

Vermont Returnees and their Global Connections

Vermont Roots Migration Project
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Summary

Vermont's global returnees - people who grew up in the state, lived abroad, and returned to Vermont - are highly educated, multilingual, and mobile. They are active volunteers and community members. They work in social services, health care, research, and education. Global returnees return home because they appreciate Vermont's landscape and culture, as well as living close to family members. They value cultural diversity. They form the hub of social and material networks that link Vermont to international locations. Their insights into Vermont's migration processes and their cross-cultural skills and international connections have yet to be fully tapped by policy and business sectors.

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Vermont Roots Migration Project

The Vermont Roots Migration Project conducts research on the migration experiences, residential decision-making processes, and place attachments of people who grew up in the rural state of Vermont.

Historically, Vermont has undergone multiple periods of out-migration. US Census data suggest that the state is presently in a new era of outmigration.¹ The Vermont Roots Migration Project was designed to collect data and stories from individuals who grew up in Vermont in order to establish a context for understanding the factors that people consider as they make their decisions to stay in, leave, or return to Vermont.

Background

In 2014, a group of Vermont-based researchers released a migration survey through social media outlets.² The survey was designed to gather narratives from Vermonters about their residential decision-making. Within three weeks, nearly 3,700 fully completed surveys were returned. A first-level analysis was released in 2015.³ Public interest in the results of the study was high, and the research team has since given more than a dozen presentations and interviews to government agencies, business organizations, and academic groups. The findings also prompted several follow-up studies. One project focused on the attachments that leavers maintain with Vermont, long after leaving the state.⁴ A second study considered the motivations stayers have for remaining in Vermont. A third research effort followed up with global returnees, individuals who grew up in Vermont, lived abroad, and returned to live in Vermont. **This report focuses on the skills, networks, and perspectives global returnees bring home to Vermont.**

¹ US Census Bureau, American Factfinder. Annual Estimates of the Resident Population: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2016, Vermont. 2016 Population Estimates. <https://factfinder.census.gov/>. Accessed: March 27, 2017.

² Morse, C. 2015. *The Risks and Rewards of Using Social Media in Rural Migration Research: Findings from the Vermont Roots Project*. *The Northeastern Geographer*, 7: 72-88.

³ Morse, C. and W. Geller. 2014/2015. *Vermont Roots Migration Project: Summary of Initial Findings*. Center for Research on Vermont, University of Vermont. <http://go.uvm.edu/vermontrootsmigration> or vroots@weebly.com.

⁴ Morse, C. and Mudgett, J. 2017. *Longing for Landscape: Homesickness and Place Attachment Among Rural Out-Migrants in the 19th and 21st Centuries*. *Journal of Rural Studies* 50: 95-103.

Global Returnees Project Beginnings

The Global Returnees Project, conducted in 2016, evolved from the original 2014 Vermont Roots Migration survey which received responses from 661 returnees to Vermont.⁵ These are people who attended high school in Vermont, left the state to live elsewhere for at least a year (excluding time spent out of state for higher education or military service), and moved back to Vermont. **Nearly 20% of the Vermont returnees who responded to the survey had lived outside of the United States and Canada.** Returnees were more likely to have lived abroad than in any region of the United States other than the Northeast and the South.

The high rate of international destinations for Vermont returnees prompted two research questions:

Why do Vermonters live abroad and where?

What skills, networks, and perspectives do global returnees bring back to Vermont?

<u>Location</u>	<u>Percent of all returnees</u>
Northeast United States (US)	72.6
Southern US	30.0
Outside the US and Canada	19.4
West Coast US	19.1
Midwest US	12.5
Southwest US	10.0
Mountain West US	8.8
HI, AK, Puerto Rico, other US territories	3.0
Canada	2.1

Table 1. Places returnees have lived outside of Vermont, 2014 Vermont Roots Migration Survey

⁵ Morse and Geller, 2014/2015.

Global Returnees Study Methods

Data for this report come from the following three sources.

The Vermont Roots Migration Survey - 2014

An on-line migration and residential decision-making survey was distributed through five Vermont researchers' social media networks in 2014, n=3, 692. Just over half of the survey respondents were people who had permanently left the state of Vermont to live elsewhere. Nearly one-third of respondents were people who have remained in Vermont, and 18% were returnees, people who left Vermont for more than one year and returned to Vermont. This report draws on the responses from the 661 returnees in this data set, paying close attention to the 128 returnees who had lived abroad. Quantitative data were analyzed using IBM's SPSS 23 statistical analysis program. Respondents' written comments were consulted to illustrate findings from the quantitative analysis in narrative form.

