

LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS AND MIGRATION
EXPERIENCE OF THE PUERTO RICANS

PART II

A Cross-Sectional Analysis of Return Migration to
Puerto Rico Using 1970 Census Data

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Preface

The present study is part of a broader study on the migration process of Puerto Ricans to and from the States, undertaken jointly by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Fordham University of New York and the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico under a grant from the Manpower Administration of the United States Department of Labor. The study focuses on the relationship of the labor force behavior of Puerto Ricans in the mainland and on the Island to their migration experience. Professors Mary Powers and John Macisco from Fordham University were responsible for the mainland side of the study, while Professors Luz M. Torruellas and José L. Vázquez took responsibility for the Island's side of the study.

This report presents the results of the analysis of the return migration movement to Puerto Rico between 1965 and 1970 and of its implications for labor market analysis. The need for current data on this matter has increased considerably in recent years as migration back to the Island from the United States has grown in intensity, not only of persons of Puerto Rican birth who had gone to the States in search of better opportunities but also of persons born in the States of Puerto Rican parentage. The 1970 Population Census revealed that over 200,000 Puerto Ricans by birth and parentage returned to the Island between 1965 and 1970 and it is estimated that another 200,000 have moved back to Puerto Rico since 1970, making the Island a net importer of persons of Puerto Rican stock. This rising trend of the return migration stream is in marked contrast with the situation in the 1950's and early 1960's when out-migration to the States offered an escape valve that helped ease the population pressure. This new dimension of the migration process poses a broad range of issues and questions of interest both to social scientists and policy makers. This study intends to shed light on those questions concerned with labor force behavior and labor market interaction.

The study would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of people. Our greatest debt is with the United States Bureau of the Census that provided the special tabulations of the original census materials required for the analysis. Larry Carbaugh, Chief of the Census Users Section, and his staff were very cooperative and helpful. A special word of appreciation is also due to Howard Brunsmann, whose intimate knowledge of the census' technical editing and programming procedures were much helpful. His advice during the initial stages of design of the special census tabulations and in clearing technical processing details with the Bureau of the Census staff was of great value. We are also grateful for the cooperation received from the University of Puerto Rico Computer Center whose staff was very cooperative in helping us with the special tabulations run using the Public Use Census Tapes.

In acknowledging indebtedness, we owe a special debt to our friend and colleague Severo Rivera Rivera from the University School of Public

Health. Mr. Rivera was involved in the study from the beginning as assistant responsible for the programming and computer processing of the special tabulations using the Public Use Tapes. Because of his intimate knowledge of the programming techniques used by the United States Bureau of the Census and his training both in demography and economics, he contributed greatly to the detailed supervision of the computer processing of the tabulations and also handled a substantial share of the statistical analysis performed.

Victor Sepúlveda, José Anibal Soto, and Manuel Delgado, our research assistants, deserve special commendation for their patience and competence in handling the checking of the tabulations and performing many of the statistical analyses required.

Our colleagues at Fordham, Professors Mary Powers and John Macisco, and their associates Americo Badillo and Brian Earley, are due special gratitude. They were a source of inspiration throughout the whole project, making possible a cross-fertilization of ideas and suggestions that proved very helpful. Of course, the opinions in this report are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect the views of those who in one way or another helped us.

Sybil Lewis and Sara Holman owe special recognition for their assistance in carefully reading and editing the manuscript.

Special acknowledgment is made of the unfailing encouragement and support received from Luis A. Passalacqua and Pedro Vales, present and former director, respectively, of the Social Science Research Center. Pedro Escabi and Conchita Torruellas, of the Center's administrative staff, also deserve special recognition for their help, many times beyond the call of duty, in viabilizing important administrative matters.

Lastly, the clerical staff of the Department of Economics and the Social Science Research Center deserve also special recognition for their patience in typing the manuscript through its various stages. The cooperation of the staff of the reproduction units of the Social Science Research Center and the Institute of Labor Relations is also acknowledged. To all of them our deepest gratitude.

L.M.T. and J.L.V.

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Part One

Introduction

Section I

Introduction

A. Rationale for the Study

The idea of this study emerged from the increasing interest in recent years on the changing character of the direction of the net migration stream between Puerto Rico and the United States. The increasing movement of people between Puerto Rico and the States has been a subject of considerable concern to demographers, economists, and sociologists interested in the process of rapid economic and social change underway in Puerto Rico since the end of the Second World War. The major concern until recently, however, has been with the out-migration stream and its demographic and socio-economic consequences for the Island. Little concern had been evidenced with the in-migration stream until the end of the 1960's when the socio-economic implications of the reversal of the migration movement became noticeable.

According to Census figures some 34,000 Puerto Ricans returned to the Island between 1955 and 1960 and more than 225,000 between 1965 and 1970. In other words, as early as 1960 it became evident that the migration stream was taking a different shape because of the tendency to accelerate of the return migration flow and that its impact on the social and economic parameters of the Island could not be overlooked. Yet, the only comprehensive study about return migration in the 1960's was the one undertaken by Hernández Alvarez¹ using original data from the 1960 Census. Hernández' study was an original and penetrating analysis of the characteristics (age, sex, education, family composition, fertility, economic activity, resettlement patterns) of the group that returned to the Island during the period of 1955 to 1960. According to the 1960 Census a person was identified as a return migrant if he was born in Puerto Rico, had a residence in the United States in April 1st, 1955, and was enumerated as living in Puerto Rico in April 1st, 1960. A serious limitation of this definition was the exclusion of migrants who left Puerto Rico after April 1955, but returned to the Island before the Census date (April 1, 1960). Another limitation was the inclusion of persons living in the United States in April, 1955 even for a few days or weeks, e.g., tourists, visitors, etc. Persons born in the States of Puerto Rican parentage were excluded from the definition.

Since Hernández' study, no other studies on return migration were undertaken until Zell's analyses of the 1971 and 1972 Immigration

¹/ José Hernández Alvarez. Return Migration to Puerto Rico. Berkeley, California, University of California. 1967.

Surveys.^{1/} The statistical analysis of the data obtained in the 1971 Immigration Survey, though, threw no new light about the return movement to Puerto Rico.^{2/} The definition of return migrant utilized in this survey was similar to that of the 1960 Census but on a year basis; migration figures were obtained for the period of April 1970 to April 1971. In the 1972 survey, Zell introduced two major changes. One had to do with the definition of return migration. This was modified to include any person who had lived outside of Puerto Rico for three consecutive months or more at any time during his life. The other major change was the inclusion of the year of last return to Puerto Rico as an item in the survey. In this way Zell obtained information about all persons living in Puerto Rico at the time of the interview (April 1972) who had spent three months or more outside of Puerto Rico any time during their lives, i.e. about their "lifetime" migration. He also obtained data about the year of last return to Puerto Rico.^{3/}

"Lifetime" migration data as obtained by Zell is a helpful measure and undoubtedly can provide new insights in relation to this phenomena. But in explaining the rationale of his definition, he is highly critical of the Census questions considering them as "very special definitions of return migrants... necessitating very careful considerations..." Notwithstanding the limitations, there is nothing wrong or special, in our opinion, in utilizing a fixed interval of time in obtaining estimates of return migration. All demographic events (mortality, natality and migration) are obtained in a similar fashion in order to make them comparable. One serious limitation, though, of the Census question is that persons going to the United States after the date which represents the lower limit of the time interval and the date representing the upper limit are excluded.

On the other hand, "lifetime" return migration as obtained by Zell poses very serious problems of interpretation as a result of re-emigration and mortality and the fact that the migration event occurred at an unknown time in the individual's lifetime. Those migrants who returned to Puerto Rico after being residents in the United States and re-emigrated again before the date of the interview are excluded. This group is probably considerable and very different from those return migrants who reincorporated to the Puerto Rican society. In

^{1/} Since 1963 the Puerto Rico Planning Board, with the collaboration of the Department of Labor, had been collecting some data about immigration to the Island in conjunction with the April Household Sample Survey of the Labor Force, but no in-depth analysis of these data had been made.

^{2/} Steven Zell. "Statistical Analysis of the 1971 Immigration Survey," in Puerto Rican Migrants: A Socio-Economic Study. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Puerto Rico Planning Board. 1972.

^{3/} Steven Zell. A Comparative Study of the Labor Market Characteristics of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants in Puerto Rico. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Puerto Rico Planning Board. 1973.

addition, the data gathered in this way represent the survivors of those who returned and stayed on the Island.

The major contribution of Zell's study was the analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of the returnees by year of last return to Puerto Rico.* He found significant differences between the time spent in Puerto Rico after last return and such variables as unemployment, occupational status, and participation rates.

* Information of a longitudinal nature supplementary to that obtained by Zell was generated by Cintrón and Vales^{1/} in 1973 using a sub-sample of returnees drawn from the sample used by Zell in 1972. One of the most interesting findings of this study has to do with the migratory experience of the group. The traveling experience for the group ranged from one trip to the United States to thirteen, the average being 2.1 trips per person.* The majority of the trips were to New York (53 per cent for the first trip and also 53 per cent for the last trip).* Other important areas in which some new data were obtained include: motivations for emigrating; English language proficiency and work experience before first trip; job experience and other activity during their stay in the States; and, occupational mobility and income differentials upon return to Puerto Rico.

No comprehensive analysis, however, has been made thus far of the data on return migration generated from the 1970 Population Census. Such an analysis could provide new data comparable to the one obtained by Hernández Alvarez for 1955-1960^{2/} that might yield useful insights into the changes that occurred in the pattern and in the socio-demographic and manpower profile of return migration in the 1960's. The inclusion of parentage in the definition of return migration in the 1970 Census also permits comparisons along socio-demographic dimensions between first generation Puerto Ricans and second generation Puerto Ricans, a group about which very little information has been generated up to now. Furthermore, and given the labor resource allocation problems that plague Puerto Rico, the new data and insights produced by such an analysis could provide supplementary information to the one provided by Zell^{3/} on the relationship between migration experience and labor force behavior of the Puerto Rican population useful to policy makers in the Island as well as to scholars interested

^{1/} Celia Fernández de Cintrón and Pedro A. Vales, Social Dynamics of Return Migration to Puerto Rico. Río Piedras; Social Science Research Center, 1975.

^{2/} Op. cit.

^{3/} Op. cit.

in the problems of labor resource allocation in surplus labor economies, i.e. economies with high unemployment rates.

B. Objectives and Scope of the Study.

This study sought to develop additional data and analytic insights on the relationship between the labor force behavior of the population in Puerto Rico and their migration experience, with special emphasis on "recent" migration experience. The general aim was to use the data generated from the 1970 Population Census to define systematic differentials in labor force behavior among return migrants from the United States and the non-migrant population and to attempt to relate these differentials to variations in selected economic and socio-demographic factors. Specifically, the study was directed to provide answers to questions such as: What share of the Puerto Ricans living on the Island in 1970 returned from the United States between 1965 and 1970? Of these returnees, how many were living in the United States in 1965, and how many in Puerto Rico in 1965? What is the recent labor force behavior of these two groups and to what extent are differences between the two groups associated with the degree of recency of their migration experience? How well have both groups of migrants adjusted to labor market conditions upon return to Puerto Rico? What economic and socio-demographic factors are associated with varying labor force behavior of these groups? What are the socio-demographic dimensions of the second generation Puerto Ricans that moved to the Island between 1965 and 1970? How does the labor force behavior of the return migrants compare with that of the non-migrant population and what economic and socio-demographic factors accounted for the differences? Did the labor force behavior of the return migrants have any significant impact on the labor force behavior of the total population? Of what sort, if any?

The research approach adopted in linking labor force behavior with migration experience entailed the analysis of twenty special tabulations of data from the 1970 Population Census for Puerto Rico. Responses to the set of Census questions relevant for migration analysis were cross-tabulated with those of the new Census questions on labor force status (activity status in the States, vocational training) and with the traditional labor force and other socio-economic items in the Census. The new questions relevant to migration included for the first time in the 1970 Census made possible to identify, in addition to the return migrants living in U.S. in 1965, those return migrants who migrated to the States between 1965 and 1970 but returned on time to be enumerated on the Island in 1970, and also to establish the duration of their last migration experience and the year of last return to Puerto Rico. This made it possible not only to generate comparable data with that produced by Hernández but to develop new data to establish comparisons among return migrants in terms of place of residence in 1965, birth and parentage, duration of their stay in the States, and the year they came back to the Island. These new questions also allowed, granted the problems of differences in

methodology, a comparison of our findings with those of Zell and to draw inferences as to similarities or differences between the migrants that returned to Puerto Rico in 1971-72 and those that returned before 1970.

C. Conceptual and Methodological Issues

The analysis of the relationship between return migration and labor force behavior involves a number of conceptual and measurement problems that many times blur the validity of data in published reports for purposes of comparative analysis unless similar definitions and measurement methodology are used. It is, therefore, in order to specify the definitions of return migration and of labor force status used in this report and to comment briefly on the constraints or limitations they pose.

The return migrant population, as identified in this study, includes those persons of Puerto Rican birth and parentage living in Puerto Rico in April 1, 1970, according to the Census enumeration, but who in April 1, 1965 were residing in the United States or had gone to the States for six months or more between 1965 and 1970. Various limitations of this definition are evident. The most obvious is that it includes only return migrants who were residing in Puerto Rico in 1970. It is, thus, a count of stayers who have survived at a fixed period in time. Those who returned to Puerto Rico during 1965 and 1970 and re-emigrated to the United States or died before the date of Census enumeration were not included. Furthermore, the use of a fixed interval does not allow for consideration of migration experience prior to the lower limit of the time interval fixed. Nor does it allow for consideration of migration experience beyond the upper limit, i.e. after April 1, 1970. The data generated from the Census indicate that the volume of return migration increased consistently from 1965 to 1969-70, with the bulk concentrating in the terminal 15 months of the fixed time interval. It is not possible, therefore, to satisfactorily answer whether that corresponded to a peak in the return migration flow, for the upper limit of the interval imposes a ceiling beyond which the extent of the flow is not known.

Furthermore, as pointed out by our colleagues at Fordham University, the fixed interval question in the 1970 Census has important methodological implications related to the effect of duration of residence in the States and the recency of return to Puerto Rico on the social and economic status of return migrants, as measured in April 1, 1970.^{1/} For this is affected in the short run not only by the structural economic conditions of the Puerto Rican society at the time of return but also by the duration of residence abroad and

^{1/} Americo Badillo et.al. "A Note on Return Migration to Puerto Rico, 1970". Proceedings 1975 Annual Meeting of the Statistical Association, pp. 289-294.

the recency of their arrival. Since almost* half of all return migrants during the five year interval arrived in 1969-70 and the process of reincorporation to the Puerto Rican society takes time, it is to be assumed that the shorter the duration of residence of the migrant and the more recent his arrival the larger has been the impact on his socio-economic status. This must be taken into account in analyzing socio-economic differentials between the migrant and "non-migrant" population.

In the case of the 1970 Census new data was generated on duration of residence in the States and on year of last return to Puerto Rico that permitted cross-tabulations with data on socio-demographic and economic parameters to allow for differential analysis to define probable association between the two sets of variables. In addition to producing information comparable to the 1960 Census data about the number of persons who were residing in U.S. in 1965 and returned to the Island between 1965 and 1970, the Census also generated new information on the group who moved to the United States between 1965 and 1970 and returned to Puerto Rico before April 1, 1970. New information was also generated about the parentage population that immigrated to Puerto Rico between 1965 and 1970, a group about which little was known. This information permitted identification of return migrants not counted in the 1960 Census and comparisons with those identified by the traditional five-year question.

