

# AMERICAN IMMIGRATION IN THE SIXTIES

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## Introduction

Immigration added about 3.9 million persons to the United States population between the 1960 and 1970 Censuses. This is a moderate increase over the 3.0 million figure for the preceding ten years. The relative importance of immigration as a component of population change increased significantly as decreasing fertility rates through most of the period reduced the level of natural increase. By the end of the decade, immigration was contributing about 20 percent of total population growth as compared to only 11 percent in 1960.

The relative stability of the level of immigration during the past twenty years contrasts strongly with the large fluctuations which occurred during the first half of this century. During the ten years before 1914 immigration averaged about one million each year but dropped very sharply during World War I. The restrictive immigration laws passed after World War I, the great depression during the thirties, and World War II have acted to keep immigration far below the levels reached before 1914. In the absence of changes in our immigration laws, net immigration in the future should continue at about 400,000 per year.

The 3.9 million immigration figure cited above is a net value composed of five major components. These components and the figures for the decade 1960 to 1970 are as follows:

Net alien immigration <sup>1</sup>	3,125,000
Net arrivals from Puerto Rico	152,000
Net arrivals of civilian citizens	446,000
Conditional entrants <sup>2</sup>	380,000
Emigration	250,000
Net civilian immigration, total	3,854,000

The estimates of immigration given above are for civilians only. Movements of the Armed Forces to and from posts overseas do not appear as a

<sup>1</sup>Consists of immigrant aliens as reported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as adjusted by the Bureau of the Census for use in developing national population estimates. The categories of immigration listed are described in detail in later sections. They correspond to those in use by the Bureau of the Census and do not necessarily agree with the terminology used by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

<sup>2</sup>Conditional entrants, as defined by the Bureau of the Census, include aliens who are permitted to enter the United States at the discretion of the Attorney General without an immigration visa.

component of immigration, because the population coverage of the national estimates under consideration here includes the Armed Forces overseas. The Armed Forces overseas increased by about 400,000 between April 1, 1960 and April 1, 1970.

Net alien immigration, the largest component of net civilian immigration, consists of aliens who have been lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the provisions of the Immigration and Naturalization Act, as adjusted by the Census Bureau for use in developing national population estimates. In addition to net alien immigration, the movement of resident aliens and citizens to and from the United States must be taken into account. Estimates are developed of the net movement of Puerto Ricans to the United States, the net movement of government employees and their dependents from posts overseas, and for the emigration of aliens and citizens. Finally, conditional entrants, as defined by the Census Bureau, are added to national population totals at the time of entry.

## Net alien immigration

Net alien immigration added about 3,125,000 persons to the United States population between the 1960 and 1970 Censuses. The figures by year for net alien immigration and net civilian immigration are as follows:

Period	Net alien immigration	Net civilian immigration
July 1, 1969 to March 31, 1970	250,000	351,000
1968-1969	347,000	383,000
1967-1968	355,000	420,000
1966-1967	331,000	429,000
1965-1966	323,000	425,000
1964-1965	297,000	323,000
1963-1964	292,000	341,000
1962-1963	306,000	356,000
1961-1962	284,000	365,000
1960-1961	271,000	385,000
April 1, 1960 to June 30, 1960	69,000	76,000
Total	3,125,000	3,854,000

The Immigration Act of 1965 was a major change in national immigration policy. The national origins system, established by the Act of 1924, assigned to each foreign country of the Eastern Hemisphere an annual quota based on the national origins of the United States population in 1920. As a result, large quotas were assigned

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to countries of northern and western Europe, which had contributed most heavily to immigration during the settlement of America. The Act of 1965 abolished this system and substituted a limitation of 20,000 per country with an overall limitation of 170,000 for the Eastern Hemisphere. At the same time, a stronger preference was given to close relatives of United States citizens and resident aliens. Under the old law 50 percent of the quota was reserved for close relatives; under the new Act, 74 percent of the available numbers are so reserved. Another important change was the imposition of a limitation for the first time on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. The preference system does not apply to the 120,000 immigrants allotted to independent countries of the Western Hemisphere; immigration from these countries is essentially on a first-come, first-serve basis with no individual country limitation.