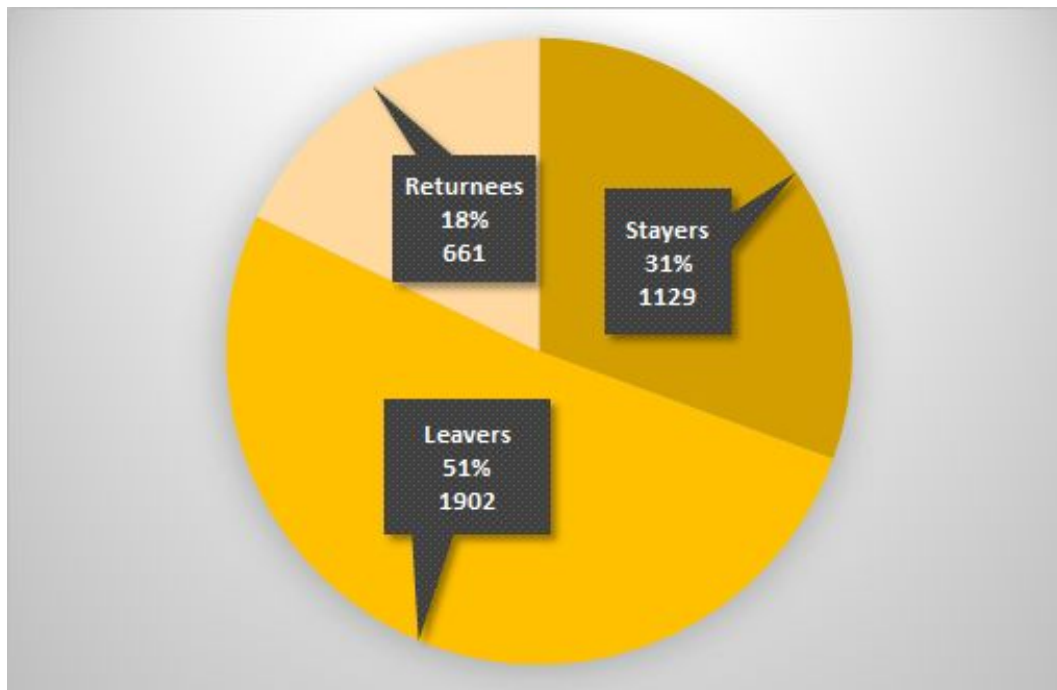


Fig. 1. Stayer, leaver, and returnee respondents to VT Roots Migration Survey, 2014

Global Returnees Survey - 2016

The original Vermont Roots survey was anonymous. However, respondents were invited to give their contact information if they were interested in participating in further research. A surprisingly high number of respondents (58%) gave their contact information. In 2016, a second survey was sent to 50 of the original survey respondents. These were the group of returnees who had lived abroad and who had offered their email addresses. Of these potential respondents, 35 people fully completed the Global Returnees survey.

This survey was designed to learn more the experiences of global returnees, their reasons for going abroad and returning to Vermont, and their work, volunteer and recreational engagements in Vermont. **The research goal was to map the connections global returnees maintain with people outside of Vermont, as well as their contributions to Vermont culture, society, and economy.**

Quantitative survey results were analysed using SPSS 23 and qualitative (written) responses were coded by hand by the lead researcher and two research assistants.

Global Returnee Focus Groups - 2016

Respondents to the Global Returnees survey were invited to participate in small focus group discussions. Four focus groups were held in three different locations in Vermont in June and July of 2016. Eleven people participated: nine women and two men. They ranged in age from the late twenties to mid seventies. **The purpose was to hear how individuals described both their experience living abroad and their return to Vermont in conversation with fellow global returnees.** Specifically, this research method aimed to learn how living abroad may have impacted returnees' work, social lives, and cultural activities by gathering detailed stories.

The focus groups were structured by set of questions but participants led the discussion to the topics of their choosing. Each group lasted between an hour and a half and two hours. The discussion was audio-recorded and transcribed. The transcripts were coded by a researcher and a research assistants to identify key themes and insights.

Sample focus group questions

Please describe your international living experience. Where did you live and why did you move there?

Do you have business, service, or cultural relationships with people outside the US?

Why did you return to live in Vermont?

Are there any ways that your international living experience has influenced how you live in Vermont, in terms of your work, leisure activities, preferences, politics, etc?

Research Funding and Ethics Approval

Funding for the Global Returnees Project was provided by the James M. Jeffords Fund for Policy Studies, administered through the Provost's Office at the University of Vermont. The research protocols for both surveys and the focus groups were approved by the Human Subjects Research Committee of the Institutional Review Board at the University of Vermont.

Research Limitations

Each of the three studies included a higher percentage of women, and a higher percentage of respondents with bachelor's degrees and graduate degrees than the Vermont averages. Each of the studies are "opt-in" opportunities, meaning that people self-selected into the research. Both the Vermont Roots Migration survey and Global Returnees survey were only offered on-line, so those people who do not use computers or social media did not have the opportunity to participate in the research.

Findings

Global Returnees and Non-Global Returnees

Global Returnees are Highly Educated

The Vermont Roots Migration Survey revealed some differences between global returnees and returnees who had not lived abroad. **Global returnees have higher educational attainment than non-global returnees.** Global returnees are statistically more likely to have at least one graduate degree and non-global returnees are more likely to have an associate's degree or less education. This category includes people with some college, a high school diploma, GED, or no high school diploma.

