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## **Attitudes around Circulatory Migration in Puerto Rico, 2017-2023: Puerto Rico Without Puerto Ricans**

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Attitudes around Circulatory Migration in Puerto Rico, 2017-2023:

Puerto Rico Without Puerto Ricans

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Thesis Seminar

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## Introduction

Puerto Ricans have a history of migration to the United States as American citizens. Presently, there are more Puerto Ricans living in the United States than those living in Puerto Rico. However, their migratory patterns are not simply unidirectional. Puerto Ricans emigrate to the United States, then return, perhaps emigrate again, etc. After Hurricane Maria in 2017 which was disastrous for Puerto Rico and had widespread implications for life on the island, there was a mass exodus of Puerto Ricans to the United States which was part of a larger trend in the migration waves of Puerto Ricans emigrating due to economic reasons (DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker 2020). However, various news outlets are reporting that there has been a change in the tide since 2020, and Puerto Ricans are returning to the island. Potentially, the shift could signal a change in direction for this mobile community.

As a Puerto Rican that grew up on the island, I never miss the chance to boast about Puerto Rico— about its beauty, its culture and its people. However, I am also intimately aware of the challenges the Puerto Rican people face on a daily basis: natural disasters, limited job opportunities, blackouts, gentrification, etc. When I read the various reports that Puerto Ricans were returning to the island, I was surprised given all the obstacles these people would surely face. I even remember a journalist that reported that two people she had interviewed recently were moving to the United States shortly after having recently returned to Puerto Rico because of the living conditions. The people she spoke to expressed actively trying to live in Puerto Rico but being forced to leave (Graulau 2023). I was curious as to the motivation behind wanting to return to the island in spite of the situation, and what had pushed these people to emigrate once again despite their best efforts to return.

Originally, I wanted to examine migration data to see if the number of Puerto Ricans returning was significant. However, after Hurricane Maria, my desired starting point, there has been a lack in reliable, updated information as well as insufficient data sources on the subject. Researchers involved in the study of Puerto Rican migration have conducted their own independent work using nontraditional data sources (DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker 2020, 29). Additionally, a purely statistical lens would not shed light on my questions. As such, I turned away from a statistical approach and turned towards social media in the hopes that it could provide a more human perspective on the matter. People on social media certainly noted the problems Puerto Rico faces, but people still expressed a desire to return largely due to a sense of belonging. The sentiment supports scholarship that Puerto Ricans retain their connection to the island despite living in the United States for any period of time.

## Method

The aim of the study is to obtain the ordinary person's perspective on return migration to Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria considering the hurricane accelerated the population exodus occurring on the island, as well as had widespread effects on daily life in Puerto Rico (DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker 2020). The study is part of a wider trend of research that utilizes social media to shed light on Puerto Rican migration. Using posts from reports published online, the study identifies push and pull factors, expanding on the information presented in the posts to illustrate what the situation they are alluding to is.

Half of the posts were gathered from the comments on a newspaper article, "Profesionales Boricuas Que se Montaron En El Vuelo de Regreso a Puerto Rico" (Professional Boricuas that Got on the Flight in Return to Puerto Rico) from a local newspaper, *El Nuevo Dia*, with the largest circulation on the island. The article reported on young Puerto Rican professionals returning to the island due to an initiative that matches young professionals with job opportunities on the island, a story they present in a positive light. The article is in Spanish and found online which limits their audience mostly to Spanish-speakers. However, as it is accessible online, it is available for people within Puerto Rico and in the United States. The newspaper is one of the sources that reported on Puerto Ricans returning to the island in recent years and seemed appropriate to investigate people's opinion on the subject.

In contrast, the other half of the posts were gathered from the comments on a TikTok post of an independent journalist from Puerto Rico. In the post, the reporter presents a story of a family that was forced to emigrate to the United States after having recently moved to Puerto Rico because they were kicked out of their home after a foreign real estate investor bought the building to make a hotel. The TikTok is in English, making it more accessible to mainland

American readers as well as Puerto Ricans in the United States who may understand English better. Additionally, the audience of the TikTok is less clear as any video can show up on a viewer's feed; it is based on the videos viewers may have expressed interest, where they are, and if they follow the reporter. The TikTok is another source that reported Puerto Ricans returning to the island, but with a negative lens as they were forced to emigrate soon after returning. The varying angles of the reports are meant to gather varying perspectives people may have.

After finding the posts, the comments were selected based on how relevant they may have been to the subject. Posts that alluded to potential reasons that Puerto Ricans may return or alternatively reasons that they should not were noted as well as posts that reacted to either of the reports to gain an insight into their sentiments on the subject. Additionally, posts that spoke of people's personal experiences migrating or that mentioned Puerto Ricans returning were also included as it would provide a further understanding of people's thoughts, as they often expressed why they would want to return or their feelings about people returning. Posts that did not have complete thoughts, simply had emojis or simply said that it was a sad situation were discarded as they would not be as useful to obtain an insight into people's opinion. A total of seventy-five posts were collected, thirty-six from the newspaper and thirty-nine from the TikTok.

Once the posts were collected, an informal database was created on Google Sheets to breakdown each post. The posts were broken down by language, emotions expressed, whether they were talking about the event itself or personal experience, what they alluded to, what were the reasons for emigrating or returning to Puerto Rico, and whether they provided a new diagnosis, analysis of the situation or advocated for something. The ideas they referenced included salary, benefits, the housing crisis, among others which were often explicitly mentioned

but not necessarily explained. The study elaborates on them in the analysis, which was possible due to lived experience in Puerto Rico and a familiarity with said ideas.

After that, more informal databases were created. The first informal database was created to enumerate the instances within each category. Most were determined using the function “Countif” on Google Sheets which automatically counted the instances specific words such as “Spanish” were in each column of the original database. However, for the issues and ideas users referenced, the study individually counted each time they were alluded to. Some comments pointed to various ideas which the study counted individually despite originating from the same comment.

The study understood the comments gathered from social media through the push and pull framework of migration. Economic factors may include employment opportunities, living standards, quality of shelter, access to income and food, as well as natural disasters which may affect income and access to food and shelter. Push economic factors would therefore include a lack of employment opportunities, low living standards, and loss of income due to a natural disaster while an economic pull factor would entail hope for better employment, higher income and higher living standards. Social factors include access to established healthcare systems, access to educational opportunities, and religious tolerance. Political factors consist of but are not limited to the right to vote, likelihood of persecution, safety, and protection under the law (Urbański 2022). Demographic factors include personal characteristics such as age, sex, origins, educational levels, race, and ethnicity. Finally, miscellaneous factors may be personal situations such as employment or links to family and friends (Zanabazar, Nam Son, and Sarantuya 2021).

A table was created on Google Sheets that enumerated references to various push and pull factors both to and from Puerto Rico and the United States. As before, the instances of each



factor were counted individually or without the use of a function according to the categories they fell under (see figure 1). Economic factors included salary, work benefits, access to opportunities, brain drain, the housing crisis, the effects of natural disasters, cost of living and standard of living. Most of these were explicitly mentioned by users, but brain drain was determined by the amount of times users hinted at educated Puerto Ricans emigrating after obtaining their education while the housing crisis was determined by the amount of times users expressed difficulty buying property. Social factors included access to healthcare and education. Political factors included safety, bad governance, and unfair legal systems most of which were explicitly mentioned except bad governance which was determined by the amount of times users referred to the government being corrupt or not caring for its people which would entail improper representation. Demographic factors included retirees as many expressed a desire to return to Puerto Rico once they retired, age which was determined by users arguing that only young people would return, and family as some users referenced their family's safety and well-being as a reason to emigrate. Finally, miscellaneous factors included family and friends, a connection to the community which was determined by the amount of times users cited 'wanting to help' Puerto Rico or the Puerto Rican people as a reason to return, and belonging which was determined by users expressing a feeling of belonging in Puerto Rico as well as the amount of times they said "I returned because I miss/love my island." All of these factors were accounted for as potential push and pull factors for both Puerto Rico and the United States. Notes were kept under each category that users mentioned on what they specifically were concerned about which was expanded upon in the analysis. The portions highlighted in blue showed the most repetitions.

		Economic										Social			Political				Demographic				Misc.			
	Salary	Job Market/Benefits	Lack of Opportunities	Brain Drain	Housing crisis	Effects of natural disasters	Cost of Living	Standard of Living	Total	Healthcare	Education	Total	Safety	Bad Governance	Unfair Legal Systems	Total	Retirees	Age	Family	Total	Family and Friends	Connection to community	Belonging	Total		
Endi	7	3	4	1	2	0	3	3	23	0	1	1	1	1	3	0	4	0	2	1	3	0	0	0		
Tik Tok	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	5	1	0	1	1	8	0	9	0	0	1	1	0	0	0		
Total	8	3	4	1	5	0	4	3	28	1	1	2	2	2	11	0	13	0	2	2	4	0	0	0		
Pull to the United States																										
Endi	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Tik Tok	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Total	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Push from the United States																										
Tik Tok	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Pull to Puerto Rico																										
Endi	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	4	7		
Tik Tok	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	2	10		
Total	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	5	6	17		

Figure 1. Push and Pull Factors.

Finally, in order to supplement the analysis, the posts were run through the database Voyant Tools which enumerated the amount of times specific words were mentioned in the texts and what they were referring to. A chart was created in Google Sheets as well to keep track of the information, and what the words were said in correlation to were individually counted during the study, that is not using Voyant.

Despite the fact that Puerto Ricans are American citizens, for the purposes of differentiating who the posts are talking about, Puerto Ricans will only be referred to as Puerto Ricans. In contrast, going forward ‘Americans’ or ‘foreigners’ will specifically be referring to Americans from the mainland United States without a Puerto Rican background of any kind. Said differentiation stems from how Puerto Ricans often create a distinction between themselves and mainland Americans in their everyday conversations.

## Review of Literature

### *Circular Migration in Puerto Rico*

Migration is usually understood as a one-way, one-time permanent change of residence (Duany 2002, 355). However, there are different kinds of mobility, many of which are not permanent. The growth of literature on transnationalism reflects the increase of movement between origin and destination countries more prevalent today (Greta Gilbertson, suggestion to author, December 9, 2023). The growing access to transportation and communications has increased peoples' likelihood to engage in circular migration (Duany 2002, 356).

Estimates suggest that 15-50% of migrants around the world will return to their home countries, usually within five years of departure (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 534). In recent decades, scholars have devoted more research to return migration and found that it has reached unprecedented levels (Duany 2002, 356) which has resulted in the field experiencing a boom in scholarship on the subject (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 534). Researchers also refer to return migration as “circular migration”, “circulatory migration”, “revolving door migration”, “multiple migration”, “frequent migration”, “repetitive migration”, “recurrent migration”, “intermittent migration”, “seasonal migration”, “sojourning migration”, “cyclical migration”, or “recycling migration” (Duany 2002, 362). What “return migration” or “circular migration” refers to is the continuing cycle of people emigrating from their country of origin, immigrating to their country of origin, emigrating again, etc.

In “Return Migration around the World”, Hagan and Wassink (2020) identify the two branches of immigration scholarship through a sociological lens— the economic sociology of return and the political sociology of return. As they explain, the economic sociology of return investigates how time living and working abroad affects returnees' opportunities in the labor

market and the impacts of return migration on economic development (534). The economic sociology of return builds on the new economics of labor migration framework, and views migration as a strategy less-educated workers undertake to alleviate market uncertainty and accumulate resources in pursuit of economic mobility (535). The political sociology of return framework recognizes the role of states in controlling and managing migration. As such, scholars acknowledge that return is not always voluntary as the world enters a ‘contemporary age’ of migration control and deportation (540). Sociologists that focus on the economic sociology of return often look at the skills return migrants obtained abroad, human capital formation, accumulated savings or the rate of entrepreneurship. Hagan and Wassink reference numerous studies that show that migration can enable economic mobility for migrants and that return migration contributes to social and economic development for their origin countries (537). This argument runs counter to the ‘brain drain’ narrative that sees migration as a net human capital loss for developing countries.

