enrollment in school was more often a motivation for staying in urban areas. Young people who scored higher on the wealth index more often expressed being happy, or having a good life, as a reason for staying. It is worth noting that 1.70 percent of respondents in the low wealth category mentioned 'I cannot afford to move' as a motivation for staying. Respondents in the medium wealth category did not mention this motivation, and in the high wealth category, 0.77 percent of respondents mentioned this motivation. In this regard, *how* people envision moving – the kind of migration they realistically consider and the resources that migration requires (e.g. seasonal labor migration versus migration for education) – also likely depends on their socioeconomic status. Finally, although not included in the tables, the most significant gender differences in motivations to stay concerned work and family (results are available upon request). Both sexes mentioned family and employment as key motivations for staying, but young men in all four countries more often mentioned good local employment, whereas women more often mentioned the presence of family.

Table 5. Main Reasons to Stay in Current Location: By Area, Wealth, and Education

	Total	By rural/urban		By wealth index			By educational attainment		
	(%)	R (%)	U (%)	Low (%)	Med. (%)	High (%)	No (%)	Prim. (%)	Sec. (%)
I have family here	56.1	60.33	48.21	57.7	56.2	54.9	63.7	44.0	51.9
I have a job I like here/work here	10.8	11.11	10.27	10.4	13.2	7.4	8.6	10.8	11.6
I am happy here/have a good life	9.6	7.29	13.84	6.6	8.6	14.1	7.4	12.4	11.2
I have house/land/property here	8.1	9.68	5.13	7.1	9.1	8.2	5.0	10.4	9.9
I am at school here/studying here	6.4	4.30	10.27	7.1	5.4	6.9	5.0	13.5	8.1
I have community here	2.0	1.43	2.90	1.7	1.5	2.8	2.1	1.5	2.1
I have responsibilities here	1.8	1.43	2.46	2.1	1.5	1.8	2.4	3.1	1.8
I do not know where to go	1.4	0.72	2.68	0.9	2.2	1.0	1.8	1.2	0.9
Other	3.9	3.72	4.24	6.6	2.4	2.8	4.1	3.1	2.6
Total	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.3 Aspirations to stay: Regression analyses

Table 6 examines what factors are associated with the aspiration to stay in one's current location, while controlling for other variables. In line with the descriptive statistics, we find that being enrolled in school, and achieving higher levels of education is associated with lower levels of staying aspirations. In fact, each successive level of educational attainment shows a progressively greater effect on diminishing the desire to stay in one's location. These findings show the important effect of education on migration aspirations. Higher levels of self-efficacy also predict stronger desires to leave; even when controlling for wealth and education levels, those who feel more control over their futures are less likely to imagine staying where they are.

Regarding wealth and employment, we find that paid employment in the last 12 months *decreases* the desire to stay where one is. If employment is in agriculture, however, it can increase an aspiration to stay in one's locality, most likely because of ties to land. Higher levels of wealth appear to be negative and linearly related to aspirations to stay. This differs from our descriptive findings, which suggested that youth with middling levels of wealth were more likely to aspire to stay than poorer or wealthier youth. Table 6 shows that, when disaggregated into its component parts, the different dimensions of the wealth index had countervailing effects. Those with greater access to services were less likely to aspire to stay, whereas those with greater access to consumer durables were more likely to aspire to stay, which is in line with our descriptive findings. As consumer durables refer to large household items (such as televisions, cars, or furniture), they may represent an investment in a current location. Access to services, such as electricity and piped water sources, however, may reflect greater connectivity and thus awareness about opportunities and lifestyles elsewhere, bolstering aspirations to migrate. Housing quality, however, was not significant, nor were reported levels of subjective wealth. Compared to those who report being poor or destitute, it was only the second group – those who 'never have quite enough' – who was significantly less likely to aspire to stay.

