

# Planting, Harvest, and Hope: Agricultural Production, Food Security, and Migration Aspirations\*

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## Abstract

This paper examines how seasonal variation in agricultural production shapes migration aspirations among rural households in Nigeria. Drawing on rich household panel data from the 2023–2024 wave of the Nigeria General Household Survey Panel (GHS-Panel), we exploit within-season variation in harvest outcomes and migration intentions to estimate the short-run behavioral response to realized agricultural productivity. Our findings reveal a robust inverted U-shaped relationship: migration aspirations initially rise with improvements in harvest value but decline once households reach higher levels of productivity. This non-monotonic pattern reflects the joint influence of rising capability and diminishing incentive to migrate. Further analysis identifies food insecurity as a key moderating mechanism. Households experiencing moderate-to-severe food insecurity are significantly more responsive to agricultural shocks, with migration aspirations rising more steeply following poor harvests. These findings provide new evidence and offer actionable insights for rural development and migration management policies. By linking food security, agricultural outcomes, and migration intentions within the same season, this study highlights the dynamic nature of rural mobility preferences in response to production-based livelihood risks.

**Keywords:** FIES, Nigeria, Harvest Value, Linear Probability Model.

**JEL Codes:** O13, O15, Q12, Q18, R23.

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# 1 Introduction

There is perhaps no decision more fundamental for rural households in low- and middle-income countries than whether to migrate or to remain rooted in their communities. Migration matters. It is one of the most important tools for rural households to mitigate risks, smooth consumption, and improve living standards—particularly in low- and middle-income countries (Bryan, Chowdhury and Mobarak, 2014; Lagakos et al., 2020; Lee, 2021). When families migrate, communities are transformed, local economies shift, and lives are irreversibly reshaped (Carling, 2002; Clemens and Postel, 2018; de Haas, 2021). As a key equilibrium mechanism for reducing spatial disparities, migration also plays a central role in shaping a country’s broader economic development (Bryan and Morten, 2019). However, there is a puzzle that remains not fully resolved: What makes rural households aspire to leave in the first place?

A large body of research—beginning with the seminal work of Harris and Todaro (1970)—has sought to answer this question. Growing evidence shows that migration aspirations are sensitive to local economic outcomes, especially in agricultural-dependent communities (Taylor and Martin, 2001; Schewel and Fransen, 2018; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2024). Indeed, agriculture profoundly shapes household decisions in rural economies, acting simultaneously as both an anchor and a catalyst for change, with agricultural productivity being a key driver of migration decisions among agriculture-dependent households (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Taylor and Martin, 2001; Schewel and Fransen, 2018; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2024). Yet, holding other factors constant, the precise effect of agricultural productivity on migration remains an open empirical question (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark and Taylor, 1991).

Classic spatial equilibrium models (Rosen, 1986; Roback, 1982) and the seminal rural-urban migration model by Harris and Todaro (1970), highlight that rising rural wages can reduce the incentive to migrate, encouraging households to remain engaged in local agricultural activities (Gray and Bilsborrow, 2013; Benček and Schneiderheinze, 2024; Samui, Mallick and Bailey, 2024). All things considered, migration is not costless (Gollin, Lagakos and Waugh, 2014; Bryan and Morten, 2019; Lagakos, 2020). However, when harvests are plentiful, households are better equipped to overcome migration frictions and afford the upfront costs of relocating, enabling them to pursue improved livelihood opportunities elsewhere (Mendola, 2008; Paudel, Nguyen and Grote, 2024; Geng and Zhang, 2024). This empirical inconsistency highlights the need for more targeted, precise analysis to clarify how agricultural production shapes rural households’ migration intentions.

35 This paper addresses this ambiguity head-on. We pose a simple and clear research  
36 question: How does the value of agricultural production influence household migration  
37 aspirations? To answer this question, we use a rich household-level survey data collected  
38 in 2023/2024 from an agriculture-intensive setting—Nigeria. We leverage the Nigeria Gen-  
39 eral Household Survey Panel (GHS-Panel), which uniquely captures individuals’ migra-  
40 tion aspirations, or intent to migration, at two key time points: before the agricultural  
41 season and after the harvest. This temporal structure enables us to attribute changes in  
42 migration aspirations to variations in agricultural outcomes experienced by the same indi-  
43 viduals.

44 Unlike much of the existing literature that focuses on actual migration behavior, this  
45 study centers on migration aspirations—a novel lens that reveals latent mobility demand.  
46 In developing countries like Nigeria, where over 70% of the population is employed in  
47 agriculture and mobility is constrained by poverty, insecure land tenure, and inadequate  
48 infrastructure, aspirations may be more responsive to changes in agricultural productivity  
49 (World Bank, 2025). Aspirations also capture intention and planning, offering a more ac-  
50 curate reflection of migration preferences and providing valuable insights into household  
51 decision-making and policy design (Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2021).<sup>1</sup>

52 We adopt an empirical strategy that exploits within-household variation in both har-  
53 vest outcomes and migration intentions. Specifically, we use household-level harvest value  
54 as a proxy for agricultural productivity, and we measure migration aspirations by aggre-  
55 gating individual responses into the proportion of household members who express a de-  
56 sire to migrate. Our analysis focuses on how changes in harvest value are associated with  
57 changes in migration aspirations, comparing responses before and after the harvest season.  
58 To account for potential confounders, we control for a rich set of household characteristics  
59 and include district fixed effects to absorb time-invariant local factors and changes in des-  
60 tination attractiveness.

61 Our findings reveal an inverted U-shaped relationship: at lower levels, increases in  
62 agricultural production raise migration aspirations—likely because households acquire  
63 the means to overcome migration frictions. However, beyond a certain threshold, further  
64 gains in productivity reduce the desire to migrate, suggesting that sustained agricultural  
65 success encourages households to stay and invest in their communities.

66 To explore the mechanisms underlying this relationship, we examine the moderating

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<sup>1</sup>The aspiration–capability framework developed by Carling (2002) and extended by de Haas (2021) distinguishes between the desire to migrate and the capacity to do so, emphasizing how aspirations alone can shape present-day economic behavior.

67 role of food insecurity. Specifically, we test whether the effect of harvest outcomes on mi-  
68 gration aspirations varies by households' likelihood of experiencing moderate-to-severe  
69 food insecurity, measured using the FAO's Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) (FAO,  
70 2017). Our findings indicate that households facing higher levels of food insecurity are  
71 significantly more responsive to poor harvests, with sharper increases in migration aspira-  
72 tions following adverse agricultural outcomes. This interaction highlights the key role of  
73 food insecurity in shaping how households interpret and respond to changes in agricul-  
74 tural productivity, highlighting its importance in the broader migration decision-making  
75 process.

76 This paper makes three essential contributions to our understanding of the drivers of  
77 internal migration in low-income rural settings, where migration is commonly seen as  
78 a strategy to smooth consumption, improve living standards, and escape poverty traps  
79 (Stark and Taylor, 1991; Bryan, Chowdhury and Mobarak, 2014; Gollin, Lagakos and Waugh,  
80 2014). First, this study offers a conceptual contribution by redirecting attention from ob-  
81 served migration behavior to migration aspirations—the underlying intent to move, irre-  
82 spective of whether migration occurs. This perspective is important for two reasons. First,  
83 it is particularly relevant in contexts where mobility is constrained by economic or insti-  
84 tutional barriers and where migration is infrequent or highly selective, making it difficult  
85 to observe all margins of potential mobility (Carling, 2002). Second, understanding pref-  
86 erences is essential for evaluating welfare. A growing body of research has shown that  
87 differences in migration costs—stemming from institutional frictions or geographic con-  
88 straints—can generate substantial productivity and welfare losses (Gollin, Lagakos and  
89 Waugh, 2014; Bryan and Morten, 2019; Lagakos, 2020; Hidrobo, Mueller and Roy, 2022).  
90 Most of these studies rely on realized migration—measured in diverse ways across set-  
91 tings—and infer underlying motivations from structural models based on assumed utility  
92 functions. However, to fully understand the welfare implications of migration and the role  
93 of policy and institutional barriers, it is crucial to observe individuals' preference directly.