The Immigration Act of 1965 resulted in increased immigration in the latter part of the past decade. The regular provisions of the Act became fully operative on July 1, 1968, and in fiscal years 1968 and 1969 net alien immigration was 355,000 and 347,000, respectively. For the first half of the decade, the average was only 290,000.

The geographic distribution of immigrants by place of origin also changed as a result of provisions of the new act. Under the national origins quota system, northern Europe enjoyed a highly favored position in regard to the availability of immigrant visas, but the Act of October 3, 1965 placed each country in the Eastern Hemisphere on an equal basis in competition for visas. According to figures published by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the proportion of immigrants from the countries of Southern Europe and Asia increased considerably in 1969 compared to the first half of the decade, as shown by the following table:

Continent of origin	In thousands		Percent of total	
	1968-1969	Average 1961-65	1968-1969	1961-1965
Total	359 <sup>a</sup>	290	100.0	100.0
Europe	114	106	31.8	36.6
Southern <sup>b</sup>	70	27	19.6	9.5
Other	44	79	12.2	27.2
Asia	73	21	20.3	7.2
North America	138	129	38.5	44.4
Other	33	34	9.1	11.7

<sup>a</sup>Includes aliens adjusted to permanent resident status.

<sup>b</sup>Southern Europe includes Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

The shift in geographic origin also resulted in a change in the racial composition of immigrants in the 1960's compared to the previous decade. Estimates of net civilian immigration by race between 1950 and 1970 are as follows:

Race	Number (thousands)		Percent of total	
	1950-60	1960-70	1950-60	1960-70
Total	2,975	3,854	100.0	100.0
White	2,842	3,330	95.5	86.4
Negro and other races	132	524	4.4	13.6

The estimates of net alien immigration are based on data collected by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and do not include any estimate of unrecorded immigration. Akers (1) discussed the problem of illegal entries across the Mexican and Canadian borders, and found no conclusive evidence about the possible volume of unrecorded immigration. During fiscal year 1969, of the 283,557 violators of the immigration laws who were located by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 167,174 entered illegally at other than ports of inspection (2). Almost 97 percent of these were illegal entries of Mexican aliens across the border between the United States and Mexico. No estimates have been made of the number of aliens who entered illegally and were not apprehended later.

Alien immigration as defined by the Immigration and Nationality Act includes only aliens who intend to establish permanent residence in the United States. However, one sizeable group of alien immigrants has traditionally been exempt from the residency requirement of the Act. This group, called commuters, is composed of citizens of Canada and Mexico who have been admitted for permanent residence in the United States but choose to reside in Canada or Mexico and commute each day to places of employment in the United States (3). To become a commuter an alien must first obtain lawful immigrant status as prescribed by the Immigration and Nationality Act. Upon admission, the alien receives an alien registration receipt card, form I-151, commonly known as a "green card." The green card is renewable each year and can be used for admission to the United States for work each day. To retain his commuter status the alien must continue to be permanently employed in the United States. The crucial difference between commuters and other alien immigrants is that commuters are not required to establish permanent residence in the United States. Those commuters who never become residents of the United States should not be included in estimates of immigration for making national population estimates. However, no separate statistics are regularly collected on aliens who plan to become commuters. The Immigration and Naturalization Service takes periodic sample counts of the number of commuters. The latest sample counts, made in January 1967, produced the following data on commuters from Mexico and Canada:

Mexico	42,641
Canada	10,688
Total	53,329

These figures cannot be used to estimate the number of commuters included in the net alien immigration figures between 1960 and 1970 because there is no way of determining the number of commuters who were absent from work on the day of the check, the number of commuters who later gave up their commuter status to move to the United States, or the number of commuters who remain permanent residents of Mexico or Canada. A further difficulty is the absence of data showing the year immigration status was obtained.