Table 6. Regression Analyses: Aspirations to Stay in Current Location

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age	0.14*					0.14*
	(0.08)					(0.08)
Gender (1 = male)	-0.15*					-0.10
	(0.08)					(0.08)
Currently in education	-0.71***					-0.82***
	(0.09)					(0.10)
Primary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.29**					-0.28**
	(0.14)					(0.14)
Lower secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.36**					-0.33**
	(0.15)					(0.15)
Upper secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-1.09***					-1.05***
	(0.16)					(0.16)
Farm work past 12 months		0.30***				0.19*
		(0.09)				(0.10)
Paid job past 12 months		0.02				-0.32***
		(0.08)				(0.09)
Business past 12 months		0.04				-0.06
		(0.10)				(0.11)
Previous migration		-0.20**				-0.17**
		(0.08)				(0.08)
Self-efficacy		-0.40***				-0.31***
		(0.08)				(0.08)
Subjective wealth			-0.06	-0.05		0.01
			(0.05)	(0.05)		(0.06)
Medium wealth (ref. = low wealth)			-0.18*			
			(0.11)			
High wealth (ref. = low wealth)			-0.38***			
			(0.13)			
Access to services index				-0.87***		-0.60***
				(0.21)		(0.22)
Housing quality index				-0.27		-0.14
				(0.20)		(0.21)
Consumer durables index				0.16		0.80***
				(0.28)		(0.30)
Livestock			0.18**	0.15*		0.11
			(0.09)	(0.09)		(0.10)
People for material support					-0.01	0.02
					(0.03)	(0.04)
Family/relatives in the comm.					-0.02	-0.05*
					(0.03)	(0.03)
Urban	0.19**	0.12	0.20*	0.31***	-0.06	0.38***
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.13)
India (ref. = Ethiopia)	0.59***	0.16	0.34***	0.44***	0.10	0.69***
	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.16)
Peru (ref. = Ethiopia)	-0.39***	-0.29**	-0.15	-0.04	-0.26**	-0.34**
	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.17)
Vietnam (ref. = Ethiopia)	1.47***	1.02***	1.28***	1.24***	1.04***	1.44***
	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.18)
Constant	-2.75*	0.00	-0.74***	-0.36**	-0.67***	-1.86
	(1.47)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(1.51)
Observations	3,081	3,081	3,081	3,081	3,081	3,081
Pseudo R2	0.10	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.11

Notes. *** indicates that the difference is significant at the 1% level. ** indicates that the difference is significant at the 5% level. * indicates that the difference is significant at the 10% level.

Table 6 also shows that previous migration experiences decrease the desire to stay where one is. If one has already moved, perhaps one can more easily imagine doing so again, or has the networks or know-how to migrate again. Regarding family and networks, however, the number of people on whom youth can rely for material support did not predict an aspiration to stay, nor did the number of relatives in the community have a particularly strong effect. If anything, more relatives may decrease a desire to stay, but this effect is not as robust as one might expect given it being the most common motivation given by youth to stay in their communities (Table 3).

The regression analyses also suggest that location matters. Those in urban areas are more likely to envision a future where they are, which is the opposite of what our descriptive findings suggest. This effect seems to be primarily driven by India and Vietnam (see Table A.2). Indeed, country contexts do show important differences that should be acknowledged. In Table 5, for example, youth people in Vietnam and India are more likely to aspire to stay than youth in Ethiopia, while youth in Peru are more likely to aspire to migrate. This shows that, even among countries at similar levels of human development, the expressions of staying aspirations were quite different. Nevertheless, Table A.2 in the Appendix shows that many patterns still hold across countries. For example, youth enrolled in school are less likely to want to stay where they area. Ethiopia shows stronger effects for education at each level of educational attainment, but in India and Vietnam, achieving secondary or higher levels of educational attainment predicts stronger desires to leave. Interestingly, this relationship does not hold for Peru, but this may be because of the smaller sample size there.

Regarding wealth and employment, the effect of paid employment was significant for Ethiopia and Vietnam, but not for India and Peru. Self-efficacy effects were also strongest in Ethiopia, where expressed feelings of self-efficacy were highest of the four countries. This finding challenges recent studies that suggest that "aspirations failure" may be an important constraint on development in Ethiopia (Bernard *et al* 2008; 2014). The relatively small effect of family or relatives in the community is also primarily driven by Ethiopia. Finally, living in an urban area only predicted aspirations to stay in one's current location in Vietnam and India.

Table 7 shows the results for aspirations to stay *within the country*, thus including both those who wish to stay where they are and those who aspire to move internally. Trends in education are similar as those reported in Table 6 (aspirations to stay in current location), in that current enrollment has a strong and negative effect on the aspiration to stay within the country. Educational attainment also has a negative effect on staying aspirations, but this effect is only significant after completion of upper secondary levels. Having paid employment has a lesser, but still significant negative effect on staying aspirations, while engagement in farm work, although significant in Model 2, is no longer significant when controlling for education and other socioeconomic characteristics (Model 6). Subjective and objective measures of wealth do not predict an aspiration to stay within the country – one exception being the consumer durables index, which appears to increase the aspiration to stay in Model 6. However, this effect seems driven primarily by India (Table A.4). Interesting, previous migration experience – while decreasing aspirations to stay in one's current locality – appears to increase aspirations to stay within one's country. This effect again appears to be driven primarily by India, however (see Table A.3).