94 Second, by offering household-level empirical evidence documenting direct measures  
95 of migration aspirations, we complement previous migration studies that have provided  
96 valuable insights through macro-level analyses (Clemens and Postel, 2018; Benček and  
97 Schneiderheinze, 2024), theoretical frameworks (Stark and Taylor, 1991; Taylor and Mar-  
98 tin, 2001), or indirect proxies such as labor allocation and investment behavior (Creighton,  
99 2013; Paudel, Nguyen and Grote, 2024). We focus on agricultural productivity—a central  
100 factor shaping rural households' economic decisions (Harris and Todaro, 1970)—and we  
101 observe migration aspirations both, before and after agricultural harvests, thus, our analy-

102 sis captures how seasonal variation in agricultural outcomes influences rural households'  
103 migration intentions. In doing so, we also uncover a non-linear relationship—an inverted  
104 U-shape—between agricultural productivity and migration aspirations. This finding con-  
105 tributes to a literature that often posits a monotonic relationship, in which improved eco-  
106 nomic conditions are expected to either consistently encourage or discourage migration  
107 (Taylor and Martin, 2001; Mendola, 2008; Böhme, 2015).

108 Third, we contribute to the literature that examines the role of food insecurity in shap-  
109 ing household decision-making (Clapp et al., 2022; Villacis, Badruddoza and Mishra, 2024).  
110 In our paper, we identify food insecurity as a key mechanism driving heterogeneity in re-  
111 sponses to agricultural outcomes. While earlier studies have examined food insecurity as  
112 an independent driver of migration (Samui, Mallick and Bailey, 2024; Hagen-Zanker et al.,  
113 2024), few have explored how it interacts with agricultural productivity in shaping mi-  
114 gration decisions. Our results show that the relationship between agricultural output and  
115 migration aspirations varies systematically by food security status. This interaction is an  
116 important but underexplored pathway and offers actionable insights for designing rural  
117 development strategies, agricultural policies, and humanitarian programs aimed at alle-  
118 viating food insecurity and managing migration pressures more effectively. Policymakers  
119 committed to stabilizing rural livelihoods, promoting agricultural productivity, and effec-  
120 tively managing rural migration must recognize that improving farm productivity and  
121 food security is not only economically beneficial, it shapes the very fabric of rural commu-  
122 nities by directly influencing migration aspirations and decisions.

123 The paper is structured as follows. Section 3 introduces the Nigerian context. Section  
124 4 describes the empirical strategy. Section 5 presents the main findings and robustness  
125 checks. Finally, Section 6 concludes by summarizing key insights, acknowledging limi-  
126 tations—especially regarding causality—and outlining directions for future research and  
127 policy.

## 128 2 Mechanism

129 Migration aspirations are forward-looking and reflect a household's assessment of local  
130 conditions, opportunities elsewhere, and its capacity to undertake migration. For many ru-  
131 ral households, migration is not determined solely by expected income differences across  
132 locations. It also depends on whether the household can meet the physical and finan-  
133 cial requirements of moving. Migration often involves long-distance travel, temporary  
134 hardship, and other adjustment costs, making a minimum level of health and material re-

135 sources necessary for migration to be viewed as feasible (Hidrobo, Mueller and Roy, 2022).  
136 For agriculture-dependent households, decisions are often made in risky production en-  
137 vironments, where weather, pests, and other production-related uncertainties matter for  
138 household decision-making (Khanal, Mishra and Lien, 2022). Poor harvests can generate  
139 food insecurity, which reduces income while also weakening health and physical capacity.  
140 Under such conditions, households may desire better opportunities elsewhere but remain  
141 too constrained to form realistic migration aspirations. As harvest income rises, however,  
142 some food-insecure households may cross the threshold needed to make migration seem  
143 attainable, increasing their aspirations to migrate.

144 At the same time, improved harvests can reduce migration aspirations once house-  
145 holds become more secure. For food-secure households, higher harvest value raises farm  
146 income and increases the attractiveness of remaining in agriculture, thereby reducing the  
147 incentive to migrate (Benček and Schneiderheinze 2024; Samui, Mallick and Bailey 2024).  
148 Taken together, these opposing forces suggest a nonlinear relationship between harvest  
149 outcomes and migration aspirations. At very low levels of harvest, aspirations may remain  
150 limited because households lack the resources to consider migration as a feasible option.  
151 As harvests improve from that low base, aspirations may rise because migration becomes  
152 more attainable. Beyond a certain point, however, further gains in harvest are likely to  
153 reduce migration aspirations by improving economic security at origin and increasing the  
154 returns to staying.

### 155 **3 Definitions and Data**

156 This paper uses nationally representative microdata from Wave 5 (2023/24) of the Nige-  
157 ria General Household Survey–Panel (GHS-Panel), a longitudinal survey conducted by  
158 the National Bureau of Statistics in collaboration with the World Bank’s Living Standards  
159 Measurement Study (LSMS). Wave 5 offers high-frequency data on household welfare,  
160 agricultural production, food security, and migration aspirations and experiences, col-  
161 lected across two agriculturally relevant periods: post-planting (July–September 2023) and  
162 post-harvest (January–March 2024), covering 518 enumeration areas (National Bureau of  
163 Statistics - Nigeria, 2024). The two-round seasonal design is essential, as it allows us to  
164 track changes in migration aspirations within the same production cycle, offering a rare  
165 window into forward-looking household decision-making in real time.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Wave 5 of the GHS-Panel employs a rotating panel design with partial sample refreshment to maintain national representativeness (National Bureau of Statistics - Nigeria, 2024).

166 Although migration-related questions are asked at the individual level, we use the  
167 household as our unit of observation because agricultural productivity—measured by har-  
168 vest value—is reported at the household level. To align the units of analysis, we aggregate  
169 migration aspirations, food insecurity indicators, and control variables to the household  
170 level. The key variables for our analysis are explained in detail next.

### 171 3.1 Key Variables

172 *Migration Aspirations* were measured in both survey rounds through the question: “*Would*  
173 *you like to leave this community to go live somewhere else?*”, asked of all individuals aged  
174 15 and older. We construct a household-level measure of migration aspirations as the  
175 proportion of household members responding “yes” in each round. Our binary outcome  
176 equals 1 if this proportion increased between the post-planting and post-harvest rounds,  
177 and 0 otherwise. According to the GHS-Panel, 25% of individuals aged 15 and above  
178 nationwide expressed a desire to leave their community, underscoring the policy relevance  
179 of this indicator (National Bureau of Statistics - Nigeria, 2024).