Jorge Duany (2002) sheds further light on circular migration scholarship through an anthropological lens and contextualizes Puerto Rican return migration through the context of Caribbean migration patterns. As he explains, immigrants from the Caribbean region (such as the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico) have a long history of circulatory migration (356). Additionally, there is a high circulation rate among unincorporated territories and the country who has jurisdiction over them considering they may move freely between the two (such as Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders to the United States, French Antilleans to France, and Dutch Antilleans to the Netherlands (357). Immigrants from this region often migrate in search of jobs and better living conditions. As Duany explains, migrants often return to their country of origin when socioeconomic conditions abroad become less attractive (356). Interestingly, he

highlights that migration in the Caribbean is distinctive because it is rooted in a long history of forced and induced migrations (358). Another distinctive factor is that Caribbean immigrants are among immigrant groups with multilocal social networks and continuing commitments to their home communities (358). One of the first scholars to dive into induced migration in Puerto Rico, political scientist Edgardo Melendez's (2017) *Sponsored Migration* details various ways in which the Puerto Rican government actively promoted migration.

Duany (2002) delves deeper into Puerto Rican migratory scholarship. As he explains, many scholars understood Puerto Rican migration as the permanent relocation of low wage labor, and thought said migration had mostly ended with the end of the Great Migration (358). Despite this, he explains that the mass return of Puerto Ricans has been documented since the 1960s, determined by the number of returnees outnumbering those emigrating. Duany notes that return migration or circulation has been a source of debate as some scholars argue it has a negative impact on human capital among Puerto Ricans while others see it as a survival strategy and the effect, not the cause, of low quality of life and reduced opportunity for advancement both in Puerto Rico and in the United States (361).

Some research has found that frequent migration enhances Puerto Ricans' socioeconomic mobility, in opposition to what was previously thought (Duany 2002). In 2013, Otterstrom and Tillman used the American Community Survey and Internal Revenue Service's migration data to trace Puerto Rican migration as well as compare the income of Puerto Ricans entering and leaving the United States. They found that during the period from 1995 to 2010, Puerto Ricans leaving the island had lower incomes than those returning which demonstrates that emigrating proved economically beneficial. However, they argue that circular migration does not provide enough time for Puerto Ricans to increase their income in order to reach the average income of

other communities in the United States, but they do increase compared to what they could be earning in Puerto Rico. The study is 10 years old but provides empirical evidence as to why Puerto Ricans may want to migrate to the United States even if it is for a short period of time.

### *Measuring Migration after Hurricane Maria*

After Hurricane Maria, there was a massive exodus from Puerto Rico but researchers have had to turn to nontraditional data sources to study Puerto Rican migration after the hurricane due to the lack of reliable, updated information and the insufficiency of data sources on the subject (Dewaard, Johnson, and Whitaker 2020, 29). DeWaard and his colleagues note that researchers have had to turn to other sources such as school enrollment data, change of address databases, mobile phone data, flight passenger traffic data, and social media data in order to obtain the necessary information.

In their 2020 research brief, DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker measured out-migration and return migration to Puerto Rico in the years before and after Hurricane Maria using quarterly data from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, specifically the Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, to estimate migration to and from Puerto Rico. The Consumer Credit Panel or CCP contains mailing addresses for a constant group of people and allowed them to study migration at the sub-county level over a nearly 10 year period. Their findings revealed that out-migration remained elevated from 2017 until the end of their study in 2019. Counterintuitively, they found that return migration was higher for those who lived in more vulnerable places compared to those who lived in less vulnerable places. The study is one of various that used nontraditional data sources to compensate for a lack of statistics on migration since Maria.

An earlier article in 2019 by Alexander, Polimis, and Zagheni investigated the demographics of people migrating. The data sources researchers have used, such as those referenced above, have provided quantitative information on migration but have not been able to provide data on the demographic characteristics of migrants. As such, Alexander and her colleagues used demographic characteristics of Facebook and their affiliated websites through their advertising platform, Ads Manager, to get a closer look at the number of people migrating as well as their sex and age range. Their study found that migration in the first few months after Maria were disproportionately younger people and men, and return migration was increasing, although slowly, in the first months of 2018. The paper offers a methodological contribution to literature that uses data from social media advertising platforms for demographic research.

In recent years, various newspaper publications including local newspapers such as *El Nuevo Dia* and *Primera Hora* have documented cases of Puerto Ricans returning to the island. “‘Boom’ de Boricuas de Regreso a la Isla” published in September of 2020, reports that while empirical studies had not been conducted, a local entrepreneur who owns a moving company suggested that his clients expressed that they were returning to the island due to the pandemic as they had been left without jobs as a result and preferred to be without jobs in Puerto Rico than in the United States.

### *Push and Pull Framework*

As previously stated, the study will use the push and pull framework of migration to understand people’s perspectives on return migration. As Urbański (2022) notes, there are various pull and push factors that influence migration. Pull factors are conditions that attract migrants to a region or a country while push factors are conditions that drive people to leave



their place of origin. These factors are categorized into economic, social, and political factors.

Some scholars also consider demographic and miscellaneous factors (Zanabazar, Nam Son, and Sarantuya 2021).

### *Situating the Study*

This study is part of a larger trend of scholars turning to social media to study Puerto Rican migration after 2017 and a larger trend of scholars studying return migration. However, the majority of these use social media specifically to track population data (Alexander, Polimis, and Zagheni, 2019; DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker, 2020). This study instead uses social media to obtain people's perception of return migration as well as their opinion on the subject. In this way, the study will get a view of people's more unfiltered and unstructured thoughts as opposed to how people would express themselves in a formal interview. While interviews are critical and provide extensive information considering those who conduct them have precise questions for the interviewee, social media will provide a glimpse of how people express themselves without having to potentially filter themselves, either to sound more formal or educated. Social media allows people to offer their opinion freely, sometimes under the guise of anonymity, as well as express their emotions freely.

## Background

Puerto Rico is a small island in the Caribbean, the smallest of the Greater Antilles. Affectionately referred to as the 100 x 35 in reference to what is believed to be Puerto Rico's measurements, 100 x 35 miles, Puerto Rico is just less than half of the size of New Jersey (Hastedt and Shelton 2016).<sup>1</sup> A Spanish colony for 400 years, Puerto Rico came under the jurisdiction of the United States in 1898 after the Spanish-American War.<sup>2</sup> Just one thousand miles off the coast of Miami (Lagasse 2018), a flight to the mainland United States' east coast is about four hours.

From the start, the nature of the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States has been ambiguous. Puerto Rico is designated as a Commonwealth of the United States, but what that means exactly is unclear. *The Columbia Encyclopedia* defines it as a self-governing entity in association with the United States (Lagasse 2018). However, while Puerto Rico has its own government and elects its own officials, the United States has ultimate purview over the proceedings of the island. When the island's constitution was established in 1952, over fifty years after Puerto Rico was placed under the United States' jurisdiction, they did not have the power to alter any legislation already established by the United States. They could not address issues of citizenship, immigration, coastwide shipping, commercial treaties, foreign relations, military activity, currency, and tariff policy (Ayala and Barnabe 2007, 163). Additionally, federal acts prevail over the constitution. While Puerto Ricans were made US citizens under the Jones Act of 1917 (Hastedt and Shelton 2016), they have no voting representatives in Congress, and they cannot vote in Presidential elections.

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<sup>1</sup> While it is popularly referred to as 100 x 35, Puerto Rico's real size is 111 x 39 miles

<sup>2</sup> Puerto Ricans welcomed the United States' military forces under the belief that they would help them gain independence from Spain, not that they would now be under their jurisdiction (Kanellos 2023).

The complicated relationship with the United States has been and continues to be a source of debate. Many have worked to liberate Puerto Rico from what they see as a form of neocolonialism. On the other hand, the relationship Puerto Rico has with the United States has made Puerto Rico economically dependent on the United States, making independence unthinkable for others. Although Puerto Rico and the United States have each held numerous referendums to settle the status question as many deliberate whether Puerto Rico should maintain a special relationship with the United States, become a state or become independent (Hastedt and Shelton 2016), Puerto Rico remains a U.S. Commonwealth.

Because Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, they may move freely between Puerto Rico and the mainland without all the red tape and legal restrictions associated with immigration (Otterstrom and Tillman 2013, 34). As a result, as of 2006 there is a larger number of Puerto Ricans in the United States than on the island itself (Otterstrom and Tillman 2013, 36). In 2021, the Pew Research Center reported an estimated 5.8 million people of Puerto Rican origin living in the United States (Moslimani, Noe-Bustamante, and Shah 2023).

Puerto Rican migration to the United States goes back more than a century, before Puerto Rico was under the United States' control.<sup>3</sup> The large-scale migration of Puerto Ricans officially began in the 1930s. The Puerto Rican population increased dramatically in the period from 1860 to 1900— it had doubled from 583,000 to a million, but the labor market was not developing at the same rate (Kanellos 2023). At the time, the majority of Puerto Ricans were farmers, and they relied on agriculture for their livelihood. However, from 1920 into the 1930s, the establishment of large sugar plantations and absentee ownership by Americans and American corporations

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<sup>3</sup> While Puerto Rico was still a Spanish colony, merchants from the United States and Puerto Rico took part in clandestine trade of sugar and molasses. Some Puerto Rican merchants, as a result, moved to New York with their families and New York eventually became a haven for both Cubans and Puerto Ricans exiles and dissidents to plot against Spain which is why New York eventually became the established site of relocation for Puerto Ricans

meant that many Puerto Rican farmers lost their lands and their means of livelihood (Hastedt and Shelton 2016).

As a response, the Puerto Rican government established agrarian reforms which were mostly successful but by the 1940s, they thought the island had to industrialize. Under Puerto Rico's development program, Operation Bootstrap, the government promoted the development of an export-oriented manufacturing sector, opened up the economy to American businesses and emphasized foreign investment. For this reason, American businesses were offered tax exemptions for relocating to the island as well as offers to build infrastructure and cheap, docile labor (Santana 1998, 94).<sup>4</sup> The program was a major restructuring of the economy and also intended to urbanize the island. However, the low wages it boasted to promote investment and the abandoned agrarian reforms left the Puerto Rican people facing low salaries and widespread unemployment (Kanellos 2023).

The Puerto Rican government promoted migration to the United States as a way to relieve the growing unemployment. Out-migration addressed several problems at once: it could help alleviate the labor shortage in the United States ("Puerto Rico" 2001), and it relieved the overpopulation problem in Puerto Rico.<sup>5</sup> This period of Puerto Rican migration began in the 1920s, but the Great Migration, as it is called, began after World War II and lasted until the 1950s.

Puerto Rican migration has continued since. Despite the fact that there is a large Puerto Rican population in the U.S., Puerto Rican migration patterns are circular— that is, Puerto Ricans will migrate to the United States, some may return to the island then leave again and the cycle

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<sup>4</sup> Santana argues that the purpose of Operation Bootstrap was to keep the strategically vital island loyal to the United States. Economic development meant providing a livelihood for many, undermining the independence movement in Puerto Rico and preventing any alternative development models that may have increased self-sufficiency

<sup>5</sup> Another way the overpopulation problem was addressed was 'La Operacion' in which Puerto Rican women had their tubes tied without their consent by American doctors and the first human trials of the birth control pill

continues. As early as the 1930s, Puerto Ricans had begun returning to the island (Kanellos 2023). During the late 1960s and early 1970s, more people returned to the island than left which scholars attribute to significant job losses in New York as well as the introduction of the federal minimum wage and federal food stamp program on the island in 1974 and 1975 respectively (Otterstrom and Tillman 2013, 36). The 1980s wave of migration was characterized once again by outmigration although the trend of return migration continued. In the 2000s, there was another notable population exodus from the island due to the economic crisis (DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker 2020, 29). In fact, from 2000 to 2021, the Puerto Rican population in the United States increased 71%, growing from 3.4 million to 5.8 million (Moslimani, Noe-Bustamante, and Shah 2023)

Life in Puerto Rico today is not easy, and the problems that have prompted people to leave in the past continue today. People are encouraged to go to the United States in search of employment and higher education as opportunities are limited in Puerto Rico. Additionally, in recent years the cost of living has increased, not to mention the various natural disasters that leave people vulnerable to water shortages, power outages, heat waves, and the loss of their homes.