No data, however, was generated on the year of arrival in the United States, nor on the years in which repeated migrations occurred during the period, nor on activity in the United States prior to the date of return. Thus, there is no way to establish differences in the pattern of migration of these migrant sub-groups nor to identify socio-historical factors related to the process of reincorporation to the Puerto Rican setting upon return.

Another conceptual problem bearing on the relationship between labor force status and migration experience in an economy like Puerto Rico is related with the concepts of labor force and unemployment. An individual is counted as being in the labor force if he is able to work and either has a job or is "actively seeking" work. If he does not have a job but is "actively seeking" work as of the date of measurement, he is counted as unemployed. These apparently simple definitions pose considerable doubt and have also important methodological implications related to the effect of recency of return to Puerto Rico on the labor force status of the return migrant at the time of the Census enumeration. What about a person who is not "actively" seeking work because he believes there are no jobs available in the area, but who would accept a job if offered? What about a person who thinks that jobs available in the area do not fulfill his expectations and is, for that reason, not "actively" seeking work? How should he be counted? The effect of these logical problems on the labor force participation and unemployment rates of individuals tend to increase in periods of slackening of economic activity when

labor demands shrinkage and also when the individuals lack adequate knowledge of labor market conditions in his area because he has recently moved into it. Reported unemployment rates in the 1970 Census were about twice as high for the migrants who returned in 1969 and 1970 than those for the migrants who returned earlier. This reinforces the possibility that the effect of recency of arrival on their labor force status may have been considerable.

Another problem is the considerable range of error in the Census unemployment figures when compared with the P.R. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures. Census figures point to a great deal of misunderstanding and faulty reporting on the part of individuals that possibly follow from the procedures employed.^{1/} While the 1970 Census report indicates an over-all unemployment rate for the Island of 5.6 per cent, the official B.L.S. figure reported for that year amounted to 10.8 per cent. The Census figures obviously underestimated the amount of unemployment, although the age-sex structure of the rates moved in the same direction as the B.L.S. figures. Thus, in analyzing unemployment using Census figures, the figures ought not to be taken as indicative of the magnitude of the problem for evaluating the employment conditions of the economy.

Furthermore, there are serious difficulties in interpreting official unemployment figures, either Census or B.L.S., for these purposes because the "hidden" unemployment existent in the economy is not reflected in these figures. This is frequently referred to as underemployment, i.e., underutilization of labor resources. The way it is defined for purposes of measurement assumes a standard in terms of time of what full-time work should be, however defined, i.e. hours a week, weeks a year, etc. Thus, underemployment is the difference between this standard and actual work performance. As officially defined, then, it includes all persons who, as of the date of measurement, are not fully employed. In the case of the Census, two measures of underemployment are generated: one relates to the number of persons who worked less than 35 hours in the week prior to the Census date; the other relates to the number of persons who worked less than 50 weeks in the year prior to the Census year, whether full or part-time. One problem with the interpretation of these figures is that not all of those working less than 35 hours a week (or less than 50 weeks a year) can be considered underemployed. Even though the 1970 Census reported that 35.2 per cent of those at work in the week prior to the Census date worked less than 35 hours that week and that 50.8 per cent of those who worked in 1969 worked less than 50 weeks that year, these do not constitute true measures of underemployment.

^{1/} Census data are gathered by means of individual questionnaires which give only brief explanations of how the questions are to be answered and which are implemented either by mail (like in the 1970 Census in the United States) or with the help of enumerators briefly trained for the job (as was the case for Puerto Rico in the 1970 Census).

/ Some of the officially underemployed may not have wanted additional work, yet there is no way to ascertain this from information produced in the Census.^{1/}

We may conclude this section by pointing out that any analysis, in a general growth context, of the relationship between labor force status and migration experience using the 1970 Census data can not disregard consideration of the implications of the conceptual problems and measurement issues discussed above.

D. Structure of the Report

This report has been divided into five parts. The first part is introductory in nature. Besides stating the rationale for, the objectives, and general scope of the study, a discussion is presented of the sources and limitations of the data used, and the range of conceptual and methodological issues faced.

The second part examines the structural socio-economic changes that have occurred in Puerto Rico during the past 25 years, thus providing the setting for the analysis of the patterns and problems of relocation of the return migrant population on the Island. It starts with an analysis of the growth of the population during this period. Emphasis is placed on the role of migration in this population growth, particularly the effects of the record emigration to the States in the 1950's and early 1960's on the sex-age structure of the population. The changing structure of the economy and the labor market are subsequently examined as well as the extent to which the labor force characteristics of the population responded to those changes. The implications of official labor force projections in terms of employment creation and its feasibility are also discussed.

The third part is devoted to the analysis of the return migration movement in the 1965-1970 period on the basis of the special tabulations generated from the 1970 Census data. The nature and structure of the return migration stream during this period is analyzed, focusing on such variables as place of residence in 1965, birth and parentage, year of return to Puerto Rico and length of stay in the United States, to establish whether differentiations within the stream had to be made on the basis of these variables. Residential location patterns of the returnees while in the States are also examined in

^{1/} Special surveys by the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, however, ascertain this fact though, unfortunately, do not indicate how much additional work the person would have been willing to take if offered to him. Another inadequacy of official Census (and B.L.S.) rates is that "invisible" underemployment is not accounted, i.e. underutilization of individuals' capacity or skills resulting from inadequate or low productivity employment.

search of insights on the motivations to return. In this part, a socio-demographic profile of the returnees is developed focusing on such basic characteristics as number, sex and age, educational attainment, marital status, family structure and fertility, and location in Puerto Rico. In the same manner, a labor force and income profile of the returnees is established, special emphasis being placed on such variables as labor force participation rates; employment, unemployment, and underemployment; occupational and industrial distribution; earnings by occupation; and, family income by source. Links between socio-demographic and labor force variables are also examined both within and across migrant status.

In the fourth part, the socio-demographic and labor force characteristics of the returnees are compared with those of the non-migrant population, and the effects of migration experience on the labor force behavior of the total population of Puerto Rican birth and parentage on the Island are explored. Employing standardization analysis, using the non-migrant population as standard, the degree to which returnees influenced the labor force behavior of the total population is examined. Given that the length of time back on the Island proved to be an important factor in explaining the process of readjustment to labor market conditions of returnees, the implications of this factor for the analysis of labor market conditions in Puerto Rico are considered. And, since the returnees had been part of the labor force reserve in the States while there, recognition is made of the implications of their return for the analysis of labor market conditions in the States.

The concluding part of this report presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of the study and discusses the implications for population and manpower policies, as well as for further research.

Part Two

The Setting

Section I
Population Growth and the Migration Stream

According to the 1899 Census of Population, the first taken under the U.S. regime, the total population of Puerto Rico was 953,000 persons. In the 1970 Population Census a total population of 2,713,000 was enumerated on the Island. Thus, between 1899 and 1970, Puerto Rico had a 2.8 fold increase in population, for an average rate of increase of 1.5 per cent per year. The rate of growth, however, was not uniform over the 71 year period (Table 1). A steady acceleration in the annual rate of population increase occurred between 1899 and 1940 but it slowed down during the period of 1940 to 1960 reaching a record low of only 0.6 per cent per year during the fifties. Since 1960 the rate of population growth rose again.

TABLE 1 : Population Growth: Puerto Rico, 1899 to 1970

| Year | Population (thousands) | Annual Rate of Increase (Per Cent) |
|------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1899 | 953 | --- |
| 1910 | 1,118 | 1.5 |
| 1920 | 1,300 | 1.6 |
| 1930 | 1,543 | 1.7 |
| 1940 | 1,869 | 1.9 |
| 1950 | 2,211 | 1.7 |
| 1960 | 2,350 | 0.6 |
| 1970 | 2,713 | 1.4 |
| 1975 | 3,100 | 2.7 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970, PC (1) - 53 A; Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Puerto Rico Department of Health.

An analysis of the population changes in this century reveals striking differences between demographic factors operating before and after World War II. The acceleration of the rate of population growth from 1899 to 1940 is explained by the increased gap between fertility and mortality levels, as measured by the crude birth and death rates. Crude death rates declined rapidly by more than 20 per cent during this period (from 25.3 to 19.6 deaths per thousand population) while crude birth rates remained more or less stationary (Table 2). As a result the natural increase in population rose from an average of 15 per thousand in the first decade of the century to an average of 20 per thousand in the decade 1930 to 1939. The rise in birth rates in the late 1940's pushed up even farther the rate of natural increase.

In the following two decades, birth rates showed a reduction while death rates continued to decline, reaching the low level of 6.8 in the decade of the 1960's. The downward trend of both demographic forces produced a decline in the rate of natural increase after the peak reached in the decade of the 50's.

TABLE 2: Birth Rates, Death Rates, and Rates of Natural Increase, Puerto Rico: 1900-1909 to 1960-69

| Period | Birth Rate | Death Rate | Rate of Natural Increase |
|-----------|------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1900-1909 | 40.5 | 25.3 | 15.2 |
| 1910-1919 | 40.4 | 24.0 | 16.4 |
| 1920-1929 | 39.3 | 22.1 | 17.2 |
| 1930-1939 | 39.6 | 19.6 | 20.0 |
| 1940-1949 | 40.7 | 14.5 | 26.2 |
| 1950-1959 | 35.0 | 8.0 | 27.0 |
| 1960-1969 | 29.4 | 6.8 | 22.6 |
| 1970-1974 | 24.2 | 6.5 | 17.7 |

Source: Bureau of Demographic Registry and Vital Statistics, Department of Health of Puerto Rico.

The decline in birth rates in the past two decades was to a large extent a result of the sizeable emigration to the United States since 1950. Migration as a demographic force was not significant before World War II, but it began to play a significant role after 1945, specially in the 1950's. As is shown in Table 3, migration reduced the growth of population in 135,000 between 1945 and 1949, in 237,000 between 1950 to 1954, and in 193,000 between 1955 to 1959. It has been estimated that had migration not occurred, the population growth would have been of the order of 2.6 per cent annually in the decade of the 1940's, instead of the 1.7 per cent experienced. In the same manner, it would have reached 2.5 per cent a year, instead of 0.6 per cent, in the 1950's.

TABLE 3 : Net Emigration From Puerto Rico
1900 to 1974

| Period | Net Emigration ^{a/} |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1900-1909 | 2,000 |
| 1910-1919 | 11,000 |
| 1920-1929 | 42,000 |
| 1930-1939 | 18,000 |
| 1940-1944 | 16,000 |
| 1945-1949 | 135,000 |
| 1950-1954 | 237,000 |
| 1955-1959 | 193,000 |
| 1960-1964 | 58,000 |
| 1965-1969 | 87,000 |
| 1970-1974 | -120,000 |

^{a/}A Negative sign means net immigration.

Sources: 1900 to 1939, estimates based on the Puerto Rican population in the United States as enumerated in the censuses; 1940 to 1974, Puerto Rico Planning Board, Bureau of Social Planning, Balance of Payments Section.

Mass emigration, though, has been always accompanied by some amount of return migration, the reverse flow increasing when economic and other conditions abroad no longer are as attractive. During the early thirties and as a result of the economic situation in the United States out-migration was considerably reduced and many Puerto Ricans returned to the Island.^{1/} During the years of World War II, out-migration also declined. In like manner, the level of out migration showed a definite tendency to decline in the 1960's and 1970's. Accompanying this trend, the reverse flow began to increase. According to Census figures some 34,000 persons of Puerto Rican birth returned to the Island during the period of 1955-60 and around 129,000 between 1965 and 1970.^{2/} It is estimated that an additional 120,000

^{1/} Between 1930 and 1934 a net immigration balance of almost 9,000 persons was recorded. ^{1/}S.L. Descartes, Basic Statistics on Puerto Rico, 1946, Table 1-9/.

^{2/} José Hernández Alvarez, Return Migration to Puerto Rico, University of California, 1967, p. 16; and, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970: Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-D 53, Table 113.

Puerto Ricans have returned since 1970, as a result of the prevailing economic conditions in the United States, and the likelihood is that this return movement might continue to increase.

The important thing about the reversal of the migration stream is not only the resulting increase of the rate of population growth to 2.7 per cent a year between 1970 and 1975, but the accompanying changes in the age composition, residential location patterns, labor force status, and other dimensions of the population and their impact on the social and economic conditions of the Island. The size, age structure, labor force status, and other characteristics of the return migration movement have, thus, important implications for the planning and provision of essential social and public services as well as for economic and manpower policies that can not be disregarded. To fully understand these, the return movement must be analyzed within the framework of the changing structure of the economy and of the labor market undergone in the past two and a half decades.

Section II

Growth and Structure of the Labor Force and the Labor Market

In the context of the rapid growth and changing character undergone by the Puerto Rican economy in the past two and a half decades, many questions have been raised as to why the economy has failed to absorb the increasing labor supply, or in other words, why is it that the correlation between growth and the reallocation of labor supplies during the growth process has not conformed to the postulates of well known growth theories. To provide adequate answers to this question is not easy, given the complexity of the social, technological, and economic forces that have worked to reshape the social and economic structure of the Island and to produce a number of strains and imbalances that are posing serious challenges to the Island's planners and policy makers. Whatever the methodological approach used to deal with the problem of labor force absorption or reallocation in the process of growth and the manpower policies needed to surmount current problems and anticipate future ones, there is need of comprehension of the size, structure, and behavior of the labor force and of its growth over time and of the kinds of manpower demands that the changing structure of the economy will be eliciting.

It is the purpose of this section of the report to analyze the changing structure of the labor market since the 1950's and the dimensions of the labor supply to meet labor market demands. The objective is to provide a framework against which to analyze in subsequent sections the linkages between migration experience and re-allocation of labour supplies in the Island.

A. The Changing Structure of the Economy and of the Labor Market

Rapid improvement in the levels of per capita income and product resulting from increases in productivity per worker, largely as a result of improved equipment and technology, has characterized the transformation of the Puerto Rican economy since the end of World War II and up to 1973 when the U.S. recession and the oil crisis began to sharply dampen the rate of growth. Real gross domestic product, measured in 1974 prices, rose since 1947 at rates of nearly 7 per cent per annum and in per capita terms at annual rates of nearly 5 per cent.^{1/} The economy not only grew rapidly but also experienced significant structural changes in its productive base. The clearest and strongest tendency has been the shift from an agriculturally-based economy to an industrial export economy. With the increasing push since the early 1950's to industrialization as a development strategy,

^{1/} Report to the Governor of the Committee to Study Puerto Rico's Finances, James Tobin, Chairman. San Juan, Puerto Rico: December, 1975, p. 8.

manufacturing, and particularly the "new" manufacturing sector,^{1/} has been the driving force behind the growth of output. Not only has the gross product originated in the "new" manufacturing sector grown much faster than that of the economy as a whole, but the growth of this sector exerted significant multiplier or inducement effects, though of varying degree, on such supporting sectors as trade, transportation, public utilities, banking and finance, and business and personal (other than domestic) services.

The kind of structural transformation of the productive structure that occurred in Puerto Rico can best be appreciated by examining the changes in output levels and employment in the major industrial sectors presented in Table 4, as well as the changes in productivity over time in individual industries as revealed indirectly by the weighted relative differences in manpower flows and coefficients shown in Tables 6 and 7. These were estimated by our colleague Angel L. Ruiz, from the Economics Department, as part of his doctoral dissertation work at the University of Wales, England, and are reproduced here by special permission from the author.^{2/}

From the data in Table 4, it can be noted that the manufacturing sector has been the key growth generating sector of the economy and that manufacturing growth has been accompanied by a relative decline in the share of agriculture and other traditional sectors in the overall growth attained. It is also to be noted that the pattern of labor demands, as is evident from the behavior of employment through time, is clearly geared to the growth trends of the economy. Employment on farms, home needlework, self-employed retail merchants and street vendors, and other low-wage, low-productivity activities has been declining relatively, and even absolutely in some cases, while employment growth in new dynamic and supporting sectors has been accelerating.