180 *Agricultural output* is measured in the post-harvest period using self-reported crop  
181 yields and local market prices. We calculate the total harvest value as the sum of quan-  
182 tity times price across all crops  $c$  produced in household  $i$  such that:

$$\text{Harvest Value}_i = \sum_c (\text{Quantity}_{ic} \times \text{Price}_{ic}). \quad (1)$$

183 Nationally, 71.6% of households reported engaging in crop farming. In our sample,  
184 households cultivate an average of 1.86 plots, with a mean plot size of 0.55 hectares. *Food*  
185 *insecurity* is captured using FAO’s Food Insecurity Experience Scale FIES (FAO, 2016). The  
186 FIES is constructed using responses to eight standardized yes/no questions that capture  
187 households’ experiences of food-related hardship over a reference period, such as worry-  
188 ing about food, skipping meals, or going hungry. A probabilistic model (typically Rasch  
189 or logistic regression) is then used to generate a continuous food insecurity score ranging  
190 from 0 to 1, indicating the likelihood of experiencing moderate or severe food insecurity  
191 (FAO, 2016). Using FAO’s proposed methodology we estimate and report the probability  
192 that a household in our sample experience moderate or severe food insecurity. Nation-  
193 ally, 65.8% of households reported being unable to eat preferred foods in the past 30 days,  
194 and 36% reported having eaten less than they thought they should (National Bureau of  
195 Statistics - Nigeria, 2024).

196 Our empirical models control for baseline household characteristics measured during  
197 the post-planting round. These include household size age, gender, and literacy of the  
198 household head; internet access, bank account ownership, and a wealth index. We also  
199 include an indicator for rural residence and binary indicators for geopolitical zones to  
200 account for regional differences in the attractiveness of migration destinations. These con-  
201 trols capture variation in socioeconomic status, access to information, and location-specific  
202 factors known to shape both migration aspirations and food insecurity (Aslany et al., 2021;  
203 Hagen-Zanker et al., 2024; Villacis and Badruddoza, 2023). We exclude households missing  
204 post-harvest data on crop values or migration aspirations, as well as those with only one  
205 adult, to ensure a meaningful denominator in the household-level aspirations measure.  
206 The final sample consists of 2,886 households with complete data across both rounds.

207 In Table 1, we report summary statistics of the main variables we use in our regression  
208 analysis, consisting of a sample of 2,886 households. The dependent variable is a binary  
209 indicator that takes a value of 1 if the share of household members aspiring to migrate  
210 increased between post-planting and post-harvest periods, and a value of 0 otherwise, and  
211 it has a mean of 0.27. The main independent variable, harvest value, averages \$1,013 USD  
212 with considerable variation (SD = 1,524). Control variables show that household heads  
213 are, on average, 29 years old; 19% are female; 62% are literate; and households average 6.6  
214 members. Access to internet and banking services is limited (21% and 56%, respectively).  
215 Most households (85%) are rural, with the sample covering all five geopolitical zones.

TABLE 1: Summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Household migration aspirations	0.274	(0.446)	0.000	1.000
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	1.032	(1.532)	0.010	18.763
Squared harvest value (1,000 USD)	3.411	(14.220)	0.000	352.060
FIES score	0.554	(0.381)	0.046	0.993
Mean age of household head	29.035	(14.434)	9.286	99.000
Household size	6.672	(3.822)	1.000	29.000
Household head is female	0.181	(0.385)	0.000	1.000
Household head is literate	0.622	(0.485)	0.000	1.000
Internet connection	0.212	(0.409)	0.000	1.000
Access to bank account	0.562	(0.496)	0.000	1.000
Combined wealth index	-0.082	(1.290)	-3.816	5.619
Zone: North East	0.227	(0.419)	0.000	1.000
Zone: North West	0.205	(0.404)	0.000	1.000
Zone: South East	0.168	(0.374)	0.000	1.000
Zone: South South	0.131	(0.338)	0.000	1.000
Zone: South West	0.084	(0.277)	0.000	1.000
Rural	0.847	(0.360)	0.000	1.000
Observations	2,831			

*Notes:* Household migration aspirations is a binary indicator that takes a value of 1 if the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased between post-planting and post-harvest periods, and a value of 0 otherwise. The FIES score indicates the likelihood of experiencing moderate or severe food insecurity. Combined wealth index was created by first performing PCA on agricultural, consumer, and housing assets to generate three asset scores, then standardizing those scores into z-scores, and finally running PCA again on the standardized scores to extract a single overall wealth measure.

216 Table 2 presents a covariate balance check comparing baseline characteristics of house-  
217 holds that did versus did not increase migration aspirations between the planting and  
218 post-harvest periods. Column (1) reports mean values for households whose migration  
219 aspirations did not increase, while column (2) shows means for those whose aspirations  
220 rose. Households with increased migration aspirations had significantly higher proba-  
221 bility of moderate or severe food insecurity at harvest, larger household sizes, younger  
222 household heads, and higher rates of internet access and bank account ownership. These  
223 differences, while statistically significant, do not compromise the analysis: all regression  
224 models incorporate sampling weights, adjust for the complex survey design, and control  
225 for baseline covariates and location fixed effects to account for such variation and isolate  
226 the effects of interest.

TABLE 2: Balance table

Variable	(1) HH didn't increase migration aspirations	(2) HH increased migration aspirations	(3) Diff	(4) P-value
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	1.03	1.04	0.02	0.78
Squared harvest value (1,000 USD)	3.52	3.11	-0.41	0.50
FIES score	0.52	0.64	0.11	0.00***
Mean age of Household head	29.77	27.09	-2.68	0.00***
Household size	6.45	7.26	0.81	0.00***
Household head is female	0.18	0.18	-0.01	0.65
Household head is literate	0.61	0.65	0.04	0.07*
Internet connection	0.19	0.28	0.09	0.00***
Access to bank account	0.54	0.61	0.07	0.00***
Combined wealth index	-0.09	-0.06	0.03	0.57
Zone: North East	0.23	0.23	0.00	0.90
Zone: North West	0.20	0.22	0.02	0.24
Zone: South East	0.16	0.18	0.01	0.37
Zone: South South	0.13	0.14	0.01	0.60
Zone: South West	0.08	0.08	-0.00	0.89
Rural	0.85	0.83	-0.03	0.06*
Observations	2,056	775	2,831	

*Notes:* The p-value in the column (4) refers to the test of equality of outcomes by migration aspirations changes. Household migration aspirations is a binary indicator that takes a value of 1 if the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased between post-planting and post-harvest periods, and a value of 0 otherwise. The FIES score indicates the likelihood of experiencing moderate or severe food insecurity. Combined wealth index was created by first performing PCA on agricultural, consumer, and housing assets to generate three asset scores, then standardizing those scores into z-scores, and finally running PCA again on the standardized scores to extract a single overall wealth measure.

227 Figure 1 shows the relationship between harvest value and the probability of moderate  
228 to severe food insecurity. The LOWESS curve— which fits a smooth, locally weighted line  
229 through the data without assuming a specific functional form— reveals a steep decline in  
230 food insecurity as harvest value increases, particularly at lower levels of production. This  
231 pattern supports the paper's theoretical framework, which posits that food insecurity is  
232 closely tied to agricultural outcomes and acts as a key moderator of migration aspirations.  
233 Households with limited harvests face greater food-related vulnerability, making them  
234 more responsive to production shocks and more likely to develop aspirations to migrate.