## **Main Case**

Despite the challenges the Puerto Rican people face, as well as the emigration flows that have recently characterized Puerto Rican migration, local newspapers and journalists are reporting various stories of Puerto Ricans returning to the island, with one local newspaper suggesting the tide of migration could shift as there has been a ‘boom’ of Puerto Ricans moving to the island (Perez Mendez 2020). The following study used social media to obtain an insight of people’s perspective towards the migration the reports detail which provided an insight of the factors that people note as affecting migration.

## **Push Factors**

### *Economic*

#### *Salaries and Wages*

The majority of the comments, especially from the article that reported young people returning to Puerto Rico for work, identified economic push factors to criticize their return. The main issue they highlighted was low, stagnant salaries in Puerto Rico. Various people referred to the salary as ‘una miseria’ or a pittance such as user Bea, “No como enPR que le pagan una miseria...Ah, y pasan años y no le suben el sueldo. El costo de vida sube y el sueldo no, o sea, cada vez cobra menos” (Not like in Puerto Rico that they pay a pittance... Oh, and years pass and they do not increase your salary. The cost of living increases and the salary does not, I mean, each time you make less) (@Briseida138, April 17, 2022). Users repeatedly noted that salaries in the United States are higher, with one user, Biko X, arguing that the salary in the United States is four times higher than that of Puerto Rico (@Biko, April 17, 2022). Higher salaries in the United States would constitute a pull factor driving migration. Users also reported low salaries across professions, from teachers to doctors to engineers.

Just last year, thousands of public workers including teachers, paramedics and firefighters took to the streets demanding an increase in wages. The majority of them have not had an increase in salary in over a decade, some of them in two decades as user Bea references (Coto 2022). A news release from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported last year that the average monthly wage in Puerto Rico is just \$2,660 while in the United States, it is \$5,540 (Rep. *Municipio Employment and Wages* 2023). As illustrated, the average salary in the United States would not be four times that of Puerto Rico with the wages indicated, as user Biko X suggested. The average salary in the United States is just a little over two times that of Puerto Rico. Some people do argue that the cost of living in Puerto Rico is cheaper than in the United States. However, with the price of utilities which are 60% higher than the average cost for Americans, groceries 18% higher than the average in the U.S., and the housing crisis, the argument could be made otherwise even though the cost of healthcare and housing is lower (Coto 2022).

### *Lack of Opportunities*

Another economic push factor users identified was the lack of opportunities for Puerto Ricans, majorly also in the article which referenced a non-profit organization that matches recent graduates about to emigrate and professionals in the diaspora with competitive job opportunities. Users discussed the opportunities available on the island, responding to one post that advocated towards providing competitive offers to young professionals on the island to prevent them from having to emigrate, a sentiment echoed in the TikTok post when journalist Bianca Graulau called on the government to provide an incentive for Puerto Ricans that want to stay on the island to do so considering the incentives the Puerto Rican government provides for foreign investors to come into the island. The original post on the article noted that the jobs available on public job

fairs are in the service sector as waiters paying low or minimum wage (@Bertis, April 17, 2022). One user replied “Es que en PR eso es lo que le espera al graduado...” or “That is what awaits the graduate in Puerto Rico” (@Joe731, April 17, 2022). Another posed the argument that this would not be the case for people in STEM fields (@justo775, April 17, 2022) but another user replied that even these job sectors which are usually understood as high-paying, secure jobs “no tienen much salida en PR...” (they do not have many opportunities in Puerto Rico) (@Guest, April 17, 2022).

A report from the Puerto Rican Department of Labor and Human Resources from 2020 helps shed light on the employment situation on the island. According to the report, the occupations with the most jobs include retail sellers, cashiers, and cleaning employees (2) which would suggest that Bertis’ comment was not incorrect as the average hourly rate for these workers is \$9.74, just a little over minimum wage (7). Additionally, the industries with the most employment opportunities are public administration, education, and administrative and support services such as office work (2). The average monthly salary for these occupations is \$2,033.04 which is lower than the average salary on the island (Rep. *Empleo y Salarios* 2020). However, a pay increase was put into place earlier this year for public employees.

### *Entrepreneurship*

Additionally, users debated on whether returning was beneficial or not for entrepreneurs. User Coco 10 argued that those that returned did so after acquiring better experience in the United States so they are returning with jobs or businesses they have already created (@Elisa046, April 17, 2022). Skill acquisition abroad and entrepreneurship are strategies often adopted by circular migrants that enable economic mobility for said migrants (Hagan and



Wassink 2020). The user went on to say that it is more economical to create a business on the island, they face less competition in the market, and have government incentives as well as less taxes imposed (@Elisa046, April 17, 2022). However, the report does not appear to be referencing any of those things. Moreover, user Losuel Vega argued that it is not cheaper to create a business in Puerto Rico considering all the bureaucracy necessary to do so and the lack of services for businesses (@Losuel, April 17, 2022). He goes on to say that starting a business in Puerto Rico is difficult—there is no contributive stability and lack of infrastructure to make a stable business (@Losuel, April 17, 2022). A lack of a friendly market for local entrepreneurs could also be an economical push factor for Puerto Ricans.

The Puerto Rican government has pursued various initiatives to incentivize businesses to operate from Puerto Rico. The government incentives for businesses user Coco10 seems to be alluding to are the tax exemptions enacted by Act 60 widely criticized by the Puerto Rican people. Act 20 and 22, consolidated under Act 60 in 2019, offers tax exemptions for select businesses (Acevedo 2023). Under Act 20, businesses that qualify, foreign or local, get a 4% fixed income tax for exporting services while under Act 22, individual investors get a 0% tax rate on capital gains including profits from selling estate stocks or cryptocurrencies. While they are meant to attract foreign investment, about 40% of tax exemptions stipulated under Act 20 were granted to local firms (Acevedo 2023), suggesting that it is possible for local businesses to obtain tax exemptions as the user suggested.

However, the majority of business owners in Puerto Rico agreed with the criticisms of user Losuel Vega. According to polls conducted by the Supervisory Board on the island, the majority of entrepreneurs considered operating a business on the island very difficult, the majority citing the number of tax filings required as the principal reason for this (Ojeda 2022).

Despite recent reforms to facilitate business proceedings, business owners still face long bureaucratic proceedings and antiquated systems when establishing their businesses.

### *Respectable Retirement and The Labor Reform*

Furthermore, users noted limited work benefits as well as the recent labor reform, both of which contribute negatively to workers. User Pepecorote pointed to the government, saying “que no nos permiten un retiro digno” or that they do not allow them [Puerto Ricans] a dignified retirement pension (@Jorge008, April 18, 2022). Another user, Bea, cited the marginal benefits offered to workers, the labor reform, and also said workers are “haciendo el trabajo de 3 personas” (doing the work of three people) (@Briseida138, April 17, 2022). The problem the user described could potentially be related to a shortage of workers or perhaps a reflection of workers not being paid enough which has resulted in a shortage of workers (Info on work shortage).

The Puerto Rican people are principally contending with their retirement plan and the recent labor reform. In 2019, the Board of Supervision and Administrative Finance created by the federal (United States) government approved a plan to restructure Puerto Rico’s debt at the cost of thousands of public workers, most of them already retired (cite law). The Law for a Dignified Retirement (Comisión de Asuntos Laborales 2021, 3) sought to ensure public workers would get a decent retirement after the Board’s plan intended to severely lower these employee’s pensions. However, the law was met with resistance from the Board considering it would go against the austerity measures they proclaim. As of September 2023, they have reached an agreement for a partial implementation for eligible employees (“Acuerdo” 2023)

Contrastingly, the recent labor reform is meant to attract businesses to Puerto Rico through attractive, employer-friendly measures that cut into benefits employees previously had. While the previous reform of 2017 was particularly severe towards employees, the 2022 reform attempts to scale back on some of the measures established. Nevertheless, the law stipulates that employees now have to work significantly more hours to accrue vacation and sick leave (“Enmiendas” 2022).

### *The Privatization of the Power Company*

Various users also reported on the high cost of living in Puerto Rico, specifically due to the high costs of the electric bills. User Kung fu panda asked “Cuando regresaron antes o después del apagón y del aumento de la luz y agua?????” (When did they return before or after the blackout and the increase of the power and water?????) (@Omar214, April 17, 2022). (Info on water bill increase). Another user, Peter Parker noted the increase, saying “Los esta esperando con Los brazos abiertos el nuevo aumento por kw de Luma!” (Luma’s new increase on kilowatts will be waiting for them with open arms) (@Joe731, April 17, 2022).

The electric infrastructure of Puerto Rico was already fragile before Hurricane Maria in 2017, but the hurricane destroyed the electric infrastructure (Meyer 2017). Already facing an economic crisis, the local government’s response was to privatize the power grid as they did not believe they had the capacity to fix a problem of such high magnitude. The public Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority was sold to LUMA Energy, a Canadian-American company in (yr). The Puerto Rican people were resistant to the shift from the start because they knew the company would increase costs, and they hold protests and graffiti the streets to this day with “Fuera LUMA” (Get out LUMA). Luma increased the electricity rate seven times in their first

year, including a 17% increase from the previous price and people struggle to pay their electric bills (Vega 2022). Despite their high prices and the fact that six years have passed since Maria, power outages are constant even on perfectly sunny days due to ‘maintenance purposes’ and the still fragile infrastructure. As such, businesses and private citizens alike rely on generators, if they can afford them, that run on expensive fuel, ultimately paying for spotty and unreliable power from LUMA and also for their generators. One of the largest hospitals on the island was left without power just last year due to one of their generators failing during an outage (“Averia” 2022). The instability is not just dangerous and expensive, already an economic push factor in itself, but it also conflicts with the ability to provide a stable market for businesses.

### *Natural Disasters*

Despite the remaining effects of hurricane Maria, and the threat of hurricanes becoming increasingly more prevalent due to climate change, users did not identify the effects of natural disasters as a push factor, neither economically or socially which is surprising considering how devastating the hurricane was. Hurricane Maria caused the largest blackout in American history and the second-largest blackout in the world (Barclay, Fernández Campbell, and Irfan 2018). Puerto Ricans were left facing a heatwave as food was spoiling and the lack of electricity impeded cooking. The power outage caused a health care crisis which accounts for the high mortality rate of the hurricane (Hurricane Maria ‘Killed 4,600’ 2018). Hospitals struggled to care for their patients as “Vital medical equipment like dialysis machines couldn’t run. Medicines like insulin went bad” (Barclay, Fernández Campbell, and Irfan 2018). Water scarcity contributed to the already grave healthcare crisis. Because Puerto Rico’s water supply largely depends on the power supply, when the power went so did the water, and Puerto Ricans struggled to access clean

drinking water which caused a leptospirosis outbreak (Barclay, Fernández Campbell, and Irfan 2018). Additionally, people were incommunicated from their family and friends for extended periods of time, and people were left to worry over their well-being. Finally, many people lost their houses as many residences in Puerto Rico are built from wood and zinc (Acevedo 2020). The hurricanes destroyed these homes, and left others without a roof. As such, there was a massive exodus from the island. Scholars estimated that between 114,000 and 213,000 people migrated (DeWaard, Johnson, and Whitaker 2020). While some of those people would return within a short term, others would not.

Hurricanes are not the only natural disaster that Puerto Rico is prone to. Although it occurs less frequently, there have been various earthquakes in the past. In the south of the island, people had to rebuild after losing their homes due to an earthquake in 2020. In the recent past, large earthquakes have been contained to the south of the island which is potentially the reason no user referenced it despite the clear economic push factor that losing their home would entail.

### *Gentrification and the Housing Crisis*

Users did indicate another economic push factor which has caused families in Puerto Rico to lose their homes as well as increased the cost of living in Puerto Rico: the housing crisis as a result of gentrification. User Mi Sincera Opinion said, “Cuando se den cuenta que comprar una propiedad es imposible; se vuelven a ir!” (As soon as they realize that buying a property is impossible, they will leave again) (@Mia247, April 17, 2022) referring to the young professionals that returned to the island. The user clearly suggested that the difficulty of buying a home will result in their emigration. However, Bianca Graulau’s TikTok reports that gentrification has already forced some families to emigrate as their buildings are bought by

foreign real estate investors (Graulau 2023). As one user, Andrea Posse, explained “We have tried to purchase a 🏠 and all of our deals fall through, because the seller prefers to sell to an outsider bringing cash instead of asking [price]!” (@andrea\_posse\_, July 1, 2023). Graulau has reported on such cases various times, such as in Puerto Rican musician Bad Bunny’s music video/mini-documentary “El Apagon - Aqui Vive Gente.” In the video, various Puerto Ricans explained that the buildings their homes were in were bought out by American investors who evicted them just for the buildings to be put on the market again for over a million dollars– cash only– with the offer that the current tenants can move out in just thirty days.