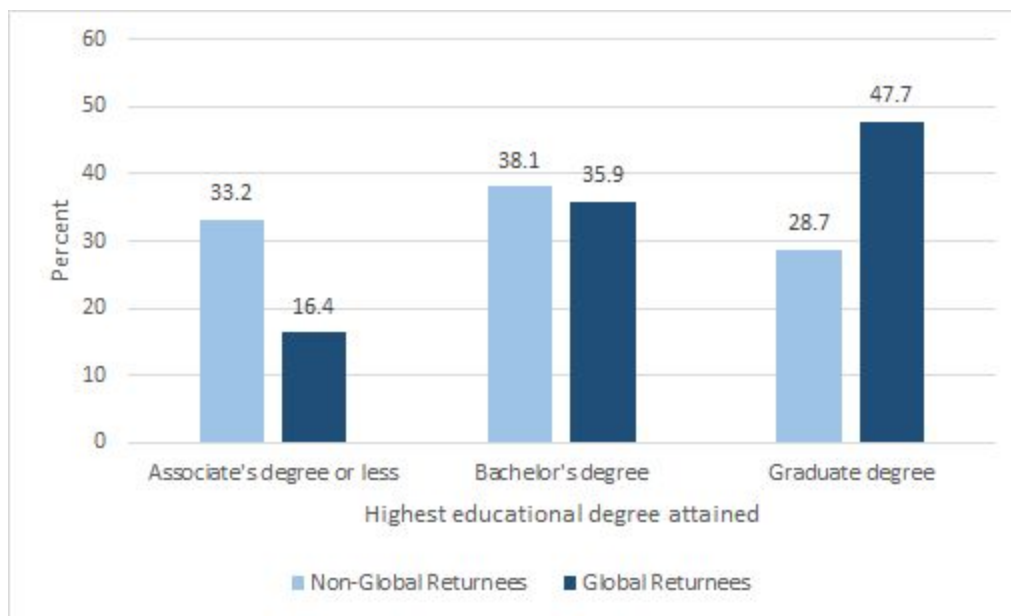


Fig. 2. Educational attainment of Vermont's non-global and global returnees

Reasons for Returning to Vermont

Global and non-global returnees differed slightly in their reasons for returning to Vermont. Among both groups, the top three reasons for returning to Vermont were **missing family**,

missing Vermont's landscape, and missing Vermont's culture or community.⁶

However, global returnees were statistically more likely to name landscape and culture/community as reasons for returning. Non-global returnees were more likely to have seen their time away from Vermont as temporary, believing that they would return to Vermont at some point.

⁶ The survey did not define "culture/community" therefore this answer reflects the individual survey respondent's definition of these terms.

reasons for returning to Vermont	non-global returnees (%)	global returnees (%)
I missed my family	49.7	48.4
I missed the VT landscape □	43.5	52.3
I missed VT culture/community □	41.5	53.1
I appreciate VT's small size	38.8	43.8
I always wanted to return to VT	39.2	37.5
I wanted to raise my children in VT	36.4	37.5
I enjoy VT's recreational opportunities	25.1	30.5
I viewed my time away from VT as temporary and always knew I would return □	27.6	18.8
I found a new job opportunity that allowed me to move to VT	16.9	19.5
I missed friends	16.1	11.7
My partner wanted to move to VT	11.4	9.4
Things did not work out where I was living previously	12.9	9.4
I returned to care for a family member	9.4	12.5
My work brought me back to VT	6.8	11.7
I wanted to retire to VT	5.3	5.5
□ statistically significant difference, $p \leq .05$		

Table 2. Non-global and global returnees' reasons for returning to Vermont

Global Returnee Survey and Focus Group Results

GR Survey Respondents: Highly Educated and Mobile

The results offered here pertain to the Global Returnees Survey and focus group. As noted in the methods section, these respondents were a sub-set of global returnees who had filled out the Vermont Roots Migration Survey. The GR survey respondents had high levels of educational attainment: 18 of the 35 held at least one graduate degree, 16 had a bachelor's degree, and one just graduated high school with a diploma. More women than men responded: 26 women and 9 men. The respondents attended high schools across the state of Vermont, and returned to live in towns and cities around the state.

This group of Vermonters is highly mobile: 71.4% of survey respondents have left and returned to Vermont more than once.

The average age of respondents was 41.2 years, and the range was 19-75 years. The highest age category is 30-39 and the second highest is 40-49.