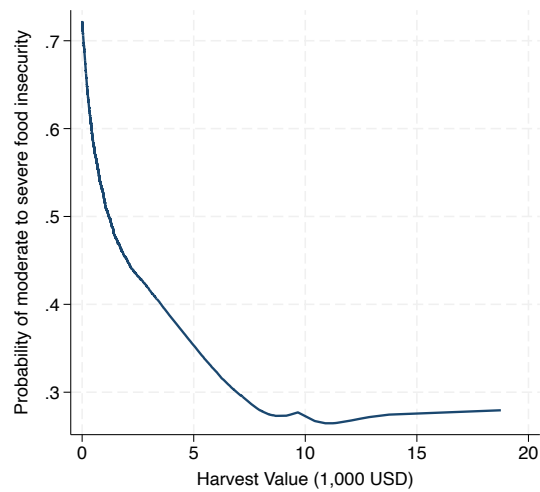


FIGURE 1: Relationship between food insecurity and harvest values

### 3.2 Contextual Background

Agriculture remains central to the livelihoods of most rural Nigerian households, with over 70% engaged in farming and nearly half also raising livestock (National Bureau of Statistics - Nigeria, 2024).<sup>3</sup> Yet the ability of this sector to ensure food security has been undermined by declining productivity, extreme weather, and worsening climate vulnerability. The food insecurity landscape is not static—it is shaped by the rhythms of the agricultural cycle and by how well harvests align with expectations (Villacis, Mayorga and Mishra, 2022). This underscores the need to treat food insecurity not just as a static condition, but as a forward-looking risk that households manage, respond to, and—in some cases—aspire to escape through migration.

The link between agricultural outcomes and food insecurity is more than anecdotal. Drawing on nationally representative panel data, Villacis, Mayorga and Mishra (2022) find that a 10% increase in agricultural productivity in Nigeria leads to a 3.7% drop in the likelihood of relying on less preferred foods, a 3.9% reduction in limiting dietary variety, and a 1.9% decline in limiting portion sizes. These results are grounded in experience-based food insecurity indicators, which capture not just caloric intake but the behavioral, psychological, and nutritional consequences of food scarcity. This is especially relevant in contexts like rural Nigeria, where formal food markets are limited and farming outcomes are tightly coupled to dietary behavior.

<sup>3</sup>At a broader regional level, evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa emphasizes the central role of crop productivity in shaping agro-food system outcomes and land-use pressures (Kuhn and Britz, 2021).

254       Importantly, recent work has confirmed that the sensitivity of food insecurity to agri-  
255       cultural shocks is not merely statistical—it is dynamic and predictive. Using machine  
256       learning approaches and multiple waves of LSMS-ISA data, [Villacis et al. \(2023\)](#) show that  
257       households identified as food insecure using a short 7-day recall period are also highly  
258       likely to be food insecure under a 30-day frame. In other words, short-term food stress  
259       events—often triggered by seasonal income collapses—can serve as reliable proxies for  
260       deeper, more chronic forms of deprivation. These findings legitimize the use of seasonal  
261       household data to study migration decisions and reinforce the idea that post-harvest agri-  
262       cultural outcomes are not just reflections of economic performance—they are signals house-  
263       holds use to shape their future expectations.

264       Heat stress further complicates this picture. [Mayorga, Villacis and Mishra \(2025\)](#) show  
265       that exposure to high temperatures during Nigeria’s growing season leads to significant  
266       reductions in yield, even when the overall value of production remains flat. This is not  
267       because crops are heat-resistant—but because farmers compensate by expanding land use,  
268       adopting mixed-cropping, and increasing dependence on labor and protective inputs like  
269       pesticides. These adaptation strategies are necessary but costly. They reflect an agricultural  
270       system under pressure and households hedging against risk when productivity-enhancing  
271       inputs become ineffective under climate stress. The same study finds that high tempera-  
272       tures reduce fertilizer use and increase reliance on hired labor, both of which strain house-  
273       hold budgets and contribute to food insecurity when they fail to offset productivity losses.

274       Taken together, the evidence from survey and satellite-linked data converges on a  
275       core insight: food insecurity in rural Nigeria is deeply responsive to seasonal agricul-  
276       tural shocks, and it is often anticipatory. As agricultural incomes falter, especially under  
277       heat and weather stress, rural households adjust both their consumption and their aspira-  
278       tions—including aspirations to migrate. Our study builds on this foundation by asking the  
279       next logical question: when harvest outcomes falter and food security deteriorates, how  
280       do rural households reshape their migration goals? By linking post-harvest production  
281       data to changes in migration aspirations measured within the same agricultural cycle, we  
282       provide empirical clarity on this forward-looking behavioral response.

283       In sum, the GHS-Panel Wave 5 provides a rich empirical foundation for testing how  
284       seasonal variation in agricultural income and food insecurity shape rural migration as-  
285       pirations. It is precisely this combination—longitudinal, nationally representative, and  
286       timed to the agricultural calendar—that allows us to move beyond static correlations and  
287       into the behavioral core of rural household decision-making.

## 288 4 Empirical Framework

289 Our empirical strategy is designed to directly test the theoretical predictions outlined  
290 in the previous sections: namely, that the relationship between household value of har-  
291 vest and migration aspirations is nonlinear, and that this relationship is moderated by  
292 the household’s food insecurity status. To do so, we leverage data collected from rural  
293 households in Nigeria at two points in the agricultural cycle—during planting and after  
294 harvest—allowing us to observe both realized agricultural outcomes and changes in mi-  
295 gration aspirations within the same season.

### 296 4.1 Main Specification

297 Our dependent variable captures whether a household increased the proportion of mem-  
298 bers aspiring to migrate between the planting and post-harvest survey rounds. At each  
299 round, migration aspirations were elicited with the direct question: “*Would you like to leave*  
300 *this community to go live somewhere else?*” A household member responding “yes” is consid-  
301 ered to have migration aspirations.

302 We aggregate responses at the household level and define the outcome as a binary vari-  
303 able, equal to one if the proportion of household members expressing a desire to migrate  
304 is higher post-harvest than it was during planting, and zero otherwise. This specification  
305 captures a discrete increase in migration sentiment following the agricultural season and  
306 reflects the forward-looking, responsive behavior discussed previously in the theoretical  
307 framework section.<sup>4</sup>

308 Our central explanatory variable is the total value of agricultural production for the  
309 household, observed in the post-harvest round. This is calculated as the reported quan-  
310 tity of each crop harvested, multiplied by local market prices, and summed across all  
311 crops grown by the household. This harvest value serves as an ex-post measure of house-  
312 hold agricultural performance and directly corresponds to the variable  $h$  in our theoretical  
313 framework. To test the predicted non-linear relationship between harvest value and mi-  
314 gration aspirations, we estimate a quadratic specification that includes both the linear and  
315 squared terms of harvest value:

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<sup>4</sup>Other theoretical frameworks include the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) framework and the aspiration–capability theory (Stark and Taylor, 1991; Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2021). NELM suggests that households make migration decisions by balancing the potential benefits—such as remittances, income diversification, and risk mitigation—against the costs and risks associated with losing labor and disrupting agricultural production (Stark and Taylor, 1991; Taylor and Martin, 2001; Mendola, 2008; Lee, 2021). It also assumes that households act as rational agents pursuing long-term economic optimization strategies (de Haas, 2021).

$$y_{ie} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 h_{ie} + \beta_2 h_{ie}^2 + X'_{ie} \delta + \theta_e + \varepsilon_{ie} \quad (2)$$

316 In this equation,  $y_{ie}$  is the outcome variable of interest for household  $i$  in location  $e$  (i.e.,  
 317 state). The  $h_{ie}$  variable represents the value of agricultural production for the household  
 318 and  $h_{ie}^2$  represents the squared value of agricultural production. This approach follows the  
 319 empirical strategy used by Benček and Schneiderheinze (2024); de Haas (2021); Clemens  
 320 and Postel (2018); Clemens (2014); Henry (2014) and Vogler and Rotte (2000) in testing  
 321 nonlinear migration responses to income growth, and by Mendola (2008) in modeling la-  
 322 bor migration as a function of household agricultural outcomes.