#### Net arrivals from Puerto Rico

Since natives of Puerto Rico are citizens of the United States, no official action is required when a Puerto Rican moves from the island to the mainland or vice versa. In preparing estimates of the population of the United States, it is necessary to account for the net movement between the United States and Puerto Rico. Passenger statistics to and from Puerto Rico by sea and air are published monthly by the Puerto Rican Planning Board. The net movement indicated by these total passenger figures is assumed to be "net arrivals from Puerto Rico" to the United States. The net movement for the intercensal period by year was as follows:

July 1, 1969 to March 31, 1970	28,000
1968-1969	-7,000
1967-1968	19,000
1966-1967	34,000
1965-1966	30,000
1964-1965	11,000
1963-1964	4,000
1962-1963	5,000
1961-1962	11,000
1960-1961	14,000
April 1, 1960 to June 30, 1960	4,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>152,000</b>

The total for the decade is considerably lower than the total of 456,000 for the 1950-60 decade, but during the past ten years there does not appear to be a consistent trend.

These figures must be regarded as approximations, as there are problems involved in interpreting the data. The passenger statistics include all persons arriving and departing, and tourists far outnumber migrants permanently changing their residence. Presumably the arrival and departure of tourists cancels out, leaving a net figure which accurately reflects migration, but the gross movement is so large that a small bias in collecting the data could significantly affect the net value. In addition, while this net amount is assumed to represent immigration into the United States, the data include all movements to and from Puerto Rico. Although traffic directly between the United States and Puerto Rico dominates these statistics, significant passenger movements between Puerto Rico and other parts of the world are included. Probably the great bulk

of this traffic represents tourist movement, but to some degree, Puerto Ricans changing residence must also be involved.

Further problems relate to the seasonal nature of tourist movement. Heavy in-migration occurs in the winter months followed by heavy out-migration. Fortunately, during the summer months the volume of movement is low so that comparisons between fiscal year totals are relatively unaffected by this factor.

The estimate of Puerto Rican immigration will be compared with the 1970 Census results for Puerto Rico and the United States, but the detailed statistics needed for this analysis will not be available until late in 1971.

#### Net arrivals of civilian citizens

This category of immigration takes into account only those citizens overseas employed by the Federal Government, their dependents, and the dependents of the Armed Forces overseas. On April 1, 1960 about 42,000 U.S. citizens were employed by the Federal Government in countries throughout the world. Dependents of these civilian Federal employees and dependents of Armed Forces personnel numbered about 550,000 for an overseas total of 593,000. By April 1, 1970, the total number had decreased to 445,000, a net change of 148,000.

Births and deaths to these citizens overseas must be taken into account before deriving an estimate of net migration. Death statistics are not available, and are not taken into account in the estimating procedure. The number is small since the average age of this group is low. Births on the other hand are a significant factor. Available birth statistics indicate about 298,000 births for the decade. These births, in combination with the decrease of 148,000 in civilians overseas, indicate a net immigration into the United States of 446,000 for the 10 year period. This is 166,000, or 59 percent, greater than the total of 280,000 recorded in the 1950's.

Annual figures for the 60's were as follows:

July 1, 1969 to March 31, 1970	69,000
1968-1969	34,000
1967-1968	29,000
1966-1967	43,000
1965-1966	62,000
1964-1965	34,000
1963-1964	48,000
1962-1963	51,000
1961-1962	14,000
1960-1961	53,000
April 1, 1960 to June 30, 1960	9,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>446,000</b>

The figure of 69,000 for the last nine months is based on an estimated decrease in the number of civilian citizens overseas. This estimate does not take account of data collected by the 1970 Census.

The estimating procedure ignores the possibility that employees leaving Federal employment overseas may remain overseas, and that citizens accepting federal employment may already be overseas. A further problem relates to the completeness of the statistics on births overseas. Only births occurring in Department of Defense hospitals overseas are taken into account. Incomplete figures show about 2,000 births to U.S. citizens in private hospitals overseas each year. The actual number is not known. If the estimate of births overseas were increased to take this error into account, the estimate of net arrivals of civilian citizens, and therefore net civilian immigration, would be increased by the same amount.

The incompleteness of the birth statistics results in an understatement of net immigration to the United States. An error in the opposite direction is caused by ignoring deaths to citizens overseas. Since complete statistics on births and deaths are not available, and since the numbers involved are apparently quite small, no adjustment has been introduced for these factors.