Table 7. Regression Analyses: Aspirations to Stay Within Country

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Age	0.02					0.00
	(0.08)					(0.08)
Gender (1 = male)	0.25***					0.29***
	(0.09)					(0.09)
Currently in education	-0.53***					-0.55***
	(0.10)					(0.10)
Primary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	0.03					0.02
	(0.15)					(0.15)
Lower secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.15					-0.19
	(0.15)					(0.16)
Upper secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.39**					-0.46**
	(0.18)					(0.18)
Farm work past 12 months		0.24**				0.15
		(0.10)				(0.11)
Paid job past 12 months		0.07				-0.16*
		(0.09)				(0.10)
Business past 12 months		0.23**				0.10
		(0.11)				(0.12)
Previous migration		0.21**				0.23***
		(0.09)				(0.09)
Self-efficacy		-0.22**				-0.18**
		(0.08)				(0.09)
Subjective wealth			-0.06	-0.06		-0.01
			(0.06)	(0.06)		(0.06)
Medium wealth (ref. = low wealth)			0.10			
			(0.12)			
High wealth (ref. = low wealth)			-0.01			
			(0.14)			
Access to services index				-0.38*		-0.21
				(0.23)		(0.24)
Housing quality index				0.06		0.02
				(0.22)		(0.22)
Consumer durables index				0.29		0.62**
				(0.29)		(0.31)
Livestock			0.09	0.07		0.03
			(0.10)	(0.10)		(0.11)
People for material support					0.02	0.02
					(0.04)	(0.04)
Family/relatives in the comm.					-0.00	-0.02
					(0.03)	(0.03)
Urban	-0.28***	-0.25**	-0.35***	-0.31***	-0.39***	-0.19
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.13)
India (ref. = Ethiopia)	0.58***	0.39***	0.36***	0.41***	0.36***	0.56***
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.17)
Peru (ref. = Ethiopia)	0.49***	0.55***	0.59***	0.64***	0.60***	0.45***
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.16)
Vietnam (ref. = Ethiopia)	1.56***	1.34***	1.37***	1.34***	1.36***	1.39***
	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.21)
Constant	0.54	0.79***	0.70***	0.80***	0.59***	0.99
	(1.55)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.12)	(1.60)
Observations	2,993	2,993	2,993	2,993	2,993	2,993
Pseudo R2	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.07

Notes. *** indicates that the difference is significant at the 1% level. ** indicates that the difference is significant at the 5% level. * indicates that the difference is significant at the 10% level.

There are a few other notable differences from Table 6. First, gender has a stronger effect here, such that men are more likely to aspire to stay within the country, whereas gender did not significantly predict an aspiration to stay in one's current location. Second, urban location, while negatively related to staying aspirations in Models 1-5, is no longer significant in Model 6. Thus, when controlling for other factors, the rural/urban context does not appear to predict, in itself, an aspiration to migrate or stay. Third, while India, Peru and Vietnam showed different trends as it concerned staying in one's immediate locality, as compared to Ethiopia, youth in all three countries are more likely to aspire to stay in their country as compared to the Ethiopian sample. This is an interesting finding, given that research suggest *levels* of emigration from middle-income countries tend to be higher than low-income countries. In this case, *aspirations* to emigrate are highest in the poorest country. Finally, Table 7 suggests that poorer youth are more likely to aspire to stay in their current location than wealthier youth (as measured by the wealth index), while no significant effects were found regarding the aspiration to stay in one's country (Table 6).

To better disentangle the effects of wealth on staying aspirations, Table 8 analyzes immobility aspirations by wealth levels. It reveals that certain factors, like education, employment, and feelings of self-efficacy seem to have a stronger effect on the imagined futures of poorer youth. While all youth, regardless of wealth level, are less likely to aspire to stay where they are after if they are enrolled in school or have completed secondary education, primary and lower secondary levels of schooling only seem to decrease staying aspirations for the poorest. Thus, the effects of formal education may have their greatest impact on diminishing staying aspirations for youth from more disadvantaged backgrounds. Table 8 also shows that feelings of self-efficacy only predict staying aspirations – whether at home or in one's country – for the poorest youth. Finally, regarding employment, farm work predicts an aspiration to stay only among wealthier youth, while paid employment seems to diminish staying aspirations for youth at low- and medium-wealth levels. This may reflect the fact that farming for wealthier families offers greater hope or prospects for a future in agriculture than it does for poorer families. Interestingly, living in an urban location is associated with the aspiration to stay in that place for wealthier youth, perhaps because they can foresee more opportunities to realize their aspired futures where they are. These findings confirm that the drivers of migration or immobility aspirations will differ depending on the socioeconomic background of young people.