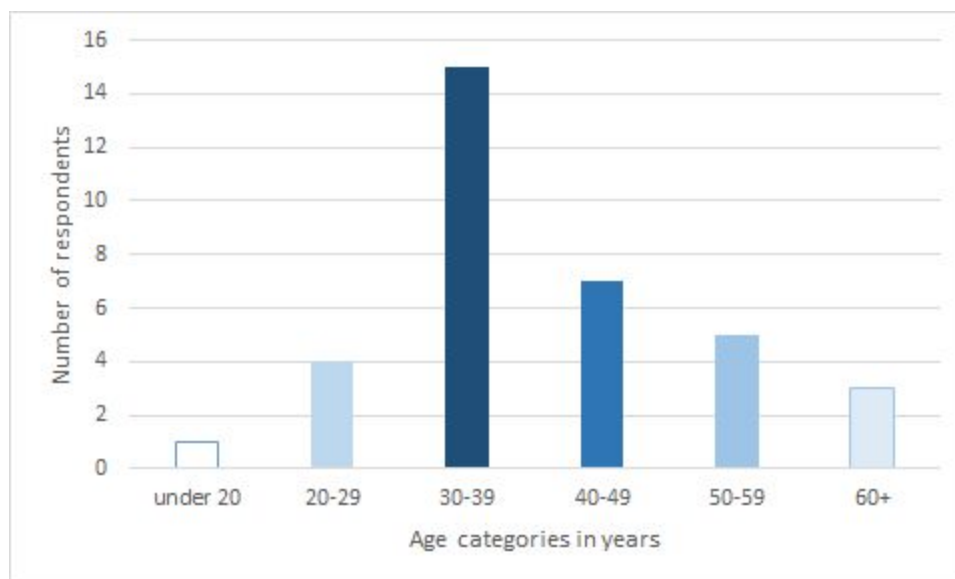


Fig. 3. Global Returnee survey respondents by age category

Initial Reasons for Living Abroad

Global returnee survey respondents initially traveled outside the United States for diverse reasons. The most frequently named reasons were to **study abroad** (23%) or to **work** (20%). An equal percentage of returnees left to do **service work**, such as volunteering for the Peace Corps or a religious organization (14%) or to serve in the **military** (14%). Leaving to **travel** internationally was reported by 12% of respondents. Some initially went abroad as a child with their family and others left to join a loved one who lived abroad (11%). Several respondents selected multiple reasons for moving abroad.

"I have lived abroad a couple of times to study. I have also lived abroad to work, travel, and for relationship reasons."

47 year old woman from central Vermont

Many GR survey respondents have lived abroad multiple times. As the above quote indicates, in several cases, an individual studied abroad in one country and then later in life took a job, did service work, or decided to travel to other countries. **The average age for first going abroad is 20.9.** Of the 35 respondents, just 3 lived internationally for the first time at the age of 30 years or older. The respondent quoted below left at age 30 to join a loved one in Canada. Her response indicates she was also seeking out new experiences.

"I wanted to make an impact on the world, and to have a chance to experience life in a different culture and climate."

