EMIGRANT AMERICA:
ESTIMATING AND ENVISAGING EXPATRIATION TO CANADA AND MEXICO

By

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ABSTRACT

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Migration in North America is much more diverse than a single immigration flow to the United States; emigration from the U.S. has been growing numerically and in terms of the diversity of those leaving. Though exploration, description, and analysis of American emigration is largely absent from international migration literature, American citizens living abroad are important domestic political, social, and economic actors. The media promotes the idea of Americans in Mexico as retirees and in Canada as fleeing U.S. politics. Yet, the limited literature shows a disparity between how the media represents this group and more rigorous data-based emigrant profiles. This dissertation investigates this emigration flow, guided by research questions that: explore changes in demographic composition; examine the portrayal of American emigration in mass media; and compare the depiction of American emigration in secondary data to the narrative told by mass media. This dissertation contributes to sociological knowledge in general and to the field of migration studies in particular through: methodological contributions regarding use of the pragmatic approach (rather than postpositivist or interpretivist approaches); furthering the understanding of alternative migration flows; and content analysis of media framing of international migration.

This dissertation comprises six chapters. In the first, I provide an overview of the study of American emigration and an introduction to the common theories and themes in these studies, specifically *migration transition theory*, *migration systems theory*, and *transnational and diaspora theories*. In the following chapter, I investigate the claims of an "American Diaspora." After systematically exploring the various definitions of diaspora in published literature, I

consider the case of the American Diaspora through a comparative approach. Finding that the American case does not represent a diaspora, I propose and theorize an alternative way to discuss the group and the implications of atypical diasporic claims and the potential de-legitimization of the term stemming from the wide use. In the third chapter, I explicate the pragmatic methodological worldview and its application to migration studies. I review the methodology of this dissertation, which utilizes existing data analysis of quantitative demographic data and content analysis of qualitative data. Additionally, I evaluate the role of the pragmatic approach in overcoming various methodological issues in migration studies.

The fourth chapter builds and evaluates a demographic profile of American emigration to Canada and Mexico. In addition to migration stocks, I present data on trends in age, education, citizenship, and, for younger people, location of birth of parent. Emigration trends and patterns are evaluated in terms of migration transition theory's emphasis on development and social transformation. In the fifth chapter, I investigate representations of American emigration in the media since the early 1990s using qualitative content analysis of media coverage. Primarily, this chapter investigates how the national media portrayed (or framed) emigrants from the U.S. to Canada and Mexico. To examine this, I analyze media representation of American emigration using the *Dashefsky Typology*. In doing so, I bring together literatures on migration systems theory, media framing, and the migration imaginary. Lastly, the concluding chapter compares the findings of Chapters 4 and 5 in four critically important social contexts: the migration histories (or repertoires) of Canada and Mexico; NAFTA; the Global Economic Crisis; and the diversity of politics, policies, and attitudes of migration in North America. Furthermore, I review the contributions of the dissertation and offer potential avenues for future research within my larger American emigration research agenda.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

GAO	Government Accountability Office
GEC	Global Economic Crisis
IPUMS	International Public Use Microdata Series (from Minnesota Population Center)
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
MPC	Minnesota Population Center
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Organization
NAMS	North American Migration System
OVF	Overseas Vote Foundation
UNPD	United Nations Population Division
USMCA	United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement

Chapter 1 – Introduction: Literature and Theory

Introduction

"The happy and powerful do not go into exile…"
— Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Alexis de Tocqueville's foundational *Democracy in America* contemplated how a democratic political system could develop and thrive. He examined the European settlers in America and the importance of understanding their origin, similarities, and differences. Tocqueville (1839:23) found America to be "the only country in which the starting point of a great people has been clearly observable." In a chapter entitled "Origin of the Anglo-Americans, and Its Importance in Relationship to Their Future Condition," he reasoned that the conditions of their fleeing from Europe created the possibility of a country created upon the ideals of democracy. Tocqueville argues that their displeasure with the nation-states of origin, specifically their systems of governments, was responsible for assembling a group of immigrants that could establish a country created for and by its citizens.

The idea of a politically disenchanted group forming a democracy in a new country is even more evident in extended text of this dissertation's epigraph. Tocqueville (1839:26) states:

> It may safely be advanced, that on leaving the mother-country the emigrants had in general no notion of superiority over one another. The happy and powerful do not go into exile, and there are no surer guarantees of equality among men than poverty and misfortune. It happened, however, on several occasions, that persons of rank were driven to America by political and religious quarrels.

The proviso in the final sentence hedges on the initial statement to some extent. Identifying that while those typically in positions of power see no reason to flee, they still move themselves into exile. Exile here does not refer to being barred from a country for political or punitive reasons, but living away from one's home country because of choice or compulsion. Yet, the distinction

between choice and compulsion is not so clearly drawn, especially given the relationship between structure and agency discussed in the sociological literature.

While these conditions were central to the constructing of an American democracy, those well-versed in the study of migration may be given pause by Tocqueville's observation in the epigraph, specifically at the claim that emigration—referred to here as 'exile'—is reserved for the unhappy and the un-powerful. Contradictory to the literature on emigration, he concludes that to choose to leave a country one must feel disempowered and crave the opportunity to change that condition. Current conditions of emigration *from* America make Tocqueville's observations of emigration from Europe *to* America somewhat ironic. We see a great contradiction in what Tocqueville says to where we are now. Those individuals fled Europe for the U.S. because they were unhappy and un-powerful, but now the U.S. is a place to be fled (for some). Some flee America because they are unhappy and un-powerful in the current socio-political sphere, but others emigrate despite their power and happiness.

America is far removed from the period of Tocqueville and one can no longer clearly state who does or does not 'go into exile.' Emigration from anywhere is complex, but always requires some amount of power. However, this power is not necessarily earned. Upon birth, one is bestowed with: life, certain rights, and a nationality; but these rights are not always equal, even in societies that "guarantee" such equity. Indeed, the ability to flee one's country is directly tied to the power one has, be it economic, social, or political. Thus, any migration decision is simultaneously tied to a number of individual and social factors that shape the complex nature of migration decisions and potential. These complexities are evident when investigating the relationship between the U.S. and its migrants. However, one must look beyond its vast immigrant population to understand the full picture of American migration.

The U.S. hosts by far the largest population of immigrants in the world (Migration Policy Institute 2017). Its southern border is the most heavily traversed national boundary (Danelo 2008; Osborn 2015). But human movement in the North American Migration System (NAMS) is by no means unidirectional. Migration from Mexico to the U.S. is only one part of the larger picture. Most estimates place between 6 and 7 million native-born Americans outside of the U.S. borders.[1] According to Canada's and Mexico's censuses, over one million reside just across the northern and southern borders combined[2]— a small but not trivial portion of the U.S. population. A recent estimate by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Consular Affairs approximates that 9 million Americans live abroad.[3] The consensus among scholars is that this migration flow will endure (e.g. Croucher 2012; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a; Rappl 2010; Topmiller, Conway, and Gerber 2011), making it ever more important to understand. Yet, American emigration has not received nearly as much attention as other flows in North America. In this dissertation, I examine emigration from the U.S. to Canada and Mexico. I develop a profile of American emigration within the NAMS, as I investigate emigration from the U.S. using a comparative multi-method approach,[4] a methodology I defend in Chapter 3.

In this chapter, I provide the contextual grounding for this dissertation. Here, I explain the key research questions, review the literature on American emigration and the theories I use to explore the topic, and describe the contributions of the dissertation to sociology, migration studies, and transnationalism studies. Additionally, I briefly discuss the methodological grounding of the dissertation, though I review the methodology at length in Chapter 3.

Following this introductory chapter, which also discusses the literature and theory, this dissertation contains five additional chapters. In Chapter 2, I investigate the issues with classification of Americans living abroad, whose uniqueness has resulted in conflicting ways of discussing the group as migrants, expatriates, and diasporans, among others. Chapter 3 provides

a methodological overview of the dissertation. This chapter also serves as a broader argument toward the pragmatic approach in migration studies. In Chapter 4, I develop and discuss the demographics of American emigration in North America, compiling data from censuses, the World Bank, the UN, and others. Chapter 5 introduces and explains an empirical study of media framing of American emigration to Canada and Mexico, in which I highlight the multiple ways the media frames American emigration and the larger consequences of this. Finally, in the concluding chapter, Chapter 6, I summarize findings and compare the demographic data with the media representation of American emigration. In addition, this chapter discusses these findings in the context of the global economy and socio-political shifts in North America. This chapter concludes with broader suggestions for research on American emigration and similar migrant populations around the world.

Statement of the Problem

The U.S. Government closely monitors the number of immigrants entering the country. However, the Government does not keep a record of emigration from the U.S. A 2004 report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that enumerating emigrants in the 2010 Census was not cost-effective (GAO 2004). The report came after a GAO subcommittee conducted a test of the practicality of counting all Americans abroad. They found the response rate to be extremely low, resulting in extremely high per person cost: $1,450 per response compared to $56 per response for those counted domestically. The high costs and the general complications of counting individuals in a foreign country led to the GAO recommending that Congress eliminate future funding to enumerate Americans abroad as a part of the decennial census. While the report does offer suggestions for other means of counting Americans, such as using administrative records, the position to not actively pursue counting Americans who live outside U.S. borders suggests that the phenomenon is insignificant. The exclusion of Americans

abroad from the decennial census complicates the study of this group with a lack of data on the ages, locations, patterns of movement of Americans outside the borders, much of which would be gathered through inclusion in the census.

Though not frequently tracked or studied, emigration from the U.S. is not necessarily new (Boyd 1981; Cuddy 1977; Dashefsky et al. 1992; Finifter 1976; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a). American emigration scholars concur that this reverse migration phenomenon will continue to increase as global movement becomes more frequent and temporary (e.g. Croucher 2012; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a; Rappl 2010). Scholars have identified some unique characteristics of this group, including their diversity in demographics and motivations. Yet, most interesting is the diversity in the global spread of Americans around the world. Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a:13) notes that Americans are dispersed "far more widely than citizens from any other country." To suggest that Americans are living in almost every country around the globe is entirely reasonable.

Though American emigration is becoming more frequent, it has largely remained absent from recent scholarly research literature. This population continues to grow as life outside the U.S. becomes not only more accessible, but more attractive as well. The ease of global travel and connectivity are certainly spurring the movement of all populations around the world, and Americans are not immune to this trend. The emigration of native-born Americans is a phenomenon meriting study. Americans living abroad have legal rights than many expatriates of other countries do not. An American abroad may vote in U.S. elections and must pay U.S. taxes, unlike almost all other expatriates. As a result, shifts in the political and economic climate reach Americans outside of the U.S. borders. The political and economic influence Americans living abroad can have in the U.S. is of equal importance. The millions of Americans living abroad could very well sway a presidential election. As one correspondent for *The Christian Science*

Monitor noted just before the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election, "Some of the very people Donald Trump has characterized as a threat are eligible to have a say in the outcome of the U.S. election" (Eulich 2016:4), referring to the Americans of Mexican heritage living in the U.S. and Mexico. American emigrants have the right to return to the United States, so recognition of this group by U.S. institutions is of the utmost importance.

We know very little about the Americans that live across the globe, let alone those who live just across the northern and southern borders. This dissertation will help to fill in the gaps in our understanding of non-domestic Americans, how they have changed the last three decades demographically, who moves to Canada and Mexico, and how the media frames American emigration to these locations. My dissertation is driven by three primary research questions that investigate both the reality of American emigration (according to official demographic data) and the picture of American emigration painted by the media:

1) How have economic and political shifts changed migration from the U.S. to Canada and Mexico?
2) How does mass media frame emigration from the United States? How does it frame emigration to Canada and Mexico in particular? How has this changed with social, political, and economic shifts?
3) How do census-based demographic data profiles of American emigration in the North American Migration System differ from the narrative told by the media?

Guided by these questions, I investigate American emigration in North America and develop a detailed profile of American emigration to Canada and Mexico since 1990.

Clarification of Terms

Prior to an investigation of the literature on American emigration it is useful to clarify the language I use to discuss members of a nation living abroad. When speaking of citizens living

abroad, ‘expatriate’ is the most common term, literally meaning living outside the fatherland. However, the term now has a contested elite or privileged meaning, in that it may not best represent all members of a nation living in foreign lands. Some prefer to use terms such as émigré or diasporans, but each have their own embedded meaning as well. The complications of using these terms with entrenched associations is the focus of Chapter 2. Beyond the dissertation’s title, I prefer to avoid such problematic terms.

This dissertation focuses on a particular group of Americans who live abroad: those who were born as U.S. citizens, whether by parental citizenship (*jus sanguinis*) or by country of birth (*jus soli*). Together *just soli* and *jus sanguinis* can be referred to as birthright citizenship. Collectively, this is the group of individuals eligible for the office of the U.S. President and Vice President according to a common interpretation of the natural-born-citizen clause of the Constitution, which extends to those who meet the legal requirements for U.S. citizenship at the moment of birth. This is the group I emphasize in this dissertation, as their decision to leave a country, the rights of which they inherited at birth, is most interesting.

My discussion of Americans living outside of U.S. borders refers strictly to those with birthright citizenship who are non-military. Simply, when referencing ‘Americans’ whether domestic or abroad, I mean those whose citizenship came at birth, *jus soli* or *just sanguinis*. When referring to those whose citizenship came by marriage (*jus matrimonii*) or naturalization, I will use language to specify the differentiation. The intent is not to *other* the group or undermine their citizenship, but to maintain specificity without attaching problematic language that carries baggage and may be overly narrow.

American Emigration

Flight from the United States is not a novel trend. Expatriate life was a practice during some of the earliest stages of U.S. independence, and in the first half of the 20th Century,

numerous American socialites spent significant time overseas. But social and political elites are not the only groups who desire to move abroad. Recent guidebooks on leaving America, such as Paul Allen's *Should I Stay or Should I Go?* (2010) and Mark Ehrman's *Getting Out: Your Guide to Leaving America* (2012), offer step-by-step blueprints for emigrating for the general public. Allen's guide focuses on the basics of leaving America, including chapters on where to go, climate, cost and quality of living, raising children abroad, and social and cultural integration. Ehrman's contribution covers these elements as well, but provides further insight on logistics, such as visas and work permits, employment paths, taxes abroad, legal and cultural concerns, safety, and U.S. taxes. These guides, among many others, are evidence of the growing desire to leave the U.S. and the systematic approach to doing so.

Though academic studies are rare, some researchers have examined Americans in a number of countries and along a number of different dimensions. Some have looked at Americans in specific areas, such as Australia (Bardo and Bardo 1981; Cuddy 1977; Finifter and Finifter 1980b, 1980a, 1982, 1989; Mosler and Catley 1998), Canada (Boyd 1981), Denmark (Thomas 1990), Mexico (Croucher 2009a, 2009b), and Europe (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a; Klekowski von Koppenfels, Mulholland, and Ryan 2015). Some have looked at American emigration qualitatively (e.g. Croucher 2009b; Dashefsky et al. 1992; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a), while others have approached the study quantitatively (e.g. Bratsberg and Terrell 1996; Fernandez 1995; Jensen 2013; Schwabish 2011; Woodrow-Lafield 1996, 1998). Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) undertook a comparative multi-method approach, focusing on Americans in Canada, Australia, and Israel.

Pushes and Pulls in American Emigration

Current American emigration has numerous causes. Americans living abroad are often viewed as elite, privileged migrants (e.g. Croucher 2009a, 2009b; Klekowski von Koppenfels

2014a; Klekowski von Koppenfels et al. 2015), but the multidimensional push and pull of American emigration has not been rigorously investigated. Among the various characteristics of the pushes and pulls of this unique migration are economic, social, cultural, and religious forces. Other elements include a desire to experience the world and a drive for adventure, while for some the driving force is an escape from American politics and the American Government or to escape persecution in the form of homophobia or racism, among other forms of discrimination (Croucher 2012; Dashefsky et al. 1992; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a).

Though numerous pushes and pulls contribute to the decision to migrate, Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) find that 'push-pull' analysis is not adequate to explain the decisions of American emigrants. With this in mind, they develop a typology of the goals of American emigration. However, arguably, the *Dashefsky Typology* itself is a set of pushes and pulls, which in turn suggests that we cannot fully move away from a push-pull analysis. Using a qualitative, multi-sited approach, they elaborate carefully on the motives underlying U.S. emigration. Their four-part typology includes: self-expressive, self-instrumental, others-expressive, and others-instrumental. *Self-expressive* includes personal motives such as adventure and travel, alienation, and identity. Job opportunities and educational attainment fall into the *self-instrumental* category. *Others-expressive* incorporates family unity and a spousal desire to leave. Finally, *others-instrumental* includes medical and educational service personnel.

Noting that alienation was a driving force in American emigration, Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) emphasize *self-expressive* motives as best explaining emigration. However, since publication, major changes have occurred in the American and global economies—not to mention the changes to the ease of global movement—that would make the *self-instrumental* explanation more practical than the *self-expressive* model. Migration as a search for employment is increasingly common among American emigrants (Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014;

Wennersten 2008). Specifically, Castles and colleagues (2014) suggest that American emigrants are commonly highly skilled workers. The increasing prevalence of the *self-instrumental* category suggests that American emigration is becoming a rational, economic choice and reaction to shifts in the global economy.

The trend of relative elites fleeing has been discussed as the *brain drain*, which was first presented in the context of Indian physicians and nurses in Britain in the 1960s (Mullan and Doña-Reveco 2013). However, increased globalization—specifically in the form of free trade—since the 1960s has led to new forms of highly skilled migration, those of *brain circulation* and *brain exchange* (Mullan and Doña-Reveco 2013). Whether the form of highly skilled emigration seen in the United States constitutes brain drain or brain circulation remains unclear. Baláz, Williams, and Kollár (2004) investigated a similar question, though they focused on the economic implications of emigration of recent university graduates within Europe in this case. While brain drain and brain circulation are often distinguished by the permanency of migration (Pellegrino 2001), temporary migration can lead to permanent migration (Balaz et al. 2004). For the U.S., temporary and permanent movements are likely to continue to be driven by economic goals.

Despite the primacy of economic forces, the decision to migrate is a multifaceted one. It often involves family strategizing, social networks, and knowledge of the economic conditions in the sending and receiving nations, among many other factors (Massey et al. 1993, 1994). The complexities of migration are so extensive that any grand theory will fall short. Indeed, Castles and colleagues (2014) argue against seeking or proposing any such grand theories. Despite the difficulty of predicting migration, particular personal characteristics have become key factors in determining migration. Neoclassical theory of migration is grounded in the concept that potential migrants have perfect knowledge of the employment possibilities in the sending and

receiving countries (Castles et al. 2014; Harris and Todaro 1970; Massey et al. 1993, 1994; Todaro 1969), with poverty as the primary push factor and economic opportunities as the main pull factor (O'Reilly 2012).

Whether one takes an individual level approach to studying the factors that influence migration or a macro level approach to look at trends in migration stocks and flows, one must always consider these decisions and changes in their contexts. Mindes (2015) investigated how individual characteristics shape American emigration and couched these in global socio-economic contexts. This study focused on Americans in Mexico, concluding that southward flows responded to the policies of NAFTA and the conditions of the Global Economic Crisis (GEC) of 2008, specifically in terms of educational attainment of those who move. While the study's hypotheses were confirmed, the findings only help build a profile of American emigration to one country, using individual-level census data.

American emigration does respond to socio-economic shifts, as found with this study of emigration to Mexico (Mindes 2015), but a more expansive profile can be developed by focus not on the individual, but aggregate data, as it allows for the investigator to include multiple sources of data that are not restricted to the infrequency or limited depth of census data. Aggregate data and data on stocks and flows can be considered in North American and global contexts to build a comprehensive picture of American emigration from multiple directions. In Chapter 4, I build a profile of American emigration, tracking trends and shifts in stocks and flows, as well as key characteristics of the group, in their contexts. Through this investigation, I broaden the understanding of mobility in the North American Migration System (NAMS).

Media Framing of American Emigration

Simultaneous with the changing trends and flows in American emigration within North America over the past 25 years, the media has presented its own narrative of American

emigration. More recently we have seen reports in the media about native-born Americans wanting to leave the U.S. due to political dissatisfaction. Often these reports suggest that Americans will line up at the Canadian border to seek a new life there. Yet, the media representation of American emigration to Mexico is very different. There is no mention of Americans lining up at the southern border, though Mexico hosts roughly three times the number of Americans. A survey of media reports on American emigration to Mexico and Canada show two distinctive pictures that do not necessarily align with the demographic data. In the media, Americans moving to Mexico are depicted as elites who seek to gain status economically, socially, and culturally in retirement, while Americans moving to Canada seek to maintain social, cultural, and economic status. However, demographic profiles suggest otherwise, such as the massive young American population in Mexico. The framing of these two migration flows by the media is only representative of a small segment of the American emigrant population in these two countries.

Through a content analysis of news media, I seek to understand how American emigration to Canada and Mexico is framed[5] by the media. How Americans abroad are depicted in the media could have great influence on the political and economic decisions of Americans outside of the U.S. borders. Here, the media has the power to influence the public perception of Americans abroad. Additionally, the media also shapes migration flows, as it serves as a mechanism of indirect communication between emigrants and potential emigrants. This role of the media is most evident when taking a *migration systems approach*, which I discuss in the next section of this chapter. Furthermore, Americans living abroad have full American citizenship rights and legal grounds to return to and take political action toward the U.S.

The role of the media in American emigration is yet to be studied; in fact, it is largely understudied in migration literature of any kind. However, understanding how American

emigration is discussed and represented in the media is central to building a comprehensive profile of American emigration to Canada and Mexico. Due to the increasing ease of global travel and the popularity of transnational lifestyles, the media likely plays a central role in shaping migration decisions of many Americans as they consider life abroad, regardless of the various pushes and pulls that influence decisions. I investigate this framing with a grounded theory (hermeneutic) approach and a coding process based on the *Dashefsky Typology* applied deductively. Moreover, I conceptualize how transnationalism is framed by the media in specific social spheres, such as political, economic, social, and familial. Collectively, this framing analysis contributes to the understanding of how American emigration is depicted in the media, which has a central role in the persistence of emigration flows from the U.S. A full discussion of this analysis is the focus of Chapter 5.

Migration Theory

Push-pull analysis is not necessarily a theory of migration. It is simply one, long-standing (e.g., Lee 1966; Ravenstein 1889) way of analyzing migration decisions by investigating the key influencing factors at the individual, interpersonal, and societal levels in the sending and receiving countries. While the pushes and pulls of migration are certainly relevant to the study of any group, it is not a theory to explain or predict migration patterns. Within the pushes and pulls of migration and the push-pull analysis of migration are the major migration theories. These major migration theories focus on different levels of society and human interaction: the major social institutions and structures (macro level); the individual level focusing on individual actors and their identities (micro level); and the level above the individual but below these large social structures (meso level).

My analysis of American emigration incorporates a push-pull analysis in that I will look at motivations and major forces that influence emigration and immigration, but I will focus on

three migration theories that provide the opportunity to predict and explain migration. These are the macro-level *migration transition theory*, the meso-level *migration systems theory*, and the micro-level *transnationalism and diaspora theories*. Each of these theories will be the focus of a chapter of this dissertation, specifically chapters 4, 5, and 2, respectively. I briefly introduce these theories here.

Migration Transition Theory: Macro Level

Migration transition theory focuses on how nation-states transition from migrant sending countries to migrant receiving countries—or countries of emigration to countries of immigration. The theory emphasizes the relationship between a country's position on the development spectrum and migration, seeing migration as a key component of development and social transformation (Castles et al. 2014). This concept of a non-linear relationship between development and migration was initially developed by Zelinsky (1971), who conceived of the relationship in terms of the six phases of migration. Skeldon (1990, 1997) revised this theory and crafted a model to illustrate the relationship between immigration and emigration as a country moves along the development trajectory, which he applied to actual migration patterns.

Within the NAMS, two fascinating case studies appear when using the lens of migration transition theory. First is the case of Mexico, which has transitioned from a country of emigration to a country of immigration, as it now receives more migrants than it sends (Gonzalez-Barrera 2015). However, these shifts in migration patterns are certainly not only caused by the country's development, as Mexican emigration is influenced by sociopolitical forces in the United States that have changed the conditions for the sending of migrants. The Mexican case study seemingly fits the model developed by Skeldon, as the country moves through the development phases and shifts from a country of emigration to a country of immigration.

A similarly fascinating case within the NAMS is the U.S., which is experiencing shifts in migration flows that do not align with the expectations of the migration transition theory models. The U.S. is experiencing a decrease in its immigration rate and a simultaneous increase in its emigration rate, though levels of out-migration vary drastically by group (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2017). While it is by no means a net immigration country—the U.S. still receives more migrants that it sends—the Skeldon model does not account for an increase in emigration once a country has reached this stage of development. The migration transition theory was originally concerned with those countries in the earlier stages of development, but this approach is useful for the consideration of the future of the U.S. regarding the sending and receiving of migrants. Through the U.S. case, one could identify how the migration transition theory becomes problematic in its prediction about the development-migration relationship, which offers opportunities to further refine the theory.

From its application to recent shifts in U.S. emigration and immigration, two possibilities arise about how the migration transition theory could be used for this and similar cases. The migration transition theory may have no application to countries at the advanced stages of development. Separate models may be necessary to explore the development-migration relationship in these countries, specifically to account for the potential decline in immigration and rise in emigration. Alternatively, the migration transition theory models could be refined to account for more recent patterns of migration among developed countries. In particular, migration transition models could be adjusted to incorporate the particular political and social forces that shape immigration and emigration that are somewhat unique to developed nations.

Migration Systems Theory: Meso Level

Meso-level social theories emphasize the interplay between individual behaviors, relationships, and identities and larger social structure. Migration systems theory is a meso-level

theory in that it focuses on the migration systems that are created as potential migrants relate to migrants who have already moved abroad (Castles et al. 2014). The theory was developed by Mabogunje (1970) as he described the ways that communication between rural and urban areas creates migratory flows in which the sending of information back to potential migrants serves a key function in the system of migration. Applied to the connection between sending and receiving countries, this perspective highlights how the conditions of migration are changed by every previous migrant. This is the idea of cumulative causation described by Massey (1990), through which every instance of migration shifts the conditions and context of migration for the next migrant.

With migration systems theory, one can focus on how communities abroad have sent social remittances to those in the country of origin. These social remittances—first identified by Levitt (1998:927) as "the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-countries"—influence future migration. Information about conditions in the receiving country flows from migrants to potential migrants through feedback mechanisms, which can encourage or discourage future migration. The idea of a feedback mechanism was central to the functioning of the migration system described by Mabogunje (1970) in his original formation of migration systems theory. It was similarly elemental to Massey's (1990) conceptualization of cumulative causation. These feedback mechanisms can take many forms. Feedback mechanisms often deal with individual connections—for example, direct communication between migrants and potential migrants—but they can also act above the individual through the media. In the American emigration case, I focus on the social remittances sent through the media, the feedback mechanism I use to investigate this migration system.

The media has been long identified as playing a central role in shaping public opinion and sparking social change, but it also acts as a feedback mechanism in the lager migration

system. Experiences of emigration are spread through the media as stories of living abroad, updates on the struggles or opportunities the group encounters abroad, and lists of tips on where to go and how to get there. The media's framing of migration in a certain way changes how potential migrants perceive their own emigration capacity. The role of the media in sending social remittances and its effect on the migration system are the foci of Chapter 5. I investigate the framing of American emigration in the media and how the media's choice of framing influences the social remittances that Americans at home might experience, which act as a part of the larger feedback mechanism to shape future migration.

Transnational and Diaspora Theories: Micro Level

Transnational and diaspora theories of migration operate at the micro level in that they mainly deal with individual experiences, relationships, and identities. These ways of thinking about people and communities existing across borders emerged in the context of globalization, which greatly increased not only the frequency of cross-border movement but also the ability to maintain ties across these distances. The context of living in cross-border circumstances—where individuals frequently and rapidly communicate, travel, and act between countries for work, family, or politics—offers migrants the ability to form transnational identities that incorporate a multiplicity of cultures and places. In the earlier stages of its discussion in the literature, Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) offered a definition and defense of transnationalism. They delimit the concept of transnationalism to "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contact over time across national borders for their implementation" (Portes et al. 1999:219). Acknowledging that transnationalism has precedents, Portes and colleagues (1999) note that it is only now a normative process in the evolution of world economy.