Table 8. Regression Analyses: Aspirations to Stay by Wealth Index

	Aspirations to stay in current location			Aspirations to stay in country		
	Low wealth	Medium wealth	High wealth	Low wealth	Medium wealth	High wealth
Age	0.08	0.05	0.33**	0.00	-0.10	0.13
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Gender (1 = male)	-0.06	-0.17	-0.09	0.13	0.43**	0.38**
	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Currently in education	-0.79***	-0.89***	-0.66***	-0.56***	-0.54***	-0.46**
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.18)
Primary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.55***	-0.01	0.19	-0.11	0.31	0.07
	(0.19)	(0.28)	(0.40)	(0.19)	(0.38)	(0.51)
Lower secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.55***	0.05	-0.18	-0.39*	0.10	0.10
	(0.21)	(0.30)	(0.41)	(0.21)	(0.37)	(0.50)
Upper secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-1.49***	-0.53*	-1.07***	-0.28	-0.22	-0.73
	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.38)	(0.30)	(0.37)	(0.48)
Farm work past 12 months	0.11	0.17	0.51**	0.00	0.25	0.53**
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.26)
Paid job past 12 months	-0.41***	-0.33**	-0.19	-0.25*	-0.07	-0.10
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Business past 12 months	-0.51***	0.11	0.30	-0.20	0.34	0.36*
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.22)
Previous migration	-0.20	-0.20	-0.16	0.19	0.19	0.22
	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Self-efficacy	-0.49***	-0.09	-0.19	-0.43***	0.13	-0.01
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Subjective wealth	0.05	-0.11	0.30**	-0.05	-0.00	0.21
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Livestock	-0.04	0.40***	-0.03	0.09	0.06	-0.03
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.21)
People for material support	-0.02	0.04	0.05	-0.03	0.00	0.11
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Family/relatives in the comm.	-0.08	-0.01	-0.05	-0.05	-0.00	0.02
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Urban	0.25	0.31	0.47**	-0.28	-0.15	-0.12
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.23)
India (ref. = Ethiopia)	1.03***	0.36	0.29	0.46*	0.49	0.52
	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.37)	(0.28)	(0.31)	(0.37)
Peru (ref. = Ethiopia)	-0.42	-0.55**	-0.68*	0.57**	0.37	-0.05
	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.36)
Vietnam (ref. = Ethiopia)	2.11***	1.11***	1.42***	1.46***	1.64***	1.29***
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.39)	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.41)
Constant	-0.09	-0.74	-6.91**	2.15	1.91	-2.45
	(2.49)	(2.58)	(3.00)	(2.46)	(3.00)	(3.11)
Observations	1,073	1,042	966	1,065	999	929
Pseudo R2	0.14	0.09	0.13	0.08	0.09	0.08

Notes. *** indicates that the difference is significant at the 1% level. ** indicates that the difference is significant at the 5% level. * indicates that the difference is significant at the 10% level.

5 Discussion

The above analyses reveal the prevalence, motivations and potential explanations for staying aspirations among young adults in four countries: Ethiopia, India, Vietnam and Peru. To contribute to a broader conversation on 'potential immobility,' we focused in particular on the impacts of poverty and education levels on staying aspirations. Although there are important cross-country variations in the determinants of staying aspirations of youth, our findings suggest a few common trends that help to advance a conversation about the relationship between development and migration in low- and middle-income countries around the world.

First, educational attainment was one of the most significant factors shaping staying aspirations. Despite current enrollment in education being one motivation that was mentioned by some of the respondents for wanting to stay, overall, young people who are enrolled in school are less likely to aspire to stay where they are. Further, the effects of educational attainment on staying aspirations seem to compound with higher levels of schooling. Compared to young people with no formal education, the aspiration to leave one's current location increases with each level of schooling completed. Particularly for disadvantaged youth, the completion of primary and secondary education significantly reduces their aspirations to stay. The completion of secondary education seemed to be an important threshold for international migration aspirations; those who completed upper secondary levels were less likely to envision a future in their own country. In a previous paper (Schewel and Fransen 2018), in which we analyze migration-education interactions in Ethiopia, we suggest that the positive relationship between educational attainment and migration aspirations may be related to labor market dynamics: education can boost the expected economic returns of leaving, and the skilled work that higher levels of education promise generally concentrate in urban areas. However, we also suggest that the impact of education likely goes deeper, affecting the broader life aspirations and notions of the 'good life' that young people come to hold. For many (particularly rural) youth, education entails "learning to leave" (see Corbett 2007; White 2012).

Economic factors had more mixed effects on staying aspirations. When exploring subjective levels of wealth, those young people who reported that they 'never have quite enough' were those who were the least likely to aspire to stay where they were. In fact, it was only this category for which subjective wealth predicts an aspiration to migrate in the regression analyses. Regarding more objective measures of wealth, the regression analyses suggest that the poorest are the most likely to aspire to stay in their current location and the richest the least. There was no clear relationship with an aspiration to stay in one's country, however. Our most interesting findings concern how different drivers of migration or staying aspirations exert their effects at different wealth levels. In this regard, we find that education, self-efficacy and employment had their strongest effects on *poorer* youth. Higher levels of education and self-efficacy and having paid employment all diminished the aspiration to stay in place. This shows that the drivers of migration or immobility aspirations will differ depending on the socioeconomic background of young people.