323 To isolate the effect of agricultural harvest value on migration aspirations, we control  
 324 for a standard set of household characteristics, represented by the vector  $X'_{ie}$ , that may  
 325 also influence migration decisions. These include household size, age and gender of the  
 326 household head, head's literacy, internet access, bank ownership, a wealth index, rural  
 327 residence, and geopolitical zone fixed effects. Given the binary nature of the outcome  
 328 variable, we estimate equation 2 using a linear probability model (LPM). All regressions  
 329 account for the complex survey design utilized by the World Bank LSMS ISA team and  
 330 incorporate household sampling weights, stratification at the state level, and clustering at  
 331 the enumeration area level to produce design-consistent standard errors. To further ad-  
 332 dress systematic regional variation in migration patterns, agro-ecological conditions, and  
 333 access to infrastructure, we include fixed effects for Nigeria's states ( $\theta_e$ ). Our approach is  
 334 consistent with best practices in household migration studies that aim to net out structural  
 335 and demographic confounders (Creighton, 2013; Aslany et al., 2021).

336 Our identification strategy relies on the timing of measurement: since harvest value  
 337 is only realized after the first measurement of migration aspirations, and migration does  
 338 not occur within-season, concerns about reverse causality are minimal. This sequential  
 339 measurement structure also reduces potential simultaneity bias, a persistent issue in much  
 340 of the cross-sectional literature on migration and income (Taylor and Martin, 2001). This  
 341 empirical framework makes a key contribution to the migration literature by providing  
 342 novel within-season evidence on how realized agricultural production outcomes shape  
 343 short-run variation in migration aspirations. In doing so, it complements and extends  
 344 prior research based on cross-sectional data or long-term panel analyses (Paudel, Nguyen  
 345 and Grote, 2024; Geng and Zhang, 2024).

## 4.2 Moderating Mechanism: Food Insecurity

To examine the mechanism through which harvest outcomes affect migration aspirations, we estimate a second model that looks at food insecurity as a moderator. Specifically, we interact the linear term of harvest value with the household’s probability of moderate-to-severe food insecurity, as measured by the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES). This variable is bounded between 0 and 1. The use of FIES allows for cross-context comparable, continuous measurement of experienced food insecurity, as advocated in recent migration studies (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2024).

Our interaction model takes the following form:

$$Y_{ie} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 h_{ie} + \gamma_2 FI_{ie} + \gamma_3 (h_{ie} \times FI_{ie}) + X'_{ie} \delta + \theta_e + \varepsilon_{ie} \quad (3)$$

Here,  $FI_i$  denotes the household’s probability of being food insecure. The interaction term  $\gamma_3$  tests whether the effect of harvest value on migration aspirations is stronger among more food-insecure households, as discussed in our theoretical model. A positive interaction term supports the interpretation that food-insecure households are more sensitive to economic shocks in shaping their migration intentions. Importantly, we omit the squared harvest term in this model to preserve the interpretability of the interaction. This reduced-form interaction specification aligns with similar approaches in recent work on migration and livelihood shocks, such as Samui, Mallick and Bailey (2024), who examine how land-use changes and environmental degradation influence migration intentions in Bangladesh.

We estimate equation 3 using a linear probability model (LPM). While nonlinear models such as logit or probit are commonly used for binary outcomes, we opt for the LPM for transparency in interpreting interaction effects and marginal changes, particularly given the small within-household changes in aspirations between survey rounds. Standard errors are computed using Taylor linearized variance estimation, which is robust to heteroskedasticity and accounts for the complex survey design, including clustering at the enumeration area level and stratification by state.

This empirical framework makes another key contribution. By leveraging the interaction between harvest value and food insecurity, we provide evidence of a precise behavioral mechanism: households experiencing food insecurity are more likely to shift toward migration aspirations when faced with poor agricultural outcomes. This mechanism resonates with the “aspiration under constraint” framework discussed by Carling (2002) and Carling and Schewel (2018), and operationalized in recent multi-country migration stud-

ies (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2024; Aslany et al., 2021). In doing so, our study not only tests core predictions of economic migration theory but also deepens our understanding of how vulnerability shapes migration desires under rural uncertainty.

## 5 Results

We begin our empirical analysis by investigating the relationship between agricultural production and migration aspirations. A growing body of literature suggests that migration decisions are shaped not only by absolute poverty or income levels, but also by forward-looking aspirations and perceptions of mobility constraints. Building on this literature, we hypothesize a non-monotonic relationship between agricultural production and migration aspirations. Specifically, we propose that at very low levels of agricultural output, households lack the necessary financial or social capital to consider migration as a viable option. As agricultural production increases, however, households gain both the resources and confidence to formulate migration plans, leading to a rise in stated aspirations to migrate. Beyond a certain threshold, further increases in agricultural productivity enhance economic security and local opportunity structures, thereby reducing the perceived need or incentive to migrate. The resulting relationship is thus expected to exhibit an inverted U-shape.

This hypothesis finds suggestive support in national survey data. According to a recent report by the World Bank, migration aspirations are widespread in Nigeria, with approximately 25 percent of individuals aged 15 years and older expressing a desire to leave their current place of residence either permanently or temporarily (National Bureau of Statistics - Nigeria, 2024). Notably, these aspirations are more prevalent among men than among women. In terms of intended destinations, Abuja is the most frequently cited urban center, although preferred destinations vary across geopolitical zones (National Bureau of Statistics - Nigeria, 2024). These patterns highlight both the scale and heterogeneity of migration aspirations, motivating a more granular analysis of their economic determinants.

To test our hypothesis, we estimate equation 2 with migration aspirations as the dependent variable. Our key independent variable is the monetary value of the most recent harvest, which serves as a proxy for agricultural production. In Column (1) of Table 3, we report results from a baseline specification that excludes controls for household wealth and network connectivity. The estimated coefficient on the linear term of harvest value is positive and statistically significant, while the coefficient on the squared term is negative and statistically significant, consistent with our expectation of an inverted U-shaped

411 relationship. A formal U-test corroborates this finding by rejecting the null hypothesis of  
412 a monotonic relationship. The turning point of the relationship is estimated at approxi-  
413 mately 6,300 USD—located just right of the median value in the observed distribution of  
414 harvest incomes.

415 In Column (2), we augment the baseline model by introducing a control for household  
416 internet access. Access to digital information channels is widely recognized as a critical  
417 mechanism through which individuals form migration aspirations, as it enables exposure  
418 to alternative lifestyles, labor market opportunities, and translocal social networks (Dekker  
419 and Engbersen, 2014; Dekker, Engbersen and Faber, 2016). Even after accounting for this  
420 important pathway, the relationship between harvest value and migration aspirations re-  
421 mains statistically robust. Both the positive linear and negative quadratic coefficients re-  
422 main significant at conventional levels, and the U-test once again rejects monotonicity.

423 Column (3) further extends the specification by including a composite wealth index,  
424 constructed from household assets and amenities. This variable captures broader wealth  
425 effects that may independently influence the feasibility and desirability of migration (Dust-  
426 mann and Okatenko, 2014). The inclusion of the wealth index does not alter our core find-  
427 ings. The inverted U-shaped relationship persists, and the associated coefficients remain  
428 statistically significant. The U-test continues to reject the null hypothesis of monotonicity.

429 To assess the sensitivity of these findings to omitted variable bias, we implement the co-  
430 efficient stability and selection bias framework introduced by Oster (2019). This approach  
431 allows us to compute a proportional selection coefficient, or “Oster’s delta,” by compar-  
432 ing the changes in coefficient estimates and R-squared values between restricted (short)  
433 and full (long) regression specifications.<sup>5</sup> In Column (1), the delta values for the harvest  
434 value and its square are 43.93 and 71.57, respectively, indicating that any unobserved con-  
435 founder would need to be over 40 times more predictive of migration aspirations than  
436 the included covariates to explain away the observed relationship. Columns (2) and (3)  
437 yield even higher delta values—65.26 and 60.06 in Column (2), and 181.26 and 37.54 in  
438 Column (3)—providing strong evidence that the estimated relationships are not driven by  
439 unobserved heterogeneity.