Previous discussions of transnational communities used the term *diaspora*, the use of which was reserved for those that had been displaced by force (Castles et al. 2014). The term

diaspora is much broader and is applied to many transnational groups. Abdi (2015:13) concurs that the meaning of the word diaspora has expanded beyond its original connotation and application and it no longer has the association with victim diaspora, but that this "does not diminish its analytical utility." Nevertheless, Castles and colleagues (2014) warn against the inflationary use of the term, as diaspora scholars note that diasporic groups have certain characteristics that make them unique from other migrant groups. Several scholars have formed lists of features necessary to a diaspora (e.g., Brubaker 2005; Cohen 1997, 2008; Kenny 2003; Safran 1991). Though McKeown (1999) cautions the construction of a list of characteristics, their existence suggests that *diaspora* is distinctive, and it should be used in a way that retains its analytical value. The distinctiveness of the term *diaspora* is what left the need for a more inclusive term, such as *transnational*, which more faithfully captures the multitude of reasons one might leave a country, enter another, and maintain bonds between the two. However, the ambiguity of *transnationalism* has its own theoretical problems that require consideration as well (Castles et al. 2014).

In Chapter 2, I consider these issues concerned with the micro level theories of migration. The chapter primarily deals with the uncertainty around how to classify and categorize American emigrants. This group largely sits outside the realm of typical migration studies; as a result, the literature has been riddled with contradictions about how to conceptualize Americans abroad and ill-fated attempts to neatly categorize them. The literature is wildly inconsistent, having considered American emigrants members of a diaspora, privileged transnationals, expatriates, and elite expatriates (see Chapter 2 for a full discussion with references). Similar variation is seen in the media discussion of the group. These categorizations of Americans living abroad can be problematic for two main reasons: 1) American emigrants are among the most heterogeneous populations in terms of where they are located and their reasons for leaving (Klekowski von

Koppenfels 2014a); and 2) they are frequently given these labels without the consideration of other groups with the same distinction. The second problem is most notable with the discussion of the 'American Diaspora.' Again, Chapter 2 deals with these issues and seeks a way forward.

Methods and Data

No single theory of migration can explain why people move across the country or their experiences in doing so. Thus, any study that seeks to provide an expansive analysis of a migrant group must consider multiple theoretical approaches. As the literature on American emigration is fairly nascent, observing the group from multiple angles offers the potential for a richer understanding. Similarly, the depth and diversity of knowledge about the group can be expanded through the use of multiple forms of data. This dissertation uses both quantitative and qualitative data, as I approach the study of American emigration using a pragmatic methodological worldview, which emphasizes seeking answers to research problems through the use of any methods and data available. The justification for this methodological approach to this dissertation—and to migration studies more broadly—is explored and explained in Chapter 3. This dissertation largely uses two forms of data: demographic data from a multitude of sources and textual data form media sources. I briefly describe each form of data here, though they are discussed in-depth in later chapters (demographic data in Chapter 4; textual data in Chapter 5).

Demographic data was gathered from a variety of data warehouses that provide data on populations. All of this is secondary data that I am using for purposes other than those intended by the data collection agency. Some of this data is at the individual level, which offers the opportunity to explore association between individual level variables to test hypothetical cause-effect relationships. Data of this kind primarily comes from census data, which is available via Minnesota Population Center's International Public Use Microdata Series-International (IPUMS-International). While this data does offer the opportunity for investigation of individual level

variables, my primary use in this dissertation is to investigate aggregate data to view trends in emigrant demographics, such as age, income, employment status, education, gender, marital status, and number of children. In addition, I use country level data from various national and international data collection agencies, such as the World Bank, the United Nations Population Division (UNPD) and other UN reports, International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports, the CIA World Factbook, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Factbook. These sources provide data on migration stocks and flows, which offer the opportunity to explore how migration has changed over time. I use data from these sources to investigate the trends in emigration from the U.S. to Canada and Mexico. I consider these shifts in the context of political, economic, and social conditions in North America and elsewhere.

The textual data used in this dissertation comes from various media outlets in the United States. While the demographic data seeks to answers questions about the trends, patterns, and shifts in emigrant population stocks and flows, media data seeks to answers questions about how the American emigration to Canada and Mexico is represented in the fourth estate. Specifically, I investigate how American emigration is framed by the media. Data, in the form of newspaper articles (originally published in print or online), were collected from three online media warehouses: Lexis Nexus, ProQuest, and Google News. Relevant news articles that discussed American emigration—either those who are already abroad or potential emigrants—were sought using keyword searches using combinations of terms such as *American*, *abroad*, *emigrant*, *Canada*, *Mexico*, *expatriate*, and *leaving*, among others. The dataset included 114 articles from major newspapers, with the earliest publication data of October 16, 1993. Analysis of this data took the form of content analysis, in which I initially used the inductive approach, using a hermeneutic process that is most effective in exploring new media frames (Matthes and Kohring 2008). After developing a process for investigating the ways in which the media frames

American emigration, I established a coding process that I applied deductively. The specifics of the data, coding, and analysis are explained in Chapter 5. Collectively, these two forms of data provide a picture of American emigration in the NAMS from two perspectives: that of the major national and international social institutions, which in turn provide data to shape policy and government intervention, and the media, which shapes public sentiment and influences individual and collective emigration behavior.

Contributions of the Dissertation

The field of international migration studies is situated between a number of disciplines. Sociologists are just one of the many sets of scholars that seek to understand how and why people cross borders. This dissertation contributes to the field of migration studies specifically and the discipline of sociology more broadly in three main ways: (1) through the methodological contributions, (2) with regards to furthering the understanding of reverse and alternative migration flows, and (3) via the content analysis of media framing of transnationalism and transnational migration.

Methodological Contributions

The field of international migration studies, which is by nature transnationally grounded and interdisciplinary, could certainly benefit from working across national and academic borders. As the field is so firmly positioned between multiple disciplines and it naturally spans multiple geographic locations, it requires particularly complex processes for studying. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that the time has come for mixed methods research in sociology. In my dissertation, I argue that in migration studies the time has come for a slightly different research paradigm: comparative multi-method research. A research topic that is as complex, diverse, and global as international migration deserves a research design with similar attributes.

The methodological arguments in my dissertation can be applied to sociology as well, which has developed two distinctive approaches to studying social phenomena: the qualitative approach and the quantitative approach. However, the tension between qualitative and quantitative methods is more deeply rooted in the methodological worldviews of researchers and a variety of beliefs about what social research should be. Other fields situated in sociology could benefit from such methodological explorations as well. This dissertation provides evidence for expanding the methodological horizons of sociology outside of the qualitative or the quantitative approach. Chapter 3 of this dissertation explores and explains the methodological approaches to studying international migration and argues for a comparative multi-methods approach. The findings and process of this research support this as well.

Understanding Alternative Migration Flows

This dissertation contributes to the general understanding in sociology of alternative migration flows. Sociologists primarily study migrants that fall into just a few categories. Certainly, these groups of migrants deserve the attention they have received from scholars, especially in light of the social justice issues that surround many immigrants in and out of the United States. However, we must not overlook other types of migrants that remain politically, socially, and economically important to the U.S. With as many as 9 million Americans living outside U.S. borders—according to the U.S. Bureau of Consular Affairs—American emigrants are a group so large that they could very well have a political influence now or in the future. Not only should we seek to understand the demographic factors that move this group, but we should investigate how the media frames American emigration, as it plays a central role in the perception of the group and future emigration.

The way we perceive American emigrants, which may be influenced by portrayal in the media, may be different from the reality, according to official government records. This is

important to how we treat and support Americans living abroad, and subsequently influences how they will impact the U.S. Similar studies of other groups may reveal interesting disparities between how migration is characterized in the media and how it is represented in demographic data. This is particularly relevant for a group that is as widespread and heterogeneous as American emigration, but should be applied to other heterogeneous migrant populations as well.

Media Framing in Transnationalism Studies

Finally, this dissertation contributes to the understanding of transnationalism in sociology and migration studies. Specifically, this study furthers the understanding of transnationalism as it is framed in the mass media. Through a content analysis of news media, I develop a concept of a transnationalism media framing to explain how and why the media frames migration from the U.S. to different locations in different ways. This is a valuable contribution to these fields as transnational movements and actions are expected to continue to increase. Considering the key role mass media plays in shaping public opinion and future migration flows, understanding how the media portrays transnational human movements is increasingly important. This contribution has application in studies of transnational and migration imaginaries, which are concerned with the ways that the idea of living abroad becomes a central focus for those with the potential to migrate. This will be valuable tool for other migration and transnational researchers to incorporate the important role of the media in shaping individual behaviors and attitudes in transnational contexts.

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[1] This range is based on a collection of estimates from numerous scholars who use a variety of data sources (e.g. Castles et al. 2014; Croucher 2012; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a).
[2] According to national census data for Mexico and Canada for 2010 and 2011, respectively.
[3] Available at https://travel.state.gov/content/dam/travel/CA_By_the_Numbers.pdf
[4] Mixed methods typically refers specifically to studies that combine qualitative and quantitative methods. "Multi-methods" or "multiple methods" is used specifically here because the purpose of the approach is to combine methods regardless of type (i.e. qualitative or quantitative).

[5] I use the concept of framing as discussed by Gitlin (1980:7): “Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.”

Chapter 2 – Classifying Americans Abroad: A Diaspora or a Global Migrant Community?

Introduction

Historically, the United States has been characterized as an archetypical location for immigration. Its long history as a country where one can pursue the "American Dream" attracts migrants from around the world. Yet, simultaneous to its continuous immigration, the U.S. has a growing familiarity with emigration. Though rising emigration does not fit the narrative of an America that is the ideal migration destination with a high standard of living and countless opportunities, increasing self-removal from the U.S. is a phenomena that will continue (Croucher 2012; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a; Rappl 2010), and poses many conceptual challenges in the migration literature. In particular, the groups' uniqueness presents challenges in categorization, mainly due to the global spread of Americans. Indeed, Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a:13) notes that they are dispersed "far more widely than citizens from any other country" and they are likely as diverse in terms of motives and backgrounds as any migratory group, all of which makes them difficult to neatly place into preexisting categories of migration.

The global spread of Americans has led scholars to present them as a diasporic group. A 2012 article in *The Journal of Transnational Studies* investigates the possibility of an American Diaspora,[1] ultimately arguing that diaspora is a useful lens through which to view Americans living abroad (Croucher 2012). The American Diaspora was also the subject of a 2008 *Esquire* feature, which, though focused more broadly on American emigration and less on the specifics of a diaspora, featured an important quote from Andy Sundberg, the late founding director of the organization American Citizens Abroad. Sundberg states, "The low-level, constant harassment against our own diaspora is crazy, sad, and destructive" (Esquire 2008:3). The use of *diaspora* to describe American emigration has become common in popular media, simply referring to a

group of citizens who relocate, temporarily or permanently, to another country. *Diaspora* has become a catchall term for a group of people living abroad. The American Diaspora is only one such use of the term. Namely, Burns (2013) theorized the possibility of *corporate* and *science diasporas*, while similar claims can be found throughout the internet in and out of academia. More than two decades ago, Mitchell (1997) warned against the increasing 'fetishization' of the term, and this problem has only grown since.

Though critics and scholars have used the global spread of Americans as grounds to speak of an American Diaspora, dispersal is far from the only criteria of a diaspora. In this chapter, I evaluate the case of the American Diaspora, ultimately finding that Americans living abroad fit few of the commonly accepted and current definitions and characteristics. I evaluate the common definitions of diaspora, forming four lists of diaspora characteristics (or criteria) from leading scholars in the field, with which I appraise the American case. Furthermore, I discuss the implications for claiming an American Diaspora. Finally, I offer alternative ways to describe this unique transnational group that present fewer problems for our understanding of other groups.

The Global Spread of Americans and Their Classification

Migration from the United States is very difficult to enumerate or calculate. Migration scholars and demographers have attempted to enumerate and understand the group using international census data, IRS data, consular data, residual methods, ethnography, and mixed methods. One recent approximation by a leading American emigration scholar estimates 2.2 and 7.6 million Americans living abroad (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a), though the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Consular Affairs estimates 9 million. Yet, these are only estimations as no definitive figures are available. In addition, attempts to enumerate this population do not follow consistent classificatory guidelines. Some researchers focus on

citizenship, excluding those who have renounced US citizenship. Other studies focus on native-born Americans, excluding those who have immigrated to the US, naturalized, and emigrated from the US.

Despite larger populations residing in Mexico and Canada—where 21.02 percent and 12.04 percent of the total population of Americans living abroad reside, respectively—according to Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a), they are widely dispersed thereafter, as seen in Table 2.1. Still, Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) found that only 67.1 percent of the abroad population resides in the top ten countries, a much smaller percentage than her calculations for migrants from countries such as Mexico (99.6 percent), Canada (88.1 percent), and the United Kingdom (87.3 percent). This global spread of Americans has been an additional hurdle to enumeration, requiring researchers to explore numerous censuses and national databases to collect information on a substantial portion of the population.

Table 2.1 Top 10 Countries by American Population

Rank	Country	American population	Percentage of top 10	Source
1	Mexico	739,918	42.4%	2010 Census (IPUMS)
2	Canada	316,165	18.1%	2011 Census
3	United Kingdom	183,183	10.5%	2010 World Bank Estimate
4	Germany	159,326	9.1%	2010 World Bank Estimate
5	Australia	81,672	4.7%	2010 World Bank Estimate
6	France	70,803	4.1%	2008 Census
7	West Bank and Gaza	56,289	3.2%	2010 World Bank Estimate
8	Japan	52,449	3.0%	2010 World Bank Estimate
9	Philippines	44,788	2.6%	2010 World Bank Estimate
10	Spain	38,712	2.2%	2010 World Bank Estimate

Source: Author's tabulations from World Bank data and national censuses[2]

Scholars have placed Americans living abroad into numerous categories. The group is not homogenous, but Americans abroad have been discussed generally as 'privileged' (Croucher 2009b, e.g., 2009a; Dashefsky et al. 1992; Wennersten 2008). The most common label applied to Americans living abroad is *expatriate*—a term preferred by privileged groups (Sanborn 2005). Expatriate literally references being outside of the fatherland, from the Latin *ex-* (out of) and *patria* (fatherland). However, not all groups living outside of their homeland are discussed as expatriates, as the term is most often used in reference to professional and skilled workers (Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013), indicating a sense of agency and choice in the movement abroad.

Though they are migrants, in that they cross borders to settle, the term expatriate is used more frequently than the term migrant when discussing Americans abroad. Croucher (2012) finds that the term *migrant* is rarely used in this context. This is likely because Americans abroad do not see themselves as permanently placed, as the term *migrant* typically suggests. In addition, Sanborn (2005) notes in his discussion on Russian migration that privileged groups generally do not refer to themselves as migrants or immigrants. Though the broad term *migrant*, brings to mind images of less privileged groups who move out of desperation or coercion, Van Hear (1998) argues that all forms of migration feature some component of coercion, noting that no migration is fully voluntary or fully involuntary. Considering the juxtaposition between the terms expatriate and diaspora, the simultaneous usage of these terms to refer to a single group is a contentious topic. While the former typically refers to privileged and elite groups from the North, the latter is underlined by its connection to hardship and coercion as central to movement.

Though use of *diaspora* in the discussions of Americans living abroad is not necessarily widespread, it has become increasingly common in the media and has appeared in academic reports. Though some are not scholarly sources, they point to the growing trend of claiming an

American Diaspora, a controversial assertion. While the distinction between Academic and popular usage of any term is important, use in one sphere can surely influence the other. Croucher's (2012) evaluation of the American Diaspora, which did indeed appear in an academic journal, broadly attempted to determine whether this lens could aid scholars in thinking about both the experience of Americans living abroad and diasporas in general. She found that the group does experience an element of hardship as they live abroad, largely tied to taxation, difficulties in voting in U.S. elections, and an overall lack of recognition from the U.S. Government. While Croucher (2012) found the consideration of an American Diaspora valuable, I find overuse of the term problematic, due to its embedded cultural and social meaning.

What is a Diaspora?

The term *diaspora* has been used at an increasing rate in scholarly literature (Brubaker 2005). Yet it does not adhere to any single definition. Until recently, the meaning of *diaspora* was very specific, but now it is applied to migrants of almost any kind (Kenny 2013). Numerous scholars have contributed to the literature on diaspora. In fact, the term has become so ambiguous that it has given rise to a significant literature solely focused on how *diaspora* should be and has been defined (e.g., Brubaker 2005; Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997; Gold 2002; Kenny 2003; Lie 1995, 2001, Safran 1991, 1999; Tölölyan 1996; Vertovec 2005, 2006). Though Cohen (1997:3) suggests that "to mount a defense of an orthodox definition of 'diaspora,' which orthodoxy in any case has been shown to be dubious, is akin to commanding the waves no longer to break on the shore," one should not use the term haphazardly. As Vertovec (1997:277) notes, "the current over-use and under-theorization of the notion of 'diaspora' among academics, transnational intellectuals, and 'community leaders' alike… threatens the term's descriptive usefulness." This overuse has significant consequences for the perception of newly-labeled diasporic groups and the perception of traditionally diasporic groups.

To investigate the present use of the term, it is useful to first consider its historical and linguistic grounding. The word's origin is related to many commonly used English words containing the root *spr*, such as "spread," "sperm," and "dispersion," the last of which is a common Greek equivalent for the term. The term comes from the Greek διασπείρω (*diaspeirō*) meaning "I scatter," from διά (*dia*) meaning "across, through" and σπείρω (*speirō*) meaning "to sow, scatter" (New Oxford American Dictionary 2010). For the Greeks, the term typically was used to signify migration and colonization (Kenny 2003). Following the Greek translation of the Torah (circa 250 BCE), it was later linked to the idea of expulsion, as *diaspora* is equated with the Hebrew *galut* (Kenny 2003). *Galut* references the Jewish Diaspora as the exile and dispersion of Jews from the Holy Land and links the term *diaspora* with an oppressed group that dealt with pain in their expulsion (Safran 1991, 2005). It has largely been applied to groups with similar experiences to the people of the Jewish Diaspora, such as the African Diaspora and the Armenian Diaspora. Trauma, coercion, exile, and oppression are common themes for other regularly referenced diasporic groups (see discussion below), but the Jewish Diaspora is the original diaspora under its current, common meaning.

Gold (2002:2) refers to Jews as the "archetypical diaspora group." Indeed, the first definition of *diaspora* in the *New Oxford American Dictionary* (2010) references the Jewish Diaspora, while the second more broadly states: "the dispersion of any people from their homeland." Gold (2002) notes the distinction between the Jewish Diaspora and the modern Israeli Diaspora, which began with the formation of the state of Israel in 1948. Though members of the older Jewish Diaspora, he notes that Israelis abroad are not necessarily a separate diaspora due to their short duration in exile and relative ease of return. These two points of distinction are particularly relevant when considering the possibility of an American Diaspora. The

unachievable aspiration to return to the homeland is central to many definitions and applications of the term (Kenny 2003) and essential to the Jewish case.

Safran noted in 1991 that little if any scholarly attention was paid to *diasporas*. However, soon after this claim, its use burgeoned (Brubaker 2005). More recently, the term has risen in popularity with the African Diaspora and has become a linguistic tool to signify a common struggle. For the Jews—and, later, Africans, Armenians, Palestinians, and others—the term *diaspora* came to signify, as the diaspora scholar Robin Cohen (1997:ix) put it, "a collective trauma, a banishment, where one dreamed of home but lived in exile." Concomitantly to its use to reference these diasporas, Cohen (1997:3) explains that "the word diaspora is now being used, whether purists approve or not, in a variety of new, but interesting and suggestive contexts." Whether these new uses of the word are beneficial and practical is the focus of much debate in diaspora literature, leading to a rise in scholarly articles aiming to define *diaspora*.

Definitions of Diaspora

Cohen (1997) proposes five ideal types of diaspora: labor diaspora, trade diaspora, imperial diaspora, cultural diaspora, and victim diaspora. This expansion of the term and the creation of subcategories allows for more precision. However, in critiquing this expanded typology, Kenny (2003:142) asks, "If 'diaspora' is used coterminously with 'dispersal' or 'migration,' then why use the term at all? How much precision and analytic value does it retain?" Despite these expanding definitions, theorists are looking to return accuracy to the term, seeking common features that all diasporas exhibit. Kenny (2003) presents them clearly. First, populations must experience dispersal from a homeland to multiple localities. He adds that dispersion can be the result of traumatic events, such as genocide, violence, or famine. Kenny (2003:142) also includes "voluntary migration in search of work or in pursuit of trade." Second, he finds that diasporas must contain a literal or spiritual desire to return home, which develops

alongside a collective myth of the homeland. Third, Kenny (2003:142) adds, "diasporic communities generally experience alienation and isolation in their new homelands." This element of dislocation is not unique to Kenny's discussion.

Brubaker (2005) took on the task as well. His list contains three criteria, including (1) dispersion, (2) homeland orientation, and (3) boundary-maintenance. Dispersion brings back the original meaning of the term and is common to all cases of diaspora. Like Kenny, he notes that this can be coerced and traumatic or less so. Homeland orientation refers to the desire to return home, whether the idea of that home is real or imagined. Finally, boundary-maintenance brings up a theory of identity in a new community. He notes that assimilation often becomes problematized for the diasporic group, as the group remains distinct in their new community. Like Kenny's notion of alienation and isolation, Brubaker notes that these groups are separated from their new homeland community. He adds that "boundary maintenance only becomes sociologically interesting… when it persists over generations" (Brubaker 2005:7), pointing to the temporal extension of assimilation and struggles in diasporas and the multi-generational nature of diasporas.

Safran (1991) attempts to develop a concise list of common features of a diaspora. His list extended to six conditions. The first three are comparable to those argued by Kenny and Brubaker: (1) dispersal, or ancestral dispersal, from a homeland to multiple locations, (2) a collective myth of the homeland, and (3) a belief of limited acceptance into the new society and doubt of full acceptance in the future. To these he adds: (4) a desire to return to the homeland when conditions permit, (5) the belief that all diasporic members must work toward restoration of the dispersed group to its prior state and location, and (6) a continued practice of cultural and ethnic customs from the homeland, which builds group solidarity.

Cohen (1997, 2008) developed a set of characteristics based on Safran's six described above. Through tweaking and expanding, Cohen established a list of nine characteristics found in Table 2.2. His list captures elements found in Safran's, and though longer and more comprehensive, it serves as a useful comparison to Kenny's and Brubaker's lists. Cohen argues that the more elements present in a group and the more intrinsic these elements are to the group's identity, the more legitimate the claim to diaspora is. This argument can be expanded to contend that claims of diaspora must be based on the centrality of these elements.

Table 2.2 Cohen's characteristics of diaspora

1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
2. alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
3. a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements;
4. an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
5. the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland;
6. a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate;
7. a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
8. a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial;
9. and the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

Source: Reproduced from Cohen (2008)

In an attempt to investigate the validity of the American Diaspora, I use these four lists of criteria—Kenny's, Brubaker's, Safran's, and Cohen's—to comparatively analyze traditional diasporas and the American case. While other scholars have developed criteria for diaspora (e.g., Lie 1995, 2001; Tölölyan 1996; Vertovec 2005, 2006), their lists generally follow these

same parameters, yet they do not offer the same analytical comparability and are not as widely cited or central to future lists. Nevertheless, one should hesitate to rely too strongly on these (or any other) lists of diaspora criteria. Indeed, Clifford (1994), speaking specifically of Safran's list, notes that not all diasporas, even those that are traditionally legitimate, will fit all of the criteria. Furthermore, he warns against too rigidly tying current ideas of diaspora to traditional cases: "[W]e should be wary of constructing our working definitions of a term like *diaspora* by recourse to an 'ideal type,' with the consequences that groups become identified as more or less diasporic, having only two, or three, or four of the basic six features" (Clifford 1994:306). As Cohen (2008) notes, it is not necessarily the number of criteria a group meets, but rather how important these criteria are to the group's diaspora identity.

Evaluating the American Diaspora

Though numerous scholars have taken on the task of developing a rigid definition of diaspora, the term still has numerous meanings. From the literature explored above, a few commonalities appear among the criteria for a diaspora. These are: dispersal from a land to at least two locations, a desire to return home (a desire that cannot yet be fulfilled), and a sense of dislocation from the new homeland. Additionally, coercion is a common element in many discussions of diaspora, especially Gilroy's (1993, 1997) discussions of the African Diaspora; however, others exclude it. I suggest that it return to a central position in the conversation, especially in consideration of comparative studies as the most formative cases of diaspora—the Jewish Diaspora, the Armenian Diaspora, and the African Diaspora—involved coercion.

Though legitimizing one diaspora claim and delegitimizing another is a contentious and sensitive task, diaspora scholars have specifically pointed to the use of comparison. In fact, Zeleza (2005:41) states, "If the term 'diaspora' is to retain analytical specificity it has to be conceived in some bounded way, but not too narrowly if it is to remain useful for comparative

study." This points to the importance of not simply applying a definition to the group, but also comparing diasporas using multiple definitions. As Kenny (2003:162) notes, "diaspora and comparison are inseparable elements of migration history." Here, I compare the American Diaspora to four commonly discussed diasporas: the Jewish, African, Armenian, and Palestinian Diasporas, in an attempt to comparatively test its legitimacy. These diasporas are of older origins than the claimed American Diaspora, but these groups are still living the experience and provide insight in comparison. For each, I briefly explain their history.

The Jewish Diaspora serves as a useful comparison, as this group is the original population to which the term referred almost exclusively (Vertovec 1997). Thus, when using the term, modern scholars should revisit its original application. The Jewish Diaspora is the historical exile of the Jewish people from the Kingdom of Judah beginning in the seventh century BCE (Konner 2005). The group faced numerous exiles and dispersions in the centuries to follow at the hands of the Roman Empire. These dispersions were coercive, traumatic, and detrimental (Cohen 2008). Removed from their lands, the Jews created a mythologized homeland to which they would eventually return and developed a sense of identity in the new communities while maintaining the identity that was present before dispersal.

The African Diaspora is rooted in the removal of the natives from the African continent in the Slave Trade beginning in the 15th century. The involuntary removal led to a dispersal of Africans throughout the globe. The community of the African Diaspora is still very prevalent today and garners much scholarly attention. As with the Jewish Diaspora, coercion and trauma are elemental (Gilroy 1993, 1997). The African Diaspora is unique from many other diasporas because the homeland is obscured. To Hamilton (2007) this component of the Africa Diaspora is fundamental to the black cultural experience. Unlike the Jewish Diaspora, in which Judaea is the mythologized homeland and the culture of that community is clear, in the African Diaspora,

slaves and their descendants do not know of their homeland and their sense community was intentionally shattered. Unlike most diasporas, people of the African Diaspora created their own culture that is different from the majority because they no longer have a clearly defined African cultural heritage to preserve (Hamilton 2007; Safran 1991).[3] Though there is no specific homeland to be mythologized, the homeland myth is translated into solidarity with other African struggles and general support of the Third World (Hamilton 2007; Safran 1991).

The conditions of the Armenian Diaspora closely resemble that of the Jewish Diaspora (Safran 1991). Like the Jews, the Armenians were ethnically connected through a common language and religion. The earliest groups left Armenia in the fourth century CE for a variety of reasons, forcible relocation among them (Tölölyan 2005). In the centuries since, Armenians have fled genocide, persecution, and massacres as they lived under various rule. Today the Armenian Diaspora spans the globe with sizeable populations of 800,000 people in the United States, 300,000 in France, 100,000 in the rest of Europe, and 60,000 in Argentina (Tölölyan 2005). Though diasporic Armenians have experienced over 1,600 years of persecution, making the Armenian Diaspora one of the older diasporas, the people are still homeland oriented (Safran 1991; Tölölyan 2005). Despite the global spread and ancient groundings of the traumatic expulsion, the group is doubly conscious of the present communities and the origin.