Other buildings get bought out to become short-term rentals for AirBnB with the promise of service industry jobs for the local population (Bad Bunny - El Apagón, 2022). One user, Hola, referenced the issue saying, “I just bought an apartment and I'm going to rent it (No AirB&B) for the next 6years until I can retire and go back.” (@iambored857, July 3, 2023). In light of the reports that the user is commenting on, they clarify that they will not rent the apartment for AirBnB because they realize that it would contribute to the housing crisis. As of 2023, Puerto Rico is officially host to the most AirBnBs in the world (“Puerto Rico se convierte” 2023) which studies have shown has contributed to a housing crisis on the island as properties are not available for long-term rentals or to purchase, not to mention tenants of long-term rentals are reporting they have seen their rent prices double from one day to the next (“Short-term rental boom 2023). The AirBnB industry on the island is tightly controlled by just a few firms, most of which are owned by private investors that benefit from Act 22 (Acevedo 2023) which provides a 0% tax rate on capital gains to predominantly foreigners.

Another user, Bluu🇵🇷, echoes a similar sentiment, saying “We selling our houses and renting them to people who need it 😞 ill miss home dearly but people need places to live too.”

(@bluuil, June 29, 2023). The user is indicating that due to the situation his own family is selling their properties on the island in an attempt to alleviate the situation. The sentiment is surprising considering some Puerto Ricans have expressed the desire to buy property or land on the island to ensure they will not be displaced.

In response to the housing crisis and high cost of living, many users expressed feelings of sadness. User madmadie66 said “It breaks my heart when you see your people loose their home to this wealthy foreigners that only care about money.” (@madmadie66, June 28, 2023). Another user 🇵🇷Aileen 🇵🇷 commented, “This breaks my heart, I long to live back home. But they're making it impossible... 😞” (@aileen\_vl, July 3, 2023). Who ‘they’ are is ambiguous— she could be referring to the local government which the original post calls on to incentivize Puerto Ricans to stay or the investors evicting people from their homes. A similar sentiment was conveyed by C I E R R A. who commented, “I want to go home but they are oushing [pushing] everyone out. 😞 It makes me sad and discouraged” (@cierranilan\_, July 1, 2023). Of the users that used emojis, the 😞 or the ‘pleading face’ emoji (denoted as such by dictionary.com), was adopted by various users to express their sadness and potentially pleading, although it is unknown to who.

The idea that Puerto Ricans are purposefully being ‘pushed’ out of the island was alluded to by various users, the majority blaming the local government. One user, user713086 said, “...I don't want to go back to a Puerto Rico without Puertoricans 😞😞😞. and sadly the government is selling our island to people who only care about money...” (@lxiomy1986, July 3, 2023). The idea of Puerto Rico without Puerto Ricans many users referenced comes from Pedro Albizu Campos, a leader of the independence movement in Puerto Rico in the twentieth century. Critiquing what he called the colonial project of U.S. occupation on the island, he was attributed

to have said “Quieren la jaula, no el pajaró” (They want the cage, not the birds) to say that the ultimate goal of their occupation was a Puerto Rico without Puerto Ricans (Cabrera 2022).

### *Colonization, Statehood or Independence?*

However, users pointed to different people to blame. While some users blamed the local government, others blamed the American government for trying to force the Puerto Rican people out, often calling Puerto Rico an American colony. User Marco Slavatori said “I’m afraid the U.S. finally figured out a way to take over the island 125 years after the war ended” (@marquillo1973, July 1, 2023), referencing the Spanish-American War of 1898 which resulted in American control of Puerto Rico in the first place. What the user implies is that the United States figured out a way to take over the island through another means that was not outward colonization and conquest but gentrification. Albamar Sanchez argues that the reason that the Puerto Rican government does not intervene in the widespread gentrification is because they do not actually administer for the Puerto Rican people but for the United States, illustrated as the colonizing power: “Ask the colonial ‘govt’ !? It administers for the occupation and things are going well for colonizers...” (@seriela.pr, June 28, 2023). They argue that the government will not do anything to encourage Puerto Ricans to stay on the island because they work for the Americans, and the Americans are profiting from gentrification. In addition to the economic push factor that the housing crisis creates, political misrepresentation may accordingly be a political push factor.

Others portrayed the issue of gentrification through a class distinction in opposition to a colonial lens. User angel61st says “Pretty soon only the Rich will leave [live] in Puerto Rico” (@angel61st, July 3, 2023) and another user, Wendy, saying “It’s all a set up to get the locals to



leave so the rich can have the island” (@wendrz, July 1, 2023). While the first post makes a clear class distinction that only the rich will be able to live on the island, the second seemingly conglomerates the rich with foreigners considering the former word they use, ‘locals’. The implication between the two is important– they do not reflect the same issue. However, both of the issues they point to result in the displacement of people from their homes. The difference is who is being displaced– the Puerto Ricans who will no longer be able to afford living on the island or all of the Puerto Rican people because Americans wanted to live and vacation on a tropical island.

In response to the situation, some users called for Puerto Rico’s independence. For example, user BX-prol responded to the original report saying “independence is the only way” (@bx\_prol, July 23, 2023). They may not necessarily mean independence from a colonial power, but from the relationship Puerto Rico currently has with the U.S. although one comment from user6070716279560 said “As long as PR remains a colony nothing is going to change for the better” (@super\_noba, June 27, 2023) suggesting that some users are indeed suggesting independence from a colonial status. They could also be referring to independence from its commonwealth status. As some of the previous comments alluded to, many Puerto Ricans believe that the structure of the Puerto Rican government as it is ultimately serves the Americans or ensures their interests more than their own.

Some users believe the ultimate goal of the gentrification Puerto Rico is experiencing is to turn Puerto Rico into a state. Coincidentally, the posts that spoke of the United States turning Puerto Rico into a state were also much more inciting than the rest. User Luna 977 said, “Wow this is heart breaking literally Hawaii 2.0 when will our people stand up and fight back mis boricuas wake up” (@lordfarquad030, July 3, 2023). Puerto Rico is often compared to Hawaii,

but considering the situation, the comparison seems particularly apt. Hawaii was a sovereign nation until American businessmen overthrew the local monarchy to serve their own interests in 1893 (“Americans Overthrow” 2020). Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898, the same year as Puerto Rico, and officially became a state in 1959. Americans poured into Hawaii even before 1893 to cultivate sugar and pineapple plantations and continue to do so to this day which has led to the displacement and impoverishment of Hawaiians. Similarly, Americans have begun pouring into Puerto Rico since Hurricane Maria and later the 2020 pandemic (Vermes 2023). The comment begins sentimental but a shift occurs at the end— seemingly inciting Puerto Ricans to protest against statehood or perhaps calling for independence.

While most comments are politically charged, all but one was violent which represented a stark shift from the other comments. User Janiel said, “Violence is the answer 😊. Blow that hotel up like they did in Jamaica. How much more our people gonna loose before the whole island is completely infested with people who don't belong their. What's next ? Take the whole island turn it in to a state and rename it ?” (@rodriguezdejesus1, July 10, 2023). First, there is a sharp juxtaposition between the call to violence in the first two sentences and the emoji used. Perhaps it may reflect that the user is calm towards using violence. However, the specific emoji is often used to convey passive aggressiveness or malicious intent. It is unclear what the user means in reference to the hotel in Jamaica, although they could potentially be referring to the explosion at the Riu Reggae hotel in 2017. The hotel was reportedly a ‘British holiday hotspot’ (Oliphant 2017) which could account for the comparison the user is trying to make as Jamaica is a British commonwealth hosting British tourists in this case, similarly to Puerto Rico being a commonwealth hosting Americans. However, there were no reports of what caused the

explosion, and no hint of being politically motivated. The violence the user advocates for is seemingly in response to Puerto Ricans losing their homes at the hand of real estate developers.

Additionally, it demonstrates a sentiment that there are people who ‘don’t belong’ in Puerto Rico which from the rest of the comment appears to be Americans or as they are often referred to in Puerto Rico, ‘gringos’ considering the comment goes on to talk about statehood. Janiel describes their increasing presence or perhaps their continuing gentrification as an ‘infestation’, illustrating them as insects or animals that will cause damage or disease. Furthermore, the comment, similarly to others, is suggesting that the gentrification in Puerto Rico will lead to making Puerto Rico a state which in this context is clearly not presented as something desirable. He ends his statement saying that they will rename Puerto Rico once they turn it into a state which could imply that the author believes that they will erase the identity of Puerto Rico by renaming it or perhaps that they will take it for themselves considering they are changing the name.

While the majority of the comments seemed to be critical of Puerto Rico’s relation to the United States, not all of the comments reflected that. Most of the comments that were critical to Puerto Rico’s relation saw the gentrification they are experiencing as a result and possible conquering strategy by an occupying power. However, not all the comments reflected the same sentiment. One user, Ernesto, argued “Oh it [the living situation and gentrification] could definitely get worse were it not a part of the US” (@ernieballman, June 27, 2023). The variation in people’s attitudes on the subject can be understood as a reflection of the contention among Puerto Ricans as to their status with the United States.

### *Brain Drain*

Finally, another economic push factor identified in the data sample was brain drain, a common issue in countries with a highly mobile population. The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy defines brain drain as “the emigration of skilled and professional workers” including engineers, doctors, nurses, and university professors from a country (Wong 2010). As Bloemraad and Lin (2011) explain, migration may reduce unemployment and population pressures. For Puerto Rican families, migration is their solution to unemployment and low salaries. Migration is also the solution the state turned to as both the colonial government of 1900 and the popular government of the 1940s to the mid-1970s sponsored out-migration, the colonial government to solve what they had deemed was Puerto Rico’s largest problem: overpopulation (Meléndez 2017, 2), and the popular government to capitalize on the island’s most abundant source: its labor power (Duany 2002, 364). Brain drain is largely understood as harmful to the country of origin as their most educated and skilled members migrate elsewhere which harms the chances for future growth (Bloemraad and Linn 2011). However, scholars have found evidence that migrants, those well-educated and those who have minimal schooling, acquire new skills abroad which they can contribute to their country of origin, providing a notable counterargument to the brain drain narrative (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 538). Brain circulation, a term coined by Allan Williams and Vladimir Baláž, refers to human capital enhancement through temporary mobility used more efficiently upon return (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 537).

Most of the comments that allude to brain drain are actually positive. The majority of these are comments saying congratulations to the young professionals who returned for contributing to the future and well-being of the island. For example, one user, Julio, said “God

bless these young professionals who decided to work and build a good future for Puerto Rico... ” (@Julio704, April 17, 2023). The comment demonstrates ordinary people are aware of the problem that can be brain drain as well as the value of these young people returning. However, user Jose Rivera called attention to an uncommon argument. He highlighted how the University of Puerto Rico, the main public university with eleven campuses across the island and more than thirty thousand students enrolled yearly educates hundreds of students a year, who graduate as professionals in all fields (Rep. *Enrolled Students* 2023). However, despite the money the island designates for the university, he argues that the island does not see their return on investment as graduates emigrate as soon as they finish their studies:

Es que cada año la UPR, la universidad del pueblo que consume el 10% de todo el presupuesto. Cientos gradúa cada año de profesionales de la salud, desde médicos especialistas hasta enfermeras, que luego van parar a Orlando. Economistas y la isla en quiebra, ingenieros y la isla entera se desmorona, maestros y en las escuelas escasean, agronomos y la tierra no produce, lo mismo sucede con cada especialidad. Sobre \$1,000 millones sin que apenas aporte beneficios a la población, sin consecuencias para las decenas de miles graduados que tan pronto terminan estudios emigran al continente. Sin consecuencias. (cite)

It's that every year the UPR, the university of the public which consumes 10% of the budget. Graduates hundreds of health professionals each year, from specialists doctors to nurses who will later end up in Orlando. Economists and the island is bankrupt, engineers and the whole island is crumbling, teachers and in schools they are scarce, agronomists and the soil does not produce, the same occurs with every specialty. Over a billion without even contributing benefits to the population, without consequences for the tens of thousands of graduates who as soon as they finish their studies emigrate to the continent. Without consequence. (@Jose5293, April 17, 2022).