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<sup>5</sup>We calculate Oster’s Delta by comparing regression results in a given column to a regression that only includes *Harvest value* and *Squared harvest value* as explanatory variables.

TABLE 3: Effect of Agricultural Production on Migration Aspirations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
<b>Panel A: Regression results</b>			
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	0.0365** (0.0151)	0.0358** (0.0152)	0.0349** (0.0151)
Squared harvest value (1,000 USD)	-0.0029** (0.0012)	-0.0028** (0.0012)	-0.0028** (0.0012)
Internet connection	No -	0.0869*** (0.0283)	0.0914*** (0.0291)
Combined wealth index	No -	No -	-0.0078 (0.0115)
States Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional Controls?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,831	2,831	2,831
R-squared	0.0735	0.0789	0.0791
<b>Panel B: U-test results</b>			
Turning point	6.368	6.283	6.297
Fieller 95% CI	[3.724; 12.667]	[3.536; 12.182]	[3.436; 12.878]
Sasabuchi p-value	0.0157	0.0153	0.0170
Slope at min	0.0365	0.0356	0.0347
Slope at max	-0.0711	-0.0710	-0.0689
<b>Panel C: Sensitivity Analysis</b>			
Exogenous controls: Oster (2019) - $ \delta $ (delta)			
Harvest value	43.93	65.26	181.26
Squared harvest value	71.57	60.06	37.54

*Notes:* The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased from the post-planting (PP) to post-harvest (PH) round. All regressions are estimated using survey weights and account for complex survey design via the `svy` prefix in Stata. Additional controls include household head age, household size, gender of head, literacy status, bank access, and an indicator for rural areas. Full regression results are reported in table A1 of the Supplemental Appendix. Oster's Delta is calculated using the `psacalc` Stata command.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

440 Turning to the control variables, we find that household internet access is positively  
441 and significantly associated with migration aspirations. This result is consistent with  
442 prior research emphasizing the role of information access and virtual networks in shaping  
443 migration intentions (Dekker and Engbersen, 2014; Dekker, Engbersen and Faber, 2016).  
444 Other household-level variables, including household size, the age and gender of the  
445 household head, literacy status, rural location, and the asset-based wealth index, do not  
446 exhibit statistically significant associations in any of the model specifications.

447 Overall, our findings offer robust empirical support for a non-monotonic relationship  
448 between agricultural production and migration aspirations. This inverted U-shaped pat-

449 tern shows the importance of economic thresholds in shaping household decision-making.  
450 At low levels of agricultural output, households face severe resource constraints that sup-  
451 press even the formation of migration goals. As production improves, aspirations rise in  
452 tandem with the financial means to pursue migration. But once households cross a critical  
453 threshold of economic security, the marginal benefit of migration diminishes, leading to a  
454 decline in stated aspirations. These findings carry important implications for both devel-  
455 opment policy and migration forecasting, especially in rural economies where agriculture  
456 remains a dominant livelihood source.

457 We further investigate the robustness of our main finding that migration aspirations  
458 and agricultural production follow a non-monotonic relationship. We test robustness by  
459 estimating results on the sub-sample of individuals who report having no access to an  
460 internet connection. This robustness check is theoretically grounded and empirically im-  
461 portant for several reasons. First, a growing body of literature highlights internet access  
462 as a major driver of migration aspirations, particularly in rural or resource-constrained  
463 contexts (Dekker et al., 2018; Carling and Schewel, 2020). Through the internet, individ-  
464 uals gain exposure to information about jobs, visa requirements, costs of living, migra-  
465 tion pathways, and social networks abroad—often forming what scholars describe as an  
466 “infrastructure of aspiration” that encourages outward mobility (Massey and Capoferro,  
467 2006; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2010). Thus, access to digital information is itself a pathway  
468 through which migration aspirations are shaped.

469 Second, internet access may introduce confounding and endogeneity concerns. House-  
470 holds with internet connectivity are likely to differ systematically from those without it  
471 along dimensions such as wealth, education, youth composition, or geographic proximity  
472 to urban centers. Many of these traits are also correlated with both agricultural productiv-  
473 ity and migration decision-making. Moreover, access to the internet may not be exogenous  
474 to migration aspirations: it is plausible that households with stronger migration intent may  
475 adopt internet access to facilitate planning, maintain ties with migrants abroad, or engage  
476 with migration brokers and social media platforms. In this context, including internet ac-  
477 cess as a control may absorb part of the true effect of agricultural production on aspirations  
478 or bias estimates through reverse causality (Gelman and Imbens, 2013).

479 Third, restricting the sample to individuals without internet access allows us to test  
480 whether the observed inverted-U shaped relationship between the value of agricultural  
481 production and migration aspirations holds even in the absence of digital channels of in-  
482 fluence. In doing so, we reduce heterogeneity in aspirational context and remove a po-  
483 tentially powerful moderating variable. This approach provides a conservative test of our

484 hypothesis by asking whether economic drivers alone—net of global informational expo-  
 485 sure—are sufficient to generate variation in migration aspirations. This is particularly im-  
 486 portant in rural, low-income settings where digital exclusion remains widespread ([World](#)  
 487 [Bank, 2016](#)), and where offline mechanisms such as food insecurity, income smoothing,  
 488 and livelihood diversification may be more salient drivers of migration interest.

TABLE 4: Robustness Test: Sub-sample with no access to internet con-  
 nection

	(1)	(2)
<b>Panel A: Regression results</b>		
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	0.0374** (0.0178)	0.0374** (0.0178)
Squared harvest value (1,000 USD)	-0.0033** (0.0015)	-0.0033** (0.0015)
Combined wealth index	No -	-0.0004 (0.0142)
States Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes
Additional Controls?	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,231	2,231
R-squared	0.0784	0.0784
<b>Panel B: U-test results</b>		
Turning point	5.657	5.656
Fieller 95% CI	[1.684; 10.734]	[1.750; 10.750]
Sasabuchi p-value	0.0184	0.0181
Slope at min	0.0373	0.0373
Slope at max	-0.0866	-0.0866
<b>Panel C: Sensitivity Analysis</b>		
Exogenous controls: <a href="#">Oster (2019)</a> - $ \delta $ (delta)		
Harvest value	44.13	41.50
Squared harvest value	21.83	21.57

*Notes:* The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased from the post-planting (PP) to post-harvest (PH) round. All regressions are estimated using survey weights and account for complex survey design via the `svy` prefix in Stata. Additional controls include household head age, household size, gender of head, literacy status, bank access, and an indicator for rural areas. Full regression results are reported in table A2 of the Supplemental Appendix. Oster’s Delta is calculated using the `psacalc` Stata command.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

489 In Table 4, we report results from estimating equation 2 using the sub-sample of indi-  
 490 viduals who report having no access to an internet connection. Similar to the previous ta-  
 491 ble in this paper, Column (1) serves as a baseline regression that estimates the relationship

492 between migration aspirations and agricultural production without controls for house-  
493 hold wealth, and in Column (2), we augment the baseline model by introducing a control  
494 for household wealth. Results from this restricted subsample are consistent with the full-  
495 sample model: the coefficient on the value of agricultural production remains positive and  
496 significant, while the squared term is negative and significant, confirming the inverted-U  
497 shape. The robustness of this pattern among respondents without internet access rein-  
498 forces our interpretation that the relationship is not solely attributable to online exposure  
499 or aspirational contagion. Rather, it suggests that production-related livelihood dynam-  
500 ics exert a meaningful influence on migration aspirations, even in digitally disconnected  
501 households. This finding enhances both the internal validity of our core model and its  
502 external relevance to similarly underserved or infrastructurally excluded populations.