The Palestinian Diaspora has much newer origins than the African, Jewish, and Armenian Diasporas. The expulsion of Palestinians from Palestine occurred in two major waves: in 1948 following the Arab-Israeli War and in 1967 following the Six-Day War (Farsoun 2005). Like the African, Jewish, and Armenian Diaspora, the expulsion of Palestinians was traumatic (Farsoun 2005). Cohen (2008) categorizes these four diasporas (in addition to the Irish Diaspora) as 'victim' diasporas. The return of the Jews to Palestine—the *casus belli*—and formation of the state of Israel forced Palestinians out of their homeland (Cohen 2008; Farsoun 2005). The

expulsion of these people to refugee camps and host cities left the group with a desire to return to the homeland, which Palestinians feel is rightfully theirs. Returning to the homeland is deeply tied to the Palestinian Diaspora; it is even described as 'sacred' by Farsoun (2005). In 1948, the UN affirmed Palestinian refugees the right to return (see United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194), but this decision was not recognized by the State of Israel (Farsoun 2005), leaving the population longing for a return that is not presently attainable. Living outside of the homeland, the Palestinians have built communities preserving their national identity and cultural life, much of which has been done by establishing institutions to preserve these elements (Farsoun 2005).

For these four groups, a diasporic identity was formed through simultaneous existence in two locations and the development of the dream of returning to a homeland or finding a mythologized land reminiscent to the land that had existed before dispersion. These four diasporas—African, Jewish, Armenian, and Palestinian—seem undeniably diasporic, but even so, one can argue that they do not meet all the criteria of diasporas provided by diaspora scholars. In Table 2.3, I present a checklist of the diaspora criteria discussed above and analyze the traditional diasporas and the American Diaspora across these elements. Though McKeown (1999) warns against developing a checklist of diasporas, fearing that it develops a 'prescription' rather than a 'description' of diaspora, doing so incorporates the analytical comparability that scholars have found useful, evident in the discussion above. As is clear from the table, the American Diaspora pales in comparison to the other four diasporas. Furthermore, if one compares the American Diaspora to less studied diasporas, such as the Irish or the Chinese, the American case still does not hold up, as the shared trauma of religious persecution and famine (Irish) or coolie labor (Chinese) does not translate to the American Diaspora.

Table 2.3 Criteria across the American, African, Jewish, Armenian, and Palestinian Diasporas

Kenny's Diaspora (2003)	**American**	**African**	**Jewish**	**Armenian**	**Palestinian**
1. Dispersal from a homeland to multiple locations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. A literal or spiritual desire to return home, which develops from a collective myth about the homeland		✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Alienation and isolation in the new homeland		✓	✓	✓	✓
Brubaker's Diaspora (2005)	**American**	**African**	**Jewish**	**Armenian**	**Palestinian**
1. Dispersion	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Homeland Orientation		✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Boundary-maintenance		✓	✓	✓	✓
Safran's Diaspora (1991)	**American**	**African**	**Jewish**	**Armenian**	**Palestinian**
1. Dispersal, or ancestral dispersal, from a homeland to multiple locations	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. A collective myth of the homeland		✓	✓	✓	✓
3. A belief of limited acceptance into the new society and a doubt of full acceptance in the future		✓	✓	✓	✓
4. A desire to return to the homeland when conditions permit it		✓	✓	✓	✓
5. The belief that all diasporic members must work toward restoration of the dispersed group to its prior state and location			✓	✓	✓
6. A continued practice of cultural and ethnic customs from the homeland, which builds group solidarity	✓		✓	✓	✓
Cohen's Diaspora (2008)	**American**	**African**	**Jewish**	**Armenian**	**Palestinian**
1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions		✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions	✓			✓	
3. A collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements		✓	✓	✓	✓
4. An idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation		✓	✓	✓	✓
5. The frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland		✓	✓	✓	✓
6. A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate		✓	✓	✓	✓
7. A troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group		✓	✓	✓	✓
8. A sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial		✓	✓	✓	✓
9. The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism		✓	✓	✓	✓

Source: Author's determinations based on a review of the diaspora literature

As presented in Table 2.3, the American Diaspora does not equate to traditional diasporas. The American case fulfills few of the criteria developed by these widely-cited scholars. Additionally, the group does not share the coercive history that led to dispersal. While these displaced populations infused multi-locality into their diaspora identities, Americans abroad often disconnect themselves from the new land and do not typically include the host country in identity formation. Though Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) asserts that, based on her empirical research, Americans in Europe face identity negotiation, she finds that it is dissimilar from the struggles of a diasporic identity. Clifford (1994) explains how diasporas are characterized by dwelling *here* with solidarity and connections *there*. In the American Diaspora, the ways in which individuals dwell abroad are more temporary and privileged than in other diasporas. Though Americans live abroad, their position within the host and origin societies is not akin to that of traditional diasporic groups.

The claim of an American Diaspora is further problematized as the consciousness experienced in diasporas requires cultural and often linguistic removal (Ben-Rafael 2013). In the American case, the home culture is available as the default culture globally and their home country's language (English) is largely the default language of the world, especially the business world. Diasporic Americans are not forced to find a balance between their origin culture and their destination culture to the same extent that other groups are (evidence of this is apparent through the media data explored in Chapter 5). In the other examples of diaspora, this is not the case, as the groups work toward finding comfort in a balance between the origin and the new homeland. As Clifford (1994:308) states, "the term *diaspora* is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement." Thus, the experience of diaspora goes beyond movement from a homeland and necessarily incorporates a constant struggle for place.

Implications of Diaspora Claims

Comparing diasporas calls attention to the detrimental effects of overuse of the term, which essentially equates one diaspora with another. Croucher (2012:19) argues, "The degree of 'stretching' has already been such that the inclusion of a counterintuitive case offers as much possibility for conceptual enhancement as it does dilution." However, the harm caused by distortion is far from minor, and misuse of the term has social implications. By assigning a single term to multiple groups, one is suggesting a similar severity of the hardships experienced. From this view, it seems unethical to equate the Jewish and African Diasporas, among others, to the American Diaspora. Doing so takes away from the real experiences of many by putting them in the same context as the (more) privileged diaspora supposedly experienced by Americans abroad. Overuse of *diaspora* distorts its meaning, adding substance to Mitchell's (1997) fears of a 'fetishization' of the term, ultimately moving it closer toward meaninglessness.

Additionally, expansion of the definition to include atypical groups has ethical implications. Lie (2001:361) points to the dangers in claiming false diasporas, stating, "we should not substantiate and reify the nominal character of the Chinese diaspora or the Jewish diaspora that conflates profound linguistic, cultural, and even somatic differences among putatively unified peoples." Using the term to discuss the experiences of Americans living abroad delegitimizes use of the term to refer to the Jews, Africans, or other groups that have established diaspora as a part of their individual, communal, and cultural identities. Moreover, the implications for claiming false diasporas are found in academia as well. Expansion of the term to the point of meaninglessness questions its use as a scientific category of analysis at all. Simply because the "diaspora genie is out of the bottle" according to Croucher (2012:19), it should not continue down that path.

Categorizing Americans Abroad

In the search for specificity in how to categorize Americans living abroad, Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) found that the term migrant/immigrant was not selected as an appropriate fit by her respondent group of Americans living in Europe, as the term brings negative images of individuals struggling to survive, much like Sanborn (2005) found when studying Russian migration. The term expat/expatriate were more widely selected as an appropriate term, but it too has specific connotations, albeit toward wealth and privilege (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a). Ultimately, when given the option, Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) found that the term 'American Living Overseas' was selected as the best identification. However, this term, while extremely inclusive to Americans living outside of North America, offers very little analytical specificity.

Dashefsky and colleagues (1992), whose work was discussed in Chapter 1, developed a four-part typology of the goals of American emigration, in which motives range on two variables: locus of concern (self or other) and goals for migration (expressive or instrumental). This typology will be revisited again in Chapter 5, but it worth mentioning here for its discussion of motives and use of well-defined categories, as it aids in understanding the diverse motives and goals of Americans moving abroad. Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) focused on the *self-expressive* category, focusing on emigration for personal, emotional gain. However, since their work, major changes have occurred in the American and global economies, and elite migration is increasingly common among American emigrants (Wennersten 2008). Thus, there is an increasing commonality of the *self-instrumental* category, suggesting that American emigration is becoming a rational, economic choice (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014). What can be determined is that no single quarter of the Dashefsky typology captures all Americans abroad.

A Global Migrant Community

Everything considered, *diaspora* may have its place in the discussion of American emigration, as some Americans do face hardships that have led them to flee the country. However, the larger population of Americans living abroad is far from diasporic, a key point acknowledged by Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) in her extensive work on Americans in Europe. Thus, while the diaspora label is appropriate for some experiences of migration, it certainly does not capture all Americans living abroad, whose diverse motives include reuniting with family, which includes many Americans living in Mexico who are of Mexican heritage, leaving to retire cheaply abroad, fleeing U.S. politics, and searching for adventure. Despite these numerous motives, which even the Dashefsky typology may not capture, Americans living outside of the U.S. are a migrant group, though many prefer another label. They have self-selected into migration, and while their length of stay is undetermined and may ultimately be shorter than other groups, we do not question whether we call seasonal migrant workers migrants, even though their length of stay is determined and decidedly temporary. Ultimately, referring to the group as *migrants* is necessary to keep the term useful. The label of *migrant* should not be avoided simply because some Americans abroad feel that it is derogatory or implies hardship. It is merely a category to specify those who have moved. While many Americans living abroad refute the term because they may return eventually—a reflection of the privilege of the American passport and U.S. citizenship—it does not dictate that we not call them migrants.

When speaking of the group of Americans living abroad, rather than call them diasporic, a more apt collective designation is the American *global migrant community*. Though they are made up of a diverse group of individuals with their own motives and goals, they are decidedly global—perhaps more so than any other group. Indeed, Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a)

highlights their unique spread across the globe. While they may become less assimilated than other groups, they are certainly migrants, as they move across borders—whether temporarily or permanently. Finally, they form a unique global community with a shared origin, a shared set of rights and responsibilities, and a shared privilege to return to the U.S., despite differences in how prominent that is.

While *global migrant community* is useful to reference the entire group, within this, more specific labels may be applied. Indeed, the migration literature offers many useful labels that could be applied to Americans living outside of the U.S. Some Americans abroad may fit Ong's (1999) concept of *flexible citizenship*, as she observed that globalization has agendized the role in citizenship of numerous groups, making it flexible. Importantly, Ong (1999) notes that some groups are given more agency in this decision than others. *Cosmopolitan* has similar potential for some Americans, which though a term from antiquity, it has increasing relevance with contemporary globalization, neoliberalism, and migration (Leichtman and Schulz 2012). Nussbaum (1994) conceptualizes cosmopolitanism as being a citizen of the world. More specifically, she adds that cosmopolitanism describes one who "puts rights before country, and universal reason before the symbols of national belonging" (Nussbaum 1994:3). Both *flexible citizenship* and *cosmopolitanism* can fit Americans abroad, as the terms relate to the freedom of movement around the globe that comes with possession of an American passport. Of course, neither term perfectly fits all Americans abroad, though it may have relevance for some.

Additionally, the idea of *lifestyle migrant* fits some Americans who have retired abroad. The term typically refers to more affluent individuals who move full- or part-time for a better quality of life (Benson and O'Reilly 2009), thus it does not fit all Americans in this global migrant community. However, it is certainly relevant to some Americans retiring in the Global South, and has been used by several scholars of American emigration (Benson 2013; Croucher

2016; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a, 2014b). Even the term *expatriate* fits many Americans abroad. Though some Americans in Europe specifically said the term did not fit, as found by Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a), it is a very relevant term for others, particularly those who felt they were more temporary.

The newer concept of *privileged transnationalism* is certainly applicable to some Americans abroad. Indeed, Croucher (2016) developed this term in studying Americans living in the 'expatriate community' of Granada, Nicaragua. The term offers similar value as *transnationalism*, which I discussed in Chapter 1, but avoids much of the ambiguity that some find when applying it to entire migrant populations. In fact, Castles, de Haas, and Miller (2014:43) find that *transnationalism* suffers from similar "inflationary use" to *diaspora*. By specifying *privileged* transnationalism, Croucher's (2016) newer term acknowledges that acting transnationally requires some amount of privileged, further demonstrating that transnationality itself is not homogenous and that the American emigration case is unique. Given the diversity of this global migrant community, many traditional categories of migration fit Americans living abroad. All in all, even *diaspora* may be a relevant term for the experience of some Americans. However, it has limited use as a collective term to fit all members of the group.

Conclusion

The term *diaspora* has a historical connection to multiple groups. While it may be useful to attempt to understand a group through a diasporic lens, one must be conscious of the importance of the validity of the term. Though Croucher (2012) acknowledges that a risk of applying *diaspora* to U.S. citizens abroad is that doing so moves the concept closer to meaninglessness, this is a not an insignificant consequence. If social scientists continue to allow analytical categories to approach meaninglessness, the legitimacy of the entire discipline will be called into question. Thus, future uses of diaspora should be limited and carefully considered.

When applying the term to new groups of people living outside their homelands, social scientists should consider the justifiability of the usage. For American living abroad, *diaspora* is not an appropriate catchall. Social scientists and migration scholars should consider using terms that better fit the specific group of Americans abroad—or any other specific subset of migrants—being discussed. Moving forward, careful consideration should be given to the labels scholars give each group of migrants. Rather than generally considering all abroad populations diasporic, we should aim for precision.

The 'diaspora genie' may already be out of the bottle, but it is not yet lost as a social and academic category. While Americans living abroad are a unique group of global movers and will need to be the focus of much more study before a clear understanding can be gained, scholars are encouraged to resist using categories that requiring some degree of stretching and to utilize and develop new categories. Though claims of hardship among Americans abroad make it appear as though they meet this important diasporic characteristic—namely, taxation and difficulties in voting—relatively, these hardships are rather minor. Furthermore, a goal within the social sciences is precision. Expanding the term diaspora, which some scholars have explicitly opposed (Tölölyan 1996; Zeleza 2005), lessens the specificity of the term and muddles our understanding of diaspora. As Ulrich Beck (2007:287) warns, "because we are captured by zombie categories, sociology is threatened to become a zombie science, a museum piece of antiquated ideas." Developing new terms to discuss new phenomena is vital to the continuation of the field and prevents it from becoming an obsolete science.

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[1] I use the term 'American Diaspora' as a proper noun to highlight its use in scholarly and popular literature, as distinct from a casual use of the term.
[2] National census data figures are based on country of birth. World Bank does not specify the criteria for; thus it is undetermined whether they are based on country of birth, citizenship, or other criteria.

[3] Due to this distinction—in that the group does not necessarily have a homeland to mythologize or a single, known culture to sustain—in Table 2.3, the African Diaspora does not fulfill Safran's fifth and sixth criteria and complicates the fourth criteria. However, Safran (1991) notes that these elements are experienced by the group, but in a slightly different way.

Chapter 3 – Methodology: A Justification for the Pragmatic Approach in Migration Studies

Introduction

The field of international migration studies is situated between multiple disciplines and encompasses multiple ways of knowing. This interdisciplinary quality has allowed the field to draw from a wide range of social theories, connecting diverse disciplinary perspectives. By working across disciplinary lines, migration studies is home to new approaches to understanding the social world, drawing from theories and methods throughout the social sciences. Sociology, considering its foundation in social theory and its wide methodological range, is particularly well-suited for thorough study of international migration. With access to both qualitative and quantitative methods, the sociologist is able to borrow from methodological approaches from a variety of fields. The sociologist of international migration is perfectly-positioned to study various aspects of the complex migration process, as sociology allows for carefully-designed, comprehensive research that incorporate qualitative and/or quantitative methodologies. Thus, the principal concern for sociologists of international migration is deciding which approach(es) to take. Should migration scholars use a qualitative approach or a quantitative approach? Should they combine these approaches, taking a mixed methods approach? Or, does a new direction have the potential to improve on the benefits of mixed methodology?

Qualitative and quantitative approaches to social research offer a variety of advantages for sociologists studying international migration. However, each approach brings with it a set of disadvantages that limit the researcher's ability to fully explain the multidimensional nature of the migration process. In light of these drawbacks, mixed methods approaches to researching international migration offer significant opportunities for scholars looking to conduct detailed studies on migrant behaviors, causes, and experiences. Similarly, comparative methods present numerous benefits to the migration scholar. Considering the complementary and supplementary

benefits of comparative and mixed methods approaches, sociologists of international migration should consider implementing a comparative mixed methods approach.

This dissertation applies a comparative mixed methods approach to studying American emigration, allowing the research to benefit from the advantages of each approach while limiting the drawbacks of a single methodology and the confines of studying a group in only one location. This chapter explains the benefits of a mixed methods and comparative approach and functions as a justification for the methodological grounding of this dissertation. Additionally, I explain the type of mixed method design used in this dissertation. In the following two chapters, I explain in detail the specifics of the methods used to study those research questions—related to the demographic data on the abroad population (Chapter 4) and the media framing of American emigration (Chapter 5). This chapter reviews and substantiates the broader methodology implemented in this dissertation on American emigration.

In order to fully explain the benefits and drawbacks of various social research methods in international migration, I first discuss the distinction between a methodological worldview, a methodology, and a method. I then discuss the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative approaches to studying international migration. In the subsequent section, I discuss the strengths and weaknesses of quantitative approaches in migration research. Considering the weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative methods, I then review the application of mixed methods research in international migration, including the use of the ethnosurvey, finding mixed research extremely capable. In light of an important limitation of the ethnosurvey, I explore the incorporation of the comparative approach to migration studies. In the following section, I argue for the use of the comparative mixed methods approach in migration studies. Then, I explain how these strengths, limitations, and possibilities influence the methodology of this dissertation, further explicating the specific paradigm used to explore American emigration. I conclude with

an evaluation of the future of research on international migration broadly and American emigration specifically, offering final remarks on how migration scholars might undertake such complex projects.

Worldviews, Methodologies, and Methods

Sociology has developed two distinctive methodologies to studying social phenomena: the qualitative approach and the quantitative approach. These two approaches have butted heads, creating a rift in some parts of the field. However, the contention between qualitative and quantitative methods is more deeply rooted in the researcher's methodological worldview, the set of beliefs that guide action (Creswell 2014). Sociologists are driven by a variety of beliefs about what social research should be, leading to differing approaches to and methods of research.

Generally, social research methods have three major methodological worldviews: positivist, interpretivist, and pragmatic.[1] Neuman (2005) conceives of positivism as the approach of the natural sciences, through which the researcher intends to discover causal laws through careful empirical observations and value-free research. He explains interpretivist research as an approach that emphasizes socially constructed meaning, meaningful social action, and value relativism (Neuman 2005). The main goal of the interpretivist approach is to understand social meaning in context. Meanwhile, the pragmatic worldview is not committed to any particular method or methodology. I discuss this alternative to the positivist and interpretivist approaches in a later section.

The positivist worldview has received a great deal of criticism. Feyerabend's (1993) *Against Method* tackles the notion of a science that operates according to fixed, universal rules, which he argues to be detrimental to the advancement of knowledge.[2] Similar critiques have led many to completely avoid using the term in favor of a variation of positivism called postpositivism (Neuman 2005), which I use here. Postpositivism can be thought of as a

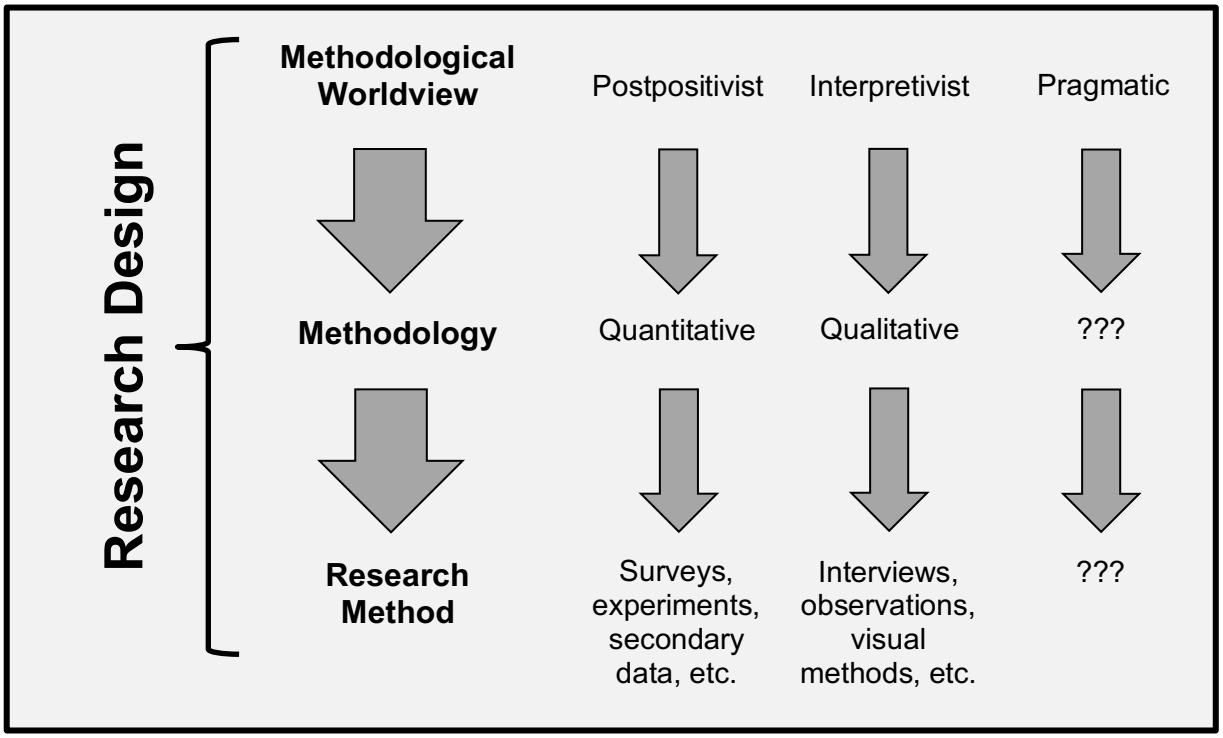
deterministic philosophy in which causes *probably* determine effects and outcomes (Creswell 2014). The key difference between the two is that the positivist intends to discover laws and true knowledge, while the postpositivist recognizes that when studying human behavior, we cannot be completely confident that we are correct. This subtle distinction is important, as the postpositivist social researcher does not claim findings to be natural laws. Despite moves away from positivism in favor of postpositivism, critiques of the worldview remain, many coming from scholars grounded in the interpretivist worldview.

In many ways, the interpretivist worldview has existed in loyal opposition to the positivist and postpositivist worldviews (Neuman 2005). The debate between the two approaches has existed since before the creation of the social sciences (Bryman 2012). Naturally, the interpretivist worldview receives heavy criticism from those maintaining the postpositivist views. Though many postpositivist social scientists find value in the interpretivist approach for exploratory research, they maintain that the interpretivist worldview is not scientific (Neuman 2005). While the postpositivist is looking to *explain* human behavior, the interpretivist is looking to *understand* it (Bryman 2012). The division between these two worldviews has created two separate methodologies for studying social behavior. The divide in sociology over how research should be done is rooted in both the methodology and the methods of research, but it is further entrenched in the methodological worldview.

Methods of research are the specific techniques used to gather and analyze information (Castles 2012). Methodology, on the other hand, is about the underlying logic of research, as it is more concerned with the theory of knowledge (Castles 2012). According to Castles (2012), methodology asks how we can obtain knowledge, what leads us to believe these data collection methods and analyses are reliable, and how can we understand the significance and meaning of social practice. The methodology is the ethical, political, philosophical and social organizational

principles of research methods (Neuman 2005). As the research method is rooted in the methodology, the methodology is rooted in the methodological worldview.

Figure 3.1 A Framework for Social Research Design



As shown in Figure 3.1, the methodological worldview, the methodology, and the research method are important elements to the research design, but the worldview of the researcher is the foundation of a researcher's approach. The methodological worldview determines the selection of a methodology and the methodology determines the selection of research methods. The postpositivist worldview is associated with quantitative methodology, which involves quantitative research methods, such as surveys, experiments, and secondary data analysis. The interpretivist worldview is typically linked to qualitative methodology, which employs qualitative research methods, such as interviews, observations, and visual methods. The role of the pragmatic worldview is explored later.

Qualitative Migration Studies

Qualitative approaches to research tend to use the philosophical assumptions of the interpretivist worldview, as a qualitative researcher is mostly concerned with issues of the richness, texture, and feeling of raw data (Neuman 2005). The qualitative researcher is interested in embedding the data in context and discovering the meaning of social action and behavior from the perspective of the participant (Creswell 2014). Those with a constructivist orientation, a subset of the interpretivist worldview, are even more interested in how the beliefs and meanings people create and use shape what reality is for them (Creswell 2014; Neuman 2005). In order to uncover these meanings and beliefs, the interpretivist researcher uses a qualitative approach, which emphasizes being immersed in the data. Theories and concepts are typically viewed as outcomes of the research process, rather than something that is being tested, as is the case with quantitative research (Bryman 2012).

The qualitative researcher may gather data from interviews, observations, documents, and audio-visual materials. A qualitative research design can utilize a number of different methods for gathering data from these sources, including ethnography, open-ended interviews, focus groups, photograph analysis, and document analysis. Each design offers a variety of advantages and disadvantages, so the researcher must carefully select a design strategy. The selection of a data collection plan depends on the subject matter, the setting, the nature of the topic, and the resources available to the researcher. Qualitative study of international migration in particular must consider the context of the research, which can often be influenced by global conditions.

As qualitative methods seek to establish meaning in social context, rising globalization and global mobility have altered the ability of qualitative research to meet this objective. Gille and Ó Riain (2002:271) state, "Globalization poses a challenge to existing social scientific methods of inquiry and units of analysis by destabilizing the embeddedness of social relations in

particular communities and places." Globalization has shifted the context of research, complicating the connection between the individual and the society in which they reside. This has given rise to *methodological nationalism*: "the assumption that the nation state society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002:217). This assumption can lead researchers to ignore supra-national influences and reduce the analytical focus to the boundaries of the nation-state (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), which poses a threat to the threat to qualitative and (to a lesser extent) quantitative study.[3] Though nationalism is still a powerful signifier that makes sense for various different actors with different purposes and political implications (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), researchers must aim to appropriately place subjects in local *and* global contexts. Qualitative research is well-suited to overcome these assumptions, as it is primarily concerned with producing rich data that can offer nuanced ideas about changes in identity, meaning, and the role of social context. Iosifides (2011) pushes back against the historical reliance on quantitative data in migration research by stressing the critical realist approach to qualitative migration research, which addresses these concerns as it considers multiple contexts and meanings. This approach allows researchers to be "both scientific and critical" when investigating the social realities of international migration (Iosifides 2011:235).

In migration studies, ethnography and interviews are the predominant qualitative methods of data collection, with their immense ability to generate rich data. Ethnographic study of international migration is lauded for ability to reach a variety of contexts. Burawoy (2000:2) notes, "With the help of theory, ethnography could, at least in principle, link the local to the global," thus, it has the potential to overcome methodological nationalism and other changes that arise due to rising globalization. While the popularity of ethnographic methods has grown, questions have arisen about the effectiveness in the search of scientific knowledge (Fernandez

Kelly 2013). This critique of ethnography is rooted in the methodological worldview of social scientists. Many postpositivist researchers have reservations about the validity of findings, noting that ethnography cannot be value-free. Similar critiques are made of qualitative interviews in migration studies, with particular attention given to the representativeness of interviews. Because researchers can include only a limited number of participants, they must have a clear idea of what they want to know upon sample selection (Sanchez-Ayala 2012). With appropriate sampling, a strength of qualitative interviewing is the ability to empower respondents while gathering vivid portraits of community and experience (Gu 2013).

Though the field has shown a preference for these two qualitative methods, studies of international migration have also incorporated visual methods and document analysis. Visual methods have numerous uses for the migration researcher. Researchers can use photography to document the migration process and capture rich, empirical visual data about the migration process and community, which can also be used for photo elicitation in interviews and focus groups (Gold 2013). Jason De León's (2012) use of visual methods in the study of the migration journey across the Sonoran Desert from Mexico to the U.S. is an excellent example of visual methods, as he documents the artifacts left by migrants during border crossing.[4]

Document analysis has similar benefits for the migration researcher. Bowen (2009) notes that document analysis can add context, suggest questions to ask, supplement other data, track change and development, and corroborate evidence from other sources. He adds that "documents may be the most effective means of gathering data when events can no longer be observed or when informants have forgotten the details" (Bowen 2009:31). Document analysis and visual methods unveil new information about the outward symbols of migration. These approaches show great promise as they expand our research field beyond the subject, allowing for a deeper understanding of the artifacts and symbols created in and about these groups. While

document analysis and visual methods have often been used to supplement other forms of qualitative data to add richness and specificity (Gold 2013; Sanchez-Ayala 2012), they have great potential on their own, specifically when looking to uncover information about the collective migrant group. Though it is more impersonal, document and visual data implies a great deal about public perception, symbols of community, and signs of group identity.