#### Conditional entrants

Cuban refugees, Chinese refugees from Hong Kong, and escapees from communist dominated countries of Eastern Europe added about 380,000 to intercensal immigration in the 1960's. Immigrants in these three categories are grouped as conditional entrants following the usage of the Bureau of the Census, although they have also been referred to as refugees, parolees, exiles, and escapees. Conditional entrants are aliens without official immigration status who are permitted to enter the United States at the discretion of the Attorney General. Although the admissions are on a temporary basis, one of the conditions of entry is that political conditions do not permit the return of conditional entrants to their former countries. The Law of November 2, 1966 permitted conditional entrants who had been continually present in the country for two years to adjust their status to permanent resident aliens. Conditional entrants are added to national population totals in the year of arrival rather than the year that official immigration status is obtained. Therefore, when statistics from the Immigration and Naturalization Service are used for making national population estimates, aliens who have adjusted status during the previous year are subtracted to avoid a double count.

Cubans fleeing the Castro regime after 1959 accounted for about 365,000 of the estimated 380,000 conditional entrants who entered the United States in the 1960's. Chinese refugees from Hong Kong and refugees from communist countries of Eastern Europe added about 15,000 to the total. Annual figures for conditional entrants during the decade were as follows:

July 1, 1969 to March 31, 1970	33,000
1968-1969	42,000
1967-1968	45,000
1966-1967	46,000
1965-1966	34,000
1964-1965	5,000
1963-1964	19,000
1962-1963	16,000
1961-1962	75,000
1960-1961	64,000
April 1, 1960 to June 30, 1960	-
Total	380,000

When Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba in January 1959, members of the Batista government fled to Florida by air and small craft. Within a few months, increasing numbers of Cubans disenchanted with the new government began to arrive on commercial airlines and ships. Many Cubans entered the United States as visitors, students, or nonimmigrant aliens and remained in the Miami area in the hope of returning to Cuba soon. However, relations between the U.S. and Cuba deteriorated rapidly, and diplomatic relations were broken on January 30, 1960. Immigrants from Cuba poured into the United States by any means possible including commercial airlines, small boats, and commandeered aircraft. The exodus increased to nearly 2,000 per week, and more than 150,000 Cubans entered the United States between July 1960 and October 1962.

What had been a flood of refugees was reduced to a trickle after President Kennedy announced the quarantine of Cuba on October 22, 1962. Commercial transportation between the U.S. and Cuba ceased and a few privately owned small boats became the only means of escape. Between December 1962 and the first half of 1963, the American Red Cross was allowed to transport 7,800 refugees to the United States including 1,100 prisoners of war from the "Bay of Pigs" invasion and many of the prisoners' relatives.

Only a small number of refugees were able to reach the United States in the three years after October 1962. However, in October 1965, President Johnson announced that Cubans seeking refuge in the United States would be welcomed, and the subsequent negotiations led to the establishment of a regularly scheduled airlift from Cuba to the United States. Between November 1965 and March 1970, about 189,000 Cubans arrived on the airlift. Since the inaugural flight on November 6, 1965, between 3,000 and 4,000 Cubans have flown to the United States each month, and use of the airlift has shown no signs of diminishing.

#### Emigration

No direct measures of the emigration of United States residents are currently available. Indirect evidence suggests that about 250,000 residents, both citizens and resident aliens, left

the country permanently between 1960 and 1970. This estimate is based on data presented in statistical publications of various foreign countries and on data recently developed by the Social Security Administration showing the migration of OASDHI beneficiaries to and from the United States. The overseas movement of government employees, their dependents, and dependents of the Armed Forces overseas have been taken into account in the section on the net arrivals of civilian citizens. Immigration estimates presented in this section are independent of the four categories presented above.

More than half of the estimated 250,000 emigrants were United States citizens; the exact proportion could not be determined. Data on emigration of resident aliens, that is, the permanent return movement of immigrants lawfully admitted for permanent residence, have not been collected by the Immigration and Naturalization Service since 1957. The data provided by the Social Security Administration show the in- and out-migration of both citizens and aliens, most of whom are over age 65. The statistics for individual countries suggest that the movement is primarily by U.S. citizens, although not all countries provide a classification of migrants by citizenship.