In other words, the shifts in employment demands observed by examining Table 4, are associated to a great extent with the rate at which productivity has been rising in existing industries as well as with the rate at which new industries have been forthcoming as a result of the economic development strategy adopted. Taking the manpower coefficients calculated by Ruiz, reproduced in Table 5, as a rough measure of productivity and the weighted relative differences

^{1/} Specially those manufacturing activities, other than food, beverages, and apparel, that came into being under the propelling force of the 'Fomento' and Industrial Long-Term Tax Exemption Programs.

^{2/} Readers interested in the details of this indirect method of estimating productivity changes are referred to: Angel L. Ruiz, An Analysis of the Puerto Rican Economy in an Input-Output Framework, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Wales, England, December 1975, pp. 242 and 249. (A Xerox copy is available at the University of Puerto Rico General Library).

TABLE 4: Gross Domestic Product and Employment by Industrial Sectors, in Absolute and Relative Terms, Fiscal Years

(Absolute figures for gross product in million dollars; for employment in thousand persons)

| Industrial Sector | 1950 | | 1960 | | 1970 | | 1972 | | 1974 | |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % |
| Gross Product, all sectors | 723.8 | 100.0 | 1691.9 | 100.0 | 4989.7 | 100.0 | 6251.0 | 100.0 | 7863.8 | 100.0 |
| Agriculture | 132.1 | 18.3 | 154.0 | 9.7 | 156.7 | 3.1 | 177.3 | 2.8 | 228.3 | 2.9 |
| Manufacturing | 119.7 | 16.5 | 356.3 | 21.7 | 1169.4 | 23.4 | 1544.7 | 24.7 | 2153.1 | 27.4 |
| Construction and mining | 30.4 | 4.2 | 101.1 | 6.0 | 378.0 | 7.6 | 501.0 | 8.0 | 512.3 | 6.5 |
| Trade | 144.2 | 19.9 | 319.1 | 18.9 | 969.9 | 19.4 | 1225.4 | 19.6 | 1390.0 | 17.7 |
| Services | 46.2 | 6.4 | 145.0 | 8.6 | 528.5 | 10.6 | 633.6 | 10.1 | 798.0 | 10.1 |
| Transp. and other public util. | 59.7 | 8.2 | 151.7 | 9.0 | 437.1 | 8.8 | 540.2 | 8.6 | 661.4 | 8.4 |
| Real estate, banking, finance | 74.5 | 10.3 | 197.7 | 11.7 | 659.6 | 13.2 | 827.6 | 13.2 | 1046.8 | 13.3 |
| Government | 75.1 | 10.4 | 187.1 | 11.1 | 610.6 | 12.2 | 878.0 | 14.0 | 1101.2 | 14.0 |
| Statistical discrepancy | 41.9 | 5.8 | 60.0 | 3.4 | 79.9 | 1.6 | -76.8 | -1.1 | -27.3 | -0.3 |
| Employment, all sectors* | 596 | 100.0 | 543 | 100.0 | 686 | 100.0 | 737 | 100.0 | 775 | 100.0 |
| Agriculture** | 216 | 36.3 | 125 | 23.1 | 69 | 10.1 | 58 | 7.9 | 53 | 6.8 |
| Manufacturing*** | 106 | 17.8 | 91 | 16.8 | 132 | 19.2 | 141 | 19.1 | 147 | 19.0 |
| Construction and mining | 28 | 4.7 | 46 | 8.5 | 77 | 11.2 | 81 | 11.0 | 80 | 10.3 |
| Trade | 90 | 15.1 | 97 | 17.9 | 128 | 18.7 | 135 | 18.3 | 148 | 19.1 |
| Services | 77 | 12.9 | 75 | 13.9 | 116 | 16.9 | 126 | 17.1 | 128 | 16.5 |
| Transp. and other public util. | 30 | 5.0 | 39 | 7.2 | 45 | 6.6 | 49 | 6.6 | 54 | 7.0 |
| Real estate, banking, finance | 3 | 0.5 | 6 | 1.1 | 13 | 1.9 | 16 | 2.2 | 18 | 2.3 |
| Government | 45 | 7.6 | 62 | 11.5 | 106 | 15.5 | 131 | 17.8 | 147 | 19.0 |

* Figures do not add to total due to rounding.

** Includes forestry and fisheries.

*** Includes home needlework.

Source: Puerto Rico Planning Board, Economic Report to Governor, 1974, pp. A-4 and A-26.

In the coefficients, reproduced in Table 6, as crude indicators of productivity changes, a number of inferences can be made about the changes that have occurred in labor demands and reallocation of labor supplies in Puerto Rico since the 1950's. First, it is evident that agriculture experienced a dramatic absolute decline in employment that reduced its share of total employment from 35.9 per cent in 1950 to 7 per cent in 1974; but at the same time this sector experienced rapid increases in productivity, particularly after 1960. This could be explained in terms of the large amount of disguised unemployment and underutilization of human resources in agriculture still prevalent in the 1950's, the reallocation of labour resources that must have taken place as economic development speeded via industrialization, and the pulling force exerted by the availability of jobs in the States that moved large numbers of people to out-migrate in search of better opportunities.

However, and this is the second inference one can make by examining Tables 5 and 6, the industrialization that has occurred in Puerto Rico has resulted in a rate of labor absorption insufficient to effectively reallocate the surplus labor displaced from the traditional sectors, i.e. the rate of employment creation in the "new" manufacturing has lagged when compared with the rate of employment decline in the traditional sector. Ruiz^{1/} points out that this has been the case even for manufacturing industries classified as having a high labor absorption rating. More so, he found out that in a number of cases within this group of industries, the gains in productivity have surpassed the gains in employment, though it must be admitted that in recent years productivity growth rates in a number of manufacturing industries have been slowing down. This is clearly seen from the data in Table 7, again reproduced with permission from Ruiz's thesis, by examining the ratio of manpower coefficient change to employment change for selected industries classed as having exhibited high rates of labor absorption. Given the fact that the pressures for higher wages coming from minimum wage legislation at the local and federal levels pushed wages up prematurely in the manufacturing sector and moved them up at rates faster than productivity in many industries, it is evident that the inability of the economy to cope with the problem of unemployment and underutilization of labor resources would have reached acute proportions (or would have forced a change of development strategy) had not the U.S. labor market absorbed a substantial amount of the surplus labor force in the 1950's and 1960's.

The high level of unemployment and underemployment still prevailing that has reached critical levels recently, going up to as much as 20 per cent openly and to 30 or 40 per cent if account is taken of disguised unemployment, and the fact that Puerto Rico can no longer rely on low-cost, labor-intensive manufacturing for propelling economic

^{1/} Ibid., pp. 254-55.

TABLE 5: Man per Million Dollars of Output and Employment Flows,
Puerto Rico, Calendar Years, 1954, 1963 and 1972 (1963=100)

| | Manpower Coefficient | | | Employment | | |
|---|----------------------|---------|--------|------------|---------|---------|
| | 1954 | 1963 | 1972 | 1954 | 1963 | 1972 |
| Agriculture | 694.63 | 466.33 | 221.15 | 168,587 | 138,034 | 56,495 |
| Sugar Mills | 46.46 | 38.73 | 103.60 | 9,716 | 7,583 | 8,676 |
| Beverages | 64.08 | 31.59 | 29.97 | 3,101 | 3,933 | 6,217 |
| Dairy Products | 49.66 | 34.69 | 27.50 | 928 | 1,849 | 2,193 |
| Bakery Products | 173.78 | 96.69 | 63.30 | 2,485 | 2,485 | 1,920 |
| Other Food Products | 74.51 | 32.97 | 30.50 | 2,630 | 5,288 | 9,590 |
| Tobacco Products | 391.90 | 100.40 | 58.00 | 9,758 | 6,062 | 4,508 |
| Textile Mill Products | 120.10 | 97.20 | 50.90 | 2,774 | 4,970 | 7,815 |
| Apparel & Related Prods. | 350.10 | 146.70 | 90.10 | 17,645 | 26,622 | 39,610 |
| Leather Products | 250.00 | 138.80 | 113.00 | 1,675 | 5,997 | 6,611 |
| Wood Products | 102.30 | 110.40 | 83.50 | 307 | 607 | 1,194 |
| Furniture & Pictures | 199.40 | 127.30 | 76.50 | 2,812 | 3,691 | 3,211 |
| Paper & Allied Prods. | 59.80 | 59.54 | 44.80 | 463 | 1,286 | 1,573 |
| Printing & Publishing | 95.60 | 103.00 | 80.60 | 1,311 | 1,885 | 2,965 |
| Chemicals & Allied Prod. | 44.18 | 28.93 | 14.40 | 1,449 | 2,337 | 8,975 |
| Petrol. & Coal Prods. | --- | 9.80 | 6.00 | --- | 1,362 | 2,179 |
| Non Metallic Min. Prods. | 154.73 | 75.65 | 62.00 | 3,127 | 5,263 | 6,248 |
| Metals | 60.29 | 54.01 | 42.28 | 1,236 | 3,275 | 6,203 |
| Machinery | 140.70 | 64.19 | 62.32 | 2,156 | 6,524 | 16,895 |
| Transportation Equip. | 84.20 | 120.00 | 64.38 | 101 | 325 | 711 |
| Instruments & Other Manufacturing Prods. | 167.71 | 108.26 | 52.67 | 5,199 | 6,090 | 9,783 |
| Mining | 363.50 | 120.54 | 69.41 | 1,998 | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| Construction | 216.26 | 158.21 | 103.99 | 33,001 | 55,000 | 84,664 |
| Trade | 282.63 | 197.82 | 135.08 | 86,002 | 112,004 | 150,574 |
| Transportation | 168.50 | 125.07 | 75.89 | 23,000 | 27,502 | 32,000 |
| Communications | 238.09 | 127.79 | 78.92 | 2,500 | 4,498 | 7,000 |
| Business Services* | 36.20 | 34.03 | 17.68 | 7,691 | 17,686 | 23,544 |
| Personal Services | 463.73 | 235.87 | 193.25 | 63,809 | 80,527 | 130,038 |
| Electricity & Gas | 155.50 | 76.91 | 53.05 | 4,215 | 6,007 | 11,368 |
| Water & Sanitary Ser. | 297.13 | 193.48 | 86.04 | 2,793 | 3,992 | 3,630 |
| Government | 235.96 | 206.98 | 164.59 | 50,000 | 100,120 | 145,498 |
| Total Economy | 251,229 | 146,331 | 86.99 | 512,381 | 644,808 | 793,896 |

*Business services include Finance, Insurance, Real Estate and other Business Services.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census of Manufactures 1954, 1963 and 1972; Puerto Rico Planning Board, Economic Report to the Governor. (Reproduced from A. Ruiz, An Analysis of the Puerto Rican Economy in an Input-Output Framework, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, page 242).

TABLE 6: Weighted Relative Differences in Manpower Flows and Coefficients by Industry,
Calendar Years 1954-1963, 1954-1972, and 1963-1972 (1963=100)

| Industry | Change from 1954-1963 | | Change from 1954-1972 | | Change from 1963-1972 | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|
| | Coefficient | Employment | Coefficient | Employment | Coefficient | Employment |
| Agriculture | -0.1042 | -0.5228 | -0.1782 | -0.1716 | -0.0964 | -0.1133 |
| Sugar Mills and Refineries | -0.0027 | -0.0037 | 0.0107 | -0.0016 | 0.0103 | 0.0015 |
| Beverages | -0.0041 | 0.0014 | -0.0051 | 0.0048 | -0.0004 | 0.0032 |
| Dairy Products | -0.0008 | 0.0016 | -0.0014 | 0.0019 | -0.0006 | 0.0005 |
| Bakery Products | -0.0024 | 0.0 | -0.0032 | -0.0009 | -0.0013 | -0.0006 |
| Other Food Products | -0.0053 | 0.0046 | -0.0060 | 0.0105 | -0.0008 | 0.0060 |
| Tobacco Products | -0.0162 | -0.0064 | -0.0162 | -0.0080 | -0.0039 | -0.0022 |
| Textile Mills Products | -0.0014 | 0.0038 | -0.0066 | 0.0077 | -0.0056 | 0.0039 |
| Apparel and Related Products | -0.0313 | 0.0155 | -0.0520 | 0.0337 | -0.0220 | 0.0180 |
| Leather Products | -0.0038 | 0.0075 | -0.0048 | 0.0075 | -0.0018 | 0.0008 |
| Wood Products except Furniture | 0.0001 | 0.0005 | -0.0002 | 0.0013 | -0.0003 | 0.0008 |
| Furniture and Fixtures | -0.0025 | 0.0015 | -0.0041 | 0.0006 | -0.0024 | -0.0007 |
| Paper and Allied Products | 0.0 | 0.0014 | -0.0004 | 0.0017 | -0.0006 | 0.0004 |
| Printing and Publishing | 0.0002 | 0.0010 | -0.0006 | 0.0025 | -0.0008 | 0.0015 |
| Chemicals and Allied Products | -0.0014 | 0.0015 | -0.0081 | 0.0115 | -0.0053 | 0.0092 |
| Petroleum & Coal Products | --- | --- | --- | --- | -0.0012 | 0.0011 |
| Non-Metallic Minerals | -0.0050 | 0.0037 | -0.0062 | 0.0048 | -0.0016 | 0.0011 |
| Metals | -0.0004 | 0.0035 | -0.0020 | 0.0076 | -0.0016 | 0.0041 |
| Machinery | -0.0060 | 0.0075 | -0.0120 | 0.0226 | -0.0005 | 0.0044 |
| Transportation Equipment | 0.0001 | 0.0004 | -0.0002 | 0.0009 | -0.0004 | 0.0005 |
| Instruments & other Manuf. Prods. | -0.0042 | 0.0015 | -0.0120 | 0.0070 | -0.0076 | 0.0051 |
| Mining | -0.0034 | 0.0 | -0.0042 | 0.0 | -0.0015 | 0.0 |
| Construction | -0.0236 | 0.0380 | -0.0632 | 0.0791 | -0.0401 | 0.0412 |
| Trade | -0.0604 | 0.0450 | -0.1279 | 0.0990 | -0.0539 | 0.0536 |
| Transportation | -0.0129 | 0.0078 | -0.0319 | 0.0140 | -0.0202 | 0.0062 |
| Communications | -0.0036 | 0.0034 | -0.0073 | 0.0070 | -0.0040 | 0.0035 |
| Business Services | -0.0014 | 0.0173 | -0.0165 | 0.0243 | -0.0181 | 0.0031 |
| Personal Services | -0.0812 | 0.0289 | -0.1222 | 0.1014 | -0.0291 | 0.0690 |
| Electricity and Gas | -0.0060 | 0.0031 | -0.0117 | 0.0110 | -0.0044 | 0.0074 |
| Water & Sanitary Services | -0.0025 | 0.0021 | -0.0054 | 0.0013 | -0.0041 | -0.0005 |
| Government | -0.0170 | 0.0866 | -0.0533 | 0.1462 | -0.0359 | 0.0631 |

Note: Negative signs mean, in the case of coefficients, a reduction in labour requirements per million dollar of output. In the case of employment a negative sign means decrease in employment.