Quantitative Migration Studies

Since its very beginning, sociology has used quantitative methods and data. The founder of sociology, French philosopher Auguste Comte, was also the founder of the modern version of positivism. The positivist worldview was crucial to the development of early sociology, which was grounded in establishing sociology as a science. In the early days of sociology, researchers and philosophers took a positivist natural-science approach to studying society by searching for laws and causality through quantitative procedures (Creswell 2014). While today many prefer to take the *post*positivist worldview, it is rooted in quantitative methodology and methods as well, with the important stipulation that this approach is searching for *probable* causality.

The quantitative social researcher is concerned with issues of design, measurement, and sampling (Neuman 2005). Using a quantitative approach, the researcher focuses on establishing reliability and validity of measures, which are necessary for establishing causality. Quantitative researchers in sociology are interested in generalizing their findings to the population through statistical analysis, which requires probability sampling. Concerns with measurement and sampling require quantitative researchers to focus on the design of the research project through careful planning. While qualitative researchers make sense of data through conceptualization in the field, quantitative researchers only gather and analyze data after conceptualization of the mechanisms of the social phenomena they are studying (Neuman 2005).

Raftery (2001) proposes that quantitative research in sociology has had three generations according to the type of data used: cross-tabulation of counts, unit-level data from surveys, and new forms of data. The new forms of data, which emerged in the 1980s, allow for statistical investigations of social networks, spatial data, textual and qualitative data, narrative and sequence analysis, simulation models, and macrosociological work (Raftery 2001). The current emphasis on quantitative research in the social sciences is driven by the availability of large datasets and the growing popularity and decreasing costs of computer analysis packages (Castles 2012). The present stress on quantitative approaches has made its way into migration research as well. Massey (2010:125) discusses the importance of quantitative studies of migration: "Having accurate statistics on first- and second-generation immigrants is essential to assessing the social, economic, and demographic future of the United States." Quantitative approaches can provide fundamental information on the success of migrant populations.

In migration studies, quantitative researchers face a number of hurdles. Massey (1987a:1498) contends, "statistics on migration are generally the weakest area of demographic measurement, creating a scarcity of timely, accurate, and appropriate data," later adding that migration is the toughest to measure of the three vital statistics (see Massey 2010). Data on emigration has been especially lacking (Van Hook et al. 2006; Woodrow-Lafield 1995, 2013; Zlotnick 1987). Quantitative studies, which focus on measurement and sampling, have limited use in the study of individual-level elements such as identity and incorporation, which are central to the migration experience. These are more effectively studied through qualitative strategies, a principal critique from interpretivist researchers.

As with qualitative researchers, quantitative migration researchers have a several methods available, including surveys, secondary data analysis, and quantitative content and document analysis. Primarily, quantitative researchers use surveys and secondary data analysis

(often of census data) to study international migration. Specialized migration surveys allow researchers to develop questions to study social phenomena most relevant to their study, providing richer and more detailed data than what is offered by census data (Fawcett and Arnold 1987; Zlotnick 1987). However, their success relies on their statistical representativeness and standardization (Sana and Conway 2013), and the unavailability of a sampling frame can lead to non-ideal samples (Fawcett and Arnold 1987). Surveys are most effective for studying known migrant populations, where researchers can be confident in their sampling frame and whether their questions will garner useful data.

Secondary data analysis allows researchers to employ high-level statistics with large representative samples without going through the process of data collection. The use of secondary data has increased since 1935, as the use of primary data has declined (Leahey 2007). In migration studies, data from censuses and intercensal surveys allows researchers to study migration at individual and aggregate levels. Census data can be used to study patterns among the migrant population, such as age specific migration streams (e.g. Little and Rogers 2007; Raymer and Rogers 2007). The foremost disadvantage of using secondary data of any kind is that the context and conceptualization of the measures may have changed since the data was initially gathered (Neuman 2005). For migration studies, the major disadvantages relate to lack of relevant migrant information, the cross-sectional nature of census data, and census coverage change (Jasso and Rosenzweig 1987). Despite these flaws, surveys and secondary data are the most common quantitative methods for researching migration, as they have few disadvantages for the postpositivist researcher looking to uncover patterns and causal relationships.

New Directions in Migration Studies

Many of the qualitative and quantitative methods for international migration research are susceptible to significant weaknesses. Some drawbacks are due to specific methods and their

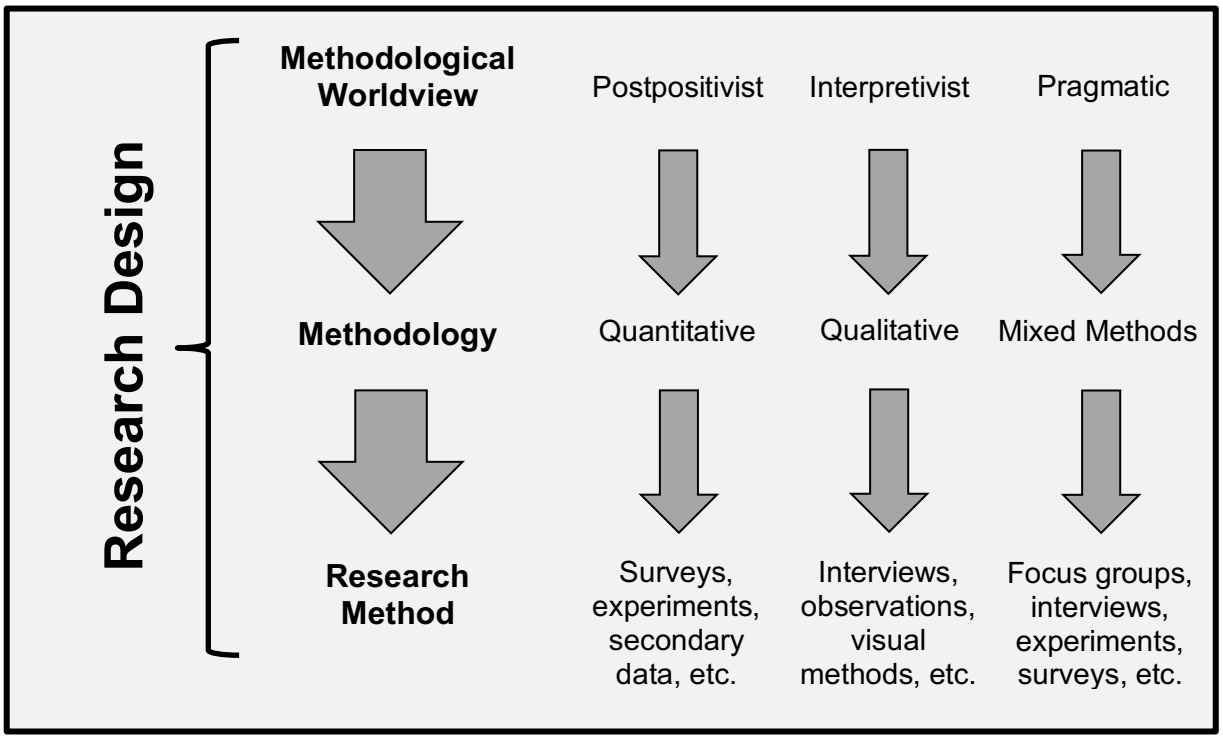
applicability to a given research topic, but many of the shortcomings emphasized by postpositivist and interpretivist researchers are in fact critiques of the opposing worldview. For migration studies, the limitations are in part due to the nature of the field. Findlay and Li (1999:52) highlight the unique nature of conducting migration research: "contemporary social theory seems to require greater methodological diversity in order to uncover the multiple meanings of 'events' such as migration." Fortunately, the pragmatic worldview exists to study these complex events.

As mentioned above, the pragmatic worldview is the third common methodological worldview. It serves as an alternative to the interpretivist and postpositivist approach, yet it is not the opposite of either. The pragmatic worldview is less concerned with methods and more interested in application and solutions to problems (Creswell 2014; Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). They "emphasize the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem" (Creswell 2014:10). In the pragmatic worldview, researchers use any methods necessary, whether those methods are linked to the postpositivist approach or the interpretivist approach. While this requires merging methods from opposing approaches to social research, the postpositivist and interpretivist worldviews can be complementary. Though modeled as two contrasting ways of viewing the social sciences, when used together they provide a more complete picture of social phenomena.

Given this understanding of the pragmatic approach, we can revisit the research design diagram described earlier. Figure 3.2 presents the diagram with the components of a research design that utilizes a pragmatic worldview. Researchers of the pragmatic worldview utilize any methods available to understand their research problem. Often times this will include using only quantitative or qualitative approaches, but, crucially, this worldview allows the researcher to employ methods from both quantitative and quantitative methodologies. Unlike strictly

postpositivist or interpretivist researchers, pragmatic researchers can use a *mixed methods* approach (as depicted in Figure 3.2). Rather than subscribe to a single approach to research, the pragmatic researcher using a mixed methods approach has access to different worldviews and assumptions than the traditional researcher (Creswell 2014). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17–18) argue that "research methods should *follow* research questions in a way that offers the best chance to obtain useful answers" and therefore should not be limited in which methods and approaches they use. The pragmatic approach can be extremely valuable for designing research on intricate topics that require multiple ways of thinking and numerous avenues for understanding, such as international migration. For international migration research the mixed methods design is very promising for conducting complex research.

Figure 3.2 A Framework for Social Research Design with Mixed Methods



Mixed Methods in the Study of Migration

The pragmatic methodological worldview does not compel a mixed methods approach. Similarly, it does not require the use of multiple forms of data collection in the study of a single

research topic or question. However, this approach *allows* researchers to use multiple methods and encourages researchers to incorporate qualitative and quantitative methods. Unlike the postpositivist and interpretivist researcher, the pragmatic researcher is willing to use any methods, even if they are from opposing camps. Though a pragmatic researcher would not always use mixed methods, given their methodological worldview, the mixed methods approach is available. While the pragmatic worldview is more broadly concerned with the use of any methods necessary, here I discuss the mixed methods approach, a methodology unavailable to the strictly postpositivist or interpretivist researcher.

Mixed methods research, according to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17), is "the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines qualitative and quantitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts, or language into a single study." In mixed methods, as with other approaches, methodology follows inquiry purpose and questions (Greene 2008). Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) identify three ways to mix qualitative and quantitative data: 1) merge the qualitative and quantitative datasets together to produce findings; 2) connect the data through building upon one dataset with the other; and 3) embed one dataset within the other so that one form of data supplements the other. By simply collecting two forms of data the researcher does not fully capitalize on the benefits of mixed methods. The researcher should bring the qualitative and quantitative data together to form a more complete understanding of the problem than when they are used separately (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017).

Not all scholars support the use of mixed methods research. Those who reject mixed methods research tend to focus on the epistemological and ontological limitations in the combination of the two types of research (Bryman 2012). Mason (2006:3) warns against the inappropriate use of a mixed method approach, arguing that it can "produce disjointed and unfocused research, and can severely test the capabilities of researchers." Mixed-methods

research is not necessarily superior to single-method research, as this depends the researcher's execution of the research project (Bryman 2012). Leahey (2007) and Greene (2008) call for practical guidance in mixed methods research regarding how to combine methods properly. Since these calls for methodological clarification, the field of mixed methods research has grown, along with standard guidelines and procedures for conducting such research.

Though mixed methods research is still in its nascence, leaders in the field of migration studies have called upon it. International migration scholar Stephen Castles (2012:13) argues, "Mixed methods approaches seem the best way to develop greater understanding of social issues and of their relevance to individual and group life." Prior to this, Findlay and Li (1999:51) took an even strong position on the necessity of incorporating mixed methods in migration studies: "The methodological challenge is not only to experiment with new ways of representing the diverse meanings of migration, but also to seriously consider the view that mixing methods is a highly desirable research strategy, rather than an optional extra." Despite calls for mixed methods in the study of international migration, this field has seen the success of a particular mixed methods approach developed by Douglas Massey in the 1980s: the ethnosurvey.

The ethnosurvey is a mixed methods, interdisciplinary approach using case studies and event-history analysis (Sana and Conway 2013). It was developed with migration research in mind due to the weaknesses in existing data sources, such as the lack of representation of irregular migrants, their limited use in studying circulatory migration, the omission of variables central to the migration process, and the limitations of a cross-sectional design (Massey 1987a). The methodology of the ethnosurvey draws on ideas, methods, and approaches from sociology, psychology, anthropology, and education (Massey 1987a), but, with any methodology, it has flaws. The ethnosurvey is costly, time intensive, and hard to implement with a representative sampling framework (Massey 1987a). The community-based nature of the ethnosurvey is

particularly useful for studying established patterns of international migration, but it is a less useful approach for studying newer or unique groups of migrants (Sana and Conway 2013), such as emigrants from the United States. Furthermore, while the ethnosurvey allows for multi-sited work, it does not offer much potential for comparative work, which can be a valuable component of migration research.

Comparative Methods in the Study of Migration

Green (1994:17) argues in favor of comparisons in migration research, noting that they "can help us understand both the structural constraints and individual cultural choices framing the migration experience." Bloemraad (2013) suggests that all migration research is comparative, but Green (1994) identifies three particular models of comparison in migration work: 1) the linear model, which involves studying a single migrant as they move to different places; 2) the convergent model, which studies multiple migrant groups in one place; and 3) the divergent model, which involves studying a single migrant group in multiple places. Bloemraad (2013) notes that comparisons in migration studies can be conducted across groups, geographic locations, and across time, but finds that other forms of comparison are possible as well.

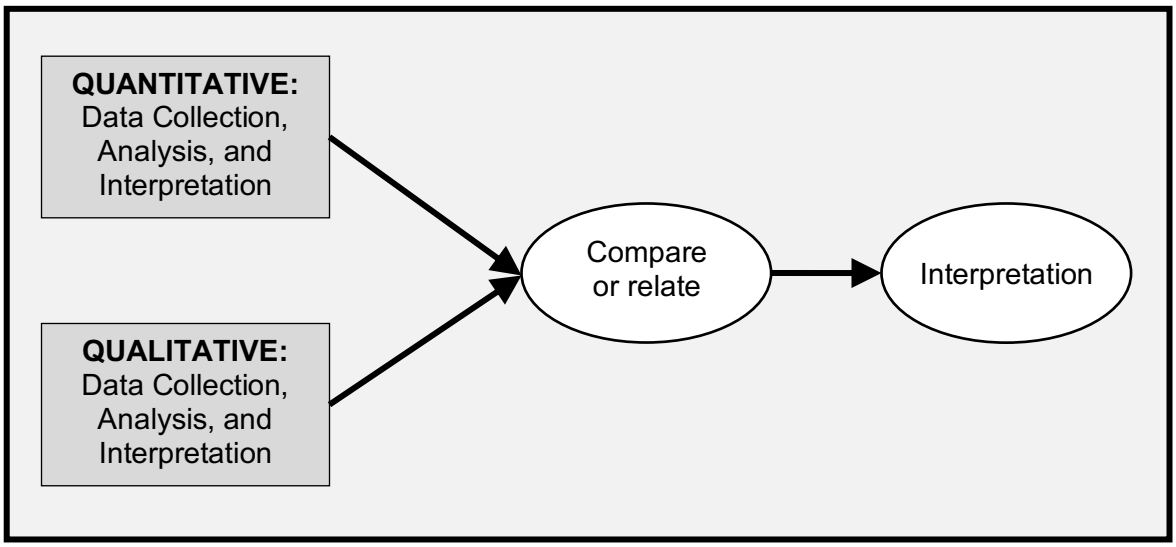
A comparative approach can improve the understanding of how migrants are incorporated into their surroundings, as it fully investigates the context of each migrant (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009). It allows researchers to investigate what is unique about the migration experience and whether it differs across a variety of factors. Comparative methods can be especially fruitful in migration studies as they can "challenge accepted and conventional wisdoms, and lead to innovative new thinking" (Bloemraad 2013:561). This is particularly relevant in light of the call from Findlay and Li (1999:51) to "experiment with new ways of representing the diverse meanings of migration." Comparative work allows for exactly that.

Methodology of this Dissertation

As a researcher of American emigration and international migration in general, I take a pragmatic methodological worldview. For this dissertation, I use a mixed method approach that also includes comparison. Specifically, I use a mixed method research design identified by Creswell (2014) as Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods (hereafter, CPMM), which combines quantitative and qualitative methods. The key assumption of the CPMM approach to research is that each form of data provides different types of information, which, upon comparison, add to the overall understanding of the research topic. When compared, the datasets may converge or diverge in the evidence they provide on the topic. Alternatively, they may relate to one another to provide two different pictures or offer something new when combined.

Figure 3.3 presents a diagram of the CPMM approach to research. As seen here, the researcher collects and analyzes two separate databases—one qualitative and one quantitative—and merges those two datasets at interpretation. The CPMM specifically uses parallel-databases, which remain independent until interpretation.[5] The CPMM follows these procedures: 1) collect both quantitative and qualitative data about the topic; 2) analyze the two datasets separately; and 3) interpret how the two sets converge, diverge, relate, or combine. In this dissertation, the quantitative contribution of the overall research project is the focus of Chapter 4, where I analyze and interpret secondary quantitative data from a variety of sources. The qualitative piece is presented in Chapter 5, which includes analysis and interpretation of the media framing of American emigration. In Chapter 6, I compare the two forms of data and interpret the results collectively, discussing the ways in which the datasets converge, diverge, relate, or combine.

Figure 3.3 Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods Design



This design excels because it is intuitive, efficient, and allows for direct comparison of data forms (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). However, Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) also note that the CPMM does face challenges. One may find difficulty interpreting results because datasets are of varying sizes. Additionally, researchers may struggle when merging text and numeric databases *prior* to interpretation, which is common of other forms of Convergent Mixed Methods designs that are not parallel. Moreover, research may become problematic when results from the two forms of data are found to be divergent during comparison. However, this final challenge is indeed a strength of the CPMM design, as the lack of confirmation of findings from a second approach actually improves the overall understanding of the research topic. In fact, cases of divergent findings best demonstrate the benefit of this mixed methods approach.

My use of the CPMM adds in comparative methods, a budding trend in migration research with great promise and potential to understand the complexities of global movement. I use comparison at all stages of the research, as I compare American emigration to Canada with American emigration to Mexico. This comparison takes place separately within the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research process. However, comparison between Canada and

Mexico is also very central to the combined interpretation in Chapter 6, as the collective understanding of American emigration to the two countries becomes more interesting when using these two forms of data in light of their separate findings from the previous phases.

Conclusion

The research explored here shows mixed methods and comparative work to be worthwhile approaches to research for social scientists, especially in the study of international migration. Each has particular benefits to investigating the diversity of behavior, attitudes, and experiences of migrants in numerous contexts. The mixed methods approach, driven by a pragmatic methodological worldview, allows researchers to use a variety of methods to investigate the important problems, while the comparative approach strengthens the understanding of these behaviors, attitudes, and experiences by investigating what is distinctive about a particular group, location, or time. Together the mixed methods and comparative approaches can be used to study the important questions about international migration that projects using a single methodology or a single case cannot.

While all studies of international migration benefit from the use of a comparative mixed methods design, research on American emigration is particularly well-suited for such an approach. Such an approach is practical for understanding the diversity and global spread of American emigrants. Americans living abroad are heterogeneous within and between receiving countries. Thus, a comparative approach helps to understand these differences and allows researchers to uncover what is unique about Americans in different locations around the world. Furthermore, as Americans living abroad represent a unique type of international migrant, we can gain some insight by comparing them to other emigrant groups.

This dissertation on American emigration to Canada and Mexico uses the CPMM design; however, other models of mixing methods can be particularly fruitful for this topic. Creswell

and Plano Clark (2017) describe a mixed methods designs that has significant potential in the study of this topic: the exploratory sequential design. This design can be useful in the study of American emigration because the group is understudied and exploratory analysis is particularly effective at this stage. In the exploratory sequential design, researchers employ qualitative methods to initially investigate research questions, then take findings from this first stage to develop quantitative measures and instruments for use in a quantitative investigation phase (Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). In the study of American emigration, this model could be implemented to first gather rich qualitative data on emigration motives, attitudes, and identities, which can be then explored on a larger scale through quantitative data collection.

Klekowski von Koppenfels' (2014a) study on Americans in Europe uses the exploratory sequential mixed methods design, though it is not stated in the book. Her study is a strong example of mixed methods research and is particularly interesting due to her use of comparative methods in the study of American emigration. Through interviews and surveys, she studied Americans in three European countries: France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) initially conducted interviews with Americans abroad using a snowball sample and used these findings to develop an online survey. This research design allowed her to investigate identity, motives, and experiences in a way that other approaches may not have. The use of multiple methods deepened her understanding of these key components of migration, and her use of comparison clarified what is unique about those in a particular receiving country.

While this complex approach to research is rewarding, the proposition of a comparative mixed methods research project on international migration is very daunting, especially when collecting empirical data. Such an approach would require a researcher to conduct qualitative and quantitative research in multiple locations or with multiple groups, either of which may require the securing of large grants. Though a comparative mixed methods study on

international migration is possible to conduct alone—in addition to Klekowski von Koppenfels *Migrants or Expatriates?* (2014a), Irene Bloemraad's *Becoming a Citizen* (2006) and Vanessa Fong's *Paradise Lost* (2011) are two sterling examples—these projects are few and far between. Bloemraad (2013) reminds us that comparison requires more time and resources to collect and analyze data and Creswell and Plano Clark (2017) point out that mixed methods research requires time, resources, and specific skills as well.

In light of these concerns regarding complex research projects, Castles (2012) argues that migration scholars need to work in interdisciplinary teams in their attempts to use mixed methods and comparative approaches. Raftery (2001) advocates for an interdisciplinary approach as well, including one that expands beyond the social sciences. Through interdisciplinarity and cross-national work, the process of conducting complex comparative mixed methods research becomes more manageable and reliable. With access to different geographic locations and social groups, cross-national teams could reach a broader pool of participants. An interdisciplinary team allows for methodological collaboration, with members contributing abilities from different fields. Though all research on international migration cannot expand to cross-national teams, when possible, the rewards of such an approach are worthwhile.

The field of international migration studies, which is by nature transnationally grounded and interdisciplinary, could certainly benefit from working across national and academic borders. As the field is so firmly positioned between multiple disciplines and it naturally spans multiple geographic locations, it requires particularly complex processes for studying. While Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) argue that the time has come for mixed methods research, in migration studies the time has come for a slightly different research paradigm: comparative mixed method research. A research topic that is as complex, diverse, and global as international migration deserves a research design with similar attributes. In the case of American emigration, the U.S.

Government should consider funding cross-national interdisciplinary research that works toward a comprehensive understanding of its citizens who choose to live abroad, as they retain great political, social, and economic power domestically, despite long-term residence abroad.

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[1] An additional methodological worldview is the critical social science or transformative worldview. In the critical social science worldview, social reality has multiple layers and the purpose of research is to reveal what is hidden beneath those layers and empower and liberate people (Neuman 2005). According to Creswell (2014), the transformative worldview necessitates that research is intertwined with politics and political change. This approach is less common in traditional social science research and more common among community action groups and social movements (Neuman 2005). For these reasons, it is not discussed here.

[2] Feyerabend's (1993) argument in *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge* serves as a critique of not only the positivistic approach to scientific research, but the entire notion of an approach that adheres to rules, such as the scientific method. He fervently argues that such an approach eliminates progress in the sciences.

[3] Due to its objective to situate meaning in social context, globalization is a more critical threat to qualitative research. However, methodological nationalism, among other concerns from globalization, is still very relevant to the quantitative researcher who should also be considering the context and meaning attached to concepts and ideologies used in the research process.

[4] Visual artist Tom Keifer collected similar imagery of artifacts left by migrants crossing the border from Mexico to the U.S. Like De León (2012), he focused on the items discarded as trash by migrants and the meaning of these items. His work was presented at Art Prize Nine in Grand Rapids, Michigan in October of 2017 and published in *El Sueño Americano* (see Keifer 2017).

[5] Elsewhere, Creswell describes the convergent mixed methods design as one that does not require the use of parallel databases, with the CPMM being just the most common of four variants (see Creswell and Plano Clark 2017). Other forms of the convergent design include: data transformation, in which qualitative findings are quantified; questionnaire, which uses both open- and closed-ended items; and fully integrated, in which the two strands of data interact during interpretation.

Chapter 4 – Demographic Profiles and Changes of Americans in Canada and Mexico

Introduction

In 2010, Douglas Massey asserted that of the three contributors to population growth—mortality, fertility, and migration—migration is the most difficult to track (see Massey 2010). Earlier, when proposing his now well-known ethnosurvey methodology, he wrote, "statistics on migration are generally the weakest area of demographic measurement, creating a scarcity of timely, accurate, and appropriate data" (Massey 1987b:1498). Migration, unlike birth and death, does not necessarily require a license, certificate, or other form of record. Though the passport is used to monitor border crossing, it is not used in a way to determine the permanency of stay in any location. Passports can only assist in keeping a record of people entering the country. Thus, while it remains difficult to monitor with any real precision, the government does have some record of immigration with tracking passports of those entering and documentations of naturalization and other ways of acquiring citizenship. Emigration on the other hand, requires no record in the sending country aside from the (rare) renunciation of citizenship. Given this, Massey's claims can be made more specific: *emigration* is the most difficult population change to track. Indeed, this limitation has remained a persistent discussion topic in migration research, as demographers search for ways to overcome this inadequacy in monitoring migration (e.g., Fernandez 1995; Van Hook et al. 2006; Jensen 2013; Woodrow-Lafield 1995).

Despite inadequacies and limitations, the U.S. Government has closely monitored and measured the number, origin, regional distribution, and socio-economic characteristics of immigrants through direct enumeration of foreign-born in the decennial census, border control data collection systems, and specially designed surveys of immigrants both here and in countries of origin. However, the Government does not track emigration from the U.S. After the 2000 decennial census, a congressional hearing discussed exactly this issue (see *Americans Abroad,*

How Can We Count Them?, 2001). Through these hearings, various congressional subcommittees and officials considered the potential of including Americans living abroad in the 2010 Census. They cited resource allocation, voting rights, and a responsibility of the U.S. Government to count its citizens as the drive behind this push. The U.S. Census Bureau conducted a three-country pilot census of Americans living abroad in France, Mexico, and Kuwait, but found accurate enumeration unsuccessful. The voluntary response rate was very low, resulting in a very high per person response cost compared to the national census (GAO 2004). Since this attempt, governmental efforts to track Americans living abroad as part of the U.S. Census seem to have lost momentum. This has left researchers to find other ways to enumerate and study American emigrants.

Researching the emigration of any group of individuals from a particular nation poses practical difficulties. Due to limitations in statistical tracking of emigrants, researchers have had to use more creative methods to develop an accurate estimate of emigration rates and trends. For example, Fors Marsh Group (2013) conducted a large-scale study in which they estimated the number of Americans living abroad. They developed estimates of Americans in every country by evaluating foreign government estimations and imputing values. The result was an estimated number of Americans living in each country bound by a statistical confidence interval. Though useful, the findings are from aggregate data at the country level and offer little or no detailed demographic information on the American emigrant population.

This chapter aims to explore and explain changes in American emigration to Canada and Mexico and both the national level and the individual level. I emphasize methods of compiling data at a larger scale to offer estimates of migration stocks, but I also stress the importance of data on key demographic variables, such as age, education, citizenship, and, for younger individuals, location of birth of parents. In the following section, I assess the data available on

this emigrant population. I examine the population using data from national censuses, World Bank databases, and data from the UN Population Division, investigating shifts in size and demographic composition. After reviewing and comparing data on Americans in these two countries, I consider these changes in light of the migration transition theory as described by Zelinsky (1971), Skeldon (1990, 1997), and de Haas (2010). In line with migration transition theory, I emphasize the influence of development in shaping migration flows from the U.S. to Canada and Mexico. Additionally, I consider the impact of other historical, economic, political, and social factors beyond development, following the conviction of Castles (2010a) that migration is a central component of social transformation. A further, more in-depth, discussion of these social forces in emigration from the U.S. is a focus of Chapter 6.