### 503 **5.1 Moderating Role of Food Insecurity**

504 Table 5 presents the results of the moderating influence of food insecurity on the relation-  
505 ship between agricultural productivity and migration aspirations. Following our previous  
506 approach, in Column (1) we report results from a baseline specification that excludes con-  
507 trols for household wealth and network connectivity. Column (2), augments the baseline  
508 model by introducing a control for household internet access, and Column (3) further ex-  
509 tends the specification by including a composite wealth index constructed from household  
510 assets and amenities.

511 The results in table 5 show a notable shift: the direct effect of harvest value is no longer  
512 statistically significant, while both the coefficient on food insecurity and the interaction  
513 term are positive and statistically significant at conventional levels. This implies that the  
514 influence of harvest value on migration aspirations is contingent upon the probability of  
515 being food insecure. Specifically, among households that perceive a low risk of food inse-  
516 curity, harvest value has little to no effect on migration aspirations. In contrast, for house-  
517 holds facing a high probability of food insecurity, higher harvest value is associated with  
518 significantly greater migration aspirations.

TABLE 5: Moderating role of food insecurity on migration aspirations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	0.0034 (0.0082)	0.0047 (0.0082)	0.0047 (0.0082)
FIES score	0.0912** (0.0398)	0.0989** (0.0392)	0.0986** (0.0396)
Harvest value × FIES score	0.0417** (0.01873)	0.0367** (0.0185)	0.0366** (0.0184)
Internet connection	No -	0.0867*** (0.0284)	0.0871*** (0.0293)
Combined wealth index	No -	No -	-0.0007 (0.0118)
States Fixed Effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Additional Controls?	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,831	2,831	2,831
R-squared	0.0843	0.0896	0.0896

*Notes:* The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased from the post-planting (PP) to post-harvest (PH) round. All regressions are estimated using survey weights and account for complex survey design via the `svy` prefix in Stata. Additional controls include household head age, household size, gender of head, literacy status, bank access, and an indicator for rural areas. Full regression results are reported in table A3 of the Supplemental Appendix.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

519 To interpret the magnitude and implications of this interaction, we calculate and plot  
520 the marginal effect of harvest value on migration aspirations at different levels of food in-  
521 security (Figure 2). The marginal effect is negligible when the food insecurity probability  
522 is near zero, but becomes strongly positive when the food insecurity probability exceeds  
523 30%. This pattern suggests that agricultural production facilitates migration aspirations  
524 primarily under conditions of food-related vulnerability. In other words, households ap-  
525 pear more likely to translate production gains into migration plans when those gains are  
526 not sufficient to ensure food security — highlighting a risk-responsive channel of migra-  
527 tion decision-making.

528 Importantly, this finding complements rather than replaces the nonlinear relationship  
529 identified in our main specification. The inverted-U shape observed in the baseline model  
530 indicates that migration aspirations peak at intermediate levels of agricultural production,  
531 consistent with theories of "stepwise" migration or liquidity thresholds (De Haas, 2010;  
532 Clemens, 2014; Angelucci, 2015; Bazzi, 2017). The interaction model refines this insight by

533 showing that the position and intensity of that nonlinearity depend in part on food insecurity.  
 534 Rather than diminishing the main result, the interaction analysis provides additional  
 535 insights: it reveals that migration aspirations respond most strongly to agricultural pro-  
 536 duction when food-related risks are salient. Together, these findings highlight that migra-  
 537 tion aspirations are shaped not only by economic endowments but also by the household’s  
 538 perceived ability to convert those endowments into security and opportunity.

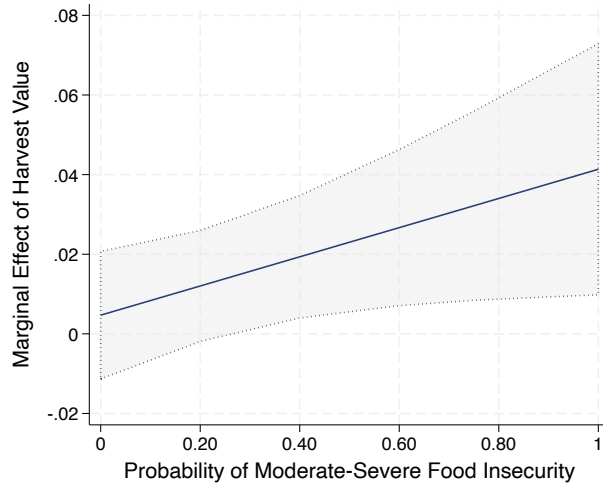


FIGURE 2: Marginal effect of harvest value on migration aspirations at different probabilities of being food insecure.

## 539 6 Discussion and Policy implications

540 The findings in this paper provide new evidence to the complex relationship between  
 541 agricultural productivity and migration aspirations in rural contexts. We leverage within-  
 542 season variation in agricultural outcomes and migration intentions, and provide evidence  
 543 that the relationship is non-monotonic: as agricultural production increases, migration as-  
 544 spirations first rise and then fall. This inverted U-shaped relationship is consistent with our  
 545 theoretical framework and predictions from spatial equilibrium and aspiration–capability  
 546 frameworks, wherein migration becomes feasible as constraints loosen, but less desirable  
 547 as local conditions improve (Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2021; Stark and Taylor, 1991).

548 Three key insights emerge from the analysis. First, migration aspirations among rural  
 549 households do not respond linearly to improvements in agricultural conditions. Rather,  
 550 they reflect a threshold dynamic in which increased harvests enable households to con-  
 551 sider migration—likely by relaxing financial or health-based constraints—but sustained

552 productivity diminishes the perceived benefit of relocating. These results suggest that  
553 aspirations are not solely a function of poverty or deprivation, but also of capacity and  
554 perceived opportunity, echoing earlier theoretical contributions that distinguish between  
555 the desire and ability to migrate (Carling, 2002; Carling and Schewel, 2018).

556 Second, our analysis highlights the critical role of food insecurity in moderating how  
557 agricultural gains translate into migration intentions. Among food-insecure households,  
558 increases in harvest value are associated with higher migration aspirations, suggesting that  
559 when production is insufficient to ensure basic nutritional security, households may inter-  
560 pret even modest gains as an opportunity to pursue alternative livelihoods elsewhere. This  
561 dynamic resonates with recent empirical work emphasizing that food insecurity—especially  
562 when tied to seasonality and climate shocks—plays a central role in shaping mobility pref-  
563 erences (Samui, Mallick and Bailey, 2024; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2024; Villacis and Badrud-  
564 doza, 2023). Importantly, our interaction analysis reveals that the harvest–migration re-  
565 lationship is contingent on households’ perceived ability to meet food needs, suggesting  
566 that policies aimed at reducing food insecurity can dampen the volatility of migration in-  
567 tentions in response to agricultural shocks.

568 Third, the robustness of our results among households without internet access affirms  
569 that agricultural shocks are meaningful drivers of migration aspirations even in the ab-  
570 sence of digital information flows. While digital connectivity has been shown to amplify  
571 aspirations by exposing individuals to migration narratives and destination-specific infor-  
572 mation (Dekker, Engbersen and Faber, 2016; Dekker et al., 2018), our findings suggest that  
573 production-related constraints and food-related risks alone are sufficient to induce shifts in  
574 migration sentiment. This is particularly relevant in settings where digital infrastructure  
575 remains limited and where migration remains shaped by direct livelihood considerations  
576 rather than aspirational contagion.