He argues that despite all the professionals that the university produces, the island does not benefit from it, and they do not contribute to solving the struggles the island faces. The user highlights how there are no consequences for those that emigrate, suggesting that he believes there should be. Brain drain may be an economic push factor, as it reflects a lack of opportunities for educated professionals.

*Doctor Exodus*

Additionally, brain drain may constitute an economic push factor because it may limit people's access to certain services. For example, user Losuel Vega alluded to doctors' low salaries which has contributed to the recent exodus of doctors on the island, saying “Y como te sientes cuando los seguros médicos no te pagan, y cuando te pagan te dan una miseria?” (And how do you feel when medical insurances do not pay you, and when they do, they pay a pittance?) (@Losuel, April 17, 2022) in response to a doctor who expressed happiness at having returned to the island. Puerto Rico has lost over  $\frac{1}{3}$  of its physicians in the last decade which endangers the island to have an inadequate number of doctors for its number of people (Varas-Díaz, Rodríguez-Madera, Padilla, Matiz-Reyes, Grove, Rivera-Bustelo, Mercados-Ríos, et al. 2023). Recent migration waves have been led by doctors in specialized areas of medicine, and they have become increasingly scarce on the island, making it nearly impossible to find an appointment. Varas-Díaz and her colleagues argued that Puerto Rico's economic crisis along with the aftermath of Maria are two driving forces behind the exodus. Specifically, ever since hurricane Maria, “issues with insurance reimbursement have become one of the major factors behind the mass exodus of doctors” on top of the low wages doctors are paid in Puerto Rico compared to those in the United States, reported a local doctor (Kim 2020). A 13 year old, Jaideliz Moreno Ventura, from Vieques passed away in 2019 due to inaccessible medical facilities. The lack of accessible healthcare is another push factor which may be considered a social or an economic one.

## Pull Factors

### *Economic*

While the majority of people pointed to economic reasons as influencing out-migration from Puerto Rico, some posts viewed economic reasons as a pull factor to Puerto Rico. Various people pointed to a lower cost of living in Puerto Rico, arguing that they do not have to pay federal taxes and the rent in Puerto Rico is much lower.<sup>6</sup> User ramonolivencia said, “Se ganarán 3-4 veces en USA más pero pagan mucho más en renta y además están también los impuestos federales.” (They may make 3-4 times more in the United States but they will pay much more in rent and besides there are also the federal taxes) (@Ramon189, April 18, 2022). Additionally, user Marimily said, “In the USA things are getting hard and extremely expensive” (@latinmary, August 3, 2023). As displayed in the comment, circular migrants often return home when socioeconomic conditions abroad become less favorable and alternatively move to the mainland when the situation at home is unsatisfactory (Duany 2002). A local newspaper article from *Primera Hora* reporting on the influx of Puerto Ricans returning to the island in 2020, interviewed the general manager at a local moving company who said that based on what their clients are saying, they are returning due to the pandemic and because they have lost their jobs. He goes on to say that to them, it is better to be unemployed in Puerto Rico than in Florida (Pérez Méndez 2020).

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<sup>6</sup> Puerto Ricans on the island do not pay federal income tax on earnings from the Commonwealth. However, federal employees on the island do pay federal taxes, and Puerto Rico’s federal tax contribution is roughly equal to that of Vermont’s (Acosta, Lauren. 2023. “Médicos Boricuas En La Luna: Morals, Markets, and Medicine in Puerto Rico.” Order No. 30241637, University of California, Davis).

### *Transnationalism*

The most notable reasons users cited as a pull factor to Puerto Rico is their links to Puerto Rico. Some users mentioned Various users expressed a desire to be closer to their family. User Alfredo De La Fe said, “When I was younger I wanted to move to PR and be around my wonderful family” (@alfredodelafe, June 27, 2023), a sentiment echoed by various people. Another user did cite family as a reason people, namely young people, would want to return. However, the user, gumster, did so in a mocking way to criticize their return, “sabra dios porque ( querian a mami...” (God knows why [they returned] ((they wanted their mom...)) (@Angel404, April 17, 2022). While the comment is mocking them, seemingly because the user does not understand why they would return or perhaps believes that they should not do so at all, it does reflect that a pull factor for many people is their families. Migration has been documented to be driven by family reunification factors (Urbański 2022).

A striking pull factor identified by multiple users was a desire to help or contribute to the future of Puerto Rico. Users Aida I. Morales Arroyo said in response to the report of young professionals returning to the island, “Gracias por regresar, necesitamos seres como ustedes que nos ayuden a echar hacia adelante nuestra hermosa isla.” (Thank you for returning, we need people like you that help us progress our beautiful island) (Aidal., April 17, 2023). Various users expressed feelings of gratitude to those that had returned while others congratulated them and wished them good luck. One user, Morivivi, called them “Buenos Borincanos” (Good Borincanos) (@Adolfo428, April 17, 2022) for doing so while another, Julio, called them “Real Puerto Ricans!” (@Julio704, April 17, 2023).<sup>7</sup> The article does say that these young people are returning to contribute to the local economy (Minelli Perez 2022). Additionally, other users such

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<sup>7</sup> Borincano is a demonym similar to Boricua which denotes people of Boriquén which is the indigenous Taíno name for Puerto Rico.



as Gladys 4000741227 expressed a desire to help by returning to Puerto Rico, “🙄 I want to move to Puerto Rico 🇵🇷, I want to help our people, not sure where to start 🤔” (@gladysest, July 14, 2023). The TikTok she is responding to does not allude to such an idea, unlike the newspaper article. While the article references the issue of brain drain as it specifically illustrates those returning as doing so to ‘contribute to the economy’, the TikTok does not, the TikTok is mainly about gentrification. It is unclear if the user is referencing brain drain as well, or hinting that a larger Puerto Rican presence may make it more difficult for foreign investors to ‘push people out’. Various users implied a similar idea to that of Gladys, such as Marimily who said “Not everyone is leaving PR, a lot are going back. I know a lot of people are going back. So there is hope.” (@latinmary, August 3, 2023). From Marimily’s post, it appears that what they are indicating is that Puerto Ricans returning prevents foreign investors from pushing the local population out as there are Puerto Ricans returning.

Perhaps the sentiment of returning to help the island or that a Puerto Rican living in the United States returning would prevent Puerto Ricans from being pushed out of the island may seem peculiar. However, the migration Puerto Ricans take part in disrupt traditional ideas of national identity based on clearly demarcated territories, languages and cultures (Duany 2002). Some scholars understand Puerto Rican migrants as transmigrants because they “develop and maintain multiple relations— familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that spans borders” (Glick Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton 1992, 213). Additionally, Duany (2002) explains that return migrants, especially those from the Caribbean, are one of the immigrant groups characterized by their continuing commitments to their home communities which helps contextualize their desire to help.

While most posts simply hint at helping Puerto Rico as a pull factor, one explicitly says so. User Morivivi said, “regresé a mi isla y mi pueblo porque los quiero ayudar a mejorarlos” (I returned to my island and my people/town because I want to help them improve) (@Adolfo428, April 17, 2022). The post was made in response to the newspaper article, and the user explains that they had a successful career in the United States which implies that their contribution to Puerto Rico may be their acquired professional knowledge and skills. The post demonstrates brain circulation or human capital enhancement as a result of temporary migration and the contribution circulating migrants may have on their home societies (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 537). As demonstrated, while people’s desire to help and their commitment to their island and their people is present across such posts, the contributions they supply are different.

### *Puerto Rico and Home*

Furthermore, users demonstrated strong links to Puerto Rico as the most prevalent pull factor driving return migration. For example, user Rafael Ruiz Quijano expressed, “siempre supe que regresaría, pues hay algo subjetivo de sentirse de aquí, que uno pertenece aquí” (I always knew I would return, there is something subjective about feeling that you are from here, that you belong here) (@Rafael689, April 17, 2022). As Duany (2002) explains, Puerto Rican migrants maintain psychological attachments to the island even after living abroad for extended periods of time.

The majority of posts that reflected a feeling of belonging or home are sentimental, but this does not diminish their reasoning to return to the island. Various users referred to Puerto Rico as ‘mi isla’ (my island), ‘nuestra isla’ (our island), and ‘home’. For example, user C I E R R A said “I want to go home...” (@cierranilan\_, July 1, 2023) while other users such as

Ivonne De La Rosa said “...some of us dream of coming home...” (Ivonne428, April 17, 2022), and various users referred to returning as their dream. Additionally, some people such as user Biko X expressed that some Puerto Ricans return “porque me hace falta mi isleta” (because I miss my little island) and “porque amo la isla” (because I love the island) (@Biko, April 17, 2022). In addition to the psychological connection Puerto Ricans maintain to the island, the majority of Puerto Ricans also retain their ethnic identity and connection to Puerto Rico (Otterstrom and Tillman 2013) which explains why they identify with Puerto Ricans on the island despite living in the United States.

The sentimentality with which users expressed their desire to return is embodied in their references to Noel Estrada’s song “En mi Viejo San Juan”. The song, widely known in Puerto Rico, describes the story of a man who emigrated to the United States at a young age and nostalgically wishes to return to the island. At first glance, user 713086’s statement “I don’t want to die here [in the United States]” (cite) sounds dramatic, but he is referencing the song’s lyrics which say “Y no quiero morir alejado de ti Puerto Rico del alma” (And I do not want to die far from you Puerto Rico of the soul). Another user, Carlos, similarly makes reference to the song, saying “El volver a Puerto Rico es el anhelo de muchísimos puertorriqueños pero alguno de nosotros que emigramos hacia la gran nación jóvenes se nos hizo tarde y ya estamos como Noel Estrada... ¡Pero el tiempo pasó y mi vida se va ya la muerte me llama...” (Returning to Puerto Rico is the desire of many Puerto Ricans but for some of us that emigrated young to the great nation [the United States], it has become late and we are like Noel Estrada... [quoting the song] But the time passed and my life is leaving, death already calls me...) (@Carlos397, April 17, 2022) The song, which talks about the man’s memories, his nationalism, and the nostalgia he feels mirrors the sentimentality with which these users remember their home country.

Finally, multiple posts suggest that the enduring feeling of belonging and love Puerto Ricans feel towards Puerto Rico is the principal reason they return despite the push factors driving people to emigrate from the island. One user, Rafael Ruiz Quijano, who specifically notes his experience as a return migrant said “no hay dinero que compense eso [sentirse de Puerto Rico y que pertenece en Puerto Rico]” (There is no money that compensates that [feeling that you are from Puerto Rico and you belong in Puerto Rico]) (@Rafael689, April 17, 2022), seemingly implying that despite the money they could earn in the United States, it will not compensate for being away from Puerto Rico. User Biko X echoed the sentiment, replying to the news article saying, “Me hubiera gustado un poquito de honestidad: ‘a pesar de que el salario era cuatro veces el que me voy a ganar aquí, regresé porque amo la Isla’” (I would have liked a little bit of honesty: ‘even though the salary [in Puerto Rico] was four times the one I will earn here [in Puerto Rico], I returned because I loved the island’) (@Biko, April 17, 2022), arguing that despite the higher salary in the United States, they returned for a similar reason as the first user cited, I love Puerto Rico. Another user, Peter Parker said, “Las razones para regresar a PR nunca tendran nada que ver con la calidad de vida y Los salarios de la isla, y mucho menos la education, al fin de cuentas siempre daran la misma excusa, ‘amo a mi isla’” (The reasons to return to PR will never have to do with the quality of life and the salaries on the island, and much less with the education, in the end they will always give the same excuse, ‘I love my island’) (@Joe731, April 17, 2022). His comment appears more critical as illustrated from the word ‘excuse’. However, the user seems to acknowledge that people’s justifications for returning are unrelated to an improvement of the problems on the island, but with the reasoning that they love their island. While the posts seem to imply that these are the sole reasons Puerto Ricans would

return, this is not the case as demonstrated by differing arguments on Puerto Rico's cost of living being lower.

## Conclusion

This study aimed to shed light on people's attitudes towards return migration to Puerto Rico. The responses people had to reports of people returning to Puerto Rico and people being forced to emigrate were widely understood through a framework of push and pull factors. Additionally, the study explored the factors that people noted in order to have a better understanding of what drives migration to and from Puerto Rico.