Demographic Data Sources of Americans Abroad

Though the validity and accuracy of data on emigration from the U.S. leaves much to be desired, a variety of sources remain available for estimating the population of Americans abroad. Many of these sources simply provide population counts, using census and survey data. These sources offer limited detail, often including only gender, age, and region of the host country. Such data can be used to piece together an abstract view of the abroad population, but do not help answer the important questions of who emigrates that reach beyond these basic characteristics. Data on emigrants' education, income, field of employment, marital status, number of children, and other key characteristics are central to understanding the population, not to mention the potential use of data on migrant motives and intentions. One source that provides data on some of these variables is the national census in each country.

Data on Americans abroad has numerous sources and various uses; however, census data has been of primary use, as it offers more detail than other records of population. Censuses are created to capture a snapshot of a country's population at a given time, regardless of the legal

status or permanency of those in the country. This fundamental feature ensures that immigrant populations are enumerated, though again, as Massey (2010) points out, the accuracy and coverage may be lacking. Census data, more so than other sources, has the two benefits of its large-scale with a wide coverage area and its detail relative to other sources. Of central importance to this dissertation, Canada and Mexico carry out decennial censuses[1]: Canada in years ending in '1' and Mexico in years ending in '0.' These censuses collect detailed information beyond simple population counts, in some cases allowing analysis of age, education, employment, income, religion, ancestry, marital status, and number of children, among other key variables. Central to this analysis, census data typically includes some information on immigration status and immigration history, typically in the form of location a number of years prior to the census, often one or five. This data, though infrequent, offers useful snapshots of an immigrant population.

Though census records are customarily sealed from the public for a set number of years—72 years for the U.S. Census—samples of data remain available to the public for research purposes in the form of public use microdata samples (PUMS). The Minnesota Population Center (MPC) has built and maintains PUMS data. They do so for data from the U.S. Census and other U.S. demographic surveys, but also maintain international public use microdata samples (IPUMS) from censuses and intercensal surveys for more than one hundred countries dating back over seventy years. These records provide the same level of detail as the official census records, though any identifying information is removed and the sample size is reduced to five or ten percent of the full census. The MPC details the methodology and provides statistical weights to use in analysis for extrapolation to the full population estimates.

Beyond international census and intercensal records, data on American emigration is also available through large data repositories, such as the United Nations and the World Bank,

although generally with more limited demographic detail. The UN Population Division maintains a bilateral migration matrix, which overlays sending and receiving countries to display a record of immigrant and emigrant populations for a given country. According to the UN, this global migration database is compiled from a variety of sources, including resource centers, libraries, the internet, the Population Divisions own calculations, and the UN Statistics Division's Demographic Yearbook, which itself receives information from national statistical authorities (UN Population Division 2008). In the description of the database, the UN Population Division (2008) notes that tabulations will have discrepancies and inadequacies. The World Bank keeps similar records—including a bilateral migration matrix—however, its records also include remittance data. This data on migration and remittances is collected from a variety of data sources, including national censuses, labor force surveys, and population registers (The World Bank 2017). Despite the limitations of these datasets, they are the most extensive single collections of information on global migration.

Additionally, data is obtainable from the Bureaus of Consular Affairs, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), and the Social Security Administration (SSA). However, this data has significant limitations. Consular data relies on Americans abroad registering with their local consulate office. Though the consular office provides very current data, as the registry is ever changing, Jensen (2013) notes that many expatriates do not register with their local consulate and as a result totals from this method are largely underestimated. IRS estimates are based in tracking returns of Form 2555 (declaration of foreign income), but this results in a count of returns filed, not the number of individuals (Fors Marsh Group 2013). Those who do not file U.S. taxes for whatever reason would remain absent from even the most exhaustive count. SSA data suffers similar limitations. Though regional and country-level counts are available of Social Security Beneficiaries abroad (Fors Marsh Group 2013), those who do not receive benefits are

not included. IRS and SSA records of Americans abroad are limited in scope. They offer little information of demographic changes to the American emigrant populations in Canada and Mexico that are not receiving Social Security benefits or filing U.S. taxes.

Beyond these official records, data on American emigration can also be acquired through original surveys. These surveys have the benefits of being extremely directed, as the survey designers can select the specific topics and questions to include. Additionally, survey takers can direct the coverage area of the census, allowing them to choose from a variety of sampling methods depending on their needs. Given the difficulty in capturing small immigrant populations with the wide scope of census data, original surveys allow for a directed effort in uncovering understudied populations. However, surveys of Americans abroad are few and far between. Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014a) has the most extensive use of surveys of Americans abroad in her multi-country study of Americans in Europe. While such surveys have significant benefits for the researcher, they can suffer from high costs and a lack of knowledge of what needs to be studied. With the topic of American emigration in North America, little is known of the population. Analysis of existing records, as is done here, has substantial benefit to building an early picture of the migrant group at the stage of exploratory research.

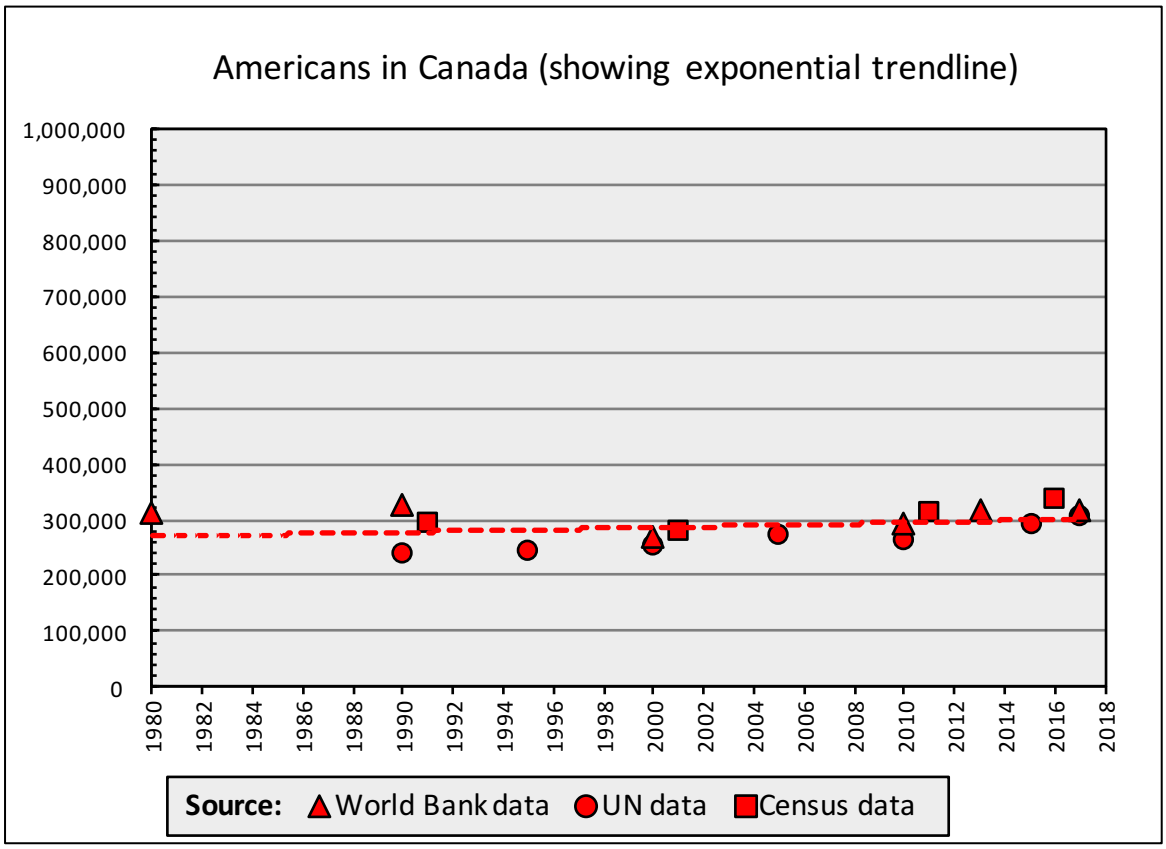
Given the inconsistency in records on Americans abroad, providing a simple statistic is impractical and irresponsible. Accordingly, in following section, I present what can be gathered and concluded from the variety of sources available to study Americans in Canada. In the subsequent section, I do the same for the population of Americans in Mexico before interpreting the data for the two countries collectively. For each, I use the various data sources to attempt to identify overall trends in the American population. Furthermore, through the use of census data, I investigate trends in the population by other demographic characteristics.

Americans in Canada

Facts and figures on the quantity of Americans in a given country vary by source. Thus, estimations are most precise when considered collectively and over time. Figure 4.1 shows the trend in Americans in Canada since 1980 based on data from the World Bank, the UN, and the Canadian Census. Irrespective of source, estimations have hovered at or just below 300,000. The exponential trendline shows a slight increase in these estimations over time, but the rise is rather small. The lowest single estimation is 238,998 in 1990 in an estimation from the UN Population Division. Conversely, one estimation from 1990 was particularly high, when the World Bank estimated 325,306 Americans in Canada. This disparity of almost 100,000 highlights the difficulty in tracking emigrant populations, but also emphasize the importance of collectively analyzing estimates from multiple sources. The highest estimation was from the Canadian Census in 2016, with an estimated 338,220 Americans in Canada.

Overall, estimates from the World Bank tend to be higher than those from the UN. Though estimates vary by source, when considering each source separately, the general trend is that the population of Americans in Canada has remained rather steady, showing only the slightest increase from 1990 to the present. Furthermore, the increase in the number of Americans is not keeping pace with Canada's population growth. According to the World Bank, the proportion of Americans in Canada to Canada's population decreased from 1.28 percent in 1980 to 0.86 percent in 2017, a decrease of about one-third.

Figure 4.1 Americans in Canada 1980 to 2017 from World Bank data, UN Population Division data, and the Canadian Census



As a proportion of Canada's entire migrant population, the share of Americans has also declined, as Canada has seen a steady increase in its immigrant population among those from other origins. Statistics Canada, the agency responsible for the Canadian Census, has estimated the distribution of their foreign born population on a historical scale from 1871 through 2016, as well as projecting the future composition of their immigrant population (Statistics Canada 2017b). In 1871, the agency estimates that 10.9 percent of the foreign-born population was from the U.S. This figure declined to 9.4 percent in 1971 and further to 7.8 percent in 1981. The proportion continued to decline to 3.4 percent in 2016 and is estimated to reach as low as 3.0 percent in 2036. Similar trends were shown in UN and World Bank data, though neither of those statistical agencies provides projections for future population composition.

Demographics of Americans in Canada

Though the number of Americans in Canada is steady, drifting somewhere around 300,000, the population is worth analyzing in terms of their demographic composition by age, citizenship, and parents' places of birth. These details are available through the Canadian Census, which collects data on individual-level variables and makes this data available through aggregate figures and downloadable public use microdata files for statistical analysis.

Age Distribution of Americans in Canada

The average age of Americans in Canada decreased from 43.27 in 1991 to 42.94 in 2011 despite a slight uptick to 43.70 in 2001. Two sample *t*-tests show neither the 2001 nor 2011 mean age is statistically significantly different from the 1991 mean, suggesting shifts in age are of little import. Meanwhile, the proportion of Americans in Canada under 18 has increased and the proportion age 65 and over has increased. In 1991, those under 18 made up just 11.68 percent of the Americans in Canada, rising to 18.62 percent by 2011, a statistically significant difference determined by a two sample test of proportions at the $p < 0.05$ level. Conversely, the share of the population age 65 and over decreased from 20.86 percent in 1991 to 17.02 percent in 2011, which is a two sample test of proportions also found significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. By comparison, the mean age of Americans in Canada is above that of the country's entire immigrant population (30.9 years) and general population (40.6 years) (Statistics Canada 2017a).

Canadian Citizenship

The Canadian Census includes questionnaire items on citizenship status. From this data, we can determine how many Americans in Canada have acquired Canadian citizenship. Furthermore, we can determine how they acquired citizenship, whether through naturalization or by birth. In 1991, 51.31 percent of the 293,004 Americans in Canada carried Canadian citizenship. The majority (85.81 percent) of this group acquired Canadian citizenship through

naturalization. In 2001, the proportion with Canadian citizenship rose to 53.41, with 85.75 having naturalized. By 2011, 61.21 percent of Americans in Canada were citizens of their host country. By this time, the percent whose citizenship was through naturalization rose to 88.70 percent. In all recent censuses, most Americans acquired citizenship through naturalization rather than by birth and the acquisition of Canadian citizenship is increasingly common.

Place of Birth of Parents of Americans in Canada

Data on Canadian citizenship of Americans suggest a growing trend in naturalization. The frequency of citizenship acquisition by birth has not grown. In 1991, 2001, and 2011, the number with Canadian citizenship by birth remained just over 21,000. A closer analysis of parents' place of birth suggests that a parental connection to Canada is not an overwhelming factor in emigration from the U.S. to Canada. Among the 55,655 Americans under age 18 in the 2011 Canadian Census—the only census for which such data is available—32.99 percent have a Canadian mother and 30.18 have a Canadian father. However, only 16.82 percent have two Canadian parents. Surprisingly, only 8.32 of the Americans in Canada under age 18 have two American parents. This suggests that emigration of young Americans from the U.S. to Canada is more common among those with parents who are themselves not Americans by birth. This alludes to the findings of Van Hook and Zhang (2011) that emigration rates are higher among the foreign born, but contradicts their findings that ties to the U.S., such as having young children, deter emigration.

Education of Americans in Canada

Americans in Canada are overwhelming well-educated, and becoming increasingly so. In 1991, 75.48 percent of Americans in Canada age 25 and above had finished secondary schooling, with 37.71 percent having completed university. Both of these figures have increased since. By 2001, 84.57 percent had completed secondary schooling; 46.04 percent with a university degree.

Furthermore, by 2011, 92.52 percent of Americans in Canada had completed secondary schooling, with 48.63 holding a university degree. This population has outpaced the general American population in secondary degree completion, which hit marks of 78.43 percent in 1991, 84.41 percent in 2001, and 87.68 percent in 2011 (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Rates of college degree completion among Americans in Canada is even more impressive compared to their counterparts in the U.S. The percentage of American in Canada age 25 and over with a college degree has drastically outpaced the domestic American population, of which only 21.44 percent, 26.18 percent, and 30.44 percent had a university degree in 1991, 2001, and 2011, respectively.

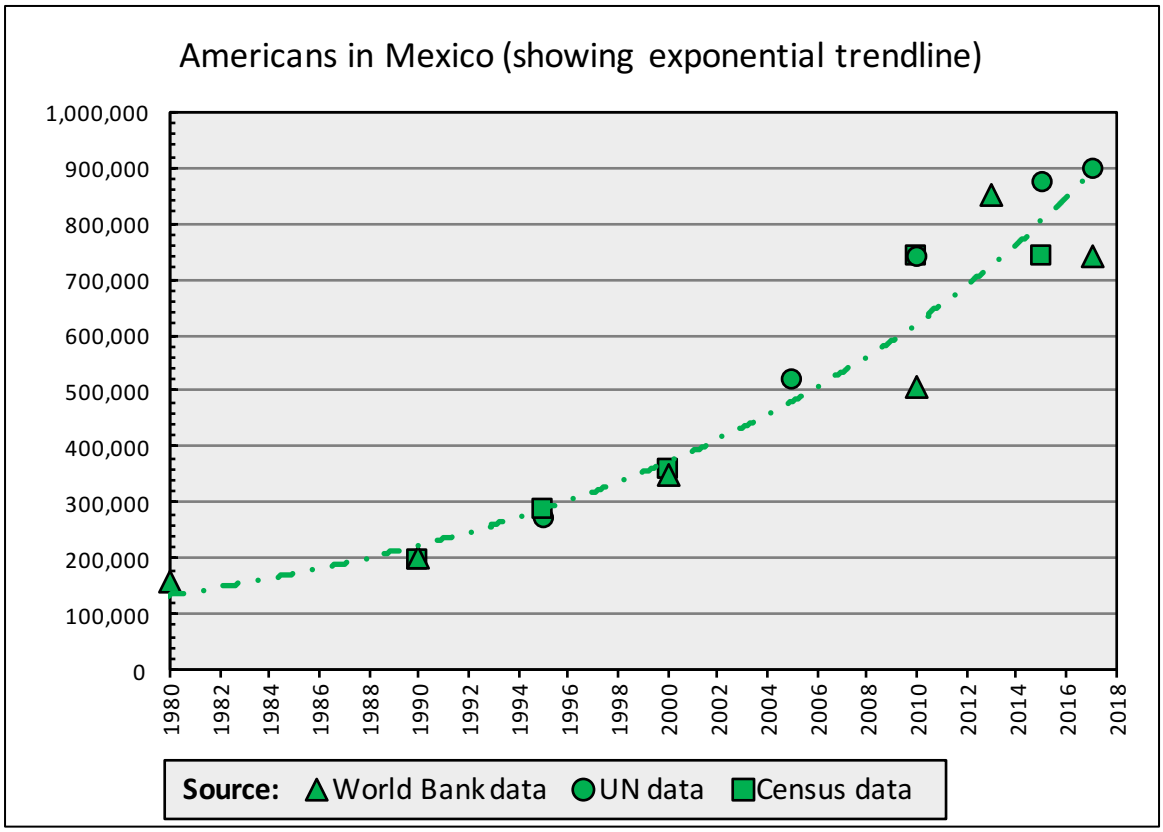
Generally, we can conclude that the American population in Canada is very stable. The population has not seen much change in terms of size, but has seen some shifts in key characteristics. Though the mean age has not seen much of a change, a growing proportion of the American population in Canada is younger people. The population of Americans carrying Canadian citizenship has been increasing, particularly as naturalized Canadian citizens. Though data is only available for 2011, a minority of Americans in Canada have parents born in Canada, but even fewer have parents from the U.S. Finally, educational attainment has been increasing, but has remained just about the average for the domestic U.S. population.

Americans in Mexico

While the general trend of Americans in Canada is stagnant, with the population barely wavering from 300,000 over the last 30 years, the American population in Mexico has seen wild shifts since 1990. Looking back further to 1980, estimates from the World Bank place 160,890 Americans in Mexico. By 1990, UN, World Bank, and the Mexican Census each estimated about 200,000 Americans in Mexico, but the number quickly rose from there. As of 2000, estimates hovered around 350,000 and rose to approximately 740,000 by 2010 according to the Mexican Census and the UN.[2] Since, some estimates have reached beyond 800,000, with the

World Bank approximating 848,576 in 2013 and the UN offering a 2015 estimate of 876,528 and a 2017 estimate of 899,311. These approximations, along with others, are displayed in Figure 4.2. Collectively they show a drastic increase in the American population in Mexico. Regardless of source, estimates of Americans in Mexico are increasing, each showing roughly 200,000 around 1990 and well over 700,000 by 2010.

Figure 4.2 Americans in Mexico 1980 to 2017 from World Bank data, UN Population Division data, and the Mexican Census



Though estimates vary by source, the general trend of Americans in Mexico—as seen by the exponential trendline in Figure 4.2—is a rapid increase. This trendline—calculated to be $y = 2244.84e^{0.00014x}$—has an R-squared value of 0.9531, suggesting that it captures the data quite well. Using this trendline to forecast the population, by 2030, the number of Americans in Mexico would be over 1,730,000. Of course, many factors can influence this trajectory—such as

economic fluctuations, changing social attitudes, and shifting policies of migration—but the trend is telling, as the population is clearly rising exponentially more than linearly.[3]

Furthermore, Mexico's American population is increasing as a proportion of its overall foreign-born population. UN data shows the share of Americans as a share of the entire migrant population rising from 59.42 percent in 1995 to 66.61 percent in 2000. This data also shows that Americans made up 72.99 percent of the foreign-born population in 2005 and peaked in 2010 at 76.52 percent. According to 2017 estimates, 73.46 percent of Mexico's foreign-born population was American, meaning roughly three out of every four people living in Mexico that were born elsewhere are from the U.S. Outside of Africa and the former Soviet states, the American population in Mexico is one of the largest immigrant populations relative to a country's entire immigrant population (UN Population Division 2017). Rarely does a single group make up such a high proportion of a country's immigrants.

Demographics of Americans in Mexico

The Mexican Census provides further detail about this emigrant population, allowing for analysis by age, parent's country of birth, and education. When investigating these characteristics, trends become more nuanced and sociologically interesting. Data on individual-level characteristics is available through public use microdata files, which, when proper weighting is applied, are representative of the population. Here, I discuss these trends.

Age Distribution of Americans in Mexico

Much of the increase in the number of Americans in Mexico has been among younger individuals. As a result, the average age of Americans in Mexico has declined since 1990, when the mean age was 19.25 years. By 2000, the mean age was 15.88 years. In 2010, the mean age had declined to 13.88 years. Two sample *t*-tests find these differences to be statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. As of the 1990 census, 67.77 percent of the American

population in Mexico was age 17 or younger. In 2000, this number increased to 72.71 percent and by 2010, the number climbed up to 77.05 percent. Meanwhile, the share of Americans age 65 and over has decreased from 5.92 in 1990 to 2.49 in 2010.

Similar trends are shown when reducing the population to only recently arrive Americans in Mexico. The Mexican Census asks for country of residence five years prior, allowing researchers to restrict analysis to newer migrants. In 1990, 63.71 percent of recent American migrants to Mexico were age 17 or under, which rose to 74.47 percent in 2010. Meanwhile the recent American migrant population of those age 65 and older declined from 3.95 in 1990 to only 1.65 percent in 2010. Though these figures have nuance beyond what is presented here, one can deduce that Americans moving from the U.S. to Mexico are increasingly young people and decreasingly those of retirement age.

Place of Birth of Parents of Americans in Mexico

The influx of young Americans to Mexico has important considerations beyond the surface, as their emigration must be tied to the migration of their parents. Thus, one should consider the characteristics of these parents. Through the MPC, demographers and researchers are able to attach parent characteristics when downloading data samples. For the Mexican Census, this data helps clarify the origin of the young Americans in Mexico. The 2010 estimate of Americans in Mexico, the most recent full census, estimates 739,362 Americans in Mexico, 570,143 of whom were under age 18. Of these, data of parents' birth country is available for 522,621. Tabulations show that the vast majority of young Americans in Mexico have parents from Mexico. Of those with available data, 93.10 percent of young Americans in Mexico have a Mexican mother, while only 6.40 percent have a mother born in the U.S. In 2010, 65.67 of Americans in Mexico have two Mexican parents, while only 0.50 percent have two American

parents. These figures are similar to those from previous censuses and show that young Americans in Mexico tend to have Mexican heritage.

In accordance with Van Hook and Zhang (2011), family connections to Mexico certainly spur this emigration. Having U.S.-born children complicates matters. Van Hook and Zhang (2011) argue that these child-based ties deter emigration. However, this growing population suggests that other forces (social, economic, familial, and political) outweigh the wish to keep children in their country of birth. As a result, Mexicans are leaving the U.S. with their American-born children, creating a growing population of second-generation return migrants.

Education of Americans in Mexico

While the data described above shows that Americans in Canada are particularly well-educated, census data on Americans in Mexico shows a very different picture. Though education attainment levels show an increase since 1990, they are well behind the American average. In 1990, only 41.99 percent of Americans age 25 and above had completed secondary school, with just 18.08 percent holding a university degree. In 2000, these figures increased to 56.99 percent and 26.20 percent respectively. By 2010, 64.22 percent of Americans in Mexico age 25 and over had completed secondary schooling and 28.20 percent had completed university. Comparatively, in the U.S. in 2010, 87.14 percent of those age 25 and over had completed secondary schooling and 29.93 percent help a university degree (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). While the proportion of Americans in Mexico with a university degree is approaching those of their counterparts in the U.S., shares of those with secondary schooling are lagging far behind.

In summary, the American population in Mexico is growing rapidly, having seen a 454 percent increase in UN estimates from 1990 to 2017, an increase of more than 700,000 people. Most of the growth is among young people, whose number and share of the population have quickly increased. Consequently, the average age of the population is declining. Among the

younger population, nearly all Americans in Mexico have a parent from Mexico and nearly two-thirds have two parents from Mexico. These rates have remained fairly stable since 1990. In terms of education of those age 25 and over, attainment levels are increasing, but lag far behind rates in the U.S. In general, the American population in Mexico is rapidly changing in quantity and age distribution, but has not changed dramatically in other individual level characteristics.

American Emigration in Comparison

In summary, data on stocks and flows from the UN Population Division, the World Bank, and national censuses show two very different trajectories of American emigration since the 1980s for Canada and Mexico. Individual-level data from each countries' national censuses shows the vast diversity of American emigration between the two countries as well. Here, I summarize the findings for each country, highlighting the most salient trends. Furthermore, in this section I emphasize the most striking differences between Americans in these two nations that share important borders with the U.S.

The American population in Canada on the whole is rather stagnant. Since 1980, the country has hosted around 300,000 Americans. The number has fluctuated slightly in each direction, but shows no real trend. In terms of age, the American population in Canada is older, with an average mean age of about 43 years. This figure has not changed much despite a trend toward more younger Americans in Canada. The American population in Canada is well-educated, nearly all having completed secondary schooling and close to half holding a university degree. Education attainment levels are slowly rising among this group, continuing to outpace education rates in the U.S. Naturalized citizenship is increasingly common among Americans in Canada; more than half are naturalized Canadians, with an additional seven percent or so holding citizenship by birth. Few Americans in Canada, as of 2011, have two Canadian parents.

Roughly one-third have a Canadian mother. However, even fewer Americans in Canada have two American parents, only 8.32 percent.

While the American population in Canada is highlighted by stagnation, the American population in Mexico is the complete opposite. In Mexico, the American population has seen a rapid increase since the 1980s, including a more than five-fold increase from the World Bank estimate in 1980 to the UN estimate in 2017. This massive increase has been mostly seen among the young population. As a result, the average age of Americans in Mexico has decreased from about 19 years in 1990 to just over 13 years in 2010. The young population makes up a growing percentage of all Americans in the country. Rates of education are low, with less than two-thirds of Americans over 25 having completed secondary schooling, far fewer than rates in the U.S. Mexican ancestry appears to be a central factor in migration, as nearly all young Americans in Canada have at least one Mexican parent (93.10 percent), and almost two-thirds have two Mexican parents (65.67 percent). Very few young Americans in Mexico, just 0.50 percent, have two parents born in the U.S. As the Mexican census does not include a questionnaire item on citizenship, one cannot determine the role of citizenship in American emigration to Mexico. Such data would be extremely useful in determining assimilation patterns and inferring the permanency of migration and should be a focus of future research.

In comparison, Americans in Canada are much older than their counterparts in Mexico, with a mean age of nearly 30 more years. While both countries are seeing a rise in their share of young people (those under age 18), in Mexico the scale is much larger. In Canada's 2011 census, fewer than two in five Americans in the country were under 18, but in Mexico's 2010 census more than three in four are under 18. While parental ties to Mexico are nearly universal for young Americans in the country, where 93.10 percent of people under age 18 had a Mexican-born mother and 65.67 percent had two Mexican-born parents, the same is not true of Americans

in Canada, where only 32.99 percent had a Canadian-born mother and 16.82 percent had two Canadian-born parents. However, for neither country is it common for a child of two American parents to emigrate. Though rates are much higher in Canada than Mexico as of their recent censuses, 8.32 percent to 0.50 percent, respectively, nearly all Americans in each country are not the children of two American-born people, suggesting that emigration to either country is more common among those whose parents were immigrants to the U.S.

Overall, we see two very different pictures of American emigration. From the various estimates of the population from the World Bank, the UN, and national censuses, we see two general trends. For Canada, the trend is a very flat line. Using the exponential trendline shown in Figure 4.1, the estimated American population in Canada in 2030 would be roughly 311,000, near where it has been for the last 30 years. Forecast out further, by 2040 and 2050, the estimates only reach 320,000 and 330,000, respectively. However, this trendline has a low R-squared value (0.1060), so this trend is not particularly useful. For Mexico, however, the trend shows continued growth. Using the trendline in Figure 4.2, more than 1.7 million Americans may be in Mexico by 2030. Furthermore, by 2040, the equation estimates more than 2.8 million American in Mexico and more than 4.8 million by 2050. Such a projection is quite unlikely, but the five-fold rise since 1980 was also unforeseen.

International Migration in Social Contexts

Individual migration decisions occur in a multitude of personal and social contexts. Thus, immigration and emigration can be viewed as reactive to and results of social, economic, and familial circumstances. When viewing trends in migration stocks and flows, one must consider the numerous causes of migration. While scholars have suggested that emigration from the United States can be the result of personal factors, such as fleeing homophobia or racism, a desire to explore, and an escape from American politics and U.S. Government (see Croucher

2011, 2012, 2015, 2016; Dashefsky et al. 1992; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a), national level data cannot reveal these personal factors. Furthermore, even decisions for these various reasons take place in national and global social contexts. In addition to these personal reasons, which Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) consider a form of alienation, U.S. emigration in search of employment is increasingly common (Castles et al. 2014; Wennersten 2008). This suggest that American emigration is shifting toward—or perhaps has always been—a rational choice in response to global contexts of both the sending and the receiving country.

The importance of social contexts in regards to migration from the U.S. has been shown by Mindes (2015) in a study of emigration to Mexico and the influence of global shifts from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Global Economic Crisis (GEC) of 2008. Major economic policies and economic conditions are sure to play a role in all migration flows in the North American Migration System (NAMS), but other social conditions should be considered as well. Indeed, Castles, de Haas, and Miller (2014) note the importance of focusing on such macros level forces, such as politics and economic factors, which can be as central to shaping migration as meso-level forces. Specifically, they point to the impact of the labor market, inequality, migration policies, and economic conditions in sending and receiving countries.

All of these social circumstances together can be considered as part of the pushes and pulls of American emigration, but an analysis of pushes and pulls is not necessarily a theory to explain or predict migration, as discussed in Chapter 1. Rather, factors that influence migration at the macro-level, where we focus on social institutions, can be viewed as part of *migration transition theory*. This theory investigates how nation-states transition from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. Through this lens, migration is viewed as a key component of development and social transformation (Castles et al. 2014). Accordingly, the

theory emphasizes a country's migration trends as well as its position on the development spectrum. Here, after evaluating the migration transition theory, I consider the connection between migration and development in the NAMS. I also consider the influence of other social conditions beyond development. I contemplate these social contexts in the conclusion of this chapter, addressing them in more detail in Chapter 6.

Migration Transition Theory

Theories of migration from the functionalist and historical-structural perspectives operate under the "assumption that migration is primarily an outgrowth of geographical inequalities" (Castles et al. 2014:46). Thus, these theories of migration recognize a fundamental relationship between development and migration. Migration transition theory sees the relationship between migration and development as a non-linear one. The theory was initially developed by Zelinsky (1971), where he opines that the migration-development relationship had five phases, which he collectively called 'The Mobility Transition." Additionally, he discusses shifts in fertility and mortality as societies develop, a shift he calls 'The Vital Transition.' In his mobility transition, societies move through five phases: The Premodern Traditional Society, The Early Transitional Society, The Late Transitional Society, The Advanced Society, and A Future Superadvanced Society. Throughout these phases, mobility patterns shift from major emigration to no emigration, and limited skilled immigration to significant unskilled immigration. Critically, in the final phase he predicts "strict political control of internal as well as international movements may be imposed" (Zelinsky 1971:231). Emigration is not mentioned as a characteristic of either 'The Advanced Society' or 'A Future Superadvanced Society,' as emigration is expected to decline and possible cease during 'The Late Transitional Society' phase.

Later, Skeldon (1990, 1997) extended the theory, developed a hypothetical model to illustrate the relationship between emigration and immigration in the context of development and

put the theory into operation by investigating migration patterns. His update on Zelinsky places development into five tiers: resource niche, labor frontier, expanding core, old and new core countries, and old/declining core (Skeldon 1997). These tiers are distinguished by varying levels of migration. In the earlier tiers, countries see weaker migration and more emigration. In the middle tier, we find a co-existence of immigration and emigration. In the final two tiers, immigration is more prominent. Skeldon's (1997) model incorporates a key component of regional relationships, as geography is a central factor in migratory patterns.

Despite the assumption that migration occurs because of geographic inequality, which would then suggest emigration occurs when a country is less developed, the opposite is often true. Skeldon (1997) found that emigration actually increases with development, likely because people need resources to migrate. Castles and colleagues (2014) note that the poorest countries are not necessarily the biggest migrant sending countries, but rather important sending countries are typically well-off and the poorest only migrant under extreme conditions, such as disaster and conflict. In Skeldon's analysis, emigration is expected to rise through the earlier stages of development and eventually decline with in the latter stages of development. de Haas (2010) describes this as the 'inverted U-shaped pattern' of emigration. Critically, in revisiting the migration-development connection, de Haas (2010) argues that emigration does not necessarily decline indefinitely or reach pre-mobility transition levels at the latter stages of development. He states, "although highly developed countries tend to be net immigration countries, this net figure easily conceals rather high levels of emigration" (de Haas 2010:20). Though models tend to show a steady decrease in emigration after the mobility transition, he notes that countries with high levels of connectivity can have high levels of both immigration and emigration. The case of U.S. migration, which I address below, appears to confirm this finding.

Migration Transitions in North America

As described in this chapter, migration in the NAMS is extremely diverse, and it does not necessarily follow traditional patterns or theories of migration. That is evident when viewing migration from migration transition theories and the interplay between development and migration. The expectation—based on the ideas of Zelinsky, Skeldon, and de Haas, among others—is rising immigration and emigration in earlier stages of development, after which emigration declines and immigration continues to grow, as domestic opportunities rise. At this stage, a country becomes a net immigration country, as it receives more migrants than it sends. The present study shows that the relationship between development and migration becomes more complicated in 'fully developed' countries, such as the United States. This study problematizes the pattern of emigration predicted by the migration transition theory models, as rates of emigration from the U.S. are rising. These trends confirm the model for Mexico, as it is experiencing decreased emigration and increased immigration, but for the U.S. its application is less clear. Though U.S. emigration has not outpaced immigration to signify transition from a net immigration to a net emigration country, U.S. emigration trends do not fit the 'inverted U-shaped pattern.' However, growing emigration does align with de Haas's (2010) ideas of shifting migration aspirations and capabilities in the final stages of development, which shape his contributions to the migration transition theory explored above.

In his analysis of development and migration, de Haas (2010) emphasizes the importance of migration aspirations and capabilities. He adopted these from Amartya Sen (1999), as well as Sen's definition of development as the process of expanding the substantive freedoms based on capabilities that people enjoy. Given this definition of development and connection to capabilities and aspirations, American emigration stands apart from other experiences of migration. The U.S. could be seen as a place where freedoms have been expanded perhaps as

much as they can, while many Americans have the capabilities to migrate, more so that those from other countries. de Haas (2010) adds that developed societies experience high emigration—in addition to high immigration—for three key reasons. First, high education and access to information increase migration capabilities and aspirations. Similarly, he notes that occupational specialization requires mobility to better meet labor supply and demands. Finally, developed countries have the infrastructure, in terms of transportation and communication, to facilitate emigration.

In light of de Haas' (2010) three reasons and his connection to migration aspirations and capabilities, a review of migration patterns and individual-level characteristics should confirm this logic. de Haas (2010) argues that developed societies may experience high rates of emigration because potential emigrants have higher levels of education and occupational training to make them more globally mobile. When a country has the infrastructure to facilitate an emigrant lifestyle, living abroad becomes a viable option to widen employment opportunities. If this is indeed the case among American emigrants, we should see emigration more common among the more highly educated, as the U.S. does have the infrastructure to facilitate those opportunities. Indeed, the data explored above shows that emigration is more frequent among those with more education, but only to Canada, as emigration to Mexico is more common among those with below average education. While de Haas (2010) suggests that development opens up employment opportunities abroad and spurs migration among the highly-skilled, this does not explain American emigration to the South, though it fits emigration to the North. Consequently, migration transition theory, even with the ideas of de Haas (2010), does not fully explain this growing migration pattern.

Several questions arise from a macro-level view of these trends, such as *Does the NAMS fall outside the typical models of migration or offer an exception to the rules of migration and*

development? and *Does the migration-development model need to be expanded to account for shifts beyond the last stages of development that lead to steadily rising emigration?* While the American emigration case suggests that the migration transition theory is insufficient to explain migration, it also does not present a clear alternative. Fully addressing each of these questions requires substantial resources and effort, as it would necessitate further data collection and a careful approach to research design and conceptualization. Here, I will not address these questions. Instead, I consider other sources of social transformation adding social context to American emigration in the NAMS.

Conclusion: Beyond Migration & Development

Beyond development, several other conditions can shape migration, be they historical, economic, political, or social contexts. Within North America, all of these social forces have contributed to migratory patterns. These impacts have been well-studied in how they shape immigration to the United States, but few have sought an understanding of the country's emigration. In this section, I briefly discuss four specific ways these conditions shape American emigration: migration histories of Mexico and Canada, NAFTA, the GEC, and political and social attitudes migration histories. I will revisit these conditions in Chapter 6 after conducting an analysis of media framing in Chapter 5.

Despite sharing long borders with the U.S., Canada and Mexico have two very different migration repertoires. Mexico is traditionally viewed as a country of emigration with very little immigration. However, its position as a country of immigration is growing, particularly among other Latin American countries. Data from the UN Population According (2017) shows that Mexico's non-American immigrant population grew by 180 percent from 2000 to 2017, primarily among those from Latin America, such as Colombia, Argentina, Cuba, and Guatemala. The rise in immigration to Mexico from countries with a shared language suggests that cultural

connections matter, which could help explain why almost all American emigration to Mexico among younger people is among those with familial ties to the country. Canada, on the other hand, has been viewed as a country of immigrants, with more than twenty percent of its population being foreign born, the second highest rate after Australia (UN Population Division 2017). The Canadian government has embraced the multitude of cultures, having advertised a policy of multiculturalism to celebrate a diversity of cultures and languages (Castles et al. 2014). Though the policy has received criticism, it highlights the importance of immigration to Canada's national identity. This history of immigration and the advertised effort to embrace multiple cultures may encourage Americans from diverse backgrounds to emigrate to Canada. Indeed, the data in this chapter shows that young Americans in Canada are rarely the children of two Americans. These two diverse migration histories have likely shaped the disparate configurations and processes of American emigration to each country.

Beyond geographic connections, economic ties between the three major economies of North America play a central role in mobility patterns. The U.S., Canada, and Mexico were linked through NAFTA. However, the major trade agreement only appeared to shape migration across the southern border. Mindes (2015) finds that the policies of NAFTA shaped both the frequency and demographics of U.S. to Mexico migration. High- and low-skilled migration from the U.S. to Mexico rose following NAFTA until the decline of the low-wage *maquiladoras* industry, after which high-skilled migration declined (Mindes 2015). The impact of migration to over the U.S.-Canada border was limited. A study of the impact of NAFTA found little increase in the number of temporary visas and intra-country transferees from the U.S. (Iqbal 2000). Even more telling, the limited change in the size and demographics of the American migrant pool in Canada, as explored in this chapter, suggests NAFTA had little impact. Similar trends are seen following the GEC. Papademetriou and Terrazas (2009) note the impacts of the GEC were more

severe among those in low-skilled jobs than those in high-skilled jobs. Thus, where low-wage jobs are more available, Mexico, we expect more immigration than to Canada, where wages and employment were more similar to the U.S. Data here shows that since the GEC, American emigration to Mexico has continued to grow, while emigration to Canada has remained stable.

Finally, political and social attitudes shape emigration. Castles and colleagues (2014:312) argue that "the political dimension of international migration matters the most because the modern world has been structured by a nation-state system that renders international migration inherently problematic." Attitudes toward immigration shape migration policies. Social attitudes shape emigration as well, and have been purported as a key reason for it (e.g., Dashefsky et al. 1992; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014b). Leading up to the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election, celebrities and members of the general public made threats to leave the country as a form of socio-political protest, typically claiming to move to Canada. However, such claims during presidential elections are not new (see Chapter 5), and, again, the stability of the American population in Canada shows this has had little influence. While emigration for political protest does exist, a survey of Americans in France, Denmark, and the United Kingdom found only 3.9 percent of respondents identified U.S. politics and culture as the primary reason for emigration (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a). Furthermore, a 2008 survey by the Overseas Vote Foundation (OVF) found that only about 17 percent of Americans in Canada and Mexico identified personal preference as a key reason for emigration, which is even broader than only political or cultural dissatisfaction (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014a).[4]

Each of these social factors—migration histories, NAFTA, the GEC, and political and social attitudes—will be revisited again in Chapter 6, at which point the impact of and picture seen in the media will be considered as well. Despite this diversity in migration, stories permeating the media are largely homogenous, presenting American emigration to Mexico as a

form of retirement migration and American emigration to Canada as politically motivated. These two narratives of American emigration are the focus of the following Chapter, where I investigate whether the media's depiction of migration aligns with the trends and flows discussed here. While demographic trends suggest heterogeneity, the framing of emigration by the media is much less diverse.

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[1] Statistics Canada carries out a census every five years (those ending in '1' and '6'). Due to availability this project primarily uses the Canadian census from 1991, 2001, and 2011 for individual level data, though other Canadian Censuses are referenced.
[2] In 2010, the World Bank offered a fairly low estimate of only 509,2051 Americans in Mexico, though their estimate for 2013 was upwards of 848,000. Thus, the 2010 estimate is likely flawed.
[3] A best-fit *linear* trendline for this data has an R-squared value of 0.8855. The higher R-squared value for the *exponential* line suggests that it is a better fit for the data.
[4] Displeasure with politics and culture was not an option on the OVF survey. Consequently, those leaving due to displeasure with politics or culture would likely select personal preference as a primary reason.

Chapter 5 – Media Framing of Expatriation from the United States

Introduction

Migration does not begin at the crossing of a border. Migration begins in the mind as an imagined idea. This imagined migration has been deemed the 'migration imaginary' to allude to the social imaginary (Salazar 2011). This migration imaginary develops into reality through preparation for emigration, underlining the ways that migration reaches backward in time to before one breaches the front door. Studies of migration typically focus on the physical movement of individuals across national (or within national) borders. Yet, national data from entry and exit ports and census data do not account for the stages of migration that occur before movement. Furthermore, these demographic entry and exit figures do not consider potential migrants who remain and the ways they form ideas about leaving their country of origin.

Beyond examining the trends in the data on migration stocks and the structural forces that influences these patterns (see Chapter 4), scholars must also consider what influences our imagined ideas about migration, asking: What shapes one's perception of and own manifestation of actually leaving a country? A particularly central determinant of public opinion on social life, and specifically issues of migration, is the media. The capacity of the media in shaping public opinion is well-established, particularly in way the media frames a topic to influence perceptions (e.g., Ten Eyck 2005; Terkildsen and Schnell 1997). Several other works focus specifically on media framing of and attitudes toward migration (e.g., Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart 2009; Igartua and Cheng 2009; Roggeband and Vliegenthart 2007; Vliegenthart and Roggeband 2007). Yet, these studies focus on policies and attitudes toward immigration, rather than the representation of those who are already abroad or considering such a move.

In this chapter, I use the concept of the migration imaginary to explore how media framing of American emigration might influence public perception. Here, I use the definition of

framing as discussed by Gitlin (1980:7): "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual." In particular, when considering the role of the media, I consider which representations and interpretations of American emigration are most salient in the mainstream news media. I seek to grasp which narratives and experiences of leaving the U.S. are most common in discussions of emigration to Canada and Mexico.

The entirety of media coverage on any population is complex and intricate. Yet, a cursory investigation of common headlines seen to describe American emigration to Mexico and Canada suggests a disparity in media representation. A few headlines from the media highlight this discrepancy. In covering Americans in Mexico, headlines read, "American retirees make a life in Mexico, cheaply" (Reinbold 2009) and "An expat paradise that fits a budget" (Roxborough 2008). Conversely, coverage of Americans in Canada uses headlines such as "Expat Diary; Same Cornflakes, Plenty of Differences" (Anon 2010). Headlines like these suggest that American emigration to Mexico is always about retirement, while moving to Canada is focused on findings a place abroad with little culture difference. Such differences suggest that a larger and more consistently diverse depiction of emigration to Canada compared to Mexico may be found when investigating beyond the headlines and superficial reading. Thus, in this chapter, I ask: *How has the national media covered (meaning portrayed or framed) emigrants from the United States to Canada and Mexico? What are the themes, topics, and frames used in the media representation of American emigration? In what ways is emigration to each location framed differently? Specifically, how are the motivations for emigration represented in the media?* Furthermore, in the following chapter I compare the findings from content analysis of media framing to the demographic data presented in Chapter 4.

I first briefly review the literature on the topic. I begin with a discussion of the migration imaginary and migration motives. I then revisit the migration systems theory—as discussed in Chapter 1—but here I incorporate the role of the media in the migration system. I then review the literature on the media and migration, explaining the significance of media framing, its processes, and the ways it operates in the context of migration. I clarify and justify my research methods and the ways in which they are influenced by past research. I then discuss the data and findings for this chapter. Finally, I offer an interpretation of these findings and their significance to our understanding of American emigration. I conclude by offering avenues for potential future research. I connect the findings of this chapter to Chapter 4, but I leave much of the discussion of that connection for Chapter 6, in which I collectively consider the findings of the entire dissertation.

Envisaging Leaving: The Migration Imaginary

Although many advances have been made in the studies of transnational migration, Pessar and Mahler (2006) note that few studies have applied the social imaginary. However, since pointing to this dearth in the literature, the social imaginary of migration—that is, the *migration imaginary*—has been theorized most meaningfully by socio-cultural anthropologist Noel B. Salazar (2011). His study of the migration imaginary is applicable to both tourism and migration, and thus is very applicable to American emigrants, a population that often blurs the line between tourist and migrant. Salazar (2011), who utilizes ethnographic methods, finds that imaginaries are predominant in envisioning 'green pastures' and notes that these dreams can detach an individual from his reality and overtake one's life. Salazar (2011:587) explains, "In some cases, the dream of cosmobility works like a kind of opium;" the idea of migration has the ability to control all aspects of an individual's life.

Mahler and Pessar (2001) incorporate the imaginary into their discussion of gender, power, and migration. They speak to the importance of the thoughts and actions that occur in transnational movements. Mahler and Pessar (2001:447) state, "Much of what people actually do transnationally is foregrounded by imaging, planning, and strategizing; these must be valued and factored into people's agency." These manifestations of migration cannot always be measured quantitatively, as 'imaging' cannot be easily quantified. Thus, the earlier stages of migration—that is, the mental manifestation—must be studied qualitatively to study agency. "Migration is as much about these imaginaries as it is about the actual physical movement from one locality to another and back" (Salazar 2011:586). Studies of agency in migration should move to incorporate the cognitive reality that exists before a border is crossed.

American Emigration Motives

Decisions to migrate are delicate and complicated. They require knowledge of conditions in two locations and are influenced by politics, economics, social, and personal situations that shape whether one can envisage a life abroad. Furthermore, motivations for leaving a country can be multifaceted. Motivations may be grounded in personal sentiments, aimed toward seeking personal employment or educational opportunities, or centered around the needs of others, either as adherents to religious groups or to serve the public good through volunteer medical or educational services. Indeed, for Americans the range of motivations for emigration is particularly expansive. Yet, in their investigation of the variety of goals that influence emigration decisions, Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) develop a particularly useful typology to encapsulate this wide range: hereafter, the *Dashefsky Typology*. They argue, "This conceptual model of the general motivations for migration seeks to go beyond the push-pull model which simply asks whether people are more pushed from their country of origin or pulled toward their new destination" (Dashefsky et al. 1992:21). Their theory characterizes emigration on two key

criteria: the locus of concern (either *self* or *other*) and the goals of migration (either *expressive* or *instrumental*). Thus, the primary purpose of each instance of emigration can be placed into one of four quadrants: *self-expressive*, *self-instrumental*, *others-expressive*, or *others-instrumental*. Categorization of emigration into these four categories has important benefits. Dashefsky and colleagues' (1992:21) model for General Motivations for Migration derives from a "configurationist social psychological approach that tries to analyze behavior according to the balance of social forces," thus it incorporates the diversity of social factors at the micro- and macro-level. The model is based in sociology through the symbolic interactionist approach to social psychology (Dashefsky et al. 1992). In their presentation of the typology, Dashefsky and colleagues (1992:40) offer several social-psychological manifestations that fit the motives of each quadrant, these are presented in Table 5.1. The breadth of motivations for leaving demonstrate the diversity of migration, but the sorting based on the categories of the *Dashefsky Typology* show the underlying social and individual forces shaping migration decisions.

Table 5.1 Key motives for emigration in the *Dashefsky Typology*

self-expressive	adventure, alienation, and identity
self-instrumental	entrepreneurship, job opportunities, and attending school
others-expressive	family unity, spouse's desire to return to homeland, and alienation of family head
others-instrumental	medical service personnel and educational service personnel

Migration from the United States is diverse, even when looking at those who stay in North America. As evidenced in the analysis from the previous chapter, American emigration does not follow typical patterns of migration, thus any study of this population that seeks comprehensiveness must use dynamic methods. While this dissertation does not use all possible methods to study American emigrants—naturally, no study could—it reaches to opposite ends of the spectrum. In addition to the quantitative analysis of demographic data on Americans in Canada and Mexico, in this chapter I survey the narrative of the group from mass media,

analyzing the media frames used to discuss Americans in Canada and Mexico. In line with the comparative approach, I investigate differences by migration destination. However, I first demonstrate the significance of the media in migration through migration systems theory.

Migration Systems Theory

Previous chapters of this dissertation investigated emigration from the United States from two different levels. Chapter 2, which questioned identities and classifications of American abroad and the possibility of an 'American Diaspora,' operated at the micro-level of sociological inquiry using theories of diaspora and transnationalism. Chapter 4 investigated large macro-level themes in the trends of stocks and flows of Americans in Canada and Mexico. This analysis emphasized the role of major social forces, in particular I emphasized the role of development through the migration transition theory. While the macro- and micro-levels of sociology are stressed in sociological study, the meso-level, which exists between the two, has a significant role that cannot be ignored. In this chapter, I emphasize the meso-level which works between and amongst the individual factors (micro) and social institutions (macro). One of the many theories to explain migration focuses on the meso-level: migration systems theory.

As explained in Chapter 1, the meso-level theories of migration emphasize the interplay between the macro-level structural forces and the micro-level relationships, identities, and behaviors. Migration systems theory, a prominent meso-level theory of migration, was developed by Mabogunje (1970) to explain the ways that communication sustains migration between sending and receiving regions. As explained by Castles, de Haas, and Miller (2014), migration systems theory focuses on the migration systems that are created as potential migrants relate to migrants who have already moved abroad. Through the addition of Massey's (1990) theory of cumulative causation, each instance of migration shapes the conditions of migration for

future migrants. Levitt (1998:927) highlights the social remittances in the form of "ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country."

These social remittances operate as a feedback mechanism central to the original conception of the migration systems theory by Mabogunje (1970). This feedback mechanism tends to deal with individual connections through direct communication between migrants and potential migrants, but larger social institutions play a critical role as well. As this chapter highlights the media portrayal of emigration from the U.S., I pay particular attention to the form of social remittance seen in the media. The media plays a critical role in shaping public opinion, and it serves as a key feedback mechanism in the migration system influencing individual migration decisions. Thus, through migration systems theory and a particular focus on the social remittances sent through the feedback mechanism of the media, I investigate a macro-level institution—the media—and its potential influence at the micro-level, at which it could shape individual decisions. The media operates as a feedback mechanism by transmitting experiences of emigration, stories of living abroad, information on struggles and opportunities, and evidence of who is considering emigration and why. Each of these illustrations of emigration or potential emigration impact how others consider their own emigration capacity. However, the way the media portrays these experiences of emigration is not unbiased. Thus, the media plays a critical role in influencing future emigration by how they frame migration and ultimately shape the form of social remittances. Below, I explore the connection between the media and migration, and in particular the ways in which migration is framed by the media.

The Media and Migration

Simultaneous to the changing trends and flows in American emigration within North America over the past 25 years, the media has presented its own narrative of American emigration. Prior to this, Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) note that the historic perception of

American emigration frequently had a 'political tinge,' adding that "Many believed that Americans who lived abroad for an extended period of time had rejected America in some political sense" (132). They also find that in the media and academic literature "the term 'American' is often used both as a political and a sociocultural tag" emphasizing the political and economic decisions involved (Dashefsky et al. 1992:133). Thus, a particular representation in the media is not necessarily new, as American emigration has long presented the group as political actors.

Recently we have seen more reports in the media about native-born Americans wanting to leave the U.S. due to political dissatisfaction. Often these reports suggest that Americans will line up at the Canadian border to seek a new life there. Yet, the media representation of American emigration to Mexico is very different. There is no mention of Americans lining up at the southern border, though Mexico has roughly triple the number of Americans as Canada. Research on media reports on American emigration to Mexico and Canada shows two very different pictures that do not appear to align with the demographic data. According to the media, Americans moving to Mexico are depicted as elites who seek to gain status economically, socially, and culturally in retirement, while Americans moving to Canada seek to maintain social, cultural, and economic status. However, demographic profiles suggest otherwise, such as the young American population in Mexico. The framing of these two migration flows by the media is only representative of a small segment of the American emigrant population in these two countries. Through a content analysis of news media, I seek to understand how this emigration to Canada and Mexico is framed by the media.

An understanding of how the media frames emigration from the U.S. is necessary because Americans living abroad are American citizens with full citizenship rights and legal grounds to return to the United States as desired. How Americans abroad are treated and viewed

by the media could have great influence on the political and economic decisions of Americans outside of the U.S. borders, especially when considering the central position media has in influencing public opinion. One could argue that if the media frames emigration from the U.S. in a homogenous way, public opinion could follow that line of thought, making the public less aware of groups of Americans abroad that do not fit the media's portrayal.

Media Framing and Migration

The connection between media frames and public opinion have been investigated by scholars from communications fields, with the general conclusion that mass media plays a very important role. Gitlin (1980:7) argues "Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports." For instance, Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) have investigated the role of media framing in moving public opinion in their analysis of the women's movement from the 1950s to the 1990s. Though they do not suggest that there were deliberate attempts by the media to define, shape, or influence opposition to feminism, they found that mass media has a clear impact on public opinion that "reaches beyond 'minimal effects'" (Terkildsen and Schnell 1997:894). Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) also looked at how media framing influences public opinion in their study of anti-immigrant attitudes in Germany.

Other studies on migration have investigated media framing as well. Two studies examined media framing of the debate on immigration in the Dutch Parliament (Roggeband and Vliegenthart 2007; Vliegenthart and Roggeband 2007). Another assessed the socio-cognitive effect of news frames on immigration in Spain (Igartua and Cheng 2009). Furthermore, several scholars have looked at the role of media framing in the U.S. Cardona-Arroyo (2017) looked at Latinx immigration to the U.S. specifically. Her study analyzed news articles from 2006, 2010, and 2015 and executed a survey experiment to investigate how media frames shape public

perception and further political implications. Airgood (2017) investigated immigration media coverage around the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election in a study that underlined the role of policy in shaping media narratives and the political implication of media narratives.

A common theme in all prior studies of media framing and migration is a focus on immigration to the host country. Thus, they tend to focus on debates, problems, and policy related to immigration and its role in the country. Critically, in this study I look at the reverse side of the migration ledger and investigate how the media frames those who have left or expect to do so. While media framing of immigration shapes public perception, which can then influence policy, the framing of emigration shapes public perception but does not translate into politics as directly. Instead, that public sentiment on emigration developed from the media translates into whether others will too emigrate.

To date, no studies of American emigration have specifically looked at media framing or investigated the perception of American emigration according to mass media in any form. Nonetheless, the way in which American emigration is discussed and represented in the media is central to building a comprehensive profile of American emigration to Canada and Mexico. Due to the increasing ease of global travel and the popularity of transnational lifestyles, the media could play a central role in shaping migration decisions of many Americans as they consider life abroad, regardless of the various pushes and pulls that influence decisions. Migration begins as an idea, and, according to the research explored above, that idea can often start with the media and the frames with which the media discusses a topic. Here, I investigate this framing through the *Dashefsky Typology*, which I use to code articles from American print media outlets. Collectively, these articles shape public opinion of how transnationality and transnational lifestyles are available for Americans in Canada and Mexico.

Critically, transnationalism, or what we might consider access to a transnational lifestyle, is not only dependent on where one is from. It is also based on the receiving country. Croucher (2016) found this to be true for Americans in Nicaragua, who she finds practice 'privileged transnationalism' because their economic, political, and cultural power relative to those in the host nation facilitates their mobility and their rootedness to their home and host countries. Thus, despite sharing an origin country, differences in transnationalism depend on relative privilege in the receiving country. This analysis of media framing explores how the media represents those different types of transnationalism and the relative privileges Americans might find if they emigrate Mexico or Canada.

I expect that media framing of American emigration to Canada and Mexico has undergone several shifts related to political and economic factors. My supposition is that media framing of American emigration shifted with rising political turmoil leading up to and after the 2016 Presidential Election. However, expatriation due to political discontent is not new, so I expect to find similar framing leading up to and after the 2008 Presidential Election as well. I also expect a vast difference in the way the media discusses American migration to Canada and American migration to Mexico. Based on a review of the literature, I expect to find that American migration to Canada was framed as an escape from the political turmoil in the United States and a way for Americans to leave the U.S. without changing their social, cultural, and economic capital. I posit that this lies in juxtaposition to the media framing of American emigration to Mexico, which was discussed as a retirement aspiration and a way for older Americans to move up socially, culturally, and economically.

Methodology and Methods

This analysis of media framing relies on content analysis of textual data. In examining media framing, the two methods for coding data are the deductive approach and the inductive

approach. In this study, I utilize a deductive technique for a variety of reasons. Here, I explain the benefits and problems of both the inductive and deductive approaches, after which I describe the coding process used for this study. Additionally, I explain the process of data coding as well as the methodology behind the process used. I further detail the specific media frames explored in this study and the procedures used to code for those frames.

Matthes and Kohring (2008) review five common methods of content analysis of media framing, analyzing their reliability and validity. They describe four inductive approaches: the hermeneutic approach, the linguistic approach, the manual holistic approach, and the computer-assisted approach. They find that each of these methods has major flaws with regards to bias and subjectivity; this is primarily the case for the hermeneutic, linguistic, and manual holistic approaches, as they allow researchers to claim that frames emerged without clearly explaining how they came about. Matthes and Kohring (2008) find that these approaches allow the researcher to be biased to find the frames they were looking for. While the computer-assisted approach solves the human subjectivity problem, this method is limited in depth, as a computer cannot pick up on the multiple meanings and complexity of text (Matthes and Kohring 2008). For each of these inductive approaches, researchers may be lured to confirm their hypotheses.

The deductive approach overcomes these biases and subjectivities by starting with a set of frames and criteria that can be used for coding of frames through a standard content analysis (Matthes and Kohring 2008). This approach, as described by Matthes and Kohring (2008), was developed with five generic frames—conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility—for which Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) use a set of twenty coding questions. Through this process the researcher codes the media item into one (or more) of the five frames. However, employing an established coding process such as this is not always applicable, as the coding process for these five 'generic' frames emphasizes the existence of the

problem discussed in the media piece. While this may fit various topics discussed in the media, the problematizing of an issue is not always present, making coding convoluted and inaccurate. The deductive approach has many advantages with regards to reliability and validity, but it is limited in that it relies on predefined frames and requires researchers to have foreknowledge of the frames they are likely to encounter (Matthes and Kohring 2008). Fortunately, researchers can develop deductive coding processes suitable to a given topic. While this still requires knowledge of frames likely to be uncovered, such an approach does expand beyond merely looking for frames established in other studies.

Though this approach does have limitations, it remains more reliable and valid than the inductive approaches explained above and is increasingly common in the literature (Matthes 2009). Yet, it is not always applicable using established frames and coding questions. Matthes and Kohring (2008:263) argue that the "[deductive] method is quite inflexible when it comes to the identification of newly emerging frames." Nevertheless, innovative uses of the deductive approach for the discovery of new frames is possible through careful attention to the coding processes and the use of established theories in identifying frames. In the case of American emigration, the media data does not fit the deductive approach using the five generic frames described above or some other established deductive process, as a set of frames and criteria for analyzing media coverage on the topic does not exist. However, the *Dashefsky Typology* offers a set of frames through which the media portrayal of American emigration can be viewed. Furthermore, the use of this typology for framing analysis overcomes many of the limitations described here while also being more reliable than inductive coding alone.

The *Dashefsky Typology* is an already extant theory for explaining American (and all) emigration. Additionally, it has application for how we think about migrants before and after they leave their country of origin. Here, I develop a coding typology from the *Dashefsky*

Typology of American emigration, through which I code the motivations for emigration, the challenges faced while abroad, and the cross-pressures of remaining or returning as they are presented in each article on American emigration to Canada and Mexico. In line with the deductive coding process, I develop a set of questions for coding to ensure reliability and validity. As Dashefsky and colleagues (1992) found their typology relevant to the diversity of emigrant experiences for individuals in their study regardless of destination country, it will have relevance to all stories of American emigration seen in the media.

Coding Process

The unit of analysis for this study is the individual article or piece of news media. The questions used for coding are asked of the media items to investigate how each frames the topic. Through this approach I seek to understand how each piece contributes to the media framing of American emigration, treating each as a discourse unit.

As described above, the foundational piece on the topic of American emigration is the work by Dashefsky and colleagues (1992). Not only did their study have an ambitious methodology by using a multi-methods and multi-sited approach, its findings were significant in their development of a typology for explaining the goals of American emigration. Furthermore, the typology developed is applicable to any migrant group. Thus, the analysis of media framing, which is based on analyzing which portrayals (frames) the media makes most salient can be seen as an investigation of motives and challenges. Here, content analysis of media framing looks at how the media represents the motivations for leaving the U.S. to Mexico and Canada, its portrayal of the adjustment challenges faced while abroad, and its representation of the pressures for returning. No prior studies have analyzed media framing of migrants in this way. Findings and processes for this study are applicable to other migrant groups as well, in determining how migrant groups are represented in the media based on their motivations for leaving and their

experiences abroad. This approach stresses the ways the media shapes public perception of the group by emphasizing some narratives over others, regardless of whether they are the most common stories.

To code the articles, which were located through the process explained in the following section, I developed a set of questions to be used for identifying each quadrant of the *Dashefsky Typology*. First, each article was categorized based on whether it discusses Americans prior to leaving the United States, after they settled in a new country, or both. If prior to leaving, the coding process asks which motivations for leaving are discussed, not limiting the coding to only one motivation. The motivations available for coding are based on the *Dashefsky Typology*: *self-expressive*, *self-instrumental*, *others-expressive*, and *others-instrumental*. Each of these motivations is based on the definition in Table 5.2.

The second line of coding addresses individuals who are discussed after leaving the U.S. In these cases, the coding process then asks what kind of adjustment challenges are discussed or presented. Similarly, the coding categories available are *self-expressive*, *self-instrumental*, *others-expressive*, and *others-instrumental*. These categories are based in the same study but are identified on slightly different manifestations. The definitions used for coding adjustment challenges are also in Table 5.2. Lastly articles were coded based on whether they discuss cross-pressures of remaining or returning. Articles were coded based on the kind of cross-pressures presented, again, whether they are *self-expressive*, *self-instrumental*, *others-expressive*, and *others-instrumental*. The manifestation of these categories is also presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Manifestations of the *Dashefsky Typology*[1]

	Motives for leaving	**Adjustment challenges**	**Cross-pressures of remaining or returning**
Self-expressive	personal emotional needs rather than achieve specific goals political and/or religious expression for their beliefs lacking strong social ties that root them to a particular society	way of life sense of community and belonging host "personality"	political concerns sense of community cultural differences
Self-instrumental	work or study "brain drain" phenomenon foreign study migrant laborers	employment and unemployment housing daily standard of living	occupation bureaucracy housing daily living
Others-expressive	center around others family unity committed adherents of religious and political groups	children's education family unity and solidarity	marriage familial reunification and harmony education of children
Others-instrumental	serving others Peace Corps volunteers missionaries serving a particular religious and/or medical cause	medical service medical care for family corporate transfer	military service

The descriptions of the categories of motives, adjustment challenges, and cross-pressures presented in Table 5.2 are adapted directly from Dashefsky and colleagues' (1992) original discussion of the typology of goals and locus of concern of American emigration. Beyond the coding with the *Dashefsky Typology*, articles were also coded based on what kind of actor the individual is portrayed as in the article. This was done in an effort to address the key question of representation in the media and whether Americans in Mexico and Canada are collectively depicted as different kind of actors by the media. Articles are coded based on whether individuals discussed in the article were represented as *political*, *economic*, *familial*, *personal*, and *social*. This coding allows for the selection of multiple categories. The coding process thus allows for a specification of whether those discussed prior to leaving versus after they are abroad are presented as different kinds of actors by the media.

Finally, each article was also hermeneutically coded to identify the prevailing themes of the piece. This approach adds an important element of allowing the data to influence the coding

as well. Upon the completion of the initially coding to identify themes for all articles included in the study, categories were then truncated to consolidate the more salient themes used by the media to discuss Americans abroad.

Data

The qualitative data used to investigate the media framing of American emigration is from American news outlets from newspaper, news magazines, and online news articles. This content was identified using Google, Google News, and ProQuest. Articles were identified by using various search criteria to find content relevant to American emigration to Canada and Mexico. Probability sampling was not used to select pieces. Though Mason (2010) suggests that data saturation can be as low as 25 for grounded theory approaches, I collected all news articles I could locate. Media outlets from across the political spectrum were included. All sources are U.S.-based and in English. Articles are of various lengths, some being opinion pieces. Publication dates for the articles used range from October 16, 1993 to August 13, 2017. This period of time covers a variety of shifts in the zeitgeist, including multiple (controversial) presidential elections, an economic downturn, and numerous changes to public sentiment on several important socio-political issues which could changes both the reasons for emigration and the approach to discussing the topic by the media.

In total, 114 articles were located for content analysis. The study included pieces from local, regional, and national media outlets. The most frequently sourced outlets were *The Washington Post* (13 articles), *USA Today* (9 articles), *The New York Times* (6 articles), *The Christian Science Monitor* (6 articles), and *The Wall Street Journal* (5 articles). Only seven articles were located during the 1990s and 33 were found during the 2000s. Thus, more than half of the articles have come since 2010 (74 total articles). In terms of content, 70 of the articles used for content analysis focused on Mexico only and 38 focused on Canada only. Six articles

discussed Americans in both Mexico and Canada. For precision, these six articles were removed from the analysis so as to present a distinction between the representation of Americans in Canada and Mexico and to lessen misperception through the coding process. Thus, the total number of articles used in the analysis is 108. Some articles cover Americans already abroad, while others discuss the prospect of Americans moving to these countries. Both are important as they contribute to forming the media perception of moving from the U.S., which in turn would work to shape the public opinion on this phenomenon.

Articles were limited to those in English from U.S. sources because the intent of the study is to identify the U.S. media portrayal of Americans abroad. Thus, articles meeting these criteria are more likely to see U.S. readership and therefore influence public opinion in the sending country. Altogether, this dataset represents an overview of the media portrayal of American emigration from 1993 to 2017. Included were all articles I could locate; however, other pieces could very well exist in other outlets. In instances where identical or extremely similar pieces were published from multiple sources, they were only included in the dataset once in the original form. Regardless, an analysis of this data will provide ample evidence of the portrayal of American emigration in the media.

Prior to 2014, 54 articles discussed Mexico and only 13 discussed Canada. Since, only 16 articles discuss Americans in Mexico while 25 discuss Americans in Canada. From 1993 through 2013, articles discussed Americans in Mexico over Americans in Canada at more than a four-to-one ratio. Since, discussions of Americans abroad in North America have shifted to a focus on those in Canada. Overall, discussions of Americans abroad have been more common since 2010. More than half of the articles located have come from recent years. However, even as articles on Americans abroad became more common in 2010 to 2013, they overwhelmingly focused on Mexico over Canada. Not until 2014 did that shift in focus occur.

Findings

As argued in Chapter 3, comparisons are critical to detailed analysis of migration. Thus, in the discussion here I separate the findings for Canada and Mexico, allowing for a comparative look at the media representation and framing of American emigration to the two countries. First, I discuss the findings of coding using the *Dashefsky Typology* to detect media frames for Mexico and Canada. I then present findings of the actor framing, which help to better understand the media representation for the two receiving countries. Finally, I discuss the specific themes identified across articles for discussions of American emigration to Mexico and Canada. In a latter section I offer an interpretation of these findings, discussing their relevance to our understanding of American emigration.

Dashefsky Typology Coding

Table 5.3 presents the results of coding using the four frames in the different discussions of Americans in Canada and Mexico. The table displays numbers and percentages as a representation of the total number of articles on American emigration to that country. Thus, figures represent that most evident kinds of discussions seen in the media for each American emigrant group.

Table 5.3 Results of media frame coding with the *Dashefsky Typology*

	Motives for leaving		**Adjustment challenges**		**Cross-pressures of remaining or returning**	
	Mexico	**Canada**	**Mexico**	**Canada**	**Mexico**	**Canada**
Self-expressive	21 of 70 (30.0%)	21 of 38 (55.3%)	41 of 70 (58.6%)	8 of 38 (21.1%)	26 of 70 (37.1%)	9 of 38 (23.7%)
Self-instrumental	27 of 70 (38.6%)	10 of 38 (26.3%)	26 of 70 (37.1%)	12 of 38 (31.6%)	9 of 70 (12.9%)	8 of 38 (21.1%)
Others-expressive	6 of 70 (8.6%)	1 of 38 (2.6%)	3 of 70 (4.3%)	4 of 38 (10.5%)	3 of 70 (4.3%)	4 of 38 (10.5%)
Others-instrumental	2 of 70 (2.9%)	1 of 38 (2.6%)	2 of 70 (2.9%)	1 of 38 (2.6%)	1 of 70 (1.4%)	0 of 38 (0.0%)

In articles about Americans in Mexico, a larger focus was placed on adjustment challenges than motives. However, more discussions of motives were seen than discussions of

cross-pressures. When motives for leaving were discussed, they were most frequently framed as self-instrumental, seen in 38.8 percent of articles. Slightly less often they were framed as self-expressive, which was the case for 30.0 percent of articles. Rarely did the discussions of motives focus on the locus of concern as 'other'. Adjustment challenges in the self-expressive frame were discussed in 58.6 percent of articles and in the self-instrumental frame in 37.1 percent of articles. Again, the others-expressive and others-instrumental frames are rarely used. In discussions of cross-pressures of remaining or returning, 37.1 percent of articles on Mexico use the self-expressive frame while 12.9 percent use the self-instrumental frame. As with discussions of motives and adjustment challenges, few discussions of cross-pressures use the others-expressive and others-instrumental frames.

The framing of these discussions in Canada followed slightly different trends. Discussions of motives were framed as self-expressive most frequently, 55.3 percent of articles, showing a different trend than seen in articles on Mexico. The self-instrumental frame was used in 26.3 percent of articles. Motives were only framed as others-expressive and others-instrumental once each. Also showing a different trend than Mexico, the self-instrumental frame was most frequently used for discussions of adjustment challenges, seen in 31.6 percent of articles. The self-expressive frame on adjustment challenges was seen in 21.1 percent of articles on Canada. Similarly, adjustment challenges framed as others-expressive in 10.65 percent of articles, while only one article used the others-instrumental frame. Discussions of cross-pressures to remaining or returning had a fairly equal balance between the self-expressive and self-instrumental frames, 23.7 percent and 21.1 percent of articles on Canada, respectively. The others-expressive frame was used in 10.5 percent of articles, while the others-instrumental frame was entirely absent in discussions of cross-pressures in Canada.

Coding of Actor Framing

With regards to the coding of the type of actors depicted in the articles, important differences and similarities are seen between media coverage and representation of Americans in Canada and Mexico in both discussions of individuals prior to leaving the U.S. and after they have settled abroad. In discussions of people prior to leaving the US, 50.0 percent of articles focused on Canada framed individuals as political actors, compared to only 4.3 percent of articles on Mexico. Conversely, 37.1 percent of articles on Mexico framed individuals as economic actors, which was seen in 18.4 percent of articles on Canada. The framing as a personal actor was similar for both countries, 47.1 percent for Mexico and 50.0 percent for Canada. The same can be said for the familial actor frame, which was used for 10.0 percent of articles on Mexico and 7.9 percent of articles on Canada. The social actor frame was nearly identical for the two countries at just below three percent of articles for each.

Some interesting trends are seen in the framing of individuals after they are abroad. The most significant difference between the two countries is seen in the use of the personal actor frame, which was used in 55.7 percent of articles on Mexico and 28.9 percent of articles on Canada. The economic actor frame was more commonly used for articles covering Mexico, 38.6 percent of articles, compared to 28.9 percent in Canada. Use of the political actor frame was similar between the two, 31.4 percent for Mexico and 28.9 percent for Canada. The familial actor frame was more common for Canada than Mexico, 13.2 percent to 7.1 percent, but the social actor frame was more common for articles covering Americans in Mexico than Canada, 7.1 percent to 2.6 percent.

Coding of Prevalent Themes

As described above, articles were also coded hermeneutically to identify the most prevalent themes of each article. The most common theme seen through the coding process is

retirement, which was at least mentioned by 43 of the 108 articles. For 22 of those articles, retirement was an overwhelming focus of the piece, more than any other theme; all of these articles were focused on emigration to Mexico. Presidential elections were a theme of twelve articles on emigration to Mexico. These articles discussed elections mostly in terms of how those abroad feel about the elections, whether they will vote, and if they have any difficulties in voting. Of these, seven covered the 2004 election, two each covered the 2008 and 2012 elections, and one covered the 2016 election. A further two articles on Mexico presented the topic of fleeing an Obama or Romney victory in the 2012 election and four others discussed the U.S. political climate felt abroad around the 2016 election. Nine others discussed crime and its risk to Americans abroad. All of these articles were focused on Mexico and published between 2010 and 2012. Eight articles discussed employment abroad, relocating for opportunity, and corporate transfers. Finally, a particularly interesting theme emerged in four articles that focused on Americans living in Mexico illegally. One article each was from 2006 and 2011, while two articles were published in 2017. As many American retirees do not have proper documentation in Mexico or have let their visa expire, they are labeled 'illegal' migrants in several articles.

For Canada, somewhat dissimilar themes were uncovered. The most prevalent topic, seen in fourteen articles, was fleeing a victory by Donald Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election. Three others discussed fleeing either Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton. Other discussions of politics were limited, with one article discussed the prospect of fleeing as a result of the election of George W. Bush in 2004 and three other articles discussing the presidential elections of 2004 and 2008. A further seven articles on emigration to Canada were identified with a theme of taxation. Finally, four articles covered the topic of citizenship, specially concerns over renouncing citizenship due to changes in U.S. tax law.

Interpretation

The findings above show two vastly different pictures of American emigration. Frame analysis by the media through the *Dashefsky Typology* along with coding for themes and actor portrayals result in two divergent depictions of leaving the U.S. In this section, I interpret and contextualize these findings, revisiting the questions identified previously in this chapter related to the differences in media representation of American emigration in Canada and Mexico and the themes, topics, and frames used to discuss the group in the two locations. Separately, I discuss the media representation of American emigration to Mexico and Canada. I then discuss the two depictions in the media in comparison. I follow these discussions with a brief review of the limitations of this study and openings for future work of this type.

Emigration to Mexico

Though estimates place as many as one million Americans in Mexico, the depiction according to the media is rather narrow. Americans in Mexico are presented as relocating for motives based around the self, with goals that are either expressive or instrumental. Challenges are mostly framed in similar ways, though more of an emphasis is on the self-expressive category, where concerns are based around difficulties in a sense of belonging and the host personality. Discussions of self-instrumental challenges—such as concerns over work, housing, and standard of living—were also very common in discussions of emigration to Mexico. Few articles discussed concerns based around others, signifying that narratives of emigration to Mexico are based around the individual rather than a migrant group, such as a family. In discussions of Americans in Mexico, cross-pressures of remaining or returning are infrequently discussed and typically presented as only of the self-expressive category, where political concerns, cultural differences, and the sense of community leads individuals to question whether they should remain abroad.

The media provides an image of American emigration to Mexico as one based around getting away. Of all articles analyzed, retirement was mentioned in 43 articles; 40 of these articles were about emigration to Mexico. For all 22 articles where retirement was the primary theme, the focus of the piece was Americans in Mexico. The focus of media coverage of Americans in Mexico is around political themes. Several articles each focus on the 2004, 2008, 2012, and 2016 elections, and another four articles center around the U.S. political climate being felt in Mexico during the 2016-2017 political turmoil. Another prominent theme for media coverage in Mexico was crime, as nine articles discuss concerns with crime against Americans in Mexico. Interestingly, several articles discussed the legality of retired Americans in Mexico, who are likely living as undocumented immigrants.

Overall, the media presents an image of American emigration to Mexico as retirees focused on self-instrumental motives followed by self-expressive motives. They are depicted as a group concerned with economics and personal needs in their decisions to migrate. Once abroad, they are framed as a group that faces self-expressive challenges and pressures to leave, primarily concerned as personal, economic, and political actors. Americans in Mexico are also depicted as concerned with self-instrumental challenges, but these are not typically related to taxes or finances. The group, according to the media, feels pressures of leaving around the host community and culture, with narratives addressing their cross-cultural differences and concerns with crime. While discussions of politics did arise in news coverage of Americans in Mexico, it was mainly along the themes of participating in and reacting to elections and political shifts in the U.S., rather than fleeing any particular candidate. In fact, no articles discussed fleeing a potential President Trump, though two articles mentioned fleeing Obama or Romney around the 2012 election. Discussions of U.S. Presidential Elections in coverage of emigration to Mexico decreased over time from seven articles in 2004, to two articles each in 2008 and 2012, and to a

single article in 2016. Coverage of Americans in Mexico has shifted from presenting the group as political actors concerned with their own political participation to a group concerned with the economics of retirement and opportunity, though taxes were not a topic of attention.

Emigration to Canada

Media coverage of emigration to Canada is very dissimilar from that to Mexico. For emigration to Canada, the act of emigration is framed by the media as one based in self-expressive motives. Motives for leaving were overwhelmingly presented as fulfilling a personal emotional need. In line with the description by Dashefsky and colleagues (1992), this self-expressive motive was exemplified through narratives of adventure and alienation. While motives were most frequently framed as self-expressive for American emigration to Canada, the self-instrumental frame was also a salient theme. Through this frame, motives were centered around job opportunities and financial considerations. Yet, self-expressive is overwhelmingly the prominent category for framing motives of emigration to Canada. Coding found that the others-expressive and others-instrumental frames were largely absent from media discussions of emigration motives. Thus, media framing of motives is primarily self-expressive and, to a far lesser extent, self-instrumental.

Compared to Mexico, motives for emigration to Canada are more focused on self-expressive motives, which are based around concerns over alienation, adventure, and identity. Compared to Mexico, Americans emigrating to Canada are far more frequently presented as political actors and less frequently as economic actors. While emigration to Mexico was also often discussed in political terms, to Canada discussions of political concerns were specifically about fleeing a specific political candidate. Moving to flee U.S. political are examples of self-expressive framing, as alienation with U.S. culture aligns fits well into that category of the *Dashefsky Typology*. Of the 38 articles on emigration to Canada, fourteen focused on fleeing a

victory by Donald Trump in the 2016 election. Another three articles emphasized fleeing either a victory by either Trump or his opposer, Hillary Clinton. Prior to the 2016 election, U.S. politics were a focus of media coverage of emigration to Canada extremely frequently; with a total of four articles covering the 2004 and 2008 election and outcome. In further coverage of Americans already in Canada, they are depicted as facing concerns over U.S. citizenship and U.S. taxes; two themes that were never the focus of coverage of emigration to Mexico.

Prior to leaving the U.S., potential emigrants to Canada are framed as political actors far more frequently than their counterparts to Mexico. While both are shown as personal actors, in that they consider leaving on their own volition, to Canada they are more politically focused and to Mexico they are more economically focused. Yet, once abroad Americans in Canada are equally framed as political and economic actors. While the focus of potential emigration is overwhelmingly on political forces, once abroad these forces do not dominate news coverage. Interestingly, conversations in the printed media shifted to those who have not yet left the U.S. immediately before and after the 2016 election, suggesting that—though discussions of electoral outcomes and fleeing a particular candidate have existed in the media years prior—the 2016 election was different and had an impact on the zeitgeist like no election in the 25 years before it.

Media Depiction in Comparison

Results of coding with the *Dashefsky Typology* show differences in media framing by motives for and challenges experienced in migration. In terms of motives, migration as the result of self-expressive goals is a far more salient theme for discussions of American emigration to Canada compared to Mexico. Here, migration is discussed as escaping American politics or culture. Meanwhile, emigration to Mexico is more often framed with self-instrumental motives, which are often discussed in the form of retirement migration to Mexico. Thus, in terms of motives for migration, emigration to Canada is by far more frequently depicted in the self-

expressive category, suggesting that motives for moving are based around identity and alienation, rather than for financial considerations as to Mexico.

An important consideration in media representation is what the transnational lifestyle looks like for those abroad. These various depictions are seen through the media framing of adjustment challenges and cross-pressures of remaining or returning. More than half of the articles discussing emigration to Mexico discuss self-expressive adjustment challenges. Often, this comes in the form of adjusting to the culture and concerns over safety. The self-expressive frame of adjustment challenges is seen much less frequently in discussions of Americans in Mexico. Likely this is due to the similar culture, values, and attitudes in Canada compared to the U.S., relative to Mexico and the U.S. Representations in the media of Americans in Mexico are based around discussing those cross-cultural differences. The self-instrumental frame was used at a similar frequency for discussions of adjustment challenges in each location. These were mainly manifest through discussions of financial or occupational concerns while abroad. Concerns of these kinds are shared by most who are in migration, as even the most privileged migrants have economic concerns. For Americans abroad, self-instrumental adjustment challenges are most often seen in discussions of taxation. Concerns with the U.S. tax system—specifically, the taxation of U.S. citizens abroad—is a major focus for many Americans abroad.

From this framing, the media presents an overwhelmingly singular narrative of motives for emigration to Canada but presents motives for emigration to Mexico through two equally prevalent themes. The singular narrative for Canada is based around moves for personal, emotional needs and seeking to fulfill those needs through the acquisition of a transnational lifestyle. While media framing of motives to Mexico offers a similar narrative, it also presents motives based around economic needs. While economic concerns are at play to some extent in all instances of migration, the media presents it as a primary focus for emigration to Mexico but

secondary for emigration to Canada, which is depicted more along the lines of individual emotional fulfilment due to a desire to live abroad, a need for adventure, or displeasure with U.S. socio-political culture.

Limitations and Future Research

The findings presented here have limitations. Though every located article meeting the criteria was included, the dataset is of a limited size. However, the number of articles far exceeds the lower limits of data saturation for grounded theory approaches, as suggested by Mason (2010). A further limitation is the imperfections of qualitative content analysis. As addressed above, the deductive approach to coding for media frames does have drawbacks. Despite these, when used with careful consideration, ensuring that the process used is indeed applicable to the topic, its benefits in reliability and are particularly advantageous for the approach in this chapter, especially in the innovative use of the *Dashefsky Typology* for coding media data. Further studies of any migrant population can test this model by applying the *Dashefsky Typology* in media framing and content analysis. Such further implementations of this methodology would help to determine whether and how applicable it is for other migrant groups and simultaneously further improve its validity and reliability.

Conclusion: Pictures of Privileged Migration

Despite the divergent depictions of American emigration to Mexico and Canada, both portrayals are examples of Croucher's (2016) conception of 'privileged migration,' in which economic, political, and cultural power facilitates mobility and rootedness to home and host countries. The numerous accounts of retirement and financial considerations in emigration to Mexico and the narratives of a desire for a different lifestyle or culture by moving to Canada demonstrate how the media coverage of this group focuses on those migrants with some amount of privilege. That privilege, be it economic or social, allows potential emigrants to turn those

motives for leaving the U.S. into actuality. These media depictions of American emigration highlight the ways privilege is used to change one's circumstances to retire differently, seek new opportunities, or flee an unpopular socio-political cultural. This media framing analysis underlines the theme of privilege seen in the vast majority of coverage of American emigration.