Source: A. Ruiz. Ibid. Table 3, page 249.

TABLE 7: Weighted Relative Changes in Employment Compared with the Ratio of Coefficient Change to Employment Change for some Major Labour Absorbing Manufacturing Industries

| Industry | Calendar Years 1954 to 1963 | | Calendar Years 1954 to 1972 | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| | Change in Employment | Ratio of Change of Coefficient to Employment Change | Change in Employment | Ratio of Change of Coefficient to Employment Change |
| Apparel and Related Products | 0.0155 | 2.019 | 0.034 | 1.543 |
| Leather Products | 0.0075 | 0.5067 | 0.0075 | 0.64 |
| Machinery | 0.0075 | 0.800 | 0.023 | 0.531 |
| Other Food Products | 0.0046 | 1.1522 | 0.0106 | 0.566 |
| Textile Mills Products | 0.0038 | 0.3684 | 0.077 | 0.8571 |
| Non Metallic Mineral Products | 0.0037 | 1.3513 | 0.0048 | 1.292 |
| Metals | 0.0035 | 0.1143 | 0.0075 | 0.260 |

Note: An industry which has a high ratio of manpower coefficient change to employment change is assumed to have experienced greater increases in productivity than in labour absorption.

Source: A. Ruiz, Ibid., Table 9 , page 225.

growth, pose a serious question of development strategy and of resource allocation not easy to face. Unemployment rates are unduly high and need be dealt with but obviously not at the expense of productivity. Whatever the action paths taken, increasing information on our manpower resources and the basic issues involved in their efficient utilization is imperative if well-oriented policies to deal with the existing problems are to be formulated. A brief discussion of these issues is presented in the following section.

B. The Changing Structure of the Labor Force

Since 1950 the total labor force in Puerto Rico has risen by nearly 200,000 persons. This implies a net average annual increment of about 8,000 persons. But growth of the labor force during this period has been far from even. Between 1950 and 1960 we had the paradox of a growing economy with a shrinking labor force - the labor force declined by nearly 60,000 in spite of the fact that the population 14 years and over increased by more than 90,000. Out-migration to the United States was the key causal factor of this decline, with its effects on the age-sex composition of the population. But after 1960, the labor force started to rise again (the growth rate averaging 4.3 per cent annually between 1960-65, 2.2 per cent annually between 1965-70, and 2.6 per cent annually between 1970-75)^{1/}, reaching a total of 921,000 for 1973 before starting to decline under the impact of the recession to a level of 872,000 in the fiscal year 1975.

The important thing about the labor force, however, is not the size per se but the factors determining the increase in the composition, and the quality of the labor supply. The demographic factors determining the natural growth of the population are important, for they determine the number of new entries into the labor force every year; and net migration (internal and external) is also important for it may influence not only the size but also the sex and age composition of the labor force as well as its residential location patterns. Two other key factors that influence the size and the character of the labor force are the changes that may occur in the labor force participation rates of the various groups in the population and the availability and accessibility of educational offerings. What has been the interplay of these factors in Puerto Rico? How have they influenced the trends of growth of the labor force parameters?

Labor Force Participation Rates

Changes in labor force participation rates for various subgroups in the population as revealed by the decennial censuses of population are shown in Table 8. This table shows generally what is expected, a higher proportion of men than women in the labor force, a higher proportion of persons in the prime years of working life participating in the labor force than is true of the very young and very old

^{1/} Data obtained from Planning Board official reports.

persons. The most significant thing is not the general shape, however, but the changes in labor force participation by age groups of the population that have occurred in recent decades, and their relationship to employment availabilities and improved educational levels.

Labor force participation rates of men have dropped sharply, as expected, in both the youngest and oldest age groups (Table 8 and Fig. 1) but they have also dropped though less markedly for all intervening specific age groups. The drop in participation rates of males reflects the complexity of forces that have been at work throughout the past three decades to produce changes in the composition of the male labor force: the structure of the migration stream in the 1950's; the increased retention of youngsters in school as educational opportunities expanded; the changing pattern of employment opportunities for men, reflecting partly the faster rate of decline in low-paid farm and self-employment in relation to the growth of employment opportunities for men in other sectors of the economy; increasing reluctance on the part of employers to hire youths below 20 and adults over 45 years of age; the effect of public and private pension plans; and, the changing pattern of the work-leisure preference schedule of people as wage rates and family incomes rose with economic growth.

More significant, however, have been the changes that have occurred in the labor force participation of women. These have also decreased in the age groups below 20 and over 65 but the striking feature is the sharp increase in the labor force participation of women in the 1960's, particularly of women in the 20-45 age groups. It has also been significant that an increasing number of married women has been entering the labor force, a fact that seems to indicate that the prejudice against married women working has been breaking down. The pattern that has been emerging is for females to continue work after marriage until the first child is born, retire temporarily from the labor force until the children reach school age, and then reenter the labor market to supplement family income. Entry and reentry of women into the labor force is, to some extent, directly related to the number of children born, the presence or absence of spouse, and the availability of nursing care services by relatives or the market. Participation rates of married women are higher when the spouse is absent and in the case of spouse present these are higher when there are no children under six (Table 9).

A key factor associated with the changing structure of the labor force participation of women relates to the pattern of labor demands elicited by the types of manufacturing industries that came to the Island in the late 1950's and early 1960's under the stimulus of the Industrial Development Program. These industries were oriented to women employment. Furthermore, many of the expanding occupations in supporting sectors of the economy were the kind in which women could perform effectively.

TABLE 8: Changes in Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates,
Census Years 1940-70

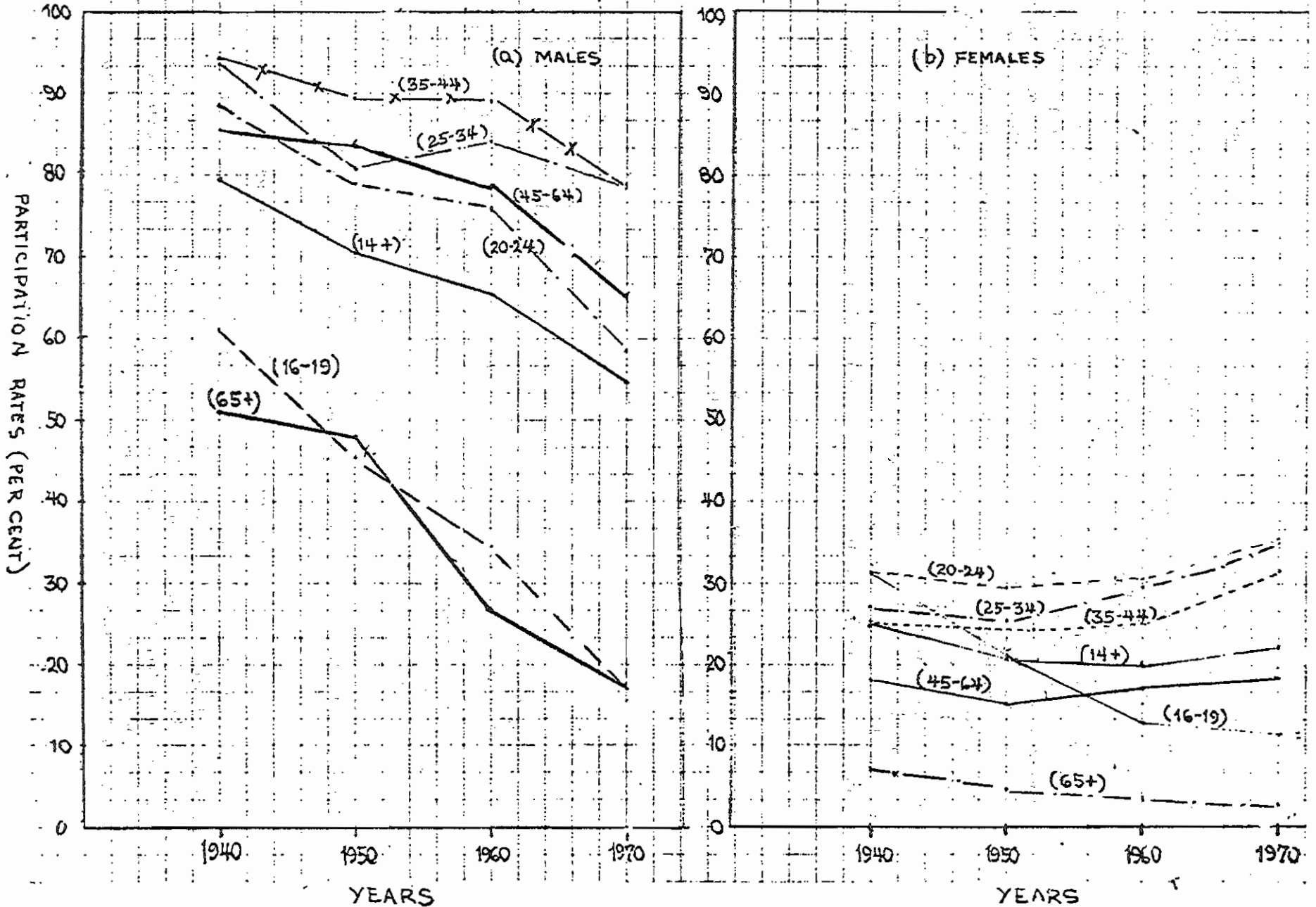
| Age Group | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 |
|----------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Total population 14+ | 51.8 | 45.5 | 42.2 | 38.2 |
| Males, 14+ | 79.4 | 70.7 | 65.7 | 54.7 |
| 14-15 | 18.5 | 12.4 | 5.0 | 4.1 |
| 16-17 | 45.7 | 29.7 | 21.4 | 11.6 |
| 18-19 | 74.0 | 59.6 | 50.2 | 32.0 |
| 20-24 | 88.4 | 78.2 | 76.0 | 61.8 |
| 25-34 | 93.1 | 80.6 | 84.5 | 78.7 |
| 35-44 | 93.9 | 89.4 | 88.7 | 78.8 |
| 45-64 | 86.7 | 83.3 | 82.3 | 66.8 |
| 65+ | 51.1 | 44.9 | 27.6 | 20.5 |
| Females, 14+ | 25.0 | 21.3 | 20.0 | 22.9 |
| 14-15 | 16.9 | 8.9 | 3.3 | 1.9 |
| 16-17 | 28.0 | 18.0 | 8.0 | 5.3 |
| 18-19 | 33.7 | 25.6 | 18.2 | 18.1 |
| 20-24 | 31.3 | 29.1 | 31.9 | 36.3 |
| 25-34 | 27.2 | 25.9 | 29.6 | 35.7 |
| 35-44 | 25.4 | 24.8 | 25.0 | 32.9 |
| 45-64 | 18.1 | 15.8 | 17.2 | 18.7 |
| 65+ | 7.9 | 4.8 | 3.9 | 2.9 |

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population Census for 1950, 1960 and 1970. (Average annual figures reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Puerto Rico's Labor Department are somewhat higher than the figures reported by the Census. However, they both show a similar pattern of change throughout the various age groups. Census figures are used for convenience, since the present study is based on the 1970 Population Census data).

FIGURE 1

PATTERN OF CHANGE IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF PUERTO RICAN POPULATION: CENSUS YEARS 1940-70

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Differences in labor force participation rates of both men and women with respect to such characteristics as residential location and education are also associated with the changing pattern of employment availabilities and the changing technology of production processes. As was pointed above, employment in 1950 was still mostly concentrated in the agricultural sector and in low-skill level urban jobs in such sectors as construction, domestic service, and self-employed merchant and street vendors. Today, employment availabilities are concentrated in non-agricultural areas and this is reflected in higher participation rates in urban than in rural areas and higher in metropolitan than in non-metropolitan areas (Table 10). Furthermore, the higher levels of modernization, efficiency, and new technology introduced into productive processes have meant increased educational and skill requirements for effective job performance. As a result, not only are workers with obsolete or lagging skills facing increased difficulty finding jobs requiring other skills, but less educated or untrained new workers are being increasingly discriminated against in favor of workers with higher educational attainment and/or special training.

TABLE 9: Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, by Marital Status and Presence of Own Children Under 6

| | AGE GROUPS | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| | All 16+ | 16-24 | 25-44 | 45-65 | 65+ |
| All persons | 24.5 | 24.4 | 34.4 | 18.7 | 2.9 |
| Single | 30.1 | 24.6 | 58.6 | 34.6 | 6.2 |
| Married, Spouse present | 22.7 | 23.0 | 25.2 | 15.0 | 2.0 |
| with own children under 6 | 22.5 | 18.8 | 24.7 | 11.8 | 10.1 |
| Married, spouse absent | 26.8 | 23.9 | 34.8 | 22.6 | 7.6 |
| Widowed | 9.6 | 18.3 | 36.0 | 16.6 | 1.9 |
| Divorced | 47.6 | 59.8 | 40.5 | 9.6 | - |

Source: 1970 U.S. Population Census, PC(1) - D 53, Table 132.

Changes in the Occupational Distribution of Employment:

Trends in the occupational distribution of the labor force since 1950 reflect the impact of the structural transformation of the economy on the pattern of labor demands and job requirements. These are shown in Table 11. The most striking feature is the sharp decline in farm occupations-farmers, farm managers, and farm laborers- and the growing predominance of white-collar and of blue-collar occupations.

TABLE 10: Labor Force Participation Rates, by Age, Sex, and Residence: Puerto Rico, 1970

| | Total | Urban | Rural Non-Farm | Rural Farm | Metropolitan | Non Metropolitan |
|-----------------|-------|-------|----------------|------------|--------------|------------------|
| Both sexes, 16+ | 41.1 | 47.3 | 37.2 | 24.4 | 44.8 | 37.9 |
| 16-24 | 32.2 | 33.7 | 31.0 | 28.2 | 34.1 | 30.7 |
| 25-44 | 55.2 | 59.1 | 49.9 | 44.1 | 58.7 | 51.7 |
| 45-64 | 42.7 | 46.4 | 37.9 | 35.0 | 49.1 | 36.9 |
| 65+ | 11.4 | 11.5 | 9.7 | 14.5 | 11.7 | 11.2 |
| Males, 16+ | 59.0 | 62.0 | 55.7 | 51.5 | 63.1 | 55.5 |
| 16-24 | 40.8 | 40.8 | 41.9 | 38.6 | 41.5 | 40.3 |
| 25-44 | 78.8 | 81.2 | 75.8 | 70.6 | 81.7 | 75.9 |
| 45-64 | 66.8 | 70.8 | 61.5 | 60.0 | 72.2 | 62.5 |
| 65+ | 20.5 | 21.6 | 16.8 | 23.8 | 21.7 | 19.7 |
| Females, 16+ | 24.5 | 28.7 | 19.0 | 14.2 | 28.4 | 21.1 |
| 16-24 | 24.4 | 27.3 | 20.9 | 18.2 | 27.4 | 21.9 |
| 25-44 | 34.4 | 39.8 | 26.2 | 20.1 | 38.4 | 30.6 |
| 45-64 | 18.7 | 23.5 | 11.9 | 7.2 | 28.4 | 9.0 |
| 65+ | 2.9 | 3.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 3.9 | 2.1 |

Source: 1970 U.S. Population Census, PC (1) - D 53, Table 132.

White collar occupations have shown the fastest rate of growth, the proportion of such workers in the total employment of all kinds almost doubled between 1950 and 1970. Within this group of occupations, professional, technical, and clerical occupations had the largest increases in employment. Workers in blue-collar occupations increased by almost 50 per cent during the same period. The increase was mostly in skilled and semi-skilled occupations; employment in unskilled blue-collar occupations also increased, heavily weighted by the expansion of the construction sector, but at a much slower pace.