577 From a policy perspective, these findings offer actionable insights. First, interventions  
578 aimed at increasing agricultural productivity—such as improved seed distribution, exten-  
579 sion services, or investments in irrigation—may have heterogeneous effects on migration  
580 aspirations, depending on where households fall along the food security and productivity  
581 distribution. Among food-insecure households, such gains may initially spur migration  
582 intent as families gain the capacity to consider relocation. Among food-secure households,  
583 however, sustained agricultural success may reduce mobility by reinforcing the value of  
584 staying. Policymakers should therefore avoid assuming that rural development will uni-  
585 formly reduce migration pressures. Instead, they should anticipate that rising productivity  
586 can generate both stability and out-migration, depending on local conditions and house-

587 hold vulnerability.

588       Second, targeted food security interventions may offer a dual benefit—strengthening  
589 rural livelihoods while stabilizing migration dynamics. Programs that buffer households  
590 against seasonal food shortages, such as food reserves, conditional transfers, or nutrition-  
591 sensitive safety nets, may not only reduce the immediate risks of hunger, but also lower the  
592 likelihood that temporary production shocks translate into heightened migration aspira-  
593 tions. These programs may be especially valuable in regions where agriculture is rainfed  
594 and highly sensitive to climate variability, such as much of northern Nigeria (Mayorga,  
595 Villacis and Mishra, 2025).

596       Third, our findings have implications for migration management and labor mobility  
597 policy. In contexts where out-migration is likely to increase in response to mild gains in  
598 agricultural productivity, investments in migration infrastructure—such as safe recruit-  
599 ment systems, pre-departure training, or remittance-linked financial services—can reduce  
600 the risks and increase the developmental returns of migration. Conversely, in contexts  
601 where the goal is to retain labor in agriculture, complementary policies that promote lo-  
602 cal non-farm employment or rural value chains may be needed to absorb productivity-  
603 induced labor surpluses without triggering excessive outflows.

604       Finally, our results point to the need for more granular, temporally sensitive migration  
605 forecasting tools. Migration aspirations are dynamic and responsive to seasonal varia-  
606 tion in agricultural outcomes. Forecasting systems that rely exclusively on annual data  
607 or lagged variables may miss these short-run fluctuations, especially in environments  
608 marked by climatic volatility and food insecurity. High-frequency monitoring of both agri-  
609 cultural production and migration intent—such as that enabled by the GHS-Panel—can  
610 serve as an early-warning system for identifying mobility pressures before they manifest  
611 in large-scale movements.

612       Taken together, this study highlights that migration aspirations in low-income settings  
613 are shaped by both opportunity and constraint. Agricultural production plays a central  
614 role in determining whether households see a future in their current communities or imag-  
615 ine a life elsewhere. But the effect of production is not linear, nor is it uniform: it depends  
616 critically on household vulnerability, local context, and seasonal timing. Development  
617 strategies that aim to promote rural welfare, manage migration, or build climate resilience  
618 must therefore consider not just how to raise incomes, but how to stabilize aspirations.

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## **Supplemental Appendix to "Planting, Harvest, and Hope: Agricultural Production and Migration Aspirations"**

This supplemental appendix includes the full results of the regression estimations presented in the main paper.

- Table [A1](#) reports the results related to the effect of Agricultural Production on Migration Aspirations using our full sample.
- Table [A2](#) reports the results related to the effect of Agricultural Production on Migration Aspirations using a restricted subsample including only individuals with no access to internet connection.
- Table [A3](#) reports the results related to the role of food insecurity on migration aspirations using our full sample.

TABLE A1: Effect of Agricultural Production on Migration Aspirations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	0.0365** (0.0152)	0.0358** (0.0152)	0.0349** (0.0151)
Squared harvest value (1,000 USD)	-0.0029** (0.0012)	-0.0028** (0.0012)	-0.0028** (0.0012)
HH head's age	-0.0003 (0.0009)	-0.0003 (0.0009)	-0.0003 (0.0009)
Household size	0.0072 (0.0045)	0.0063 (0.0044)	0.0062 (0.0044)
HH head is female	0.0325 (0.0299)	0.0305 (0.0297)	0.0297 (0.0296)
HH head is literate	0.0279 (0.0213)	0.0181 (0.0214)	0.0202 (0.0219)
Bank account	0.0191 (0.0246)	0.0029 (0.0244)	0.0080 (0.0242)
Rural	-0.0242 (0.0316)	-0.0125 (0.0313)	-0.0177 (0.0326)
Internet connection	No -	0.0869*** (0.0283)	0.0914*** (0.0291)
Combined wealth index	No -	No -	-0.0078 (0.0115)
<i>State Fixed Effects:</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,831	2,831	2,831
R-squared	0.0735	0.0789	0.0791

*Notes:* The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased from the post-planting (PP) to post-harvest (PH) round. All regressions are estimated using survey weights and account for the survey design.

\*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE A2: Robustness Test: Sub-sample with no access to internet connection

	(1) Without Wealth	(2) With Wealth
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	0.0374** (0.0178)	0.0374** (0.0178)
Squared harvest value (1,000 USD)	-0.0033** (0.0015)	-0.0033** (0.0015)
HH head's age	-0.0010 (0.0009)	-0.0010 (0.0009)
Household size	0.0048 (0.0048)	0.0048 (0.0048)
HH head is female	0.0299 (0.0334)	0.0299 (0.0334)
HH head is literate	0.0188 (0.0243)	0.0189 (0.0248)
Bank account	-0.0014 (0.0263)	-0.0012 (0.0269)
Rural	-0.0070 (0.0347)	-0.0073 (0.0363)
Wealth index	No- -	-0.0004 (0.0142)
<i>State Fixed Effects:</i>	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,231	2,231
R-squared	0.0784	0.0784

*Notes:* The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased from the post-planting (PP) to post-harvest (PH) round. All regressions are estimated using survey weights and account for the survey design. Standard errors in parentheses. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

TABLE A3: Moderating role of food insecurity on migration aspirations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Harvest value (1,000 USD)	0.0034 (0.0082)	0.0047 (0.0082)	0.0047 (0.0082)
FIES score	0.0912** (0.0398)	0.0989** (0.0392)	0.0986** (0.0396)
Harvest value $\times$ FIES score	0.0417** (0.0187)	0.0367** (0.0185)	0.0366** (0.0184)
HH head's age	0.000080 (0.00088)	0.000100 (0.00087)	0.000100 (0.00087)
Household size	0.00766 (0.00451)	0.00683 (0.00437)	0.00682 (0.00437)
HH head is female	0.02467 (0.02996)	0.02243 (0.02968)	0.02238 (0.02968)
HH head is literate	0.03269 (0.02078)	0.02326 (0.02094)	0.02344 (0.02144)
Bank account	0.02415 (0.02409)	0.00813 (0.02399)	0.00859 (0.02394)
Rural	-0.01349 (0.03112)	-0.00141 (0.03073)	-0.00192 (0.03191)
Wealth index	No -	No -	-0.00073 (0.01180)
Internet connection	No -	0.0867*** (0.02837)	0.0871*** (0.02934)
<i>State Fixed Effects:</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,831	2,831	2,831
R-squared	0.0843	0.0896	0.0896

*Notes:* The dependent variable is an indicator for whether the share of household members aspiring to migrate increased from the post-planting (PP) to post-harvest (PH) round. All regressions are estimated using survey weights and account for the survey design. \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .