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Defining, Measuring, and Increasing "Rootedness" in the High Migration Context of Honduras

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Executive Summary

The notion of "rootedness" in the sociology and migration literature is not well defined despite its increasing use by academics and, especially, practitioners. Defining and measuring rootedness has been problematic given that it is often operationalized as, but is not fully captured by, a concept related to social capital, community attachment, and participation. Rootedness is also often thought of as solely the absence of the desire to migrate. However, we argue that an individual's desire to stay can be just as important as the well-documented "root causes" of migration; that is, economic poverty, insecurity, and strong migration networks. We propose a working definition of the concept of rootedness based on an empirical analysis of data from a nationally representative survey in the high migration context of Honduras.

We find that rootedness can both be defined as and measured by an individual's agreement with the idea that where they live is their "true home" and that they "see a good future" in that location. We further find that rootedness can be increased via a strong sense of security (not only the absence of victimization) and active community support for youth. Programs and policies should therefore promote security that goes beyond just preventing crime and fosters a general sense of wellbeing. In particular, programs should promote efforts to ensure that youth are supported by incorporating them in community decision-making, listening to what youth propose, promoting youth participation, and supporting youth leadership. Importantly, income is not strongly associated with this definition of rootedness. This finding highlights the important role of non-economic factors in migration decisions. Even when income increases, it does not necessarily increase the aspiration to stay. To be rooted, as we conceive of it, means more than having sufficient income.

In summary, the paper examines and offers a new understanding of the concept of "rootedness," which speaks to why some members of a community want to migrate and others desire to remain in their home communities. Fleshing out our understanding of rootedness as a way to talk about and measure the desire to remain is therefore crucial to realizing the "right" or "freedom" to stay at home.

Keywords

migration, community attachment, participation, Latin America

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Introduction

Much has been made of the so-called "root causes" of migration. In recent years, the "root causes" discussion has been especially active in policy debates on migration from Central America to the United States (National Security Council 2021). While the roots of the causes that force migrants to seek a better future for themselves and their families are important and documented extensively in the literature (Lorenzen 2017; Hiskey et al. 2018; Massey, Durand, and Pren 2020; Gerschutz-Bell 2022), less has been made of the larger number of people who stay in Central America. Approximately four million or nearly one in ten Central Americans have left their country of origin since the 1980s (Babich and Batalova 2021). This means nine in ten Central Americans have either decided to stay, or do not have the means to migrate. The recent phenomenon of groups of migrants traveling together in "caravans" has lowered cost and increased the capability of migrating for the "involuntary immobile," those who would like to migrate but do not have the means to do so (Schewel 2020). This phenomenon has increased the importance of understanding "voluntary immobility" or the desire to stay in one's country of origin, versus the typical focus on who has migrated and why.

There is a growing interest among policy makers and development practitioners to understand the reasons individuals and families decide to or must stay when faced with the same or similar realities of those who are forced to leave (Catholic Relief Services [CRS] 2020; U.S. Agency for International Development [USAID] 2020; World Food Programme [WFP] 2021). The hypothesis behind this approach is that work should be done to increase voluntary immobility in addition to work to reduce involuntary mobility. As Gerschutz-Bell (2022) argued in these pages, while root causes of migration such as insecurity, lack of economic opportunity, and poor governance are necessary to address to increase voluntary immobility, they are not sufficient in themselves and do not recognize the individual agency of would-be migrants. Additional factors that increase voluntary immobility are often hypothesized to include such things as close family and community bonds ("cohesion"), civic engagement, collective efficacy, embeddedness, and participation (Irwin et al. 2004; Schewel 2020). Particularly in Central America, the term "rootedness" (from the term *arriago* in Spanish) has become a catch-all for the factors that are hypothesized to increase voluntary immobility.

The interest in unpacking rootedness in Central America grew out of past research on domestic mobility in the United States that has demonstrated that close local family bonds, shared values, civic engagement, and community cohesion reduce internal migration intentions in the US context (Barcus and Brunn 2009; Jennings and Krannich 2013). However, attempts to replicate those findings in Central America have been met with mixed success. Recent work in Honduras has shown that rootedness measured by civic engagement (voting) and cultural ties lowers migration intentions (USAID 2020). In Guatemala, however, local social networks, and attachment to and dependence on local family and communities are pervasive and important for local development, but no association was found between these factors and migration intentions (CRS 2020). In Honduras, community investment in social infrastructure that is assumed to increase cohesion, such as schools, churches, sports fields, and other communal spaces, has not decreased migration intentions (USAID 2020). Across Central America, others have used themes of belonging, community appreciation, group affinity, and integration as ways to define rootedness with mixed results (Ruiz Soto 2021).

The lack of consistency in findings across geographies may be due to the conceptual and operational fuzziness of rootedness, which we seek to address. Inconsistent or counterintuitive findings may also be due to the fact that economic development that seeks to reduce the need for migration should both increase migration capabilities *and* decrease migration aspirations (de Haas 2010, 2021). When development increases the capability to migrate among the involuntary immobile by increasing income, access to information and to networks, but without also increasing rootedness, we should not be surprised to find that development interventions do nothing to or even increase migration intentions. For example, in the case of the effect of investment in social infrastructure (i.e., schools, health clinics, and community spaces) on migration, what appears to be missing

is the complete theory of change: If social infrastructure is created and increases concepts related to rootedness such as social cohesion, social capital, and participation, then there will be a decrease in migration aspirations. When social infrastructure is created, but no work is done to also increase rootedness, the improved environment may actually facilitate economic and networking opportunities that reduce barriers to migration.

Empirical studies show that in Central America, migration intentions are not informed only by economic motives. Factors such as security, political, and environmental crises also play a role. In addition, the reasons for intending to migrate can change over time (Hare and Rivero Fuentes 2020). When there are multiple root causes, there is greater risk of breakdown in push-pull theories, and therefore a greater need for a clear understanding of concepts such as rootedness based on agency and the freedom to stay.

The complexity of root causes of migration from Central America requires a holistic understanding of development and context, one that takes into consideration not only economic conditions, but also social, political, and economic conditions that contribute to or detract from a potential migrant's sense of rootedness in their country of origin. This sense of rootedness then informs their decision to migrate or not. We explore below the factors related to rootedness in Central America and the association between rootedness and migration. However, we will first define and operationalize the concept of rootedness, given a lack of consensus around the term.

Literature

"Rootedness" is not well-defined in the sociology or migration literature. There are discussions of "domestic mobility" primarily in the United States from Peter Berger's classic 1963 sociology textbook to today (Cooke 2011; Jennings and Krannich 2013; Hillmann and Spaan 2017). However, there is little discussion of a definition or an established measure of the concept of rootedness itself. This has led to various ways of conceptualizing and operationalizing rootedness as it applies to migration in Central America (USAID 2019; WFP 2021). We explore those concepts below in two broad, related categories derived from the literature: community participation and community attachment.

Community Participation

Hirschman (1970) summarized the role of civic participation as rootedness to determine migration intentions in the "exit, voice, loyalty" model. According to Hirschman, people can migrate (exit), raise their voice, or they can remain loyal to the status quo. Raising one's voice is possible primarily through participation in civic events like voting or activities such as involvement in community groups and organizations. Numerous studies from rural areas of the United States suggest a relationship between civic participation and domestic mobility (Eacott and Sonn 2006; Matarrita-Cascante and Luloff 2008; Sundblad and Sapp 2011; Jacquet, Guthrie, and Jackson 2016). In Honduras, Danielson, and Mejia (in USAID 2020) conceptualized participation as civic engagement, and found that in municipalities where voting was high, there was a lower propensity to migrate. This evidence supports Hirschman's hypothesis of civic participation as an alternative to migration when there is social discontent.

Beyond exercising one's voice alone (as is the case in voting and some other forms of civic participation), participation in community groups and organizations has been found to build social ties and social capital (Putnam 2000). Social ties and social capital, which are ubiquitous in the migration literature, describe networks in destination countries that can help facilitate migration by lowering economic and social costs (Massey and España 1987; Massey et al. 1998; Palloni et al. 2001; Massey and Aysa-Lastra 2011). However, there has been much less empirical research on social connections in the communities of origin and the impact of those connections on migration intentions (Arnold, Hamilton, and Moore 2011). Networks in the place of origin can play a role in decreasing migration intentions by helping individuals find jobs, negotiate resources to find business opportunities, reduce living expenses, and increase the sense of belonging. For example, a study conducted in Guatemala found that, "only when community engagement and leadership activities are combined with efforts such as improved livelihoods, income opportunities, access to fertile land,

do they support increased rootedness" (CRS 2020). This led the authors to conclude that participation may increase rootedness and decrease migration, but only when participation fosters social capital, which impacts economic development.

Community Attachment

Attachment to one's community is related to participation, but it is distinct from social capital. According to Sundblad and Sapp (2011), "[c]ommunity attachment implies a sense of being bound to a geographic community not only by economic necessity or family ties, but by attraction and commitment to the community as a social field." Community attachment focuses on a sense of rootedness that comes from local social relations that might not have "currency" beyond one's own enjoyment, contentment, and sense of belonging. In contrast, social capital may be exchanged for economic benefit.

Community attachment most often refers to varying amounts of acceptance, community efficacy, cohesion, and trust (Jennings and Kannich 2013). Proponents of community attachment hypothesize that persons are more attached to their communities if they feel accepted, believe that others in the community will assist them, and have close relationships. In migration studies, stronger community attachment is thought to result in lower migration intentions (USAID 2020). However, the community to which one is attached is harder to define in areas with historically high migration such as Honduras. The high percentage of Hondurans already living abroad and the strong pull factor of family reunification may limit community attachment in Honduras. A recent study found that Honduran municipalities have 1,500 more people migrating for every 1 percent increase in population living abroad (USAID 2020), and one in four households have a family member living abroad (Hare and Rivero Fuentes 2021). The family ties component of community attachment — that family provides the strongest link to a community — is complicated in Honduras by the fact that many individuals have close family members abroad. Often those ties are equal to or greater than the family and community ties at home.

We explore these concepts from the literature below using new data to operationalize measures of rootedness associated with migration intentions in Honduras.

Data

Data Collection

In April and May 2021, we conducted a national telephone survey in Honduras on victimization, perception of security, confidence in institutions, community support for youth, rootedness, and migration. The survey was representative of households across all 18 departments in Honduras, with 1,791 respondents. Enumerators used random digit dialing to contact respondents telephonically. The combined no response and refusal rate was 20 percent. Respondents were at least 18 years of age, and the sample was similar to the national population in terms of sex and weighted for urban/rural location, department, and age.

The structured survey questionnaire was based on standardized, previously utilized and tested instruments designed to measure perception of security, crime victimization, past household migration and migration intentions, perception of a good future in Honduras, civic engagement, perceived community attachment; perception of the performance of police, and bribery by police and government officials. Minor modifications to language and precision were made during survey preparation, cognitive testing, and enumerator training.

Variables

Emigration Intentions. We measured future potential emigration by asking if respondents had "intentions to emigrate in the next three years" with responses of "no" (0) to "yes" (1). The use of emigration intentions was necessary in our analysis given the hypothesized association between an individual's current sense of rootedness and current plans for emigration. This approach was favored over asking recall questions related to rootedness prior to any past migration attempts. Emigration intentions are also an important proxy for and have been demonstrated to correlate with actual migration in high-frequency sending countries such as Honduras (Creighton 2013; Ryo 2013).

Rootedness. The questionnaire included three modules that measure different dimensions associated with

the concept of rootedness: participation in various community activities; perceived community attachment; and seeing a good future in Honduras.

First, we asked seven questions related to participation understood as involvement in the community. These questions are a subset from the Latin America Public Opinion Project determined through pre-testing in Honduras to include participation in: (1) religious organizations, (2) parent-teacher associations, (3) neighborhood associations, (4) political associations, (5) youth groups, (6) youth center volunteer activities, or (7) team sports.[1] In our statistical models, community participation is included as three continuous indexes, which resulted from an exploratory factor analysis[2] to summarize the Latin American Public Opinion Project's original seven variables: (1) Participation in civic activities such as parent-teacher associations, neighborhood committees, and political associations, (2) participation in recreational and youth-related activities, including the participation in youth organizations, volunteering in youth and community centers, and participation in team sports, and (3) participation in support and community improvement activities, including religious groups and youth organizations. The greater the value of each of these indexes, the more the respondent participates in civic, recreational, or support activities.

Second, we included in our questionnaire the following, Jennings and Kannich (2013) community attachment questions: (1) "I feel I am fully accepted as a member of this community," (2) "If I was in trouble, most people in this community would help me," (3) "Most of the people in this community can be trusted," and (4) "I feel this community is my true home." The first three questions measure the perception of community support and efficacy, while the fourth is a direct measure of respondents' perception of their attachment to the community in their immediate vicinity (vs. the international ties with past migrants from their family and community). After testing the phone survey, we simplified the original five-point Likert scale to four, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). In our statistical models, these community attachment variables are represented with two variables. The first — "perceived community support" — is a continuous index obtained with exploratory factor analysis, that summarizes the three first questions. Respondents with higher values in this index feel more supported by their communities. The second variable is agreement with the statement that the community of residence is the respondents' true home, which we treat as dichotomous. Those who strongly agree or agree with the statement, have a value of 1 and those who disagree or strongly disagree have a value of 0.[3]

Finally, we used a question that has been asked in various forms to determine whether respondents see a good future in their current location (Wyngaarden et al. 2023). While some (Goštautaitė et al. 2018) have asked for levels of agreement with the phrase, "I may not have a good future if I stay in [country]," we modified this phrase to improve understanding and follow similar surveys by the AmericasBarometer in Honduras to, "I believe there is a good future for me and my family here in Honduras." Responses were recorded on a four-point Likert scale, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). In the statistical models we treat this variable as dichotomous, with observations having a value of 1 when they agree or strongly agree with this statement.[4]

Controls. We collected socio-demographic information such as age, sex, education, household economic situation, perception of security and victimization, urban/rural residence, trust in the justice system in general and to handle specific cases such as gender-based

[1]The questionnaire also included participation in women groups, but that question is excluded from our analysis because it was only asked to women.

[2]As these variables are dichotomous, the factor analysis was run on the tetrachoric correlation matrix.

[3]The decision to treat this variable as dichotomous was based on binary exploratory analysis showing that the effect of this variable on migration intentions was not linear and that there was no significant difference in migration intentions between those who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed with this statement, nor among those who agreed and strongly agreed.

[4]The decision to dichotomize this variable was also based on bivariate exploratory analysis that showed that there was no statistical difference between those who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed with the statement, but there was a difference between those who expressed any form of disagreement and those who agreed.

violence, experience with petty corruption such as bribery, and remittances (which are highly correlated with past household migration) in order to control for the effects of these variables. The household economic situation variables were determined using Chi-square automated interaction detection (CHAID) which indicated that unemployment, household income sufficiency, and food security had the most impact on migration intentions. Perception of security and victimization were determined in the same way with the perception of security and household victimization having the most impact on migration intentions (there is an interaction between the two variables, but only when the respondents feel safe and very safe).

Analysis

We used logistic regressions to analyze the relationship between rootedness and migration intentions to the United States among adults living in Honduras in March of 2021. We ran three logistic regressions. Model 1 seeks to test to what extent rootedness has a gross effect on migration intentions and includes only the variables that measure rootedness.

The feeling that the community where one lives is one's true home may only contribute rootedness if one perceives that there is a good future for residents or their family in the country. Model 2 explores this hypothesis by testing whether there is an interaction between these two variables. As in Model 1, this model does not include any controls other than the rootedness variables.

As rootedness may be associated to contextual variables that affect respondents living conditions (such as economic opportunities and perception of security), which are themselves associated to migration intentions, Model 3 adds individual and contextual variables that have been demonstrated to explain migration intentions in Honduras (Hare and Rivero Fuentes 2021). The objective of this model is to test whether the effect of rootedness on migration intentions holds after controlling for individual-level and contextual variables.

Limitations

Given that the sample used here is a nationally representative, random telephonic sample, this analysis can be generalized beyond the sampled population to the adult population of Honduras with access to mobile phones as a whole. However, given the fact that the results come from a telephone survey, which randomly sampled cell phone numbers, the survey is not representative of the small portions of the population without a cell phone (8 percent without cell phones overall, 13 percent in rural areas and 4 percent in urban areas [INE 2020]).

To better understand how Covid-19 impacted survey results, respondents were asked about direct impacts of Covid-19 on employment and health, with uneven responses by region. For example, nearly twice as many respondents noted an impact on employment in urban areas compared to rural areas. However, the exact medium- and long-term impact of the pandemic on all responses cannot be known, and caution is warranted for extrapolation beyond this unique context.

The temporal references in questions, while necessary to ensure validity and consistency, also may impact some responses. The survey included both retrospective questions (within a 12-month period) as well as prospective questions (willingness to migrate in the following three years). As with most retrospective and future-oriented questions, it is not possible to ensure that respondents assessed the whole reference period, or the exact time-period to which their answers refer.

Results

The sample was balanced and similar to the national population in terms of sex, department (state), and age after weighting (see Appendix A). In line with other recent surveys in the country, two of every five respondents (40.76 percent) say they have intentions to migrate to the U.S. in the next three years (Latin America Public Opinion Project [LAPOP] 2018).

Responses to the participation indicators included in the survey show an active engagement in community activities, especially participation that is not political in nature. Between 56.26 percent and 46.72 percent of respondents participate in religious activities, parent teacher associations, and neighborhood associations; about a third of respondents participate in youth groups, volunteer in youth centers or participate in group sports; but only 18.03 percent participate in political associations.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics.

Variable	Mean (S.D.)
Dependent variable	
Has migration intentions	40.76% (1.34)
Rootedness variables	
Participates in religious organizations	56.26% (1.35)
Participates in parent-teacher associations	46.72% (1.36)
Participates in neighborhood associations	47.02% (1.36)
Participates in political associations	18.03% (1.05)
Participates in youth groups	31.59% (1.27)
Participates as a youth center volunteer	29.5% (1.24)
Participates in team sports	35.76% (1.30)
Participation in civic activities index	0.48 (0.41)
Participation in recreational and youth-related activities index	0.28 (0.40)
Participation in support and community improvement activities index	0.28 (0.38)
Mean agreement with the statement "I feel I am fully accepted as a member of this community"	2.91 (0.02)
Mean agreement with the statement "If I was in trouble, most people in this community would help me"	2.90 (0.02)
Mean agreement with the statement "Most of the people in this community can be trusted"	2.54 (0.02)
Perception of community support index	2.64 (0.47)
Agrees that the community is their true home	74.22% (1.34)
Agrees that there is a good future in Honduras	39.87% (1.34)
Interaction of community is their true home and perception of a good future in Honduras:	
Disagrees with both statements (ref)	19.45% (1.08)
Disagrees with perception of a good future, agrees that the community is their true home	40.69% (1.34)
Agrees with perception of a good future, disagrees with community is their true home	6.33% (0.66)
Agrees with both statements	33.53% (1.29)

N = 1,791.

Survey participant responses to the community attachment questions proposed by Jennings and Kannich (2013) indicate that, on average, they feel accepted by their community (average 2.91, with 82.91 percent agreeing or agreeing strongly with the statement), that they can expect their community members to help them in case of need (average 2.90, with 80.24 percent agreeing or agreeing strongly), and their community can be trusted (average 2.54, with 56.78 percent agreeing or agreeing strongly). Agreement with the statement about their community being their true home is equally high (74.22 percent), but agreement with the idea that there is a good future for them or their family in Honduras is less common. Only 39.87 percent of respondents agree or strongly agree with this statement (see Table 1).

To explore the overall association between migration intentions and the different dimensions of rootedness, Figure 1 below shows the percentage difference in migration intentions between individuals who exhibit rootedness as measured by each of the items hypothesized, and those who do not. Contrary to what was expected, individuals who responded that they participate in any sort of community activities are actually more likely to express migration intentions than those who do not. The difference is largest for the variables that indicate participation in civic activities, such as team sports (11.8 point difference) and neighborhood associations (9.5 point difference). The difference is smallest for variables that indicate participation in support and community improvement activities such as religious organizations (2.5 point difference). This finding aligns with our work on the concept of "resilience" or the ability to identify and navigate to resources among

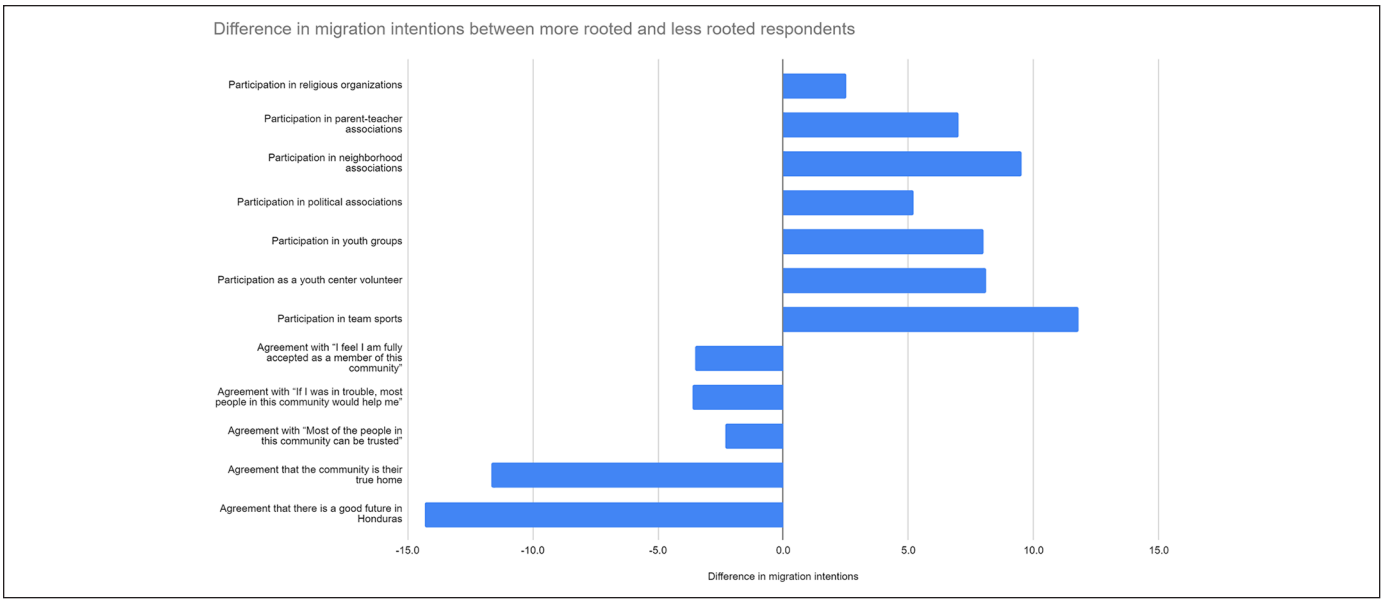

Figure 1. Differences in Migration Intentions by Rootedness Indicator.

Honduran youth, where an increase in resilience is associated with an increase in migration intentions (Rivero Fuentes, Hare, and Miller-Graff 2024).

The relationship between migration intentions and the variables measuring community attachment and perception of a good future in Honduras is as expected: respondents who feel accepted in their community, think that in case of trouble individuals in their community would help them, feel that their community is their true home, and agree that there is a good future for them and their families in Honduras have lower migration intentions than those who do not. The difference is largest for the last two variables: 37.8 percent of those who think that their community is their true home have migration intentions, versus 49.4 percent of those who do not (11.7 point difference). Similarly, 32.1 percent of those who agree that there is a good future in Honduras have migration intentions, whereas 46.5 percent of those who do not (14.3 point difference).

The multivariate models in Table 2 build on the bivariate analysis by measuring the different dimensions of rootedness with composite indices instead of disaggregate variables. The results with the composite indices are consistent with the bivariate results described above. Model 1 shows the effect of the indices we used to measure the different dimensions of rootedness on the odds of having migration intentions, when all these factors are included in the model without controls. Participation in civic activities and recreational and youth-related organizations increases the odds of having migration intentions (72 percent and 61 percent respectively). However, participation in support and community improvement activities shows a marginal effect ($p < .074$) where participation decreases the odds of having migration intentions. The change in the effect of this variable from the bivariate results may be due to the controls used in this model.

Also consistent with the bivariate results, perception of community support does not significantly affect migration intentions, but agreeing that the community is one's true home and agreeing that there is a good future in Honduras have a very large effect. Individuals who see their community as their true home have 34 percent lower odds of having migration intentions ($p < .004$), while those who agree that there is a good future in Honduras have 45 percent lower odds ($p < .000$).

Model 2 explores the hypothesis that there is an interaction between the perception that the community of residence is the respondents' true home and their perception of a good future in Honduras. As both variables are dichotomous, this interaction is operationalized with four dummy variables that depict the combination of the two. The results indicate that any combination agreement with seeing one's community as their true home and perception

Table 2. Logistic Regression Models to Explain Migration Intentions to the US in the Following Three Years (Odds Ratios and S.E.).

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Participation in civic activities	1.723*** (0.283)	1.719*** (0.283)	1.335 (0.253)
Participation in recreational and youth-related activities	1.608** (0.285)	1.613** (0.286)	1.316 (0.27)
Participation in support and community-improvement activities	0.73* (0.129)	0.728* (0.128)	0.813 (0.162)
Perception of community support	0.956 (0.129)	0.958 (0.129)	1.213 (0.183)
Agrees that community is one's true home	0.661** (0.094)	—na—	—na—
Agrees that there is a good future in Honduras	0.551*** (0.067)	—na—	—na—
Disagrees that the community is their true home and that there is a good future in Honduras (ref)			
Agrees that the community is their true home, disagrees that there is a good future in Honduras		0.638** (0.105)	0.757 (0.137)
Disagrees that the community is their true home, agrees that there is a good future in Honduras		0.499** (0.13)	0.608* (0.176)
Agrees that the community is their true home and that there is a good future in Honduras		0.361*** (0.064)	0.451*** (0.092)
Female			0.64*** (0.087)
Age (18–30 = ref)			
31–59			0.6*** (0.086)
60 and older			0.238*** (0.066)
Education (none = ref)			
Primary grade 1–8			0.776 (0.214)
Primary grade 9			0.699 (0.223)
Secondary grade 10–11			0.577* (0.191)
Secondary grade 12			0.432** (0.129)
Higher education			0.247*** (0.084)
Urban residence			0.754** (0.096)
Economic conditions (no food insecurity, sufficient household income = ref)			
No food insecurity, insufficient household income			1.428* (0.266)
Food insecurity, respondent is not unemployed			1.703*** (0.271)
Food insecurity, respondent is unemployed			3.525*** (0.863)
Household receives remittances			1.343** (0.19)
Perception of safety in the community (The community is very unsafe = ref)			
The community is unsafe			0.58** (0.139)
The community is safe or very safe, but someone in the household has been a victim of crime			0.458** (0.126)
The community is safe or very safe, and no one in the household has been a victim of crime			0.346*** (0.084)
Belief that police take domestic violence seriously			0.905 (0.143)
Trust in justice institutions			1.142 (0.149)
Believes that bribes are justified			1.361* (0.234)
Perceived frequency of bribes			0.919 (0.094)
Constant	0.967 (0.315)	0.984 (0.324)	2.405* (1.225)

Note: $N = 1{,}791$.
*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$.

of a good future significantly decreases the odds of having migration intentions. Furthermore, there is evidence that the effect of the two variables is combined and greater when individuals agree with both the idea that their community is their true home, and that there is a good future for them in Honduras (74 percent lower odds, $p < .000$). When individuals agree that the community is their true home, but disagree that there is a good future for them in Honduras, their odds of having migration intentions decrease 36 percent ($p < .006$), whereas when they agree that there is a good future for them in Honduras but do not see their community as their true home, their odds decrease 50 percent ($p < .008$). The effect of the participation variables in model 2 are the same as in model 1.

Feelings of rootedness may be associated to individuals' sociodemographic characteristics and other contextual variables, such as perception of security, which may also be correlated to migration intentions. To assess whether the effect of rootedness on migration intentions exists, independently of these other factors, Model 3 controls for variables that have been proven to explain migration intentions. Once these other migration covariates have been controlled for, the effect of the indicators of participation decreases and these indicators no longer have a significant effect on migration intentions (see coefficients for participation in civic activities, participation in recreational and youth-related activities, and participation in support and community improvement activities in Table 2). In this model, perception of community support has a positive association, but as in models 1 and 2, it does not have a significant effect on migration intentions ($p < .200$).

The results of model 3 indicate with greater clarity that there is an interaction between perception of the community as one's true home and perceiving that there is a good future for the respondent in Honduras. Once other variables that explain migration have been controlled for, agreeing that the community is one's true home does not have a significant effect on migration intentions if the respondents do not see a good future in their country (odds ratio = 0.757, $p < .123$), and the effect of perceiving a good future is only marginally significant if the respondent does not think that the community is their true home (odds ratio = 0.608, $p < .086$). However, when both conditions are met, the odds of migrating decrease significantly. Individuals who perceive their community as their true home and think that there is a good future for them in Honduras have 55 percent lower odds of having migration intentions ($p < 0.000$) than those who neither think their community is their true home, nor see a good future for them in Honduras. This result indicates that, in order to feel truly rooted and to have no intentions to move, individuals need to feel at home and see a future for themselves there.

Table 3. Factors Associated With Seeing a Good Future and That Honduras is One's True Home.

	Good future	True home
Sex (female)	0.83	0.88
Urban	1.13	0.91
Food insecure, unemployed	0.38*	0.70
Community unsafe	1.68	1.29
Community safe, victims	1.94*	2.09*
Community safe, no victims	3.09*	2.50*
Domestic violence serious	1.01	1.27
Trust in the justice system	1.42*	0.85
Meeting participation	1.36	1.27
Youth meeting participation	0.89	0.80
Youth support in community	1.20*	1.78*
Youth incorporated	0.95	1.30*
n		1,469

*$p < .05$.

Finally, we conducted logistic regression analyses on various factors typically associated with migration intentions to determine their association with perception of a good future and seeing Honduras as their true home (Table 3).

Factors associated with greater probability of perceiving a good future in Honduras include increased sense of security, increased trust in the justice system, and the perception that the community supports youth. Seeing a good future is lower among those with education than those with none (potentially due to disillusionment, or increased awareness of economic and political realities that remain out of reach), among those experiencing economic hardships (as indicated by living in a household where income is insufficient or food insecure, regardless of whether or not they are employed), and the perceived frequency of bribes. Factors associated with perceiving

the community as one's true home increases with education, sense of security, and with youth support and incorporation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The notion of "rootedness" in the migration literature is not well defined despite its increasing use by academics and, especially, practitioners. Analyses of these new data in Honduras show that the conceptualizations of rootedness that are associated most strongly with decreased migration intentions are seeing a good future and feeling that one is in their true home. Meanwhile, rootedness understood as participation, acceptance, community efficacy, and trust are not as strongly associated with migration intentions. This indicates the need for an understanding of rootedness that is distinct from similar concepts in the current migration literature. Concepts such as participation (from network theory), acceptance, collective efficacy, and trust (social capital/cohesion) may be related to rootedness, but do not adequately describe the fundamental elements of rootedness in Honduras. Community attachment most closely describes a sense of true home, but it fails to capture the idea of seeing a good future. We therefore posit that rootedness in the Honduran migration context is best understood as "seeing a good future in one's true home."