36 year old woman who lived for a time in Canada

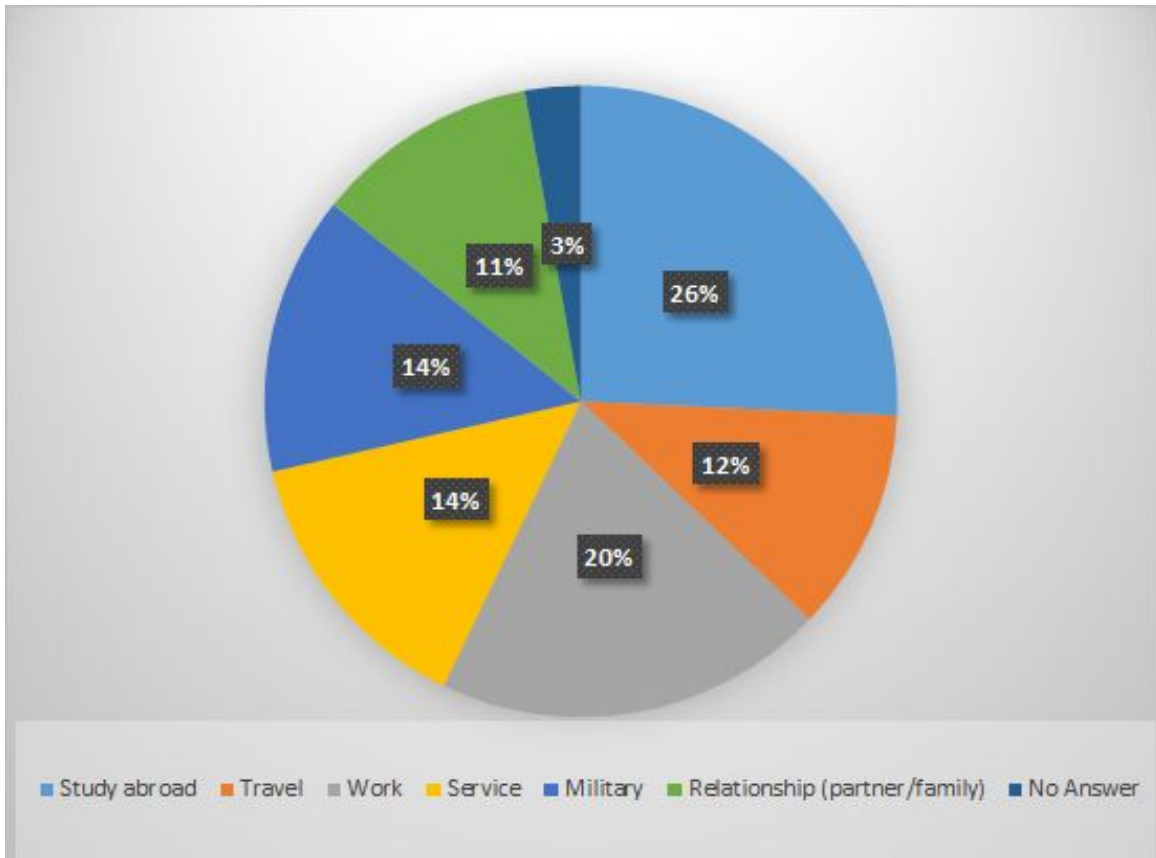


Fig. 4. Returnees' initial reasons for going abroad

Where Vermonters Live Abroad

The GR survey respondents have lived in every continent, including Antarctica. The 35 respondents have lived in 39 countries ranging from Uzbekistan to Morocco to Sweden. Several countries were named by more than one global returnee: Austria (2), Canada (5), Chile (2), Denmark (2), Ecuador (2), France (7), Germany (4), Guatemala (2), Japan (2), Spain (2), and the United Kingdom (2). Twelve of the respondents have lived in more than one country outside of the United States.

Global Returnee Occupations, Skills, and Volunteer Activities in Vermont

Global returnees are active participants in Vermont's workforce and engage in a wide range of volunteer efforts. Just under one-third of global returnees work in international-related positions.

Vermont's global returnees mainly work in the services fields: they are teachers, healthcare workers, and social service workers. Of the 35 survey respondents, **10 have jobs that are in some way related to international affairs. To generalize, they work within the "helping" and research fields.** Few work in business.

As noted, Vermont's global returnees are a highly educated group. Many also have developed at least basic fluency in foreign language(s). **Most of the survey respondents (30) speak at least one language in addition to English.** Sixteen (16) speak two or more additional languages.

Of the 35 GR survey respondents, 24 do volunteer work, and many of these people hold multiple volunteer commitments. **Global returnees' volunteer positions are even more diverse than their occupations.** They give their time to Habitat for Humanity, youth groups, school boards, refugee resettlement organizations, environmental groups, economic development boards, 4-H and a host of other efforts. They are similarly involved in many different recreational activities such as playing music, hiking, reading, gardening, and snow sports.

Impacts of Living Abroad

Global returnees were asked: "*Did living abroad influence your worldview, work, or other aspects of your life?*" All but one respondent provided a narrative explanation for how living abroad had impacted them. **Survey respondents offered more feedback to this question than any others in the survey.** While some responses demonstrated the personal impacts that living abroad had on them as individuals, such as developing a passion for travel, most conveyed a broader perspective on the diverse ways that cultures

operate, and a sensitivity to difference. Listed below are the major themes in their responses, along with representative direct quotations from the survey.

Theme	Survey respondent narrative
Appreciation for the diversity of human experience	"I am much more aware of the many different perspectives and ways of being in the world."
Appreciation for home, the United States, and/or Vermont specifically	"[I gained] an appreciation of things I took for granted living in the US, and also of things we could do better..."
A change in one's own perspective	"Nothing is more enlightening than being forced to reconcile your own belief systems against those of other people."
Global awareness	"It made me realize that I am a global citizen, not just a U.S. or Vermont one."
An ability to see things from another cultural point of view	"I began to more deeply appreciate the way it feels to live in places where local culture is deeply nested in long term commitment to the whole group, not just personal 'gain' and a transient sort of competitiveness."

Table 3. Major themes in survey respondents' explanations of the impacts of living abroad

"Soft skills" and Cultural Sensitivity

As the themes listed in the table above indicate, global returnees described ways in which their personal lives were impacted by living abroad, as well as how their worldview changed. Some of these experiences resulted in the **acquisition of cultural skills and competencies**, such as the ability to work with difference. For example, Annika, a focus group participant, said that she returned to Vermont from the Middle East with newfound appreciation for how world events in the news impact individual people:⁷

⁷ All names are pseudonyms to protect the identities of research participants.

"I think for me, it's like a real sense that people from other countries are full people, which I guess is sort of a long way of phrasing empathy."

Twenty-something Vermonter who lived in Middle Eastern and North African countries

Annika explained how empathy, along with her lived experience in the Middle East, helped her interpret world events like the Syrian refugee crisis differently than some of her fellow Vermonters. This is a perspective that she shares with others, potentially influencing their understandings.

Cyrus said that he returned from South Asia with what he called the "soft skill" to work collaboratively with other people.

"[I came back with] an ability to interact with people from very different backgrounds without having to try, really. Just having it be second nature."

Cyrus, a twenty-something man who grew up in Chittenden County

An ability to **work across cultures** and the experience of **having been a "minority"** within another culture were mentioned by several survey respondents and focus group participants as invaluable experiences that changed how they perceived others, both abroad and at home.

Living in Vermont After Living Abroad

Responses to the question *"Has your international experience influenced your life in Vermont?"* revealed that for some people, living abroad helped shape their ideas about **how** they wish to live in Vermont. For example, several respondents said they wanted to live in Vermont

communities that were walkable or had public transportation. Others mentioned the importance of living in places where they felt a sense of a close-knit community.