How well the composite wealth index actually captures the economic realities of young people is questionable, given that it examines housing quality, consumer durables, and access to services of a household. These are some of the best ways we have to capture the long-term economic status of families, but they fail to capture, for example, the incomes available to young people or a family in a given period. Nevertheless, we find that when the wealth index is disaggregated into its different dimensions, there are interesting and countervailing impacts on

immobility aspirations. For example, greater access to services (e.g. electricity, drinking water, sanitation, etc.) can diminish the aspiration to stay, which is interesting given that existing research suggests access to services can act as an important 'retaining factor' for prospective emigrants (cf. Mahendra 2014; Kurekova 2013). This may be because the services captured here reflect access to basic infrastructure more than social services per se, and perhaps higher levels of infrastructure and connectivity increase young people's awareness of and aspirations for living conditions, lifestyles and opportunities elsewhere. However, we also find that wealthier young people who live in urban areas, where infrastructure is generally better, were significantly more likely to aspire to stay in their location, particularly for those who are well educated and relatively well-off, perhaps because there are more opportunities to achieve educational or job aspirations in urban areas. Overall, urban youth reported to be more content with their lives. We also find young people living in households with more consumer durables were more likely to prefer to stay at home or within the country. This may hint to the importance of investments in current locations that may serve as a 'retaining' factor for youth.

Employment had varying impacts on the aspiration to stay. If a young person had engaged in farm work over the last year, this had a modest impact on the desire to stay in their current location. We find that agricultural employment seems to discourage migration for wealthier youth, who more likely have greater prospects in agriculture and therefore can envision a future in it. Perhaps more surprisingly, we find that having paid employment over the past year significantly *diminished* the aspiration to stay at home or in one's country, particularly for poorer youth. This finding challenges assumptions that undergird many development policies that attempt to address the 'root causes' of migration in poorer settings through generating employment opportunities.

We also find important differences in staying aspirations that remain unexplained by economic or educational considerations alone, which highlights the crucial impact of non-economic factors on migration decision-making. In this regard, considerations related to family, subjective well-being and feelings of self-efficacy appear to be particularly important. Young people with higher levels of well-being were more likely to prefer to stay, while those with greater feelings of self-efficacy were more likely to aspire to migrate. The presence of family was by far the most common explanation given by respondents to explain their desire to stay, and many surveys of migration aspirations find similar result. Fifty percent of young people surveyed for the EUMAGINE project in Senegal, for example, cited 'family' as their motivation for staying (see Schewel 2015).

However, the number of family members living in one's community did not significantly predict staying aspirations; in other words, 'family' did not emerge as a major explanatory factor for staying aspirations in our regression analyses. This is likely for several reasons. First, our indicator for 'family' – the numerical size of local family networks – may not capture the family dynamics that can tie people to place. The size of a family may not matter as much as the strength of ties and feelings of responsibility toward them, which is inevitably shaped by broader socioeconomic and cultural factors. For example, under conditions of resource scarcity, family-considerations can both motivate or deter migration. As New Economics of Labor Migration theory suggests, in some cases, migration is a household decision; the migration and remittances of one individual help diversify the income available to a family (Stark and Bloom 1985). In other cases, commitment to family may require staying and through one's physical presence, assuming the responsibilities of a family's land, livelihood, or elderly members. Finally, having less family where one is might increase responsibilities to the family that is there; or, it may signify that other family members have left, which can increase the aspirations and capabilities of young people to

migrate through their family networks. More research is needed to disentangle the impact of family on migration decision-making, particularly when, how, and under what conditions family-related considerations impact the desire to stay.

Finally, a few words concerning the limitations of this study and suggestions for further research. The challenges pertaining to the use of survey questions on aspirations are several. First, evidence on whether expressed aspirations lead to actual behavior is mixed. Much depends on the wording of the 'migration aspiration' question, which can vary significantly from a vague wish under ideal circumstances to whether individuals have made concrete plans towards a migration project, the latter generally being a better indicator of actual future behavior (Carling and Schewel 2018; Magali and Scipioni 2019). To survey the aspiration to stay – rather than treat it as the default to non-migration aspirations – more specific follow-up questions could enable more rigorous examinations of the likelihood of staying. 'Preparing to stay' may not be as straight forward as 'preparing to migrate,' but the degree to which people invest in a local future may indicate a greater likelihood of staying.

A second, more difficult challenge in interpreting our results, concerns whether people adapt their expressed aspirations to their perceived capabilities – that is, if someone does not have the capability to migrate, s/he may refrain from expressing a desire to do so – what Carling (2014) calls 'sour grapes' mechanisms or the economics literature refers to as the 'embedding problem' (Clemens and Pritchett 2016). The finding that less educated and poorer individuals are less likely to aspire to migrate may reflect limited horizons, or a diminished 'capacity to aspire,' as some literature suggests (see Appadurai 2004; Czaika and Vothknecht 2014), or it may reflect preference adaptation to one's circumstances. In this light, one could question whether 'aspiration' is really the correct term to use to capture staying preferences under these conditions. More qualitative research is needed on 'acquiescent immobility' – that is, those who are not able to migrate but still prefer to stay – to understand the ways in which they may differ from the 'involuntarily immobile' – those with an expressed aspiration to migrate but the inability to do so (see Schewel 2019; Carling 2002).

Third, our focus on immobility aspirations only provides a snapshot of staying aspirations among young people in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam. This research would be significantly enhanced if it were possible to follow shifts in migration and staying aspirations and behavior over time. More longitudinal studies would benefit from regularly including direct questions about migration and staying aspirations to better understand how and why these change over time, and how they relate to actual migration or immobility outcomes. Nevertheless, regardless of their predictive validity, expressed migration or staying aspirations remain valuable as indicators of how young people evaluate their presents and imagine their futures. As Crivello (2015) argues, "'aspirations' are about much more than abstract 'futures'; they orient actions in the present and say a great deal about young people's current realities and relationships" (39). Whether people aspire to a future where they are or elsewhere can have significant impacts on young people's life satisfaction and the degree to which they invest in local futures (Carling 2002). Our findings suggest that as certain core features of 'human development' unfold – particularly rising levels of education and wealth – poorer populations will become less likely to envision a future where they are.

6 Conclusion

Most young people surveyed for the Young Lives study did not want to leave their homelands. Between 24 and 35 percent of respondents in Ethiopia, India and Peru do not aspire to migrate anywhere, and in Vietnam, this number reaches almost 57 percent. Add to this those who aspire to move internally, but not internationally, and the share of young people who hope for a future within their own country rises dramatically: from 61 percent in Ethiopia to 87 percent in Vietnam. Although these statistics are not nationally representative, the prevalence of aspirations to *stay* rather than to *move* among youth - the cohort most prone to leave - in our sample was nonetheless striking. This finding shows the importance of understanding individual aspirations to stay and to identify the factors that underlie decisions *not* to migrate as part of a larger debate on migration decision-making.

By examining the determinants of immobility aspirations, this paper makes a few important contributions to a broader debate about the relationship between development and migration. First, our findings complicate the linear relationship between poverty levels and migration aspirations that migration theories often implicitly or explicitly assume. We find that, when controlling for other socioeconomic factors, poorer youth are more likely to aspire to stay where they are. However, 'wealth' is a multi-faceted concept and different dimensions of wealth can have countervailing impacts on staying aspirations. For example, access to basic services can diminish the desire to stay where one is, while more consumer durables in a household can increase it. Further, other economic considerations – like the employment opportunities available to young people – also have different impacts on staying aspirations. It is particularly notable that, for youth at low- and medium-levels of wealth, access to paid employment *diminishes* the aspiration to stay. This has important implications for development interventions that seek to decrease migration propensities through generating employment in origin areas. The nature of employment may have different impacts on migration or staying aspirations.

Our findings on education are also important to nuance debates about the relationship between development and migration. While 'development' has often been defined in narrow economic terms, there is more movement towards defining development in more multi-dimensional sense. The human development index, for example, gives a key place to rising levels of education and literacy. In this regard, our findings suggest a relatively strong and linear relationship between educational attainment and internal staying aspirations, such that aspirations to stay *in one's current location* (i.e. not to move internally or internationally) seem to diminish already as soon as individuals' transition from low (no education) to relatively higher levels of education (primary and secondary), and that this is particularly the case for youth who are less well off. This suggests that early development interventions targeting the poor in rural areas will be most likely associated with rising internal and international migration, if aspirations are realized. Aspirations to stay *within the country*, on the other hand, diminish at the transition from low secondary to high secondary education, which suggests that higher levels of education may broaden the horizons of youth beyond the boundaries of their own countries, despite the opportunities that urban areas within-country might offer. Taken together, our findings seem to suggest that staying aspirations diminish as regions 'develop': higher levels of education and employment appear to *increase* aspirations to migrate.