Whereas most migration theory and efforts to reduce migration from Honduras focus on decreasing aspirations to migrate ("root causes" or push factors), rootedness defined as seeing a good future in one's true home focuses on increasing aspirations to stay. This distinction is especially important among the "involuntary immobile" (Schewel 2020), or those who would migrate if they had the means, given the declining cost of migration from Honduras via mass "caravans" and the short-term impact of economic development that increases the capability to migrate (Clemens 2014). In this way, the rootedness-as-aspiration-to-stay approach also fits within broader conceptualizations of development as the freedom to live how and where one desires (Sen 1999) . For rootedness in the migration context, this can be understood as the freedom to exercise one's aspiration to live in their true home.

What can then be done to increase rootedness and the aspiration to stay within a developing country context? We found that a sense of security and community support for youth are the factors most consistently associated with seeing a good future in one's true home. Insecurity is often cited as a root cause of migration from Honduras. However, we found that it takes on even more significance in its association with rootedness. We examined security both as a perception (sense of security) and experience (victimization). We found that the most rooted were those who had both a strong sense of security and who lived in households whose members had not been victimized. However, those who had a sense of security despite having a victim in the household were also rooted. These results suggest that reducing the experience of crime is not sufficient alone to increase rootedness. More must be done to help increase the perception that people are safe in the future, whether or not they have been victimized in the past. This goal is often accomplished through programs that bring community members together to increase trust, cohesion, and efficacy (i.e., neighborhood watch programs and police-community security councils). However, as we saw above, we did not find evidence for a direct association between community cohesion and efficacy with rootedness. We also did not find an association between these factors and sense of security. We did find that trust in the justice system (generally and to prosecute specific crimes such as gender-based violence) is associated with seeing a good future and sense of security. More research is needed to explore those relationships in evaluations of programs that seek to increase a sense of security and rootedness.

What is even more clear in these data is that community support for youth increases rootedness and related concepts such as sense of security. It appears that the way a community cares for its youth promotes seeing a good future in one's true home for both youth and adults. Support for youth takes on additional importance given that youth have the highest migration intentions. Increasing support for youth appears to increase rootedness and, in turn, reduce migration intentions among this key demographic. This finding also suggests that there is hope for the next generation, and that communities that are active in providing opportunities for youth believe that there will be a good future because of it. Programs that promote civic engagement to reduce migration intentions should thus focus efforts on

ensuring that youth are supported through these activities. Preliminary analyses of our data suggest that incorporating youth, listening to what youth propose, promoting youth participation, and supporting youth leadership contribute to perceptions of community support for youth (see Williams and Vaughan 2020 for more on this in Honduras). More scholarship is needed on youth community councils, youth representation in civic groups, and youth leadership programs and rootedness.

Also important is the fact that income is associated with seeing a good future, but not with seeing one's true home. This finding highlights the important role of non-economic factors in migration decisions — even when income increases, it does not necessarily increase the aspiration to stay. As suggested by Sen's view of development as the freedom to live how and where one desires, economic conditions may not be sufficient to determine whether or not members of a community perceive that they are in their true home. We have found in the Honduran context, and recommend exploring in other migrant-sending communities, that to be rooted means more than having sufficient income.

Appendix A. Descriptive Statistics of Control Variables.

Characteristics	Sample population mean[a]	Total population mean[b]
Urban (%)	48.7	54.1
Household size	4.6	4.2
Female (%)	49.5	51.7
Years of school	8.2	8.0
Unemployed (%)	12.0	10.9
18–30 (%)	51.4	46.0
Past household migration (%)	23.9	—
Migration intentions (%)	55.0	38.0
Participation (%)	86.8	—
Accepted	3.7	—
Community help	3.7	—
Trust	3.1	—
True home	3.6	—
See good future (%)	42.2	—

[a]*N* = 1,791.
[b]Migration intentions, LAPOP (2018); all others, INE (2019).

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