People overwhelmingly criticized those who had returned, citing various economic push factors. Notably, these included low salaries, limited opportunities, and a high cost of living mainly due to the high prices of their electric bills and the housing crisis driven by gentrification and the creation of AirBnBs. Despite Hurricane Maria causing significant devastation and having widespread consequences, natural disasters as a push factor was surprisingly not a factor referenced at all. Additionally, one user notably suggested that the reason Puerto Ricans return to the island is unrelated to the economic push factors or the improvement of these and instead related to the connection they have to the island.

The findings from the study suggested that the principal pull factor driving return migration to Puerto Rico were due to sentimental attachments to the island as well as strong commitments to their home communities which adheres to the Duany's and Otterstrom and Tillman's scholarship. Users who reflected said responses expressed feelings of sadness and nostalgia in regards to their desire to return to Puerto Rico, mainly in response to the TikTok reporting people who were forced to emigrate for economic reasons which demonstrates that they want to return. Other users expressed their gratitude and congratulated those who had returned for what they will contribute to Puerto Rico. These users clearly have a positive perspective on return migration and believe it will have a valuable impact on Puerto Rico.

The limitations of the study are mainly its limited time frame. The study was only able to collect and analyze a defined number of posts from two very specific sources. While they were useful and provided insight into the intended case, a future study could review a larger number of social media posts to obtain a better picture of people's opinions. Additionally, a future case study could also compare the sentiments expressed on social media to those reported in formal interviews to see if people's opinion remains the same or if the sentiments people convey in a formal interview are different from those said liberally on social media.

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## Appendix

Date	Language	Formal/Informal	Positive Emotions: Praise, Nostalgia Negative: Insult, cursing, sarcasm, etc.	Is post about the event itself? Is it referencing something else? Is it about larger problems? Is it about the news source? Is it a tangent about something unrelated?	What larger problems does it indicate?	Do they explicitly name problem?	Reasons for emigrating	Reasons for return	Do/did they want to return?	What does it reference?	Misc.	Are they patriotic?	Analyze, critique, diagnose problems	Propose, advocate action	Share info	Misc.	
Fijense que ninguna de las cuatro personas dijo que regresó porque las cosas allá no son como se las habían vendido... después porque me hace falta mi isla... -Bibi X	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Positive: patriotic	Event itself	N/A	No	-	N/A	-	-Seemingly someone or something convinced or suggested emigrating	-	Yes	No	No	belonging	
Estudié 6 largos años fuera de mi terrero, luego de terminar medicina en el RCM UPR, fue una gran experiencia, pero siempre quise que regresara, pero hay algo subjetivo de sentirse de aquí, que uno pertenece aquí y no hay dinero en el mundo compense eso... ¡Felicidades a todos estos jóvenes por hacer su vida profesional aquí! - Rafael Ruiz Quintana	April 17	Spanish	Formal	Positive: Patriotic and congratulations	Event itself and personal experience	N/A	N/A	-Money	-Feeling that you belong in PR	Yes	-	Yes	No	No	No	belonging	
Response: Y como te sientes cuando los seguros médicos no te pagan, cuando te pagan de tan una mierda! -Luisel Vega	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Referencing larger problem	-	Yes	Implicit	N/A	N/A	-	Seems to refute patriotism as reason to return	No	Yes	No	Job market, doctor	
God bless these young professionals who decided to work and build a good future for Puerto Rico... these are REAL PUERTO RICANS!!!!!! -Jaded	April 17, 2022	English	Formal	Positive: Patriotic	Event itself								No	no	no	Return to help, brain drain	
Response: It really speaks volumes your response. Maybe they miss their families, maybe they want to remain in the island. If you are so shortighted that you can not admit that some of us dream of the coming home, maybe you should get on a plane and leave. If you are in the mainland, I bet you are not that successful, not with that attitude. - Ivonne De La Rosa	April 17, 2022	English	Formal	Positive: Nostalgic	Personal feelings	N/A	N/A	-	-Miss families -Desire to remain in PR - Desire to 'come home'	Yes	-	PR as home despite being in US	Yes	no	no	belonging	
Me hubiera gustado un poquito de honestidad -na pensar de que el salario era cuatro veces el que me voy a ganar aquí, regresé porque amo la isla... -Bibi X	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Neutral	event itself and Larger problem	-Salary in PR is much lower than that in US	Yes	-Money	-Love island	N/A	-	Yes	yes	no	no	belonging	
Response: Se ganará 3-4 veces en USA más pero pagan mucho más en renta y además están también los impuestos federales. Al menos en PR no hay muerders contra inocentes en torturas, kindergarten, escuelas o centros comerciales.	April 18, 2022	Spanish	Formal	-	event itself and Larger problem	-Salary in PR is much lower than that in US	Yes	-Money	-PR does not have mass shootings, school shootings -Expensive US rent -Federal taxes	N/A	-	Yes	yes	no	no	reasons to return	
Sería bueno que se hicieran los estudios ofeconómicos a los jóvenes profesionales que viven aquí para evitar que se vayan. Las ferías de empleo que anuncian, lo que tienen son trabajos de mensajería y otros con salario mínimo o cerca del mínimo... -Berta Delgado	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Event itself and diagnose larger problems	-Young prof in island are leaving (brain drain) -Job fairs offer low wage, min pay jobs, water jobs	Yes	-Money -Opportunities?	-	N/A	-	-	N/A	yes	yes	opportunities, job market	
Response: Es que en PR eso es lo que le espera al graduado... -Peter Parker	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Diagnose larger problem	-Not good opportunities for recent grads	Yes	-Opportunities	-	N/A	-	-	N/A	yes	no	job market	
Response: Si no estudian ciencias, computación, ingeniería, o algo técnico serán meremos aunque tengan bachillerato, maestría o doctorado. En el mundo laboral de hoy y del futuro no hay demanda para ciencias sociales, filosofía, etc. Que comen, esas son importantes pero no se lo busca NASA o Elon Musk... -Vitermo	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: unrelated	Larger trend	-Global trend? Job market has no demand for things other than STEM despite higher ed	Yes	N/A	N/A	N/A	-Place to find jobs as large US org. or work for one of the richest men on Earth	-	N/A	yes	no	job market*	
Response to V: Esas sectores tampoco tienen mucha salida en PR y si existen pagan la mitad de lo que pagan afuera... -ShadeD	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Diagnose problem	-Even STEM fields have low opportunities in PR and low pay compared to US	Yes	-Money -Opportunities	-	N/A	-	-	N/A	yes	no	job market	
Response: Traducción errada... Entre a trabajar y ve las oportunidades para personal destino y preparando. Java script developer, Python, Software engineer, Mecanicos industriales, Conductores de Equipos pesados,Electricistas y A/C y en el canal de ferreteria y construcción siempre hay trabajo...maestros y enfermeras : gran demanda...as cuestiones de haberse preparado. -דודן	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: unrelated	referencing something else	-	-	-	N/A	-	-There are jobs in STEM, education, blue-collar, medicine if people are prepared properly	-	N/A	no	no	yes	PR opportunities
Les está esperando con Los brazos abiertos el nuevo aumento por los de Luma! -Peter Parker	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Diagnose problem	-Aumento de power bill by LUMA	Yes	-Expensive power bill in PR	-	N/A	-LUMA's various increases in power bill	-	N/A	yes	no	no	LUMA
Mi hermana quiere volver pero ya los hijos que están estudiando no los permite darse ese lujo. Ella viaja constantemente a ver a mis papás que no viajan como antes. Yo viajé a dar mi vuelta pero de aquí no me mudo. Bravo por los que regresen! -Salvica Aceroys Ortiz	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Positive: patriotic	personal	-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Yes	no	no	no	Congrats	
Aveces veo gente llenándose a floridita y a Texas por \$1700 la hora no es ya tan mal son 32k al año ve el mínimo que no llegan a 23k. Si tu te ganas 32k y tu exp-on 32k son 64k, analízalo en PR sin pagar taxes federales y rentas abismales de \$1,400 por un apto pero si, tienes razones hay muchos profesionales que se ganan solo \$5k alla fuera... pero son muy pocos... -Ricardo Miller	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Neutral	Referencing something	-PR emigrating for more money	yes	-Money	-	N/A	-There are jobs in PR and people do not need to find it elsewhere -critiques those who have emigrated	-	N/A	yes	no	no	PR opportunities
Response: El que estudia y es bilingüe en USA no se gana \$17 la hora trabajando en física, se gana mucho más en trabajo de oficina con beneficios marginales y trabajos cívides. No como enPR que le pagan una miseria, no le dan beneficios, tienen que hacer el trabajo de 3 personas y le ofrecen la Reforma Laboral. Ah, y pasan años y no le suben el sueldo. El costo de vida sube y el sueldo no, o sea, cada vez cobra menos. El que trabaja en física en USA es el que no ha estudiado que en PR cobra el mínimo, en USA de \$17 a \$22 la hora -Jhe	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Diagnose larger problem	-Low pay, no benefits, doing the job of 3, reforma laboral -no increases in salary as cost of living increases	yes	-Money, benefits, work load	-	N/A	-Limited personnel - Reforma laboral	-	N/A	yes	no	no	job market
Response: Tienes razón,pero un salario en PR de \$1700 la hora no es ya tan mal son 32k al año ve el mínimo que no llegan a 23k. Si tu te ganas 32k y tu exp-on 32k son 64k, analízalo en PR sin pagar taxes federales y rentas abismales de \$1,400 por un apto pero si, tienes razones hay muchos profesionales que se ganan solo \$5k alla fuera... pero son muy pocos... -Ricardo Miller	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: unrelated	Larger problems	-	yes	-Money	-No federal taxes -Rents are not as high	N/A	-	-	N/A	yes	no	no	reasons to return
Yo como otro que conosco somos de ese grupo que nos faltaron de la isla. El problema es que el gobierno sigue igual de corrupto, la economía sigue en el piso, el crimen rampante y los voluntas sigue eligiendo la misma pesquería. La noticia de que don o tres regresaron, saben más porque ¿ querían a mano o si de party) no debería ser noticia. La noticia debería enfocarse que todavía no hemos resuelto el problema y la razón pug la gente se fueren. Los profesionales con familia que son los que mueven la economía no regresaran más que no se identifican los problemas -cristian	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Informal	Negative: critical	Diagnose larger problem and personal experience	-Corrupt gov -Economy in shambles -Widespread crime -Voters keep electing same people	yes	Implicit	-	No	-People will not move back until the problems are resolved	-	Why would people come back? -Missed family or marriage	No	yes	no	problems