Statistics obtained from Canadian officials indicate that approximately 158,000 U.S. residents, mostly citizens, have been admitted for permanent residence in Canada during the last 10 years. These figures include only persons who have convinced Canadian immigration officials that they plan to reside permanently in Canada. Students, visitors, and workers admitted temporarily are not included in the Canadian figures. The proportion of U.S. emigrants who actually remain permanently in Canada cannot be determined because there are no restrictions on the return of U.S. citizens to the United States, and no official action is required by either country in the event of such return. On the other hand, the same is true of the 432,000 residents of Canada who have entered the U.S. as immigrants during the same period so that to some extent, the two errors offset one another.

Data on the movement of U.S. residents to Israel, Australia, Italy, and Mexico during the last 10 years are less complete than those for Canada. According to figures provided by the Jewish Agency in New York, the estimated net movement of U.S. residents to Israel from 1960 to 1969 was about 15,000. More than half of this number emigrated to Israel after 1967. The number of U.S. residents who moved permanently to Australia is estimated to be about 12,000 (4). The amount of permanent movement to Australia from 1966 to 1969 was twice the amount from 1960 to 1963. The number of Italians who have returned to Italy after having previously migrated to the United States during the last 10 years is estimated to be about 5,000 according to Italian Embassy personnel in Washington. Statistics for Mexico indicate that about 1,000 U.S. residents move to that country each year, but these data may be seriously incomplete (5).

On the basis of statistics on the migration of OASDHI beneficiaries between the United States and all foreign countries during 1968 and 1969 and other data provided by the Social Security Administration, the net emigration of OASDHI beneficiaries was estimated to be about 75,000 for the decade. The majority were over 65 years of age. A number of these OASDHI beneficiaries have migrated to the individual countries discussed above. Therefore, to avoid duplication the estimated number of OASDHI beneficiaries emigrating to each of these countries was subtracted from the total movement to each of the countries mentioned above.

Based on the procedure outlined above, U.S. emigration for the intercensal period is estimated to be roughly 250,000. Estimates by year are as follows:

July 1, 1969 to March 31, 1970	28,000
1968-1969	33,000
1967-1968	29,000
1966-1967	26,000
1965-1966	24,000
1964-1965	23,000
1963-1964	23,000
1962-1963	22,000
1961-1962	20,000
1960-1961	18,000
April 1, 1960 to June 30, 1960	4,000
Total	250,000

The rather fragmentary data that are available for the individual countries indicate that the tempo of emigration increased considerably after 1965. The observed increase may be partly a function of unreliable data, and if real, may prove to be a temporary phenomenon. Much more complete and accurate data would be needed in order to measure the total emigration of U.S. citizens and resident aliens and to evaluate the causes and possible consequences of this movement.

#### Limitations of the estimates

The estimated net civilian immigration of 3.9 million for the decade should be regarded as an approximation rather than a precisely measured quantity. The largest category, net alien immigration, is the result of a careful registration and tabulation procedure. There are greater possibilities for error in the smaller categories, such as net arrivals from Puerto Rico.

Detailed tabulations from the 1970 Census will provide a powerful tool for strengthening the estimates of immigration in all categories, but better statistics on a current basis are needed in several fields. Data are needed showing the number of commuters who never become United States residents. If this is impossible to obtain, there should be, as a minimum, a careful periodic count of persons in this category along

with figures showing the turnover involved. Better current data are needed for the civilian population overseas. Complete reporting of births to citizens overseas is also needed, and more frequent and systematic tabulations of federally affiliated civilians overseas are required. Finally, little is known about the emigration of citizens and aliens and about illegal immigration.

It is not possible to set limits to the possible variation of the immigration estimates from the "true" situation. Some of the missing data series tend to cause a high estimate of immigration, while some tend in the opposite direction. In each category the estimates have been put at the level which seems the most reasonable, given the data available. Perhaps the greatest need at present is for better information on emigration since this category seems to offer the largest potential for error.

#### References

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