The reduction in the relative supply of unskilled labor and the expansion in the relative supply of skilled and semi-skilled labor and of white-collar workers shows the impact on the occupational structure of changes in skills mix of production processes brought about by increased capital investment and the rationalization of production attained since 1950.^{1/}

Changes in the combination of skills used in the production process and in the responsiveness or elasticity of employment to such changes can also be inferred by examining the utilization ratio for the major occupational groups reflected in the percentage distribution of employment (Table 11). The aggregate ratio of persons employed in white-collar occupations increased sharply between 1950 and 1970 and so did the aggregate ratio of persons employed in blue-collar occupations. The need for increasing numbers of highly trained and educated professional workers has required an expanding supporting base of technicians and sub-professional workers as well as of skilled craftsmen and clerical workers with specialized training and/or education to cope with the higher job requirements imposed by the new technological developments and/or the higher levels of modernization and efficiency introduced into the productive processes.

Should the occupational structure profile of the various sectors of the economy be examined in greater detail, it would be evident that it has been changing rapidly in diversity and complexity. The dynamics of technological change and of over-all economic growth not only has created a vast array of new occupational titles (professional, technical, sub-professional, and skilled), many of which are still sparsely populated, though with a tendency to grow, but also has made obsolete or lagging a number of traditional jobs. This changing pattern of labor force demands has produced a number of strains and imbalances that make adjustment to labor market demands difficult for those groups of the labor force whose competences and skills do not match with the requirements of jobs available. To the extent that

^{1/} The rapid increase of wages brought about by changes in minimum wage laws and labor union demands has been a key factor forcing management to find ways of dispensing with unskilled workers and of striving for increased productivity.

TABLE 11: Changes in Occupational Structure: 1940-1970

| Occupational Groups | Relative Distribution of Employment* | | | | Percentage Change | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1940-50 | 1950-60 | 1960-70 | 1950-70 |
| All Occupations (absolute) | 508558 | 560156 | 551656 | 638342 | 10.1 | - 1.52 | 15.7 | 14.0 |
| <u>White Collar</u> | <u>15.9</u> | <u>21.0</u> | <u>29.2</u> | <u>36.1</u> | <u>45.0</u> | <u>36.9</u> | <u>43.2</u> | <u>96.1</u> |
| Profes., tech., and kindred | 3.1 | 4.9 | 7.7 | 11.1 | 72.2 | 57.1 | 65.7 | 160.3 |
| Managers and administratives, exc. farm | 4.8 | 6.1 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 40.4 | 22.7 | 2.3 | 25.5 |
| Clerical workers | 3.1 | 4.7 | 7.6 | 11.4 | 70.4 | 57.3 | 80.7 | 173.0 |
| Sales workers | 5.0 | 5.3 | 6.3 | 6.9 | 16.9 | 16.6 | 28.3 | 49.5 |
| <u>Blue Collar</u> | <u>28.6</u> | <u>29.6</u> | <u>35.0</u> | <u>38.0</u> | <u>13.9</u> | <u>16.7</u> | <u>25.4</u> | <u>46.3</u> |
| Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred | 5.4 | 7.5 | 11.3 | 13.9 | 50.5 | 49.8 | 41.7 | 112.3 |
| Operatives, exc. transport | 18.0 | 16.8 | 12.1 | 13.0 | 2.8 | 1.2 | 24.1 | 22.2 |
| Operatives, transport | | | 5.1 | 5.0 | | | 12.6 | |
| Laborers exc., farm | 5.2 | 5.3 | 6.4 | 6.1 | 14.0 | 18.8 | 9.4 | 30.0 |
| <u>Services</u> | <u>10.7</u> | <u>11.1</u> | <u>11.3</u> | <u>11.7</u> | <u>14.0</u> | <u>05</u> | <u>19.3</u> | <u>19.9</u> |
| Domestic services | 7.7 | 5.8 | 3.4 | 1.5 | -17.0 | -42.7 | -49.0 | -70.8 |
| Protective services | 3.0 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 2.2 | 94.7 | 29.0 | 61.9 | 108.9 |
| Other | | 4.1 | 6.3 | 8.0 | | 54.1 | 45.1 | 123.6 |
| <u>Agriculture</u> | <u>44.5</u> | <u>37.4</u> | <u>23.2</u> | <u>6.9</u> | <u>- 7.35</u> | <u>-39.0</u> | <u>-65.4</u> | <u>-78.9</u> |
| Farmers and farm managers | 9.4 | 6.5 | 3.2 | 1.3 | -24.1 | -50.7 | -52.5 | -76.6 |
| Farm laborers and foremen | 35.1 | 30.9 | 19.9 | 5.6 | - 2.9 | -36.6 | -67.4 | -79.3 |
| Occupation not reported | 0.3 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 7.3 | 7.3 | --- | --- | --- |

*Figures are also indicative of occupational utilization ratios, i.e. number of workers in the occupational group for every 100 workers of all kinds employed.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Census: Puerto Rico, 1950, 1960, and 1970.

productivity gains in the modern sector have surpassed the rate of growth of the labor force, it has become more difficult to effectively absorb the new entrants into the labor force, particularly those with low or no skills.

Unemployment, Underemployment, and the Size of the Labor Force

The extent to which the size and characteristics of the available labor force do not match the requirements of the jobs that are available is reflected in the unemployment rates. Unemployment rates in Puerto Rico are intolerably high and have been so in spite of the high rates of economic growth attained in the past two decades. In 1950 the unemployment rate amounted to 12.0 per cent of the labor force and it has averaged around 11 to 13 per cent annually since then.^{1/} Official unemployment rates, however, do not reveal the complete picture of underutilization of human resources in the Island. When the partially unemployed, i.e., the underemployed, are also counted, the total unemployment average annual rate for the period considered averages about 35 per cent. Yet, this is not the full picture that makes unemployment the most serious economic problem of Puerto Rico. Unemployment, as officially measured, includes only those persons without a job who actively search for one. But the figure, so defined, does not include those persons who do not search for a job, not because they do not want to work but because they feel that the market is not generating the kind of jobs they could apply for and that searching for work would be of no avail.

This kind of unemployment, sometimes identified as "demand-shortage" unemployment, has no doubt been also persistent in Puerto Rico, more so in times of slackening of economic activity, and has exerted a depressive influence on labor force participation rates.

In a rapidly changing economy with surplus labor, like Puerto Rico, the problems of unemployment and underemployment tend not only to be stubborn but also to impose severe burdens on particular groups of the population -the very young, the untrained, and unskilled workers. When new jobs are few and labor is plentiful, new entrants into the labor force under 25 years of age are more likely to feel the backing-up at the point of entry unless they have specialized training and skills. More than one-third of the officially unemployed persons in Puerto Rico are youngsters in the 16-24 years of age group.^{2/}

^{1/} These are the rates reported by the Commonwealth Bureau of Labor Statistics. Census figures have not been used because of the large amount of underestimation evident.

^{2/} Comité Interagencial de la Estrategia para Puerto Rico, El Desarrollo Económico de Puerto Rico: Una Estrategia para la Próxima Década, San Juan, Puerto Rico: November 1975, p. 125.

Furthermore, even when they do find jobs they are more likely to be discriminated against because of their lowest seniority and in case of lay-offs or firing they are likely to be the first to go. Employers are more inclined to hire experienced workers in preference to inexperienced and untrained workers and not too young nor too old workers in preference to the very young and old workers.^{1/} Of particular concern, therefore, are the youngsters in this age group with low educational attainment, for they are the less employable.

The available data on unemployment and underemployment reveal that there is a strong relationship between education, occupation, and utilization of labor resources. The incidence of unemployment has been greatest among unskilled and semi-skilled blue collar workers. In 1969-70, for example, 58 per cent of all the officially unemployed were blue-collar workers, 13 per cent were farm workers, 21 per cent were white-collar workers, and the other 7 per cent were service and non-specified relatively unskilled workers.^{2/} In other words, the incidence of unemployment has been greatest in those jobs where the introduction of new technologies has caused obsolescence of skills and with it, displacement of workers who could not cope with the particular adjustments required by the continuing process of rapid technological change going on. To the extent that job requirements continue to change in the direction of higher training and education, underutilization of human resources, either in the form of unemployment and underemployment, is likely to increase for both male and female workers who do not match the increased requirements.

C. Implications of Official Labor Force Projections

According to projections made by the Puerto Rico Planning Board, the total labor force is expected to rise by some 400,000 persons from 1975 to 1985, for an average annual increase of 3.37 per cent between 1975-1980 and 2.09 per cent between 1980-85. By 1985, the labor force is expected to total 1,141,000 persons.^{3/} This acceleration in labor force growth will impose additional pressures to increase the rate of creation of new jobs to match the projected increase in

^{1/} These attitudes of employers have been confirmed by empirical studies made. See, for example: Luz M. Torruellas, Puerto Rico's Present and Prospective Technical, Skilled and Clerical Manpower and Training Needs, Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1972, pp. 66-71.

^{2/} Junta de Planificación de Puerto Rico, Informe de Recursos Humanos al Gobernador, 1970, San Juan, Puerto Rico, abril de 1971, p. 101.

^{3/} Comité Interagencial de Estrategia, op. cit., p. 10. These projections like all projections, are based on a number of critical assumptions related with the growth of the population, but it is not our intention to make any critical evaluation of them at this point.

the labor supply and the high rates of actual unemployment and underutilization of manpower resources. Pressures are likely to be particularly critical in view of the fact that, if an adequate rate of labor absorption is to be attained, the quality of the labor force will have to be greatly enhanced so as to match the requirements of the projected labor demands.

The problem becomes especially acute for two reasons: One is concerned with the structural characteristics of unemployment, as discussed above. The other is concerned with the fact that, because of the age-structure of the population, the sharpest labor force growth to 1985 will be among workers under 25 years of age who will be seeking entry into the labor force. The implications of the age-structure of the population on labor force-growth and employment creation is to a large extent linked to the character of the past migration stream, discussed in an earlier section. The size and age-structure of the out-migration stream eased, to a great extent, the pressure of adjusting the creation of new jobs to match the growth of the labor force. Out-migration made possible the choice of techniques intensive in capital utilization rather than labor, without increasing the rate of unemployment. With the migration stream reversing itself in recent years and the likelihood that return migration might continue to increase, severe problems of manpower adjustment to labor market demands are to be expected. If, in addition, the rate of young new entrants into the labor force increases, these problems are likely to be aggravated. Manpower and economic policies will have to be integrated properly to achieve the best utilization possible of existing and prospective manpower resources. What has been the impact of the recent return migration stream on labor force behavior and what implications is it likely to have in the years to come, should the present trend continue? These are the questions dealt with in the following sections of this report.

Part Three

Profile of the Recent Return

Migration Movement

Section I

Demographic and Socio-Economic Components of Return Migration to Puerto Rico, 1965-1970

This section deals with the demographic and socio-economic composition of the return migration from the United States of persons of Puerto Rican stock during the five year period prior to April 1, 1970. The general aim is to use Census data to define the demographic and socio-economic parameters of this return migration and to search for systematic differentials in demographic and socio-economic composition among returnees, as well as between returnees and the non-migrant population, and to relate these differentials to variations in labor force behavior of these population sub-groups. The ultimate purpose is to develop insights as to the extent to which the migration experience of returnees has had any bearing on the problem of labor resource allocation in Puerto Rico. For this reason the analysis following is focused on the population aged five and/or sixteen and over.

A. Volume and Character of the Recent Return Migration Movement

The 1970 Population Census for Puerto Rico enumerated 2,712,033 persons of all ages living in Puerto Rico in April 1, 1970. Of this total, 2,393,923 were aged five and over, and 94.2 per cent of them (2,255,490 persons) were persons of Puerto Rican stock, either by birth or parentage.

Recent migration experience of the Puerto Rican stock population has been established, for the purposes of this study, on the basis of four questions included in the 1970 Census. One is the standard five year question ascertaining residence in 1965; the other three questions, included for the first time in the 1970 Population Census, ask whether the respondent had resided for six months or more in the United States at any one time during the five years prior to April 1, 1970 and, if so, for how long he stayed the last time and what was the year of return to Puerto Rico.

Responses to these questions indicate that 10 per cent of the population of Puerto Rican stock aged five and more living in the Island in 1970 (226,614 persons) had had recent migration experience, i.e. had lived in the United States for six months or more between 1965 and 1970. Of these, 102,362 (45.3 per cent) were living in the United States in April 1, 1965 and returned to the Island at sometime before April 1, 1970. These are the return migrants identified by the five year question. The other 123,982 persons (54.7 per cent), identified as having had recent migration experience by the other questions, were living in Puerto Rico in April 1, 1965 but had lived in the States for 6 months or more at sometime after this date and returned prior to April 1, 1970.

For analytical purposes, the sum of these two groups is considered throughout this report indicative of the volume of return migration to Puerto Rico between 1965 and 1970, notwithstanding the limitations of the Census definition of return migration. These limitations were pointed out in the first section of this report, e. g. returnees during this period who died before the Census enumeration are not included nor are included those returnees who re-emigrated to the States and were living there in April 1, 1970. However, in spite of the restrictions imposed by these limitations of the Census data on migration, a number of valuable insights about the character and pattern of the return migration movement are obtained by examining these data.

The first thing evident from such an examination is that the return migration movement has been far from homogeneous. The lack of homogeneity stems from the definition of return migrants used in this study. This permitted identification of a number of return migrant sub-groups: return migrants born in Puerto Rico and born in U.S. of Puerto Rican parentage, return migrants living in U.S. in 1965 and living in Puerto Rico in 1965, return migrants by length of stay in U.S., and return migrants by year of last return to Puerto Rico.

The number of persons of Puerto Rican parentage, aged five and over, identified as return migrants from the original 1970 Census data, totaled 35,657, or 15.7 per cent of all identified return migrants of the same ages (Table 12). Nearly 80 per cent of them were concentrated among the return migrants who reported residence in the United States in 1965. Of the 102,632 return migrants living in the U.S. in 1965, 27.3 per cent had been born in the States of Puerto Rican parentage while the corresponding proportion was 6.1 per cent for the 123,982 return migrants residing in Puerto Rico in 1965.

TABLE 12: Distribution of Return Migrants Aged Five and Over, by Residence in 1965 and by Birth and Parentage

| Place of Residence in 1965 | P.R. Birth | | P.R. Parentage | |
|----------------------------|------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| Total Return Migrants | 190957 | 84.3 | 35657 | 15.7 |
| Living in U.S. in 1965 | 74576 | 72.7 | 28057 | 27.3 |
| Under 15 years of age | 8949 | (12.0) | 21279 | (75.8) |
| Living in P.R. in 1965 | 116381 | 93.9 | 7601 | 6.1 |
| Under 15 years of age | 11090 | (9.5) | 4169 | (54.8) |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

The significant feature of the parentage group is that it is a very young group; 75.8 per cent of the parentage among return migrants with residence in the United States in 1965 and 54.8 per cent of those with residence in Puerto Rico in 1965 were children between the ages 5-14. The problems of assimilation of this sub-group of the return migrant population have, no doubt, important implications for the planning and provision of educational and other social services. However, since the focus of the present study is the relation between migration experience and labor force behavior, the distinction between birth and parentage does not seem as important for this type of analysis as is the distinction by residence in 1965, length of stay in the United States, and year of last return. For purposes of analysis, this distinction will be made only when the age composition and other characteristics of the parentage population become relevant for the analysis of the labor force behavior of the return migrant population.