The presence of **cultural diversity was an important factor** for many global returnees as they decided where to live in Vermont. Several respondents identified Burlington and Winooski as places they had more cultural diversity and therefore were more attractive places to live. Four people explicitly mentioned that their international experience directly influenced their studies or career choices once they moved back to Vermont, and as mentioned, ten people work in fields that are directly related to international affairs or skills. The following narrative sums up several of the major themes uncovered by this question:

"I believe it [living abroad] made me more interesting to potential employers when applying for a job, it influenced our choice of Burlington for a home (we wanted an urban environment where we could be involved in many aspects of community development), it affected our choices about the size of house we bought and how we commute (car, bike, public transportation)."

30-something year old parent who works in education

Several of the responses also hinted at the ways in which some people function as the center of social networks which bring people from outside the United States into the state or promote international engagements. They serve as unofficial ambassadors for cultural exchange. For example, one person responded that he did not think his international experience impacted his life in Vermont, but he noted that he "encourage(s) young people to go abroad by any means possible." In this way, he motivates young Vermonters to follow an international route. The next section of the report considers these formal and informal VT-international connections.

Global Connections and Networks

Most Global Returnees Survey respondents maintain friendships with people they met while abroad, but they report very few business or formal collegial relationships. Even so, ten of the 35 respondents have work that is in some way related to international affairs, foreign language or service. Social and work relationships are described in the section that follows.

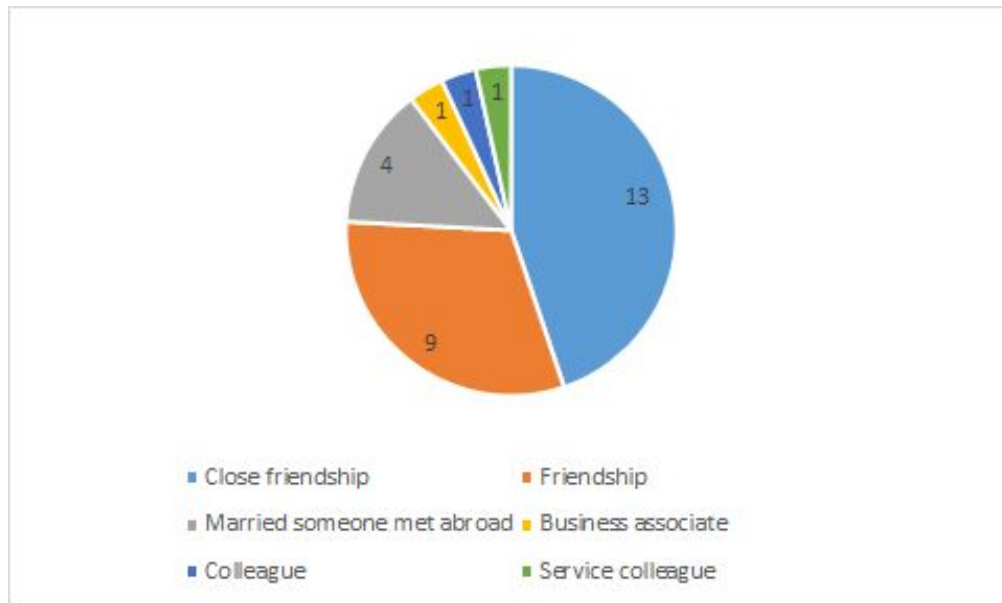


Fig. 5. Global returnees' existing relationships with people met while abroad

Formal International Work Connections

Just one survey respondent said that they have a business relationship with someone they met abroad. However, several respondents have work that directly relates to international concerns of some kind. This suggests that the relationships Vermonters made while living abroad may primarily be social, but that **the experience of international living motivated some to develop careers within internationally-related fields**. Two respondents, for example, said that they chose to pursue their graduate studies in health fields directly as a result of what they experienced while doing service work in Latin America and Africa. Other respondents participated in study abroad courses and eventually found work in foreign aid, media analysis, and refugee service provision.

Another group of respondents works in education as foreign language teachers, cultural exchange organizers, and university study abroad advisors. The initial living abroad experience may not immediately result in work relationships; these may develop over time.

Informal Social Network Formations

Vermont's global returnees function as **hubs at the center of international social networks**. These can be imagined as pathways along which people, ideas and resources cross international borders and meet in Vermont. These networks became apparent in the focus group discussions.

Bridget lived in northern Europe for several years, in the country where her father was born. She explained that in the decades following her return to Vermont, she has served as an American tour guide to several of her European cousins' children when they were teenagers. She has brought them to places of historic and cultural significance in the northeast region. She noted that these have been the only members of their family who eventually earned university degrees and traveled outside of their rural region. In this sense she may have encouraged them to be global returnees to their home place.

Janet was a Peace Corps volunteer in Eastern Europe several years ago. She introduced someone she met there to a Vermonter, they married, and now live in Vermont. Her father sponsored a young person from an Eastern European community to attend a high school in Vermont. In this sense she has "imported" Eastern Europeans into Vermont and other parts of the US. She sends money to support different efforts in her former community and community members send her locally made items like homemade liqueurs, Soviet era table clothes, and an Oriental rug.

Cyrus explained that as result of attending school in South Asia, he has a network of friends who now live around the globe. They occasionally come to Vermont to visit him and visit tourist destinations around the state. His global friends act as informational resources for one another. (It is important to note that research participants explained it was often easier for them, as American citizens, to travel to some countries, than to have their international visitors visit them in the US. Geopolitics influence these global social networks.)