	Date	Language	Formal/Informal	Positive Emotions: Praise, Nostalgia Negative: Insults, cursing, sarcasm, etc.	Is post about the event itself? Is it referencing something else? Is it about larger problems? Is it about the news source? Is it a tangent about something unrelated?	What larger problems does it indicate?	Do they explicitly name problem?	Reasons for emigrating	Reasons for return	Do/did they want to return?	What does it reference?	Misc.	Are they patriotic?	Analyze, critique, diagnose problems	Propose, advocate action	Share info	Misc.
<p>Yo les ves un buen futuro, porque son personas que han planificado su vida desde su juventud. Son pocos los puertorriqueños que planifican su vida a los 15 años como lo hice yo. Como todo en la vida, vivir en EU tiene sus ventajas y desventajas. Eso sí, que son muchas las ventajas, que no comprendan las desventajas, las rentas, los alimentos, los hospitales (precio por visita), los médicos al igual, los trabajos (dos para poder vivir bien) o trabajar ambos y la equidad personal es más o menos igual. Yo, gracias a Jhovani Dios vivo muy bien, porque planifiqué para esto antes de salir de high school. La vida hay que vivirla por etapas para triunfar en ella. Estoy loco por regresar a mi isla, pero el modo de gobernación me lo impide. -Jose Ricardo</p> <p>Si tan solo supieran que vienen a portar a los bebés del montón de ineptos en cámara y senado los mismos que no nos permiten un retro digno y nos mantiene con un sueldo de miseria. - Pepecorrete</p> <p>El volver a Puerto Rico es el anhelo de muchísimos puertorriqueños pero alguno de nosotros que emigramos hacia la gran nación jóvenes se nos hizo tarde y ya estamos como Noel Estrada... ¡Pero el tiempo pasó y mi vida se va ya la muerte me llama... Y no quiero morir alejado de ti Puerto Rico de la alma! -Carlos</p> <p>"Profesionales boricuas que demostraron y los que no se montaron.", es así que debe decir el título correcto del artículo. Un puñado de golondrinas no hacen nido. Es que cada año la UPR, la universidad del pueblo que consume el 10% de todo el presupuesto. Cientos gradúa cada año de profesionales de la salud, desde médicos especialistas hasta enfermeras, que luego van para a Orlando. Economistas y la isla en quiebra, ingenieros y la isla entera se demorona, nuestros y en las escuelas escasean, agrónomos y la tierra no produce, lo mismo sucede con cada especialidad. Sobre \$1,000 millones sin que apenas aporte beneficios a la población, sin consecuencia para los decenas de miles graduados que tan pronto terminan estudios emigran al continente. Sin consecuencias. -Jose Rivera</p> <p>Mucha suerte a todos. Me alegro que estén aportando al bienestar de la isla. -Yolva</p> <p>Gracias por regresar, necesitamos seres como ustedes que nos ayuden a echar hacia adelante nuestra hermosa isla. Dios los Bendiga de manera Especial!!! -Aida I. Morales Arroyo</p> <p>Cuando se den cuenta que comprar una propiedad es imposible; se vuelven a ir! -Mi Sincera Opinion</p> <p>¡Lechón el artículo de por qué cada uno se volvió a ir cuando lo hagan. -Luisel Vega</p> <p>Esto es falacia pura. Todos volvieron después de adquirir la mejor experiencia en US. Vienen ya con trabajo y/o empresas creadas. Todos son jóvenes. Puede que le haga falta sus amigos y familiares pero no es la razón por la que regresan. Económicamente es más barato hacer negocios en PR y más cuando no hay tanta competencia como en US. Tienen incentivos gubernamentales y menos impuestos. Pero dile a un cuarentón que vuelve a PR a ver quien lo va a mirar, así tenga la educación y experiencia laboral nadie lo emplea porque quieren pagarle una miseria y para eso están muy dispuestos los jóvenes recién graduados. Yo a un hijo mío jamás le diría que volviera a PR una vez tengan sus vidas hechas en US. Nope! -Coco00</p> <p>El costo de hacer negocios en PR no es menor que en EEUU si considera todo el tiempo perdido en trámites abundantes y la falta de servicios de negocios. Hacer negocios en PR es bien cuesta arriba, y no hay estabilidad contributiva ni de infraestructura para poder hacer un negocio firme. El Gobierno y todo el mundo se te tiran encima para sacarle lo que pueden si te va bien. -Luisel Vega</p> <p>Responses: Muy cierto, sobre todo la educación, hace computadores que luego de firmar un contrato para trabajar en PR, lo violentaron regresando al mainland al año de haberse ido pues estaban sacrificando la educación de sus hijos, y no solo eso, los costos energéticos y el espacio de las propiedades que rentaron va a lo que estaban acostumbrados en EU (era muy contrastable). Las razones para regresar a PR nunca tendrán nada que ver con la calidad de vida y Los salarios de la isla, y mucho menos la educación, al fin de cuentas siempre darán la misma excusa, "amo a mi isla" -Peter Parker</p> <p>Hay que ser masoquista pa mudarse a PR voluntariamente...que no se olviden de traer mucha luz. -Don Chicho</p> <p>Cuando regresaron antes o después del apagón y del aumento a la luz y el agua???? -Kung fu panda</p> <p>El problema no son los q vuelven con buena Fe d ayudar y aportar. El problema es el gobierno al cual se tienen q enfrentar y lidiar para lograr sus objetivos. Se q en todos lados la situación está complicada, pero unos sitios más q otros. Y aquí, es d los más!!!! -TOKIETHERWESTAND</p>	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Positive	Diagnose larger problem and personal experience	-Problems in US -Gov?	yes	-government	-Rent prices, food, medical costs, jobs do not pay well, in US	Yes	-	-	yes	yes	no	no	problems
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	Diagnose larger problem and event itself	-Gov -Low salary -Low retirement	yes	-government -money -retirement	-	N/A	-	-	no	yes	no	no	job market, gov
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Positive: Nostalgic	Personal sentiment and experience	N/A	N/A	-	-	Yes	En mi viejo San Juan song	-	yes	no	no	no	want to return, belonging
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: Critical	Diagnose larger problem and event itself	-UPR public U spends money educating new gen of prof and they move to the US and PR do not see that money	yes	-	-	N/A	-If UPR grads stayed, the island would be rid of its problems (brain drain) - Contributing to US work force	-	yes	no	no	Brain drain	
	April 18, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Positive	Event itself	-	-	-	-	N/A	-Contributing to wellbeing of PR by staying	-	no	no	no	return to help, brain drain	
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Positive	Referencing something and event itself	-	-	-	-	N/A	-Thank you for returning -Need them to progress as island	-	yes	yes	no	no	return to help, brain drain
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: Critical	Diagnose larger problem	-Difficult to buy a house	yes	-hard to buy home	-	N/A	-They will leave again	-	no	yes	no	no	housing crisis
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: Critical	Referencing something and event itself	-	no	-	-	N/A	-They will leave again	-	no	no	no	no	will leave
	April 17, 2022	Spanish	Formal	Negative: Critical	Diagnose larger problem and event itself	-Young people go to US to acquire experience -Older people are not as willing to return as young people" - low salary in PR	Yes	-Acquire experience (opportunities?) - higher salary	-Family ties -Cheaper to start a business - Less competitive business market -Gov incentive" - Less taxes	No	-	Government incentives may be a misunderstanding of gov incentive for gringos or maybe the organization's incentive	no	yes	no	no	problems
	April 18, 2022	Spanish	Informal	Negative: Critical	Diagnose larger problem	-falta de servicios de negocio -lack of stability (infrastructure" and contributive stability" - hard to have own business in PR	yes	-	-	N/A	-	-	N/A	yes	no	no	problems
	April 22	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	-education -energy costs	yes	-implicit	-amo a mi isla	-	-	-	-	yes	no	no		education, LUMA, belonging
	April 17	Spanish	Informal	Negative: critical	-power outages	no	-	-	-	-	-	no	no	no	no		LUMA
	April 17	Spanish	Informal	Negative: critical	-power outages -increase in power and water costs	yes	-	-implicit	-	-	-	-	yes	no	no		LUMA y agua
	April 17	Spanish	Informal	Negative: critical	-government as the obstacle	yes	-	-avoidar, aportar	-	-	-PRs returning to help	-	no	no	no		return to help, government

	Date	Language	Formal/Informal	Positive Emotions: Praise, Nostalgia Negative: Insults, cursing, sarcasm, etc.	Is the post about the event itself? Is it referencing something else? Is it about larger problems? Is it about the news source? Is it a tangent about something unrelated?	What larger problems does it indicate?	Do they explicitly name problem?	Reasons for emigrating	Reasons for return	Did/did they want to return?	What does it reference?	Misc.	Are they patriotic?	Analyze, critique, diagnose problems	Propose, advocate action	Share info	Misc.
Los felicitó y les deseo mucha suerte, son Buenos Boricuinos. Aquí en nuestra isla hay mucha gente que se levanta de la nada, estudian, y tienen éxito sin tener que irse de la isla. Es posible. Así como hay muchos talentos que salen de la isla en busca de oportunidades, hay quienes no dan el grado aquí y se tienen que ir. Aquí hay mucho infeliz criticando. Somos muchos los que hemos tenido éxito afuera y hemos vuelto a nuestra isla. Con todas las cosas negativas que pueden haber en nuestra isla, es nuestra isla, somos de aquí. El que regresa, muchas veces lo hace porque ama a su isla y su gente. Viví muy bien en Estados Unidos. Me retiré como Coronel (O-6) del ejército. Viví y trabajé alrededor del mundo, fui a zona de combate tres veces, trabajé en el Pentágono por muchísimos años; di el grado. Tuve y tengo propiedades en Virginia, Georgia, y Hawái. Entre retiro, inversiones y otros ingresos, vivo muy, muy cómodo. Pero regresé a mi isla y mi pueblo porque los quiero y quiero ayudar a mejorarlos. Otra cosa: por más buenos que sean los americanos, aunque nací y me crié allá, no lo soy. -Merivi-	April 17	Spanish	Formal	Positive: nostalgia, hope, congratulations	-	-	-	-amo a mi isla y mi gente -ayudar	yes	-PRa regresando para ayudar		yes	no	no	no		return to help, belonging
Realmente me asombra los muchos comentarios mordaz de personas negativas que realmente carecen de moral para cuestionar el regreso de quienes deciden regresar por unas u otras razones. En Puerto Rico le existen muchas personas que quieren vivir un estilo de vida para aparecer y así no es y optan por irse de la isla a otros destinos donde el costo de la vida es más alto y tienen en muchos de los casos que tener 2 empleos para sobrevivir. Virgenoma deben de tener quienes piensan que abandonar a Puerto Rico es la solución. Puerto Rico necesita de hombres y mujeres comprometidos y agradecidos. Bienvenidos a unos valientes que decidieron regresar. Quienes se fueron no hacen falta, quédense por ella... -Hector Amaury Ramirez Ramirez	April 17	Spanish	Formal	Both	-	no	-	-	-	-PRa regresando para ayudar	-Virgenoma deben de tener quienes piensan que abandonar a Puerto Rico es la solución. Puerto Rico necesita de hombres y mujeres comprometidos y agradecidos-	yes	no	no	no		Brain drain
Esos ya mismo regresan a USA. Deja que se den cuenta que no es negocio para ellos trabajar en PR ganando poco, sin beneficios marginales, con la Reforma Laboral, haciendo el trabajo de 3 puestos, porque en PR los patronos son unos explotadores, y con el mismo sueldo por años, porque en PR los patronos no suben el sueldo, dejó que se den cuenta de esa realidad para que vayan como se regresan a USA. -Itea	April 17	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	-	-low salary, no marginal benefits, Reforma Laboral, not many workers, no raise,	yes	-implicit	-	-	-job market	-	yes	no	no		problems, will leave, job market
Fíjense también en la forma implícita de la definición de "oportu", ganarme un sueldo y con eso tener acceso a, quizás, comprar una casa donde se ha tapado una quebrada o cosa así. No incluye esfuerzo por crear las condiciones en Puerto Rico para que estas cosas se puedan dar. -Biko X	April 17	Spanish	Formal	Negative: critical	-	yes	-	-	-	-PRa regresando para ayudar	-idea de aportar es para tener casa en buen area no para organizar para mejorar la comunidad-	-	yes	yes	no		return to help