Differentiation of the volume of return migration between 1965 and 1970 by this set of factors suggests that there are significant differences in the pattern of migration between returnees living in the United States in 1965 and those living in Puerto Rico at the time. In terms of size, for example, migration activity of returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965 was about 20 per cent larger than that of those who were living in the United States in 1965, i.e., for every 100 Puerto Ricans by birth and parentage living in the United States in 1965, who returned to the Island between 1965-70, there were 121 who were living in Puerto Rico in 1965, emigrated to the States afterwards and returned in time to be enumerated in Puerto Rico in 1970.

More important than the difference in size of the two return migration groups is the difference in the character of the migration movement of the two groups suggested by differences in the duration of residence in the States. The data available suggest that the movement of returnees who were living in Puerto Rico in 1965 has been characterized by sizeable short-term migration while those living in United States in 1965 have been characterized by a longer migration experience. Among the migrants in United States in 1965, 70.3 per cent reported residence in the United States for five years or more, compared with only 16 per cent of those living in Puerto Rico in 1965 (Table 13). Even though the Census code does not provide for a finer breakdown of the five years or more category, and there is no question in the Census ascertaining the year of arrival to the United States of these groups, it is most probable, given the size of the out-migration stream from Puerto Rico in the 1950's, that many of the returnees living in the States in 1965 had been there well before 1960.

This inference is supported by the results of the statistical analysis of the 1972 Immigration Survey made by Zell for the Puerto Rico Planning Board. This revealed that in every year between 1966 and 1972 one-fourth of all the male migrants returning to Puerto Rico

TABLE 13: Relative Distribution of Return Migrants, by Place of Residence in 1965 and Length of Stay in the United States

| Length of Stay in U.S. | Place of Residence in 1965 | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| | In United States | In Puerto Rico |
| Six months to 1 year | 6.7 | 47.9 |
| 1-2 years | 10.3 | 25.9 |
| 3-4 years | 12.6 | 10.1 |
| 5 years or more | 70.3 | 16.0 |
| Number of Persons | 102,632 | 123,982 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

On the other hand, among the returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965, 73.8 per cent reported residence in the United States for no more than two years, 47.9 per cent for less than one year, and 25.9 per cent for one to two years. Of the returnees living in the States in 1965, only 17 per cent reported residence in the States for no more than two years, 6.7 per cent for less than one year, and 10.3 per cent for one to two years. Since most of the migrants reported having returned between 1968 and 1970, as shown in Table 14, it seems evident that the larger number of returnees who in 1965 were living in Puerto Rico had migrated to the States during or after 1967.

One serious limitation of the duration of residence and year of return data is that both, supposedly, relate to the respondent's last trip to the States. Yet, when both sets of data are cross-tabulated, substantial errors are evident in the response to the duration of residence question by the return migrants who were in Puerto Rico in 1965. How could returnees who were in Puerto Rico in 1965 and reported 1968 or earlier as year of last return have resided for five or more years in the States on their last stay unless the response to the duration of residence question covered more than one stay? Unfortunately, there is no way to establish the source of error as there is no provision in the Census to ascertain the year of last arrival to the States or whether there has been repeated trips to the States during the period. Though it is probable that the same errors

and one-third of all the female ones had stayed in the United States for eight years or more. /Steven Zell, A Comparative Study of the Labor Market Characteristics of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants in Puerto Rico. Op. cit., p. 90 / Given that his definition of return migrant and the sampling procedures used tend to favor the amount of short-term migrants over the long-stayers, the numbers might even have been larger.

TABLE 14: Relative Distribution of Return Migrants, by Place of Residence in 1965 and Year of Last Return to Puerto Rico

| Year of Last Return | Place of Residence in 1965 | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| | In United States | In Puerto Rico |
| 1965 | 6.2 | 6.5 |
| 1966 | 10.2 | 9.7 |
| 1967 | 15.9 | 16.4 |
| 1968 | 22.0 | 21.8 |
| 1969-70 | 45.7 | 45.6 |
| Number of Persons | 102,632 | 123,982 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

have occurred in the responses to these questions given by returnees who were residing in United States in 1965, it is likely that the incidence of errors of response has been greater for the return migration group living in Puerto Rico in 1965, i.e. that this group has had a higher proportion of repeated migrations and has reported either the cumulative length of all stays or that of the longest stay.^{1/}

In spite of these limitations of the data, one conclusion seems evident: the migration experience of the majority of the returnees who were in Puerto Rico in 1965 seems to be limited to no more than two years while that of those returnees who were in the States in 1965 extends for a much longer period. Yet, return patterns of both groups at the end of the decade have been fairly similar -- 46 per cent of returnees over the five year period in each group returned in 1969-70, a period of 15 months, and another 22 per cent in each group returned in 1968. How come groups with different migration experiences show similar return patterns at the end of the decade? Have economic conditions in the States vis a vis Puerto Rico been responsible for this similarity of return pattern? And, how does their relatively recent arrival in Puerto Rico affect their interaction in the labor market and their socio-economic status as of April 1, 1970? How well did they adjust upon return to the Island?

^{1/} In the study on the social dynamics of return migration, employing a sample of returnees between 1966 and 1975, Cintrón-Vales found that 56.4 per cent of the returnees had made two or more trips to the States. Celia Cintrón and Pedro A. Vales, Social Dynamics of Return Migration to Puerto Rico, University of Puerto Rico, Social Sciences Research Center, 1975, p. 377

Is the length of migration experience related to the degree of adjustment attained?

The search for answers to these questions requires analysis of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of both groups, including residential location patterns both in the States and upon return to Puerto Rico, and comparisons with the characteristics and adjustment levels of the Puerto Rican population without comparable migration experience and other non-Puerto Rican stock population sub-groups.

B. Residential Location Patterns in the States of the Return Migrant Population

Analysis of residential location patterns in the United States of return migrants is limited by the fact that the Population Census provides information only on the place of residence in the United States in 1965 of those return migrants who were living there at the time. No information is provided on the place of residence prior to return. In the same manner, no information is provided on the year of arrival at the United States nor on the place of residence upon arrival and prior to return to Puerto Rico. There is, thus, no way to establish directly from Census data whether there had occurred large geographic mobility among the return migrants living in United States in 1965 or whether they had stayed in the same locality of arrival. Nor is there any way to establish comparison between this group of return migrants and the one that was living in Puerto Rico in 1965 and migrated afterwards in terms of their geographic location patterns in the States upon arrival and prior to their return to Puerto Rico. We hypothesize, however, that there may have been significant differences as to geographic location patterns between the two return migrant sub-groups and that these could be possibly ascribed to a number of factors: the greater proportion of short term migrants (e.g. farm laborers) in the sub-group residing in Puerto Rico in 1965; the increasing geographic dispersal of relatives and friends already residing in the States; and, the larger amount of information about alternative opportunities in the States available through relatives and friends. The pattern of geographic location in the States of this migrant sub-group probably resembles more that of the Puerto Rican population residing in United States in 1970 than that of the return migrants living in United States in 1965. This inference is supported by comparing the Census data on place of residence in the States for the Puerto Rican population living there in 1970 with that of the return migrant group living in the United States in 1965, tabulated specially from the 20 per cent sample tapes.

According to the 1970 Census Report on Puerto Ricans in the United States, there were 1,391,463 persons of Puerto Rican birth and parentage living in the States in April 1, 1970. These were mostly concentrated in the North-Eastern States, particularly in the New York-New Jersey area. Return migrants living in the United States in 1965 were also mostly concentrated in this area but to a larger extent.

Table 15 shows the geographic distribution of the Puerto Rican population in the United States in 1970 and of the return migrants who were living in the United States in 1965. Comparison of the data in this table with that shown by Hernández^{1/} for the population of Puerto Rican birth living in United States in 1960 and the migrants who were living in United States in 1955 but returned to Puerto Rico before April 1, 1960, reveals that New York continues to be the point of entry to the United States for the bulk of the Puerto Rican migrants to the States and that the trend toward geographic dispersal away from New York strengthened over the decade.

TABLE 15: Percentage Distribution of the Population of Puerto Rican Birth and Parentage Living in United States in 1970, and of Return Migrants Living in United States in 1965, by Birth and Parentage and Area of Residence in United States

| Area of Residence | Population in U.S. in 1970 | | | Return Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|-----------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| | Total | Birth | Parentage | Total | Birth | Parentage |
| All Areas | 1391463 | 810087 | 581376 | 102632 | 74576 | 28056 |
| North-East | 80.9 | 81.2 | 80.6 | 83.1 | 83.0 | 83.2 |
| New York | 63.2 | 62.5 | 64.2 | 70.1 | 69.6 | 71.4 |
| New Jersey | 9.8 | 10.3 | 9.2 | 7.5 | 7.7 | 7.1 |
| Other States | 7.9 | 8.4 | 7.2 | 5.5 | 5.8 | 4.7 |
| North-Central | 9.8 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 9.7 | 9.5 | 10.2 |
| South | 5.0 | 5.4 | 4.5 | 5.0 | 5.2 | 4.3 |
| West | 4.3 | 2.9 | 5.1 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 2.3 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population, Subject Report PC (2)-1E, Puerto Ricans in the United States; special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

In 1960, 84 per cent of the United States residents of Puerto Rican birth were living in the North-East of the United States, 79.2 per cent were living in New York State, and 4.8 per cent in other North-Eastern States. The corresponding percentage for the other three major regions were as follows: 7.6 per cent for the North-Central States, 5.2 per cent for the South, and 3.3 per cent for the West. In 1970, the percentage of United States residents of Puerto Rican birth living in the North-East had slightly declined to 81.3 per cent; but there seems to have occurred a significant dispersal of this population away from New York to New Jersey and other North-Eastern States. While the population of Puerto Rican birth in

^{1/} José Hernández, op. cit.; p. 26.

New York State went down relatively to 62.5 per cent, that of New Jersey increased to 10.3 per cent, and that of other States increased to 8.4 per cent of the total population of Puerto Rican birth in the North-East.

Unfortunately no such comparison is possible for the parentage population, for there is no comparable data in the 1960 Census report nor in Hernández¹. But it is to be expected that this population sub-group evidenced a similar pattern over the decade in spite of observed differences in the relative geographic distribution of the two groups, e.g., a higher proportion of parentage population in New York State and in the West when compared with the other sub-group, while in the South the population of Puerto Rican birth slightly exceeded in proportion the parentage population.

Explanation of the changes in geographic distribution of the Puerto Rican population in the United States is, however, more complicated than it seems at first sight. Dispersal away from New York has obviously been one factor, but it may not have been the most important one. Other factors such as the smaller volume of migration from Puerto Rico in the 1960's, the use of other points of entry², the size of the population sub-group in the base year, and its demographic and socio-economic characteristics may have been influential. The analysis of this subject is beyond the scope of this report and will not be pursued at this point. The reason for analyzing, even though cursorily, the geographic location of the population of Puerto Rican stock living in the United States in 1960 and 1970, has been to allow for inferences about the pattern of geographic location of the return migrants prior to return.

The main inference has been that the distribution of the return migrant sub-group living in Puerto Rico in 1965 probably had a geographic location pattern in the States prior to return similar to that of the Puerto Rican population living there in 1970, while the return migrants living in the United States in 1965 probably had a geographic location pattern prior to return similar to the one they had in 1965. This inference is supported, in the case of the first sub-group, by the fact that the migration experience of this sub-group was mostly short-term (no more than two years) and the bulk of the return occurred between 1968 and 1970. In the case of the other sub-group, i.e. the one living in the United States in 1965, the inference is supported by the longer duration of their migration experience and the fact that residential mobility of Puerto Ricans in

¹/ Cintrón and Vales found in their study that though New York was the point of entry on the first trip for half (52.5 per cent) of the returnees in their sample, New Jersey was the first point of entry for 12.7 per cent, Chicago for 5.1 per cent, and Connecticut for 6.8 per cent of the returnees in the sample. ²/Cintrón and Vales, op. cit., p. 387.

the States, as indicated in the Census reports, is predominantly intracity or intrastate in nature over a fixed five year interval.

Furthermore, the larger concentration of the return migrant population in the North-Eastern States, both upon arrival and prior to return, suggests that this population play an important role in the labor reserve of both this region (particularly New York) and Puerto Rico, whose behavior in the labor market can not be disregarded. Since this behavior is most likely influenced by their socio-demographic and economic characteristics, these are analyzed in the subsequent sections of this report.

C. Socio-Demographic Profile of Return Migrants

The socio-demographic dimensions of a population are influential factors, though not the only ones, on the labor force behavior of the individuals. To what extent they explain the labor force behavior of the returnees to Puerto Rico between 1965 and 1970? In order to shed light on this question, the socio-demographic profile of the return migrants is presented below.

The Sex Composition:

Return migrants were predominantly males. The sex ratio for the group as a whole was 124 males per 100 females (Table 16). There were, however, noticeable differences among the various sub-groups of returnees. In the first place, the sex composition differed according to the place of residence in 1965. Females dominated among the returnees residing in the United States in 1965, while males dominated among those living in Puerto Rico in 1965. Only 96 males returned for every 100 females among the first group, while among the second group 144 males returned for every 100 females.

TABLE 16: Sex Ratios of Puerto Rican Return Migrants, by Birth and Parentage and Place of Residence in 1965

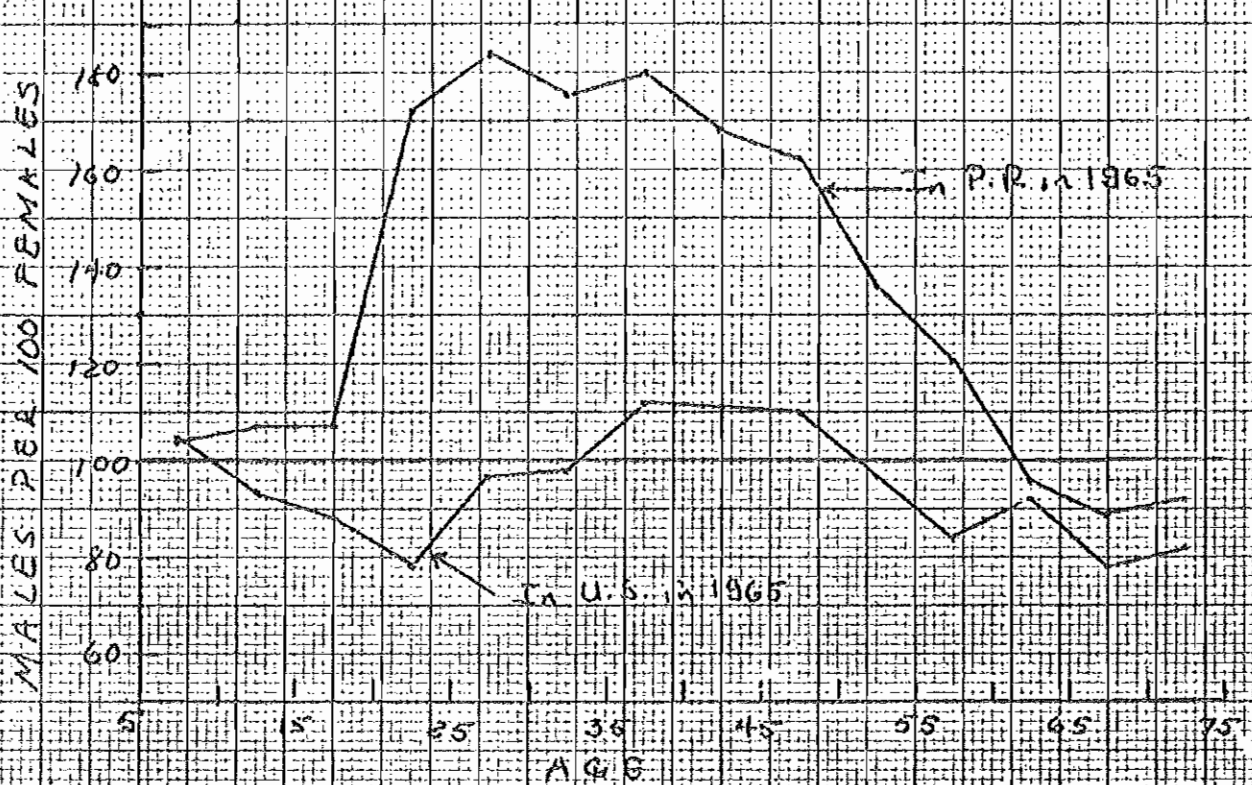
| Place of Residence in 1965 | Puerto Rican Birth | Puerto Rican Parentage | All |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------|
| United States | 95.7 | 98.0 | 96.3 |
| Puerto Rico | 147.7 | 99.7 | 144.1 |
| Both Groups | 124.4 | 98.3 | 119.9 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