A multitude of factors influence migration, but the media only presents a limited narrative of American emigration. With more than a million native-born Americans north and south of U.S. borders, media depiction should be far more diverse than shown through the coding here. While all instances of migration require some amount of privilege, media framing of American emigration to Canada and Mexico places that privilege front and center. This study suggests that the media frames American emigration to Canada and Mexico as privileged migration, though this framing does not reflect the demographic trends discussed in Chapter 4, which exhibited far more diversity. In the following chapter, I further discuss these differences in media framing and demographics of American populations in Mexico and Canada. Through the comparison of two distinct methods I build a critical foundation for future studies of American emigration.

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[1] These manifestations of the *Dashefsky Typology* are adapted from discussions throughout Dashefsky and colleagues 1992 work *Americans Abroad: A Comparative Study of Emigrants from the United States*. The authors describe these characteristics and experiences as pertinent to each quandrant of the typology as they relate to motivations, challenges, and cross-pressures.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

Introduction

In 2010, Stephen Castles wrote of a range of biases in the field of migration studies. He described how these biases shape and undermine our ability to explore the diversity and complexity of migration. Chief among these biases is the *sedentary bias*, a term initially coined by Bakewell (2007) in his writing on the migration–development connection in Africa and the policymaking aimed to promote development but prevent permanent migration. Castles (2009, 2010b) writes of how this bias poses migration as a 'bad thing,' especially when considering the mobility of poor people. He describes how it leads to difficulty in establishing a framework for migration, as "A key problem is the tendency to see migration as quite distinct from broader social relationships and change processes" (Castles 2010b:1566). This *sedentary bias* problematizes mobility, though migration has always been a part of social life.[1]

Beyond the bias toward non-mobility, Castles (2010b) writes of a *disciplinary bias*, which stems from the desire in the social sciences to stick to disciplinary lines and study only certain aspects of migration rather than the entire process. In response to this bias he argues, "Migration embraces all dimensions of social existence, and therefore demands an interdisciplinary approach" (Castles 2010b:1569). Two further biases of migration studies he identifies relate to how scholars study the group: a *top-down macro bias* and a *receiving country bias* (Castles 2010b). The first relates to the dominance of macro-level theories for explaining migration, which have critical importance as international migration is suitable for such theories but tend to overshadow the micro-level association inherent to every instance of migration. The latter, this *receiving country bias*, is one that impacts which aspects of migration scholars aim to study. Castles (2010b) argues that scholarship on migration tends to focus on factors influencing migration to a country along with how immigrants fair with incorporation and assimilation in the

new host country. He acknowledges the more recent push to include scholars from and scholarship on sending and transit countries, but "there is little sign that such trends have had much effect on the dominant approaches in migration studies" (Castles 2010b:1571).

This dissertation has aimed to overcome many of these biases. I emphasize the sending country and the images of emigration presented there. I use a variety of theories to explore this migration flow at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. I stress interdisciplinary thinking and a diversity of methodologies rather than unwavering devotion to some kind of disciplinary guidelines that control how I explore migration. Lastly, I look beyond the *sedentary bias* and place migration as a normal part of social life. Following the conviction of Castles (2009, 2010b), I view migration as a central component of social transformation. In this concluding chapter, I consider the role of major global social, economic, developmental, and political events. In light of the findings of this dissertation—chiefly, the demographic trends identified in Chapter 4 and the media depiction discussed in Chapter 5—I ask: *How are these shifts in the American emigrant population and representation connected to social transformation with regards to social factors, economic trends, developmental transitions, and political influences?*

In this chapter, I compare the findings and takeaways from Chapters 4 and 5, which have distinct conclusions about American emigration to Mexico and Canada. First, I compare and review these findings in a discussion of the complexities of American emigration, as representation in the media or in demographic data can be vastly different, showing that the complexities of migration are better seen through multiple views. I then discuss four key social contexts to consider when discussing the intricacies of American emigration: the migration histories (or repertoires) of Canada and Mexico; NAFTA; The Global Economic Crisis; and the diversity of politics, policies, attitudes of migration in North America. Following, I offer potential avenues for future research within my larger American emigration research agenda. To

conclude, I highlight the ways this dissertation contributes to sociology, migration studies, and transnational studies.

Complexities of American Emigration

Migration within the North American Migration System is far more diverse than the heavily studied flow from Mexico to the U.S. Those understudied flows can be far more diverse than often thought, as is the case with emigration from the U.S. In this dissertation, I captured a range of images of emigration to Mexico and Canada from demographic data but a limited narrative in the media. Migration is complex, but it is especially so for American emigration when considering the variety of factors shaping migration flows from the U.S., including economics, policies, politics, and social attitudes.

A 2008 survey by the Overseas Vote Foundation (OVF) showed the diversity of reasons for American emigration. The survey uncovered the multitude of reasons given for living abroad (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014b). In Canada, the top reasons were marriage/partnership (38.6 percent), employment (18.4 percent), and personal preference (17.1 percent), while in Mexico employment (20.4 percent), retirement (19.3 percent), marriage/partnership (18.6 percent), and personal preference (17.7 percent) were selected most (Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014b).[2] American emigration has a diversity of reasons, but even the findings of the OVF survey do not capture all motives for leaving the U.S. Moreover, the survey results do not fully align with either the demographic data presented in Chapter 4 or the media analysis in Chapter 5, demonstrating how enigmatic this migrant population is. The demographics of those abroad are as diverse as the reasons for living abroad, influenced by a variety of factors at the individual-, familial-, national-, and international-levels. Yet, those same factors influence the way the media covers and portrays American emigration, in which we see far less diversity.

Demographic data from Canada and Mexico presents two divergent images of American emigration: one of growth to Mexico and stability to Canada. The number of Americans by birth in Mexico has increased from around 200,000 in 1990 to nearly 750,000 in 2015, according to the Mexican Census. Meanwhile, from 1991 to 2016, the number of Americans in Canada only increased from around 300,000 to just under 340,000 based on Canadian Census data. In a similar fifteen year span the number of Americans in Mexico increased by over 273 percent while the population in Canada rose by just about 15 percent. Despite sharing some of the most important borders in the world with the U.S.—the Canada-U.S. border is the longest and the Mexico-U.S. border is one of the most traversed—flows of Americans across these borders are incredibly different.

Beyond migration stocks, demographic data shows Americans in Canada are much older than in Mexico. In Canada as of 2011, only 18.62 percent of the American population was under 18 years of age; the mean age was about 43 years. Mexican Census data shows that over 77 percent of Americans in Mexico are under age 18 as of 2010. Most of these young Americans in Mexico are of Mexican heritage. Over 93 percent of all Americans in Mexico have one Mexican parent, while over 65 percent have two. Data shows that roughly 33 percent of Americans in Canada have one Canadian parent and just below 17 percent have two as of 2011. Unlike in Mexico, Americans in Canada do not appear to be moving for family reunification.

Content analysis for media framing data suggests differences in the coverage of as well. Coding using the *Dashefsky Typology* in Chapter 5 found motivations for leaving for Canada are largely self-expressive, where reasons for leaving relate to personal, emotional concerns, such as adventure, alienation, and identity. Motivations for emigration to Mexico are often self-expressive, but slightly more often of the self-instrumental type, where concerns relate to economics and employment. The most discussed challenges faced once abroad in media

coverage of Americans in Canada are of the self-instrumental type, where Americans are concerned with occupational and economic concerns. However, in Mexico, challenges discussed are by far more so self-expressive, in which challenges relate to way of life, sense of belonging, and the host 'personality.'

The most prominent themes discussed in media coverage of Americans in these locations see little overlap as well. Much of the coverage of Americans in Canada, as described in Chapter 5, relates to politics. Specifically, coverage relates to political dissatisfaction and its role in decisions to migrate. Some coverage focuses on taxation and citizenship, as well. Meanwhile, coverage on Mexico largely focuses on retirement: the most prevalent theme in all coverage on American emigration to Mexico and Canada. Yet, a prominent theme of media discussions of emigration to Mexico was also politics. Generally, these narratives relate to involvement in elections and voting habits once abroad rather than fleeing due to political dissatisfaction. Several more articles focused on the sense of safety felt by Americans in Mexico, but no similar theme arose in coverage of Americans Canada.

Analysis of media data found Americans emigration to Canada to be far more frequently presented as a political act than to Mexico, to which it was more often viewed as an economic act. Yet, once abroad the media presented a different image of American emigration, at which point the media presented an image of Americans in Canada as less often personal actors than in Mexico, but similarly frequently political actors. Critically, these images do not align entirely with indications from demographic data.

Demographic data from Chapter 4 suggests that most of the Americans in Mexico are a type of second-generation return migrant. Yet, such an image of American emigration does not appear in the media. Furthermore, this reason for emigration does not appear in the findings of the OVF survey, evidence that the mobility of this portion of the population remains absent from

public view. However, as second-generation return migrants hold important rights as American citizens,[3] more than five hundred thousand young Americans in Mexico could return to the U.S. and enjoy citizenship benefits, such as voting and holding a U.S. passport, among others. Yet, media coverage of American emigration to Mexico completely overlooks this group. Instead, media coverage focuses on retired Americans, though just 2.49 percent of Americans in the country are age 65 or older as of 2010. Motives for emigration to Mexico based around family reunification as second-generation return migrants do not appear in a single news article. Instead, this emigration is framed as linked to economics. To an extent, the media representation (and public opinion) about emigrants to Mexico may be predicated on how 'American emigrant' is defined. Dashefsky and colleagues (1992:133) suggest that "the term 'American' is often used both as a political and a sociocultural tag" in the media and academic literature. Here, the media may not include young people born to Mexican parents in the U.S. returning to Mexico as part of 'American emigration' as they are not making some pointed effort to flee the U.S.

To Canada, emigration seems to have different motives, as movement is not of the younger population with familial ties to the destination country. Demographics provide little indication of motives, though the lack of a large young or old population suggest that the group is not often retirees or second-generation return migrants. Indeed, data on citizenship and birthplace of parents suggest that the latter is infrequently the case. While the media overwhelmingly presents motives for emigration to Canada as related to dissatisfaction with American political society, demographic data provides little information to confirm or refute this picture. Overall, ancestral ties to Canada do not appear to be the driving force. The frequent discussions of concerns with taxation seen in the media suggest that emigration to Canada may be based around escaping from a variety of elements of American society. The growing number of Americans in Canada who have acquired Canadian citizenship, mostly through naturalization,

suggest that the move is permanent and, though may initially have self-expressive motives, is extremely instrumental in the way life abroad is carried out.

Thus, from a comparison of the demographic and media data, one could surmise that the media framing of emigration to Canada may typically be correct, where movement is based around self-expressive motives for leaving—related to political dissatisfaction, alienation, and adventure—and a move that is permanent. Simultaneously, one can ascertain that the media depiction of emigration to Mexico is regularly not the experience of most migrants. While the media presents images of retirement, the majority of Americans in Mexico are young people of Mexican heritage but are entirely absent from media coverage. The result is divergent notions of U.S. emigration to Mexico and Canada. Nevertheless, the same set of social conditions that impact northward flows of Americans influence flows to the south as well.

Social Contexts of American Emigration

A number of causes can be considered as an explanation for the divergent trajectories of American emigration to Canada and Mexico. Migration between any geographic areas is subject to numerous social structural factors, including politics, economics, and social attitudes. Within North America, all of these social forces have contributed to migratory patterns. These impacts have been well-studied in how they shape immigration to the U.S., but few have sought an understanding of the country's emigration. Key factors worth considering are the different histories of migration of the two countries, the impact of NAFTA, the role of the Global Economic Crisis, and changes in U.S. politics, policies, and attitudes.

Migration Repertoires

Despite sharing important borders with the U.S., Canada and Mexico are two countries with extremely different migration repertoires. In analyzing more recent trends in migration, one must bear in mind a country's historical relationship to migration. Historically, and still today,

Canada has been established as a country of migrants. Canada has advertised a policy of multiculturalism, which is intended to celebrate a diversity of cultures and languages (Castles et al. 2014). Despite criticism, this effort highlights the central and continuing role immigration plays in Canada's national identity.

While Canada has historically been one of the most immigrant-heavy countries in the world, Mexico stands in stark contrast. Mexico's immigrant population makes up just 0.95 percent of its total population as of 2015 according to data from the World Bank. In 1995, the World Bank estimated that number at only 0.49 percent. Mexico has been known as a sending country and is infrequently seen as a receiving country. However, its position as a destination country is emerging, and not only for immigrants from the U.S. According to data from the UN Population Division (2017), Mexico's non-American immigrant population grew by 180 percent from 2000 to 2017. Much of this increase is from other Latin American countries—with growing populations from Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, and Venezuela—but Mexico has also seen rising immigration from Canada, China, France, and South Korea.

Mexico's relationship with migration has been very different from Canada's and flows from the U.S. are likely influenced by these migration repertoires. Americans seeking a life abroad in a place where they feel welcomed as foreigners may see Canada as a viable option. Its diversity of backgrounds of its population give Canada appeal to the individual jaded by the U.S. socio-political culture. Meanwhile, with little history as a country of immigration, Americans moving to Mexico may see it as desirable for the economic and lifestyle benefits of low cost of living and nice weather rather than as an opportunity to start afresh. Yet, the majority of Americans in Mexico are young and of Mexican heritage, which does not completely dismantle

Mexico's history as a non-immigration country. This migration, though critical to understand, is not a migratory flow that changes the migration repertoire.

NAFTA

The connection between Canada, Mexico, and the United States extends beyond geography. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) integrated the three major North American economies. However, its role in connecting the U.S., Canada, and Mexico extends beyond economics. From even before it was ratified on December 17, 1992 and enacted on January 1, 1994, NAFTA was championed by U.S. President Clinton and Mexican President Salinas as a method to decrease illegal migration (Castles et al. 2014). The policies of NAFTA have shaped migration in both directions between the U.S. and Mexico. NAFTA had the unintended consequence of encouraging firms to move to the Mexican border region where the low-wage *maquiladoras* industry would flourish under new policies (Larudee 2007). This moved more than 50,000 U.S. jobs to Mexico, primarily impacting those in the U.S. with a high school education (Scott, Salas, and Campbell 2006). While U.S. jobs were displaced to Mexico in a variety of sectors in the years following the enactment of NAFTA, these trends were not permanent. After 2000, several *maquiladoras* moved to Southeast Asia for lower wages (Scott et al. 2006). The enactment of NAFTA led to high- and low-skilled migration from the U.S. to Mexico (Mindes 2015). Despite the decline of the *maquiladoras* industry, the migration of low-skilled workers continued while high-skilled migration declined (Mindes 2015). Thus, the policies of NAFTA shaped both the frequency and demographics of U.S. to Mexico migration and could have played a role in young American emigration as well. Some Mexicans living in the U.S. may have headed south for better employment opportunities and brought their U.S.-born dependents, contributing to the rising young American population in Mexico.

Similar trends could be expected across the northern U.S. border. However, a comprehensive study of the impact of NAFTA on U.S. emigration to Canada has not been completed. Considering the stability of the number of Americans in Canada—remaining near 300,000 both before NAFTA and since—it appears that NAFTA has not influenced American emigration across the northern border, at least in terms of quantity. Due to the similarities in the economics of the U.S. and Canada, the movement of jobs across the U.S.-Canada border is less beneficial for either country. Unlike with Mexico's low-wage *maquiladoras*, American companies would see little advantage in displacing jobs to Canada. Though Canada increased the number of temporary worker visas allotted between 1990 and 2010, much of this has been through their Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program, which employs farmworkers from Mexico and the Caribbean (Castles et al. 2014). A study found a slight increase in the number of temporary professional visas and intra-country transferees in the five years after NAFTA from the U.S. (Iqbal 2000), but the increase was minimal and the limited change to the overall figures suggest NAFTA had little impact.

Since the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election, the future of NAFTA has remained in question when then-future President Donald Trump called NAFTA the 'worst trade deal ever,' though few agree with that sentiment (Greenberg 2016). In October 2018, a new tri-country agreement was devised to replace NAFTA. That agreement, given the rather unimaginative and unspecific name 'United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement' (USMCA), makes minor but important changes to its predecessor. The USMCA's updates to NAFTA are mainly concentrated on trade in the dairy and auto industries and the trade of digital and intellectual property (Kirby 2018). Its potential impact on migration patterns in North America is unclear, as no changes were made to visa regulations. According to the *Toronto Star*, negotiations of the deal were aimed at adjusting the visa requirements of NAFTA, known as the TN Visa, but went nowhere as the U.S. was

looking to reduce the list of eligible occupations and Canada was looking to expand it (Dale and MacCharles 2018). Theoretically, the impacts of the USMCA could be similar to that of NAFTA, but, as even the impacts of NAFTA are unclear, potential effects of the USMCA on the NAMS remain rather unknowable.

The Global Economic Crisis

NAFTA had an influence in North American migration since its inception by shaping labor opportunities in the three countries. However, its influence in linking the three North American economies ties them together in times of economic decline as well. Such was the case with the Global Economic Crisis (GEC) of 2008. The GEC was largely initiated by decline of the U.S. real-estate market and the mortgage crisis set in the growth of sub-prime mortgage lending. The effects of the GEC were felt in rich countries (Phillips 2011), though Mexico (-5.3 percent) had larger GDP decline than the U.S. (-2.8 percent) or Canada (-2.9 percent) in 2009 (The World Bank 2018). This more dramatic decline is likely because the GEC had more severe impacts on those in low-skilled jobs, as individuals in high-skilled jobs can move down to jobs with less specialized training (Papademetriou and Terrazas 2009). These shifts in employment altered labor demands and migration flows by changing employment opportunities in both sending and receiving countries (Castles et al. 2014). This lessened the demand for high-skilled employment in Mexico seen after NAFTA, but did not diminish the demand for low-skilled workers (Mindes 2015). Emigration from the U.S. to Mexico responded. In the years following the GEC, less-educated individuals were more likely to move from the U.S. to Mexico and more-educated individuals were less likely to move from the U.S. to Mexico when controlling for gender, age, and marital status (Mindes 2015).

The GEC's influence on American emigration to Canada is less clear, but its impact could be more important to migration flows from the U.S. to Canada because migration in this

direction appears to frequently be related to permanent moves revolving around personal, emotional motives (i.e., moving to Canada because they no longer want to be a part of domestic American society). As found by Koehler and colleagues (2010), economic downturn seems to have little impact on migration related to family reunification, and more impact on flows related to employment. Emigration to Canada does have an emotional element, as motives coded in the media data in Chapter 5 were largely of the self-expressive variety. However, it still depends on economic opportunities to make migration a reality and establish life abroad, which is evident from the discussions of self-instrumental challenges faced once abroad. Thus, economic downturn can remove the possibility of such moves. The linking of the two economies suggests that if opportunities are limited in one country, similar opportunities would be limited in the other. This would impact emigration from the U.S. to Canada, which are more similar economically than Mexico.

Politics, Policies, and Attitudes

More than economic conditions, desires to migrate, and historical migration trends, politics and policies of migration determine flows. Castles and colleagues (2014:312) argue that "the political dimension of international migration matters the most because the modern world has been structured by a nation-state system that renders international migration inherently problematic," (i.e., *sedentary bias*). Attitudes toward immigration held by politicians and the general public have a significant impact on migration in the ways that they shape policy. While politicians tend to be more liberal in their views of immigration for its benefits to the economy, the public tends to be more opposed to immigration, seeing it as a burden on the public (Castles et al. 2014). However, in the U.S., public opposition to immigration has a growing role in influencing policy. Indeed, a major position in then-candidate Trump's 2016 run to the White

House was opposition to immigration in a number of forms. Thus, immigration is shaped by the attitudes of politicians and the ability of the public to influence political outcomes and policy.

Politics and social attitudes are also influential to emigration. This has been argued as a key purpose for American emigration (e.g., Dashefsky et al. 1992; Klekowski von Koppenfels 2014b) and is a theme of this dissertation. While emigration for political protest does exist, it is far from the norm. In a survey of Americans in France, Denmark, and the United Kingdom, Klekowski von Koppenfels (2014b) found that only 3.9 percent of respondents selected U.S. politics and culture as the primary reason for staying abroad. Only 17.3 percent listed it as a top three reason. Her findings also show that despite leaving due to political dissatisfaction, most who list this as a primary reason for leaving preserve their American identity and allegiance.

However, political climate has likely influenced migration in the NAMS in some other interesting ways. Chief among these is the 2016 Presidential Election. Chapter 5 explored this topic in depth and its role in the media framing of American emigration to Canada. Still, the controversial and divisive election likely had other impacts. While it may have influenced emigration from the U.S. to Canada—with the growing calls for leaving as a form of protest—the election likely decreased migration from Mexico to the U.S. and potentially increased migration in the other direction. Both of these are likely to be seen due to candidate and, subsequently, President Trump's comments and criticism of Mexican immigration to the U.S. and peoples of Mexican heritage more broadly. These comments likely discouraged immigration to the U.S. from Mexico and encourage Mexicans in the U.S. to return to their country of origin, taking their American-born children with them. Henderson (2018) substantiates this notion in a report where he notes that deportation or fear of deportation combined with growing opportunity and less hostility in Mexico all influence this flow. Hagan, Wassink, and Castro (2019) suggest this climate of hostility as central to voluntary deportation as well. Forthcoming years should see

more detailed evidence of these impacts once demographic data captures these shifts in emigration and immigration.

Collectively, these social contexts, as well as countless others, influence and shape migration flows. Whether emigration responds to political attitudes, economic shifts and policies, or country's migration repertoire, the multitude of factors involved in every instance of migration cannot be perfectly determined. However, by incorporating multiple forms of knowing, engaging in a diversity of literatures, and considering the influence of a variety of social factors, we can better understand the diversity of motives for, causes of, and impediments to international migration. Acknowledging that human mobility is a normal part of social life is central to approaching the topic with enough room to accommodate its complexity. A view of migration as something to be understood rather than something to be stopped opens scholars to the multiplicity of migration and its numerous impacts on society and the individual.

Future Directions of Study

This dissertation takes an ambitious approach to studying American emigration, a topic that is widely understudied and under-theorized. In this project, I use a pragmatic approach to address key questions of the representation of Americans abroad by the media and demographic data. However, the findings of this dissertation are by no means a definite work on the group. Instead, it provides a necessary foundational contribution on American emigration in North America, capturing what we do know about the group. The work presented throughout this dissertation opens the door for future research. In this section, I review some of those possibilities as they relate to methodologies for studying American emigration and the future of American mobility.

Future Methodologies

While the present study combines two diverse methods for studying any migrant population—qualitative content analysis of media data and quantitative analysis of secondary data on stocks and flows—many other methods remain available to study the complex group. Through the pragmatic approach, which this dissertation employs, future researchers could implement a variety of methods as they contribute to the research questions. In particular, research using surveys and interviews would be particularly useful, as they can be tailored to address specific themes identified in this dissertation, such as identity and diaspora, representation in the media, the migration imaginary, and reasons for emigration.

Using the findings of this dissertation as a guide, interviews could explore elements of the *Dashefsky Typology*, specifically looking for motivations, challenges, and cross-pressures that relate to the four categories of the typology. This was the approach of the original study by Dashefsky and colleagues (1992). This dissertation has demonstrated its application and encourages use in directing the content of interviews. Surveys can be tailored to fit these elements as well. When considering motives and challenges, this dissertation has exposed several important themes to address in survey design. For example, the OVF survey described above missed several key reasons for emigration this dissertation found to be important, be it family reunification or political dissatisfaction. Through better knowledge of the themes to be found, surveys and interviews can approach the topic looking to uncover the ways that the American emigration imaginary exists in the minds of potential migrants. This crucial information on what might be out there helps researchers better understand the decisions to migrate and decisions to remain abroad.

Future Mobility of Americans

While a variety of ways of studying Americans abroad have potential for future study, so do the new directions in American mobility. According to Dashefsky and colleagues (1992), American emigration has always had a political tinge. The media framing demonstrates that emphasis as well. However, future studies can look to uncover what leads to actual migration and what is mere rhetorical reaction toward a particular politician. Studies of migration always look to uncover who actually leaves and why others remain. With this seemingly privileged group of potential American emigrants, scholarship should focus on what leads to those divergent paths.

Despite this political lens historically applied to most instances of leaving the U.S., this dissertation also shows that many other motivations have a central role. Perhaps most notable is the growth in the young American population in Mexico, where those under 18 years of age make up more than half a million. While the public, the media, and perhaps even the government may shrug this population off as not true American emigrants, as discussed above, they do have great importance as future social, political, and economic actors in Mexico and back in the U.S. The young population of American-born people in Mexico is aging into a group that will be making decisions on remaining or returning. This matter needs further study to realize the implications of a massive populace of Americans of Mexican heritage living abroad but with potential voting rights and prospects to return to their origin nation.

Another prospective avenue for study follows this growing trend of casual mobility among Americans. Due to globalization, Americans are seeing life abroad as more viable and less permanent. Future studies of American migration need to realize the role of the migration imaginary in this casual mobility. One way to explore this topic is on the college campus where young professionals are applying meaning to the images presented to them of life abroad through

news media, social media, and other formats. The ways these individuals envisage spending time outside American borders has further implications for U.S. economics and politics. While we are also in the 'Age of Migration' according to Castles, de Haas, and Miller (2014), in which we see permanent moves of long distances, we are also in the age of casual mobility, where individuals can choose to spend shorter periods across borders near and far. The implications of the American emigration imaginary need further exploration to grasp the magnitude of its impacts.

Conclusion

Just as Castles (2010b) wrote of the four biases in migration studies—*sedentary*, *disciplinary*, *top-down macro*, and *receiving country*—this dissertation looks to conquer all of these partialities that limit the analysis of human mobility. Beyond demonstrating a path to better scholarship on migration, this dissertation contributes to the fields of sociology, transnational studies, and migration studies in several important ways. Among the most important contributions is the methodological innovation set out in this study. Throughout this dissertation I push the methodological paradigm forward by encouraging an approach that does not necessitate a prescription to "doing sociology." Instead, I emphasize the pragmatic approach to social research, which urges the researcher to use any methods appropriate for investigating their research questions. Furthermore, I demonstrate the value of multiple and comparative methods, which contribute to the depth and breadth of information on American emigration presented here. The use of multiple methods provides two different pictures of American emigration, as demographic data and media portrayals do not align. Through comparison, this study uncovered important differences in emigration to Canada and Mexico.

Contributions expand beyond those of the methodological variety to social research, as this study also advances the scholarship on transnationalism by exploring the value of media

narratives. From this analysis, we see the importance of other forms of data beyond demographic and individual level data. Migration systems theory, which operates between the macro- and micro-levels, compels a view of the systems of communication that influence migration. By drawing on the importance of the media in this dissertation, I validate an approach to transnational studies that emphasizes these narratives and the impact they can have on individual behavior and social attitudes.

Finally, this dissertation advances the field of international migration studies in several ways. Among those is the tripartite use of migration theories and demonstration of the value of such use. Perhaps more important is the introduction of the media framing of motives and challenges in migration; in particular through the use of the *Dashefsky Typology* in media analysis of emigration. This dissertation demonstrates the value of the work by Dashefsky and colleagues (1992), but further expands the ways in which their typology to explain migration can be used to investigate narratives of emigration in the media. The range of applications of this typology is yet to be determined, but it has potential value as a tool for exploring many other groups of migrants. Additionally, the *Dashefsky Typology* has significance in its ability to uncover the reasons for and struggles faced in human mobility. Though the complexity of international migration cannot be captured by any single theory or study, these innovative ways of categorizing and thinking about migration enhance our collective understanding of who leaves their home country, why they move when they do, and where they go.

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[1] Despite the modernization of transportation and other technologies, international migration remains near three percent of the global population, not having seen a dramatic increase in the late-20th and early-21st century (Castles et al. 2014).
[2] Notably, displeasure with politics and culture was not an option on the OVF survey. Consequently, those leaving due to displeasure with politics or culture would likely select personal preference as a primary reason.

[3] As discussed in Chapter 1, Americans are citizen by birth if they are born within U.S. borders (*jus sanguinis*). Indeed, this is the case for all Americans by birth living abroad unless U.S. citizenship is renounced.

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