7 References

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Appendix

Table A.1 Who Aspires to stay? Descriptive statistics for Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam

Variable	Categories	Ethiopia		India		Peru		Vietnam	
		Aspiration to stay in locality (%)	Aspiration to stay in country (%)	Aspiration to stay in locality (%)	Aspiration to stay in country (%)	Aspiration to stay in locality (%)	Aspiration to stay in country (%)	Aspiration to stay in locality (%)	Aspiration to stay in country (%)
Age	Age group 16-18	30.63	60.18	30.30	69.02	23.25	67.89	54.67	86.79
	Age group 19-23	34.27	62.28	36.19*	71.25	27.86	70.23	57.55	86.96
Gender	Male	30.39	61.44	30.26	76.43	23.46	68.01	60.19	88.95
	Female	34.92	61.05	38.68***	66.04***	27.59	70.34	53.90*	85.49
Currently in education	No	40.86	68.73	52.57	80.94	32.57	72.37	66.25	89.51
	Yes	26.86***	56.07***	15.70***	60.67***	18.10***	65.50*	45.54***	83.90**
Educational attainment	No educ./pre-primary	42.17	67.07	70.69	87.93	20.00	60.00	71.93	93.00
	Primary	24.91	61.17	54.29	79.10	37.09	74.67	71.37	92.27
	Lower secondary	28.87	53.78	62.50	81.75			45.45	72.73
	Upper secondary	26.98***	58.73*	23.17***	65.84***	21.02***	66.96	46.77***	83.74***
Farm work past 12 months	No	32.36	59.54	31.31	69.18	24.67	66.79	52.29	83.23
	Yes	32.63	63.17	40.47***	74.40*	28.12	80.21***	62.99***	92.20***
Paid empl. past 12 months	No	34.41	62.67	29.41	67.18	26.40	71.29	58.15	86.30
	Yes	28.93*	58.49	43.95***	78.05***	24.05	66.56	55.36	88.11
Business past 12 months	No	33.33	60.27	33.41	70.29	25.44	69.11	57.16	87.33
	Yes	30.00	64.19	45.65*	78.41	24.11	67.86	55.81	86.23
Migration since 2009	No	32.25	59.62	32.81	66.75	25.55	68.60	69.54	87.03
	Yes	32.92	64.20	36.09	74.65***	24.71	69.29	45.73***	87.21
Aspired educ. Attainm.	Low (no educ/primary)	47.06	68.63	67.39	86.67	45.45	77.27	75.68	89.19
	Medium (sec. & voc.)	42.11	66.92	44.60	73.13	30.25	71.19	73.26	92.00
	High (BA/MA >)	28.14***	59.09*	26.86***	67.84***	22.22***	69.26	50.48***	85.30*

Self-efficacy	(Strongly) disagree	51.02	70.83	50.00	74.36	30.23	76.74	61.82	88.68
	Agree	34.27	62.94	34.42	71.15	26.10	70.26	58.24	87.32
	Strongly agree	25.78***	56.29*	29.59**	68.91	18.97	60.34*	44.95**	84.00
Subjective wealth	Poor/destitute	40.78	62.14	38.67	76.54	34.48	82.14	69.14	88.31
	Never have quite enough	25.84	55.77	32.26	69.92	20.75	68.87	46.77	81.82
	Comfortable/can manage	33.01	62.40	35.16	70.63	25.63	67.79	57.12	87.69
	Rich/very rich	36.05**	67.44	15.91**	55.81*	33.33	83.33	33.33***	78.26
Wealth index	Lowest quintile	31.82	61.05	41.53	74.44	23.20	74.40	75.37	91.34
	Middle quintile	33.12	60.62	37.92	72.04	28.74	70.93	54.04	89.10
	Highest quintile	35.71	64.29	27.86**	68.22	24.52	66.24	52.84***	83.23**
Access to services index	Lowest quintile	34.75	62.05	40.48	74.26	22.39	74.63	59.20	89.53
	Middle quintile	22.37	57.27	33.01	68.34	27.27	75.16	50.67	86.19
	Highest quintile	51.35***	70.27	28.10***	68.47	25.26*	65.98	57.86*	80.67**
Housing quality index	Lowest quintile	31.31	60.48	39.26	75.19	26.77	72.73	66.67	87.50
	Middle quintile	35.43	61.26	37.76	72.34	23.64	66.06	55.66	87.06
	Highest quintile	33.90	69.49	32.12	69.40	24.90	67.07	55.41*	87.04
Consumer durables index	Lowest quintile	31.59	61.79	37.07	71.01	26.06	72.19	72.41	88.46
	Middle quintile	32.58	60.61	32.73	71.90	26.11	68.59	56.30	88.89
	Highest quintile	41.43	57.14	26.67	62.22	24.63	67.54	54.20***	85.24
Livestock ownership	No	34.52	58.51	31.24	71.24	23.96	64.80	55.08	85.02
	Yes	31.29	62.87	39.24**	70.65	27.45	75.20***	58.91	89.39*
People for material support	None, 1 or 2 people	28.70	58.72	33.13	68.15	25.51	68.31	59.74	87.50
	More than 2 people	34.81*	62.81	35.29	72.47	24.82	69.60	54.64	86.49
No. of relatives/family in the comm.	None, 1 to 5 families	34.52	62.59	33.98	69.51	24.85	68.35	57.40	86.43
	More than 5 families	25.12**	56.44	37.14	77.71**	28.28	73.20	56.60	87.39
Urban	No	33.53	65.44	35.64	73.25	25.74	75.25	55.79	88.31
	Yes	31.11	55.67***	32.06	65.69**	25.10	67.64	61.18	80.89**