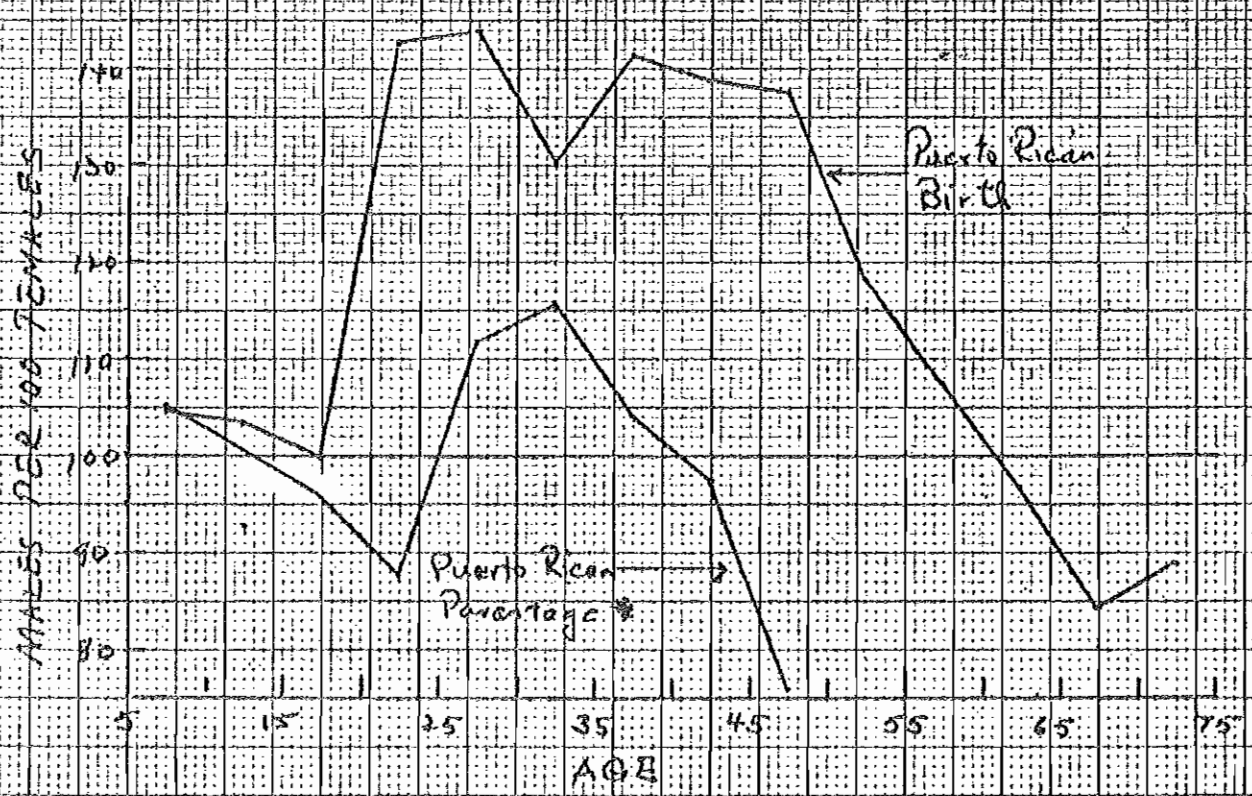
In the second place, differences in the sex structure were also noticeable between the returnees of Puerto Rican birth and those of Puerto Rican parentage (Fig. 2). As a whole, there were nearly 25 per cent more males than females among the returnees of Puerto Rican birth, but among those of Puerto Rican parentage both sexes were about

FIGURE 2
SEX RATIOS BY AGE GROUPS
FOR RETURN MIGRANTS
PUERTO RICO, 1970

A. By Place of Residence in 1965



B. By Birth and Parentage



* Very few cases in age groups 50 and over.

equal in number, females exceeding males by an insignificant 1.7 per cent.

The even distribution of the sexes among the return migrants of Puerto Rican parentage was obviously due to the large number of dependent children under 15, who forcibly moved with their parents. Among the children in this group, girls markedly exceeded boys, thus compensating for the excess of males over females in older age groups.

With respect to place of residence in 1965, no significant difference in sex structure was apparent among the returnees of Puerto Rican parentage, but not so among the returnees of Puerto Rican birth. While in the group of returnees of Puerto Rican birth living in Puerto Rico in 1965 there were 148 males per 100 females, in the group living in the United States in 1965 there were 96 males per 100 females. The lower sex ratio of the returnees of Puerto Rican birth residing in the United States in 1965 is a resultant of the low sex ratio of the population of Puerto Rican birth living in the States rather than of a difference in the return migration rates of males and females (Table 17).

TABLE 17: Return Migration Rates for Persons Living in the United States in 1965, by Birth and Parentage and by Sex.

| | Puerto Rican Birth | | Puerto Rican Parentage | |
|--|--------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Return Migrants (1965-70) | 39,464 | 38,112 | 13,885 | 14,171 |
| Population Residing in United States in 1970 | 389,709 | 420,378 | 294,843 | 286,533 |
| Return Migration Rate | 9.4% | 9.1% | 4.7% | 4.9% |

Sources: Special Tabulation of 1970 Census data and Bureau of the Census, Puerto Ricans in the United States, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report PC (2)-1E.

Return migrants of Puerto Rican birth were, as expected, considerably older than the group of returnees of Puerto Rican parentage. For the first group the median age was 29.1 years as compared with 11.5 years for the second group (Table 18). More than 70 per cent of the group of returnees of Puerto Rican parentage were under 15 years of age and 86 per cent under age 20. The corresponding percentage for the returnees of Puerto Rican birth were 10.5 and 19.6, respectively. On the other hand, there were very few returnees of Puerto Rican parentage in the older ages. Only 2.4 per cent of them were 45 years of age and over compared with 21 per cent of those of Puerto Rican birth. Only 4.8 per cent in the group of Puerto Rican birth were aged 65 and over, while in the group of Puerto Rican parentage an insignificant half of one per cent was that old.

TABLE 18: Per Cent Distributions of Return Migrants by Broad Age Groups, Birth and Parentage, and Place of Residence in 1965

| Place of Residence and Age | Puerto Rican Birth | Puerto Rican Parentage |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| All Places | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 5-14 years | 10.5 | 71.4 |
| 15-44 years | 68.5 | 26.2 |
| 45-64 years | 16.2 | 1.9 |
| 65 years and over | 4.8 | 0.5 |
| Median age | 29.1 years | 11.5 years |
| In United States in 1965 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 5-14 years | 12.0 | 75.8 |
| 15-44 years | 66.1 | 22.4 |
| 45-64 years | 16.9 | 1.4 |
| 65 years and over | 5.0 | 0.4 |
| Median age | 32.1 years | 11.0 years |
| In Puerto Rico in 1965 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 5-14 years | 9.5 | 54.8 |
| 15-44 years | 70.1 | 39.6 |
| 45-64 years | 15.7 | 4.1 |
| 65 years and over | 4.7 | 1.5 |
| Median age | 27.4 years | 14.0 years |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Significant differences in age structure were also evident among return migrants when place of residence in 1965 was considered. Those returnees of Puerto Rican birth residing in the United States in 1965 were, on the average, five years older than those who were in Puerto Rico in 1965. While among returnees of Puerto Rican parentage those residing in Puerto Rico in 1965 were older than the group living in the United States at that time.

Age profiles for men and women are shown in Fig. 3, both for returnees of Puerto Rican birth and returnees of Puerto Rican parentage, by place of residence in 1965. These clearly show the marked differences in age composition among these groups. The group of Puerto Rican parentage is a very young group, characterized by a large number of children under 15, specially in the group living in United States in 1965. In contrast, the return migrants of Puerto Rican birth were primarily concentrated in the economic active ages 15 to 64. The fact that the largest concentration, 41 per cent, occurred in the prime working ages 25 to 44 and another 27 per cent was concentrated in the ages 15 to 24 indicates that return migrants, far from being primarily retirees, were either active or potential labor force participants.

Educational Attainment:

The group of return migrants residing in the United States in 1965 had, on the average, a higher educational attainment than those who were in Puerto Rico in that year. For the adult population 25 years of age and over, the median of school years completed was 9.0 for the first group and 7.6 for the second group (Table 19). This relationship held by sex and by age.

A more detailed examination of Table 19 reveals that the proportion of returnees with less than five years of school completed was significantly lower for those returnees who emigrated to the United States before 1965 and were living there in 1965 than for those who emigrated between 1965 and 1970. This was true for both males and females in all age groups. On the other hand, the proportion of high school graduates was higher for the returnees living in the United States in 1965 than for those in Puerto Rico at that time. The differential was due to the higher proportion of males with high school graduation in the group living in the United States in 1965; females in the United States in 1965 had a slightly lower proportion of high school graduates than was true of those living in Puerto Rico. The percentage of college graduates was higher for the returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965 and more so for females than for males.

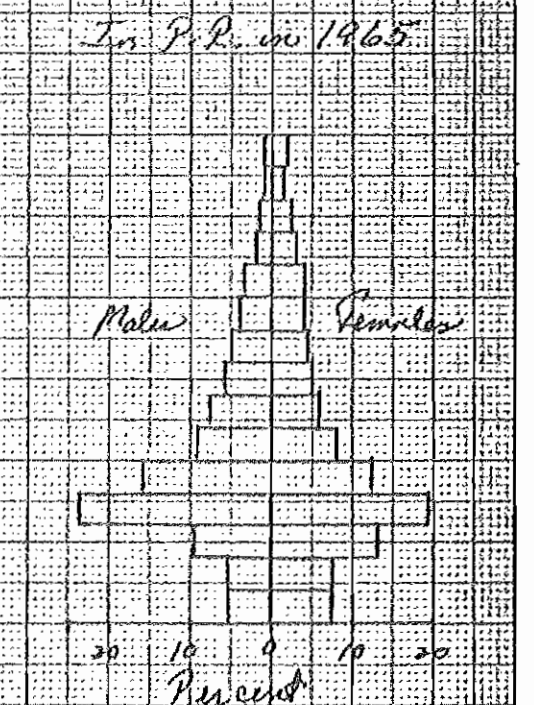
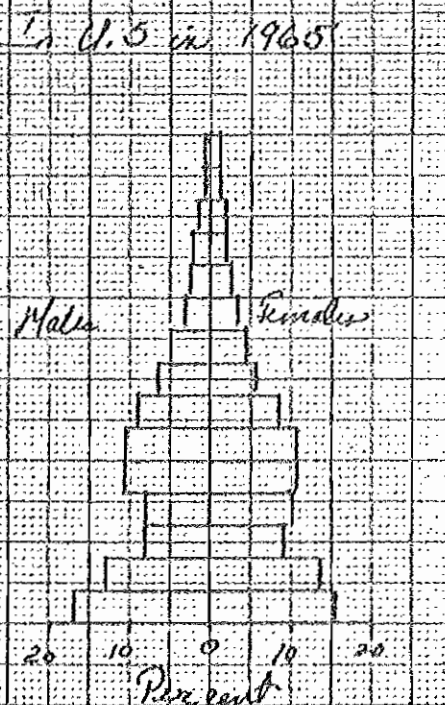
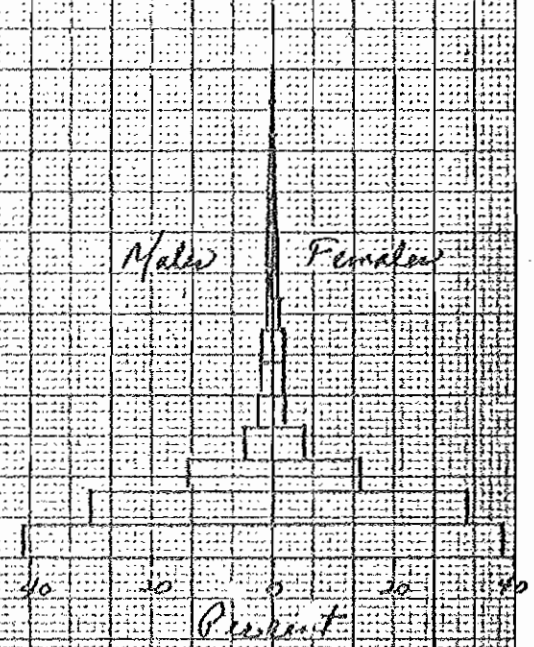
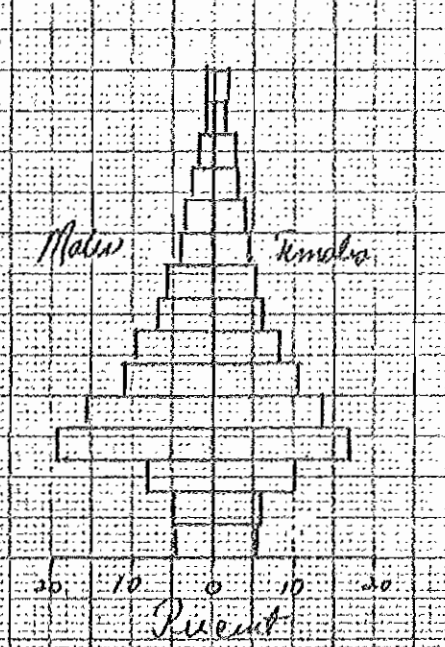
In the prime working ages 25 to 44, the proportion of male returnees with less than five years of schooling was nearly twice for those living in Puerto Rico in 1965 than for those living in United States. The differential was not as marked, even though significant, in the case of females; female returnees of these ages living in Puerto Rico in 1965 had 35 per cent more returnees with less than

FIGURE 3

Age and Sex Structure of Puerto Ricans
 PUERTO RICO, 1970

Puerto Rican Births

Puerto Rican Parentage



SOURCE: SPECIAL TABULATION OF 1970 CENSUS DATA

five years of schooling than their counterpart living in United States in 1965. The education of 34.6 per cent of the male returnees in this age group living in United States in 1965 and of 32.4 per cent of those in Puerto Rico at that time had reached high school graduation. The corresponding percentage for female returnees of these ages living in United States in 1965 was about equal to that of their male counterpart; but in the case of female returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965, the percentage who had attained high school graduation was nearly 20

TABLE 19: Educational Attainment of Return Migrants, by Age, Sex, and Residence in 1965

| Age and Educational Attainment | Both Sexes | | Males | | Females | |
|------------------------------------|------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | In U.S. | In P.R. | In U.S. | In P.R. | In U.S. | In P.R. |
| 25 years of age and over | | | | | | |
| less than 5 years of schooling (%) | 20.5 | 32.5 | 18.2 | 31.6 | 22.8 | 33.8 |
| high school graduates (%) | 28.3 | 26.8 | 29.9 | 26.6 | 26.7 | 27.2 |
| 4 years or more of college (%) | 3.4 | 5.3 | 4.0 | 5.5 | 2.8 | 4.9 |
| median schooling (in years) | 9.0 | 7.6 | 9.4 | 7.7 | 8.6 | 7.5 |
| 25-44 years | | | | | | |
| less than 5 years of schooling (%) | 12.5 | 21.1 | 12.1 | 23.1 | 13.0 | 17.6 |
| high school graduates (%) | 34.3 | 34.5 | 34.6 | 32.4 | 34.0 | 38.5 |
| 4 years or more of college (%) | 3.8 | 6.4 | 4.6 | 6.5 | 3.1 | 6.3 |
| median schooling (in years) | 10.2 | 9.5 | 10.4 | 9.0 | 10.1 | 10.2 |
| 45-64 years of age | | | | | | |
| less than 5 years of schooling (%) | 33.1 | 49.5 | 27.8 | 46.7 | 38.3 | 53.1 |
| high school graduates (%) | 16.5 | 14.0 | 20.9 | 15.9 | 12.1 | 11.6 |
| 4 years or more of college (%) | 2.4 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 3.3 | 2.5 | 2.9 |
| median schooling (in years) | 6.8 | 5.1 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 6.2 | 4.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

per cent higher than their male counterpart. The proportion of college graduates among returnees in this age group favored the returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965, irrespective of sex.