	Date	Language	Format	Positive Emotions: Praise, Nostalgia Negative: Insults, cursing, sarcasm, etc.	Diction	Cursing/Vulgar/Derogatory terms	Author	History of migration	Do they speak from personal experience?	event itself	What larger problems does it indicate?	Do they explicitly name problem?	Reasons for emigrating	Reasons for return	Did/did they want to return?	What does it reference?	Misc.	Are they patriotic?	Analytic, critique, diagnose problems	Propose, advocate action	Share info	Misc.
"I came back after 27 yrs. It's been a yr it is definitely not easy but I'm working on making it work for me and my family" - Joe	June 27	English	Informal	Neutral	-	No	PR in PR	Yes	Yes	Personal experience	Life in PR is hard, don't specify	no	-	-	Yes	-PRs returning recently	-	N/A	no	no	no	PRs returning recently
"Moving home 7 de julio... I pray me and my kids never have to move back to the States :-( " - @mariater	June 27	English	informal	Positive: hopeful	Home	no	PR in US	Yes	yes	Personal experience	-	-	-	-	Yes	-PRs returning recently	-	Yes	no	no	no	PRs returning recently
"I tried for 15 years, was making less than 10k a year as a teacher. It's been 8 years. My heart breaks for my son's childhood, our home and our people" - @hauher 6/27	June 27	English	informal	Negative: sad	Our home, our people	no	PR in US	Yes	Yes	personal experience	-Low salary in PR	no	-implicit	-	-	-	-reflects contradictions with PR?	-	yes	no	no	belonging, job market
"13 years in USA, but your bought a house. I can't wait to go back to PR. In the USA things are getting hard and extremely expensive. I miss my island!" - @maritina83	August 3	English	Informal	Negative: nostalgia/and sad Positive	My island	no	PR in US	Yes	yes	personal experience	Problems in US	yes	-	-Things are getting hard in US -US is more expensive	Yes	-When situation in US is not that good PRs return (Article)	-	Yes	yes	no	no	belonging, reasons to return
"I never wanted to leave I've been trying to come back for almost 8 years now" - @ae 05/17	July 17	English	Informal	Negative: sad	-	no	PR in US	Yes	yes	personal experience	-	no	-	-	yes	-	-	yes?	no	no	no	want to return
"I want to move to Puerto Rico 🇵🇷... I want to help our people, not sure where to start" - @ser Gladys 4090741227 7/14	July 14	English	Informal	?	help, our people	no	PR in US	Unknown	yes	personal experience	-	-	-	-help PRs?	yes	-	-	-	no	no	no	belonging, return to help
"I would love to move to Puerto Rico. It would be devastating if I couldn't make it" - A Second Chance Around 7/13	July 13	English	formal	Both	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	yes	Event itself and personal experience	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	no	no	no	want to return
"I just bought an apartment and I'm going to rent it (No Airbnb) for the next 5 years until I can retire and go back" - @shia 7/13	July 13	English	Informal	Neutral	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	yes	personal experience	-housing crisis related to air bnb	no	-	-	yes	-place people retire	-	-	no	no	no	housing crisis, sources
"This breaks my heart. I long to live back home, but they're making it impossible..." - @Alien 7/13	July 3	English	Informal	Negative: sad	home	no	PR in US	Yes	yes	event itself and personal experience	-	no	-	-	yes	-	-they may reference the video or the gas as many comments do	-	no	no	no	want to return
"Moving home is my husband's dream. We have to make it happen but certainly all those factors weigh on us" - @vicmonofelis 7/1	July 1	English	Informal	Negative: sad	home	no	PR in US	Unknown	yes	event itself and personal experience	-problems from video	no	-	-	yes	-	-	-	no	no	no	want to return
"I want to go home but they are making everyone out..." - It makes me sad and discouraged" - C I E R A 7/1	July 1	English	Informal	Negative: sad	home, pushing people out, discouraged	no	PR in US	Unknown	yes	event itself and personal experience	-problems from video -PRs pushed out	no	-	-	yes	-	-Maybe the idea of PR without PRs	-	no	no	no	PR on PRs
"We left in 2004 and have always tried to go back, but my son has special needs and in PR he would not get the service he needs..." - @lucia 6/29	June 29	English	Informal	Negative: sad	-	no	PR in US	Yes	yes	personal experience	-difficult for people with disabilities to get proper/accessible care	yes	-Disabled family get proper care	-	yes	-	-	yes	no	no	no	reason to leave, want to return
"We are moving back to Guánica from FL I know there are a lot of us moving back, I hope we can better our home somehow" - @rebec 6/28	June 28	English	Informal	Positive: hopeful	home, us	no	PR in US	yes	yes	personal experience	-	no	-	-	yes	-PRs returning recently -PRs moving back to help	-	yes?	no	no	no	PRs returning recently, return to help
"We selling our houses and renting them to people who need it... (I miss home dearly but people need places to live too)" - @shia 6/29	June 29	English	Informal	Negative: sad	home	no	Unknown	Unknown	yes	event itself and Diagnose larger problem	-housing crisis related to air bnb	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	no	no	no	housing crisis
"Heartbreaking... been planning to return to sit in upon retirement, however totally unaffordable..." - @ae 7/14 05/31 6/27	June 27	English	Informal	Negative: sad	mi isla	no	PR in US	Yes	yes	event itself and diagnose larger problem	-cost of living is high in PR	no	-implicit	-	yes	-PRs returning to retire	-	yes	no	no	no	belonging
"I'm trying to convince my family to New Zealand as far away from anyone as possible. Tired of the corruption and warmongering on both sides..." - @xaw, hope_for_humankind 6/27	June 27	English	Informal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	personal experience	-corruption -warmongering	no	N/A	-	no	-gov corruption -moving away entirely	no	no	no	no	no	gov
"On the 15th of this month marked the 2nd yr of being back after 26 yrs." - @icky Santos 6/27	June 27	English	Informal	Positive	-	no	PR in PR	yes	yes	personal experience	-	-	-	-	Unknown	-PR returning recently	-	-	no	no	no	PRs returning recently
"When I was younger I wanted to move to PR and be around my wonderful family. But after seeing the injustices and struggles I want the dream because I don't ever see PR being a place I would find safe and secure is, especially with kids..." - @Alfredo De La Fe 6/27	June 27	English	Formal	Negative: sad, disappointed	-	no	PR in US	yes	yes	event itself and personal experience	-injustice -struggle	no	-implicit -PR is not safe, secure, especially for children	-family	no	-	-	-	no	no	no	problems
"We have tried to purchase a house and all of our debts fall through, because the seller prefers to sell to an outsider bringing cash instead of asking..." - @Andrea Ponce 7/1	July 1	English	Informal	Negative: critical	outsider	no	Unknown	Unknown	yes	diagnose larger problem and event itself	-housing crisis -gentrification?	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	yes	no	no	housing crisis, gentrification
"Unfortunately the Puerto Rican people voted this government into power and those politicians do not care about the people in the island..." - @thorica 87 7/5	July 5	English	Formal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	personal experience	-gov does not care about its people	yes	-	-	-	-video	-	-	no	no	no	government
"Ask the colonial 'govt' if it administers for the occupation and things are going well for colonizers. Now, some of us - as you've shown - do stay..." - @Alma Sanchez 6/28	June 28	English	Formal	Negative: critical, anger	colonial gov, occupiers, colonizers	no	PR in PR	Unknown	yes	personal experience and event itself	-US rule in PR	yes	-	-	-	-	-	yes	yes	no	no	colonization, gov
"It breaks my heart when you see your people leave their home to this wealthy Kingdom that only care about money..." - @randad66 6/28	June 28	English	Formal	Negative: sad, critical	your people	no	Unknown	Unknown	no	personal experience and event itself	-housing crisis	no	-	-	-	-	-American real estate investors	-	no	no	no	gentrification, housing crisis
"That's R.I. Puerto Rican Government needs to focus on its people... We should do like Dubai! If you are not from their you cannot even see island..." - @shia 05/28	June 28	English	Informal	Negative: critical	-	yes	Unknown	Unknown	-	Suggest solution and event itself	-housing crisis	no	-	-	-	-	-American real estate investors -advocate for protectionist measures?	-	no	yes	no	government, gentrification
"Stop blaming the wrong people my island is fully corrupted. Your videos are useless unless you see your internal corruption..." - @raibram 6/27	June 27	English	Informal	Negative: critical	my island	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	personal experience	-corruption	yes	-	-	-	-	-	no	yes	no	no	government
"Not everyone is leaving PR, a lot are going back. I know a lot of people are going back. So there is hope" - @maritina 8/3	August 3	English	informal	Positive: hopeful	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	yes	personal experience and event itself	-	-	-	-	-	-PRs returning recently	-PRs returning -hope	yes	no	no	no	PRs return recently

	Date	Language	Formal/Informal	Positive Emotions: Praise, Nostalgia Negative: Insults, cursing, sarcasm, etc.	Diction	Cursing/Vulgar/ Derogatory terms	Author	History of migration	Do they speak from personal experience?	event itself	What larger problems does it indicate?	Do they explicitly name problem?	Reasons for emigrating	Reasons for return	Do/did they want to return?	What does it reference?	Misc.	Are they patriotic?	Analyze, critique, diagnose problems	Propose, advocate action	Share info	Misc.	
As long as PR remains a colony nothing is going to change for the better -sant07916279500  Response: Oh it could definitely get worse worse it not part of the US. -fremeto  independence is the only way-BX_gnd You're doing exactly what the government wants you to do the trying to take over Puerto Rico and they're kicking the Puerto Rican people out. -Jai Cruz  Violence is the answer ☹️ . Show that hotel up like they did in Jamaica. How much more our people gonna loose before the whole island is completely infested with people who don't belong there. What's next? Take the whole island turn it in to a state and rename it? -Janiel  We need regulations around these investors, they are ruining the world. -sant079340712284  I felt when I was 13 absolutely not by choice. I don't want to die here, but I don't want to go back to a Puerto Rico without Puertericans :-( ☹️ - and sadly the government is selling our island to people who only care about money and not about what makes Puerto Rico... Puerto Rico -sant 713586  Pretty soon only the Rich will leave in Puerto Rico -sant07916279500  Wow this is heart breaking literally Hawaii 2.0 when will our people stand up and fight back into becoming wake up -Lara 977  I'm afraid the U.S. finally figured out a way to take over the island 125 years after the war ended. Alonso Salazar  It's all a set up to get the locals to leave so the rich can have the island. -Wendy  It's the U.S. government that is forcing the people of Puerto Rico out. -El Coyote  Everything. The government is doing EVERYTHING to make Puerto Ricans take this decision. -TikTokUserPR  @RICEDOUTTOPARADISE is real!!! -Alana Figs	June 27	English	Formal	Negative: sad	quantifying	no	PR in US	yes	yes	personal experience	gentrification	yes	-gentrification	-	yes	-	-	yes	yes	no	no	colonization, gov. independence	
	June 27	English	Formal	Negative: critical	colony	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger problem	colony	yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	yes	no	no	colonization	
	June 28	English	Formal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger problem	-	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	idea that PR (territory) needs occupying power	no	no	no	independence
	July 23	English	Informal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	political	-	no	-	-	-	-	-political stims	x2	yes	no	yes	no	government, without PRs
	July 17	English	Informal	Negative	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	referencing something else	US gov wants to take over	yes	-	-	-	-	-Puerto Rico without Puertericans*	-	no	no	no	no	gentrification, colonization, independence
	July 10	English	Informal	Negative: instigating	people who don't belong	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	politicians and event itself	gentrification	no	-	-	-	-	-independence	-	yes	no	yes	no	gentrification, housing crisis
	July 9	English	Informal	Political	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	political and personal experience	-American investors, video	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	no	yes	no	no	PR without FRs, gov. gentrification
	July 3	English	Informal	Negative: critical	-	no	PR in US	yes	yes	yes	diagnose larger problem, personal sentiment, referencing something else, event itself	-gov selling island	yes	-	-	-	-	-	yes	yes	no	no	gentrification
	July 3	English	Informal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger problem and event itself	-gentrification	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	yes	no	no	no	independence
July 3	English	Informal	Political: Instigating	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	political and event itself	-gentrification	no	-	-	-	-	-	-Hawaii comparison	yes	no	yes	no	colonization	
July 1	English	Formal	Negative	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger problem and event itself	-colonization	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	no	no	no	no	gentrification, PR without FRs	
July 1	English	Formal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger prblm	-gentrification	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	yes	no	no	no	PR without FRs, US gov	
June 29	English	Formal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger problem	-colonization	no	-	-	-	-	-	-gentrification	-	no	no	no	no	gov
June 28	English	Informal	Negative: critical	-	no	Unknown	Unknown	-	diagnose larger problem	local gov at fault	no	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	no	no	no	no	no

## Informal Database. Page 1 of 2. Posts from Graulau “The bittersweet story”.

Word	Total	Endi	Tik Tok	Correlation	Frequency	Correlation	Frequency	Correlation	Frequency
Isla	20	19	1	mi	5	nuesta	6	amo	2
Island	11	1	10	my	2	our	1		
People	16	0	16	our	4				
Gente	4	4	0	su (our)	1				
Mi	13	11	2	isla	5	pueblo	1	terrano	1
Home	9	1	8	(PR)	8	(regresar)	5	our	1
US/USA/EEUU	16	13	3	(problems)		(emigrar)	2	(pagan mas)	4
Sueldo	6	6	0	(stagnant)	4	(low)	1		
Pagan	6	0	6	(low)	2	(less than US)	1		
Government	7	3	7	(do not care about their people)	3	(blame gov for pushing people out)	3	(blame US gov)	1
Us	2	1	1						
Nosotros									

Voyant Table. From posts of Minelli Perez “Profesionales” and Graulau “The bittersweet story”.