Table A.2. Aspirations to Stay *in Current Location*: Country Comparisons

	Ethiopia	India	Peru	Vietnam
Age	0.04	0.02	0.43**	0.12
	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.16)
Gender (1 = male)	-0.09	-0.15	-0.31	0.03
	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.15)
Currently in education	-0.60***	-1.31***	-0.64***	-0.44**
	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.21)
Primary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.77***	-0.47	1.02	0.08
	(0.20)	(0.40)	(0.85)	(0.28)
Lower secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.70***	-0.14	-	-1.05
	(0.22)	(0.36)	-	(0.68)
Upper secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.72**	-1.12***	0.25	-0.70**
	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.84)	(0.30)
Farm work past 12 months	0.08	0.13	-0.09	0.28
	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.33)	(0.18)
Paid job past 12 months	-0.47***	0.09	-0.29	-0.46***
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.17)
Business past 12 months	-0.29	0.61**	0.22	-0.09
	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.32)	(0.19)
Previous migration	0.04	0.24	-0.10	-0.73***
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.25)	(0.17)
Self-efficacy	-0.40***	-0.05	-0.11	-0.32*
	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.18)
Subjective wealth	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.03
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.21)	(0.13)
Access to services index	-0.99***	-0.55	-0.01	-0.71
	(0.38)	(0.51)	(0.76)	(0.44)
Housing quality index	0.51	-0.38	0.41	0.06
	(0.47)	(0.37)	(0.56)	(0.48)
Consumer durables index	1.03*	0.85	0.38	0.02
	(0.57)	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.62)
Livestock	-0.26	0.44**	0.42	0.20
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.27)	(0.18)
People for material support	0.15**	-0.05	0.12	-0.05
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.06)
Family/relatives in the comm.	-0.19***	0.04	-0.05	0.01
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.05)
Urban	-0.07	0.54**	0.06	0.68**
	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.37)	(0.28)
Constant	0.55	0.07	-9.51**	-0.07
	(2.71)	(3.41)	(3.90)	(3.09)
Observations	885	903	448	844
Pseudo R2	0.07	0.16	0.06	0.05

Table A.3. Aspirations to Stay *in Country*: Country Comparisons

	Ethiopia	India	Peru	Vietnam
Age	0.01	-0.03	0.06	0.03
	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.24)
Gender (1 = male)	0.09	0.80***	0.10	0.18
	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Currently in education	-0.55***	-1.09***	-0.21	-0.14
	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.29)
Primary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.08	-0.46	0.76	0.22
	(0.19)	(0.52)	(0.74)	(0.49)
Lower secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.39*	-0.28	-	-1.42*
	(0.21)	(0.48)	-	(0.81)
Upper secondary educ. (ref. = no educ.)	-0.09	-0.59	0.68	-0.66
	(0.33)	(0.45)	(0.74)	(0.48)
Farm work past 12 months	-0.18	0.09	0.33	0.72***
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.35)	(0.27)
Paid job past 12 months	-0.30*	0.08	-0.39*	0.04
	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.25)
Business past 12 months	0.07	0.34	0.10	0.06
	(0.17)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.27)
Previous migration	0.13	0.38**	0.01	0.22
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.25)
Self-efficacy	-0.22*	0.03	-0.29	-0.22
	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.25)
Subjective wealth	0.15	-0.03	-0.17	0.13
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.21)	(0.19)
Access to services index	-0.60*	0.66	0.20	-0.59
	(0.36)	(0.51)	(0.75)	(0.65)
Housing quality index	0.95**	-0.48	-0.03	0.29
	(0.44)	(0.38)	(0.53)	(0.72)
Consumer durables index	0.06	1.20*	0.15	0.59
	(0.53)	(0.70)	(0.65)	(0.92)
Livestock	0.04	-0.31	0.58**	0.03
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.27)	(0.26)
People for material support	0.05	-0.05	0.12	0.00
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.08)
Family/relatives in the comm.	-0.17***	0.17**	0.08	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.07)
Urban	-0.53**	-0.55**	0.19	0.17
	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.39)	(0.39)
Constant	1.26	1.35	-0.57	1.23
	(2.57)	(3.38)	(3.75)	(4.56)
Observations	885	868	446	794
Pseudo R2	0.04	0.10	0.04	0.05