Four of the survey respondents married someone they met while living abroad. When they moved back to Vermont with their spouse and sometimes with children, they cast a web of

connections between specific locations in Vermont communities and towns and cities in another country. As family members visit one another, send gifts, and bring cultural items like art and food along on their travels, they create additional pathways for the flow of goods, money, and cultural influences.

Mapping Connections

Below is a fictionalized diagram of a thirty-five year old **Vermont woman who maintains cultural, social, familial, material, and work relationships across three continents** (Figure 7) . Natalie graduated from a small public high school in central Vermont. In college, she studied abroad in a sub-Saharan African country. After college she returned to the same country to work. She met her husband there. Later, she moved to a New England city where she earned a graduate degree in international public health. Natalie, her husband, and their child moved back to Vermont where they currently reside. Natalie now works for an international aid organization whose headquarters is in southern New England. She usually telecommutes to work, but her job requires her to travel to Latin America on occasion.

Natalie and her family frequently travel to another New England state to visit her husband's relative who lives in an African immigrant community there. While there, they purchase African food ingredients not available in Vermont. Natalie and her family also travel to Africa to visit her husband's family, although for visa reasons, it is difficult for family members to visit them in the United States. Natalie also maintains friendships with people from her graduate program; they live all over the world. Sometimes they come to Vermont to visit her in person.

In a sense, Natalie has "imported" both a husband and a child to Vermont, as well as language skills, a graduate degree, and the salary and benefits she earns from out-of-state. Natalie "exports" intellectual capital, material goods, and services, from Vermont to Latin America. She also circulates money, goods, and family visits through other New England states. She maintains friendships with people in different locations around the world and therefore takes part in a global exchange of knowledge, expertise, and stories.

The diagram shows the routes for exchange of material goods, knowledge, money, and communication between Natalie, and her friends, colleagues, and family.

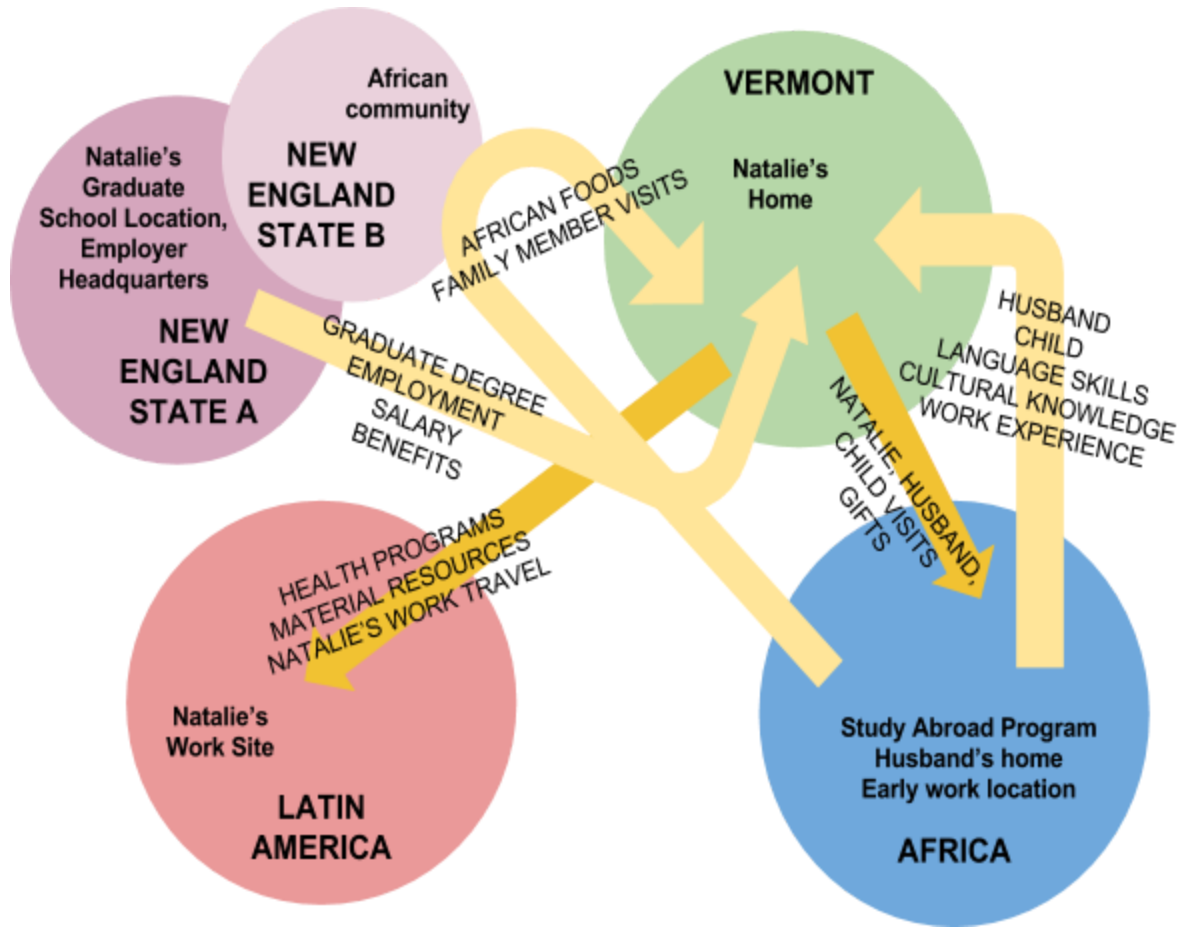


Fig. 7. Natalie's global connections

Hidden Influences

Natalie's Global Connections diagram does not show the influence that her family may have on global perspectives of their Vermont neighbors, classmates, and friends. These influences are perhaps "hidden" from everyday observation. She cannot anticipate or fully know how her family and their cultural practices may influence those around her. For example, one respondent to the global returnee survey reported that living abroad did not influence his life in Vermont, except for the fact that he married a woman from Asia. The couple and their children now live in Vermont. While he may not see it, like Natalie, he is at the center of a network which includes travel of family members, materials, ideas and influences between Vermont and Asia. He and his family members will undoubtedly impact the ways in which their neighbors imagine his wife's home country.

Implications

Nearly 20% of returnees to Vermont have lived abroad. The Global Returnees Study results indicate that this particular group of returnees is **highly educated, speaks multiple languages, and is actively engaged in volunteer activities**. They tend to work in the fields of social services, health care, research and education. They go abroad for diverse reasons and to diverse places. Global returnees return to Vermont because they **value the landscape, their families, and the state's communities and culture**. They place a **high value on cultural diversity**; and several returnees choose to live in Vermont towns and cities that have the highest percentages of residents from varying ethnic and racial groups. This group is also **highly mobile**, choosing to leave Vermont and return multiple times.

Global returnees return to Vermont with a **heightened awareness of cultural difference and international affairs**. Many have developed greater empathy for others, and the ability to work across groups with different worldviews. They return with graduate degrees, language proficiencies, and diverse work and service experiences. Some bring spouses, friends, and children to Vermont. A few bring in income from out-of-state work. Some anticipate leaving in the future for new experiences, but plan to return again.

Global returnees are skilled, active, and globally-minded Vermonters. Their living abroad experiences, while as diverse as serving in the military in South Korea and working in public health in Kenya, has helped them to be aware of the many possible ways to live on Earth, and also to be appreciative of the benefits of home. **Many seek to "improve" home** with ideas learned abroad, and initiatives to enhance social and environmental quality of life for others. They give of their time to volunteer efforts. Yet, within the focus group discussions, it became clear that some global returnees feel that the **lessons learned abroad are not always welcomed by Vermonters** who have never traveled. This results in feelings of isolation and a reticence to share their experience with others. This poses a barrier to the healthy exchange of ideas and perspectives.

Global returnees possess a number of insights, international connections, and skills that could be applied to a range of applications in business, government, and policy making. They may have perspectives that could assist leaders who are struggling to attract new in-migrants to the state. They have a unique experience of migration. **As people who**

value and understand Vermont’s culture, landscape, and people, and as Vermonters who possess cross-cultural experiences and skills, they are uniquely qualified to serve as cultural, business, and policy ambassadors. However, global returnees skills’ have not yet been tapped for these pursuits.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the James M. Jeffords Fund for Policy Studies administrators for the generous resources to pursue the Global Returnees Project. I am deeply grateful to all of the Vermonters and former Vermonters who took the time to fill out the original Vermont Roots Migration Survey. I thank the Global Returnees who filled out the second survey and especially acknowledge the people who devoted a summer afternoon or evening to sharing their stories with us. Thank you to research assistant Newton Rose who assisted with the first phase of the study, and research assistant Margot Van Horne who worked on data collection and analysis. Thanks are also due to Sam Portnoy, who designed the Vermont Roots logo. The original research team members -- Wendy Geller, Ph.D, Jill Mudgett, Ph.D, Seth Marineau, Ed.D., and Sohier Perry -- provided the spark that motivated the Vermont Roots Migration Project, but all errors in this report are mine.

Vermont Roots Publications, Lectures and Interviews

Morse, C. and J. Mudgett. 2017. *Longing for Landscape: Homesickness and Place Attachment Among Rural Out-Migrants in the 19th and 21st Centuries*. **Journal of Rural Studies** 50: 95-103.

Morse, C. 2015. *The Risks and Rewards of Using Social Media in Rural Migration Research: Findings from the Vermont Roots Project*. **The Northeastern Geographer**, 7: 72-88.

Morse, C. and W. Geller. 2014. *Vermont Roots Migration Project: Summary of Initial Findings*. **Center for Research on Vermont, University of Vermont**. A survey of people who grew up in Vermont on the factors that influenced their migration decisions as adults, <http://vtrootsmigration.org>.

Staying, Leaving and Returning to Vermont, with Jill Mudgett. Keynote Lecture, **Center for Research on Vermont Annual Meeting**, University of Vermont. May 6, 2015. Burlington, Vermont. <http://www.retn.org/show/2015-center-research-vermont-annual-meeting>.

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