In the 45-64 age group, differences between the two groups of migrants were more marked in favor of those returnees living in United States in 1965 among those with less than 5 years of school completed. The proportion of male returnees with this low level of schooling

amounted to 27.8 per cent among those in United States in 1965 compared to 46.7 per cent for those in Puerto Rico in 1965. In like manner, the corresponding percentages for female returnees were 38.3 for those in United States in 1965 and 53.1 for those in Puerto Rico in 1965. Similarly the group of return migrants of these ages living in United States in 1965 had a higher proportion of high school graduates than the group in Puerto Rico in 1965, though the differential was less marked. Only in the group of college graduates the differential slightly favored the return migrants, both male and female, living in Puerto Rico in 1965.

In general, it is evident from the data analyzed above that the group of returnees who lived in the United States in 1965 was a more selective group in terms of educational attainment than the one living in Puerto Rico in 1965.

Marital Status:

In general, there was a lower proportion of single persons among the returnees living in United States in 1965 than among those who were in Puerto Rico in 1965 (Table 20). The opposite was true of currently married persons. No significant difference was found among the two groups in the proportion of married and divorced persons.

Only one exception to this general pattern was found when the marital status was analyzed by age, and this occurred in the very young ages (14-24 years). The proportion of single persons of these ages was higher for the group living in United States in 1965 and, consequently, the proportion of married persons lower than for the group living in Puerto Rico in 1965.

Significant differences by sex and age were found between the two return migrant groups as to the proportion of married persons with spouse absent. These are shown in Table 21. The proportion of married persons with spouse absent was higher, overall, for females than for males, and higher for the younger age groups, i.e. under 25 years, irrespective of sex. In the case of females, the proportion was higher for those living in Puerto Rico in 1965, while in the case of males, it was higher for those living in United States at that time. With the exception of the youngest age group living in United States in 1965, female returnees had a higher proportion of married persons with spouse absent than was true of male returnees. The percentage for the age brackets 14-19 and 20-24 was fairly equal for the female returnees, irrespective of place of residence in 1965. But in the age brackets 25-39, it was higher for the group living in Puerto Rico in 1965, about equal for the two groups in the age bracket 40-44, and a little higher for those in United States in 1965 in the age group 45 and over.

Male returnees residing in United States in 1965 had a higher percentage married with spouse absent in all age brackets than those living in Puerto Rico in 1965. The pattern was less clear for females.

TABLE 20: Per Cent Distribution of Return Migrants, by Marital Status,
Residence in 1965, Age, and Sex

| Age and Marital Status | Males | | Females | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 |
| All ages 14 and over | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 26.2 | 35.6 | 20.0 | 28.4 |
| Currently married | 69.9 | 61.0 | 68.5 | 58.8 |
| Widowed and divorced | 3.9 | 3.4 | 11.5 | 12.8 |
| 14-24 years of age | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 74.1 | 68.5 | 56.2 | 54.1 |
| Currently married | 25.1 | 30.8 | 41.1 | 45.0 |
| Widowed and divorced | 0.8 | 0.7 | 2.7 | 2.9 |
| 25-34 years of age | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 14.4 | 24.2 | 5.8 | 19.7 |
| Currently married | 83.0 | 73.3 | 86.8 | 73.1 |
| Widowed and divorced | 2.6 | 2.5 | 7.4 | 7.2 |
| 35-44 years of age | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 6.6 | 10.2 | 3.9 | 9.2 |
| Currently married | 89.4 | 85.5 | 86.8 | 77.9 |
| Widowed and divorced | 4.0 | 4.3 | 9.3 | 12.9 |
| 45 years of age and over | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 6.1 | 7.0 | 4.8 | 5.4 |
| Currently married | 84.9 | 83.4 | 65.3 | 60.9 |
| Widowed and divorced | 9.0 | 9.6 | 29.8 | 33.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 21: Per Cent of all Currently Married Persons with Spouse Absent, by Sex, Age and Residence in 1965

| Age in Years | Males | | Females | |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | In U.S. | In P.R. | In U.S. | In P.R. |
| 14-19 | 37.8 | 31.1 | 36.4 | 36.8 |
| 20-24 | 18.7 | 13.8 | 26.9 | 26.6 |
| 25-34 | 11.9 | 9.7 | 17.6 | 23.8 |
| 35-39 | 8.7 | 7.2 | 17.8 | 18.2 |
| 40-44 | 10.8 | 6.4 | 20.0 | 19.9 |
| 45 and over | 13.4 | 11.2 | 20.9 | 19.2 |
| All Ages | 12.4 | 10.7 | 20.6 | 23.5 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Another interesting fact related to the marital status of both groups of returnees was the higher prevalence, irrespective of sex, of consensual marriages among those who were in Puerto Rico in 1965 (Table 22). This was true for all age groups and for both males and females. The general pattern was for these percentages to decline as age increased. This relationship might be explained by differences in educational attainment between these two groups. Return migrants residing in Puerto Rico in 1965 had a much higher proportion of persons with less than five years of school completed than the group living in United States in 1965, as was shown in Table 19, *supra*. The rate of consensual marriages tends to be higher for persons with low educational levels.

Family Structure

The return migration between 1965 and 1970 of persons residing in the United States in 1965 seems to have been more of a family type movement than that of those who were in Puerto Rico that year. Proportionally there were more wives and dependent children in the first group than in the second one (Table 23). In the group of returnees living in the United States in 1965 there were 80 wives and 104 children under 18 years of age per 100 family heads. While among those residing in Puerto Rico that year the corresponding figures were 43 wives and 42 children under 18 per 100 heads.

1/ U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1970, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-53D, Table 129.

TABLE 22: Per Cent of All Currently Married Return Migrants
in Consensual Marriages, by Sex, Age, and
Residence in 1965

| Age in Years | Males | | Females | |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | In U.S. | In P.R. | In U.S. | In P.R. |
| 14-19 | 14.3 | 22.5 | 15.5 | 18.2 |
| 20-24 | 11.3 | 12.0 | 9.4 | 12.1 |
| 25-34 | 6.9 | 11.2 | 6.2 | 9.5 |
| 35-39 | 6.0 | 11.8 | 4.0 | 8.6 |
| 40-44 | 5.6 | 11.6 | 4.0 | 8.5 |
| 45 and over | 4.5 | 8.5 | 3.9 | 8.7 |
| All ages | 6.4 | 10.8 | 5.9 | 10.2 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

On the other hand in the group of return migrants residing in Puerto Rico in 1965 there was a considerable concentration of family heads and children 18 years of age and over. There were 205 non-family heads per 100 heads in this group while in the group living in the United States in 1965 the corresponding figure was 306 non-heads per 100 heads. Similarly there were 76 children 18 years of age and over per 100 family heads among returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965 compared with only 42 for those in the United States that year.

The average number of other relatives (of head or wife) per 100 heads was more than twice as large for those returnees residing in the United States in 1965 than for those in Puerto Rico that year. There were no significant differences between the two groups in the average number of unrelated persons. Nor was there any significant difference between the two groups in terms of the sex of the family heads.

The above data suggest that the two groups of returnees were significantly different in terms of family structure. Those in United States in 1965 seemed to be constituted in a larger proportion by families and by persons returning to the Island to live with relatives. On the other hand, the group living in Puerto Rico in 1965 had a greater proportion of heads and non-dependent children who probably returned back home to join their families.

Fertility Differentials

There were few differences between the two residential groups of females returnees with respect to fertility. They were not only very

TABLE 23: Average Number of Persons per 100 Family Heads Among Return Migrants, by Relationship to Head and Place of Residence in 1965

| Relationship to Family Head | In United States in 1965 | In Puerto Rico in 1965 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Heads | <u>100</u> | <u>100</u> |
| Male | 87 | 88 |
| Female | 13 | 12 |
| Non-Heads | <u>306</u> | <u>205</u> |
| Wives | 80 | 43 |
| Children under 18 years | 104 | 42 |
| Children 18 years and over | 42 | 76 |
| Other relatives | 67 | 32 |
| Unrelated individuals ^{a/} | 13 | 12 |

^{a/} Include "primary persons" who are heads of households living alone or with other unrelated persons (secondary persons) and unrelated persons living with families.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

small but inconsistent. In general, the proportion of childlessness among married women was greater for those in Puerto Rico in 1965 than for those returnees living in the United States in that year, except for married women in the age group 15 to 19.

The average number of children born per married women and per mother showed a similar pattern for the two return migrant groups. No clearcut differentials in fertility were evident between these two groups, neither by age nor by years of school completed, nor by labor force status. For both groups, the per cent of childless women showed a negative relation with age, but a positive one with educational attainment; and, was higher for those in the labor force (Table 24). The opposite was true of the average number of children ever born per ever married women or per mother. This parameter showed a positive relation with age and a negative one with educational attainment; and, was lower for those in the labor force.

Patterns of Residential Location in Puerto Rico

The geographic pattern of relocation in Puerto Rico, as of 1970, is shown in Table 25 for the return migrants of Puerto Rico birth and

TABLE 24: Fertility Indexes for Return Migrant Ever Married Women
15-44 Years Old, by Age, Years of School Completed,
Labor Force Status, and Residence in 1965
Puerto Rico, 1970

| Age, Years of School Completed, and Labor Force Status | Per Cent Childless | | Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Women | | Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Mothers | |
|--|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 |
| Age Groups (15-44 years) | 10.4 | 14.7 | 2488 | 2330 | 2778 | 2731 |
| 15-19 | 48.3 | 38.7 | 823 | 920 | 1592 | 1500 |
| 20-24 | 15.6 | 20.5 | 1710 | 1513 | 2026 | 1902 |
| 25-34 | 7.8 | 9.0 | 2527 | 2570 | 2740 | 2823 |
| 35-44 | 6.3 | 7.3 | 3091 | 3481 | 3298 | 3757 |
| Years of School Completed (15-44 years of age) | 10.4 | 14.7 | 2488 | 2330 | 2778 | 2731 |
| Less than 5 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 3276 | 3485 | 3502 | 3791 |
| 5-7 | 6.8 | 13.2 | 2828 | 2630 | 3034 | 3031 |
| 8 | 10.2 | 15.8 | 2822 | 2181 | 3143 | 2588 |
| 9-11 | 10.2 | 16.0 | 2396 | 2116 | 2669 | 2517 |
| 12 | 13.0 | 17.4 | 2048 | 1751 | 2354 | 2118 |
| 13 and more | 17.7 | 18.7 | 1842 | 1688 | 2239 | 2075 |
| Labor Force Status (15 years of age and over) | 11.0 | 12.3 | 2879 | 3368 | 3233 | 3840 |
| In C.L.F. | 14.3 | 16.0 | 2186 | 2318 | 2552 | 2757 |
| Employed | 14.2 | 15.2 | 2154 | 2374 | 2512 | 2799 |
| Unemployed | 14.9 | 20.3 | 2365 | 1998 | 2779 | 2507 |
| Not in L.F. | 9.9 | 11.1 | 3097 | 3712 | 3437 | 4176 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

parentage. Comparison of these two sub-groups indicates that the proportion living in urban places in 1970 was higher for both sub-groups compared to the one living in areas classified as rural, and that within rural areas, the proportion living in non-farm areas exceeded significantly that for farm areas. In other words, the geographic relocation pattern of both groups of return migrants showed a preference for urban over rural areas, and for non-farm over farm areas. This preference was more marked among those returnees who settled in metropolitan areas, particularly in the San Juan SMSA. The pattern is not surprising, given their concentration in urban areas (particularly in New York SMSA) while in the United States and given the increasing urbanization of the Puerto Rican population as a whole that has accompanied the changing structure of economic activity in Puerto Rico.

A closer look at Table 25, shows that the preference for metropolitan urban location was stronger for the returnees of Puerto Rican parentage. The proportion living in urban places in 1970 for this group of returnees amounted to 70 per cent compared with 58 per cent for the other group. Similarly, the proportion living in metropolitan urban places was 47 per cent for the group of Puerto Rican parentage compared with 38 per cent for the returnees born in Puerto Rico. On the other hand, the proportion of migrants returning to rural farm areas was very low for both groups, 10 per cent for those born in Puerto Rico and 6 per cent for those of Puerto Rican parentage. This obviously suggests, when compared with Hernández' findings for 1960, an increasing tendency among returnees not to return to an agricultural settlement. The special 1960 Census tabulations obtained by Hernández showed that 15.6 per cent of the return migrants of Puerto Rican birth living in Puerto Rico in 1955 returned to a rural farm location.

As expected, the majority of the returnees living in metropolitan areas was concentrated in the San Juan SMSA. This area absorbed nearly one-third (30 per cent) of all returnees, 28 per cent of those born in Puerto Rico and 36 per cent of those of Puerto Rican parentage. Comparing our findings with Hernández' for 1960, it seems that some dispersal of returnees away from San Juan SMSA has been taking place. Hernández' data showed that 42 of every 100 returnees of Puerto Rican birth were living in San Juan SMSA in 1960, while our data showed a proportion for 1970 of 30 for every 100 returnees in this group. The growth over the past decade of the two other metropolitan areas in 1960 and the achieving in 1970 of metropolitan area status by Caguas are possible explanatory factors, together with the reduction of time distance from San Juan SMSA of near-by non-metropolitan urban and rural non-farm areas resulting from improved highways.

Table 26 shows the geographic location pattern in 1970 of returnees, by place of residence in 1965. The pattern was for returnees living in the United States in 1965 to resettle in urban places, metropolitan and non-metropolitan, in a higher proportion than the returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965. And, for returnees of Puerto Rican birth living in Puerto Rico in 1965 the pattern was to return to rural farm areas

in a proportion almost twice as large as that for the group of returnees of Puerto Rican birth living in United States in 1965.

TABLE 25: Residence in 1970 of Return Migrants 5 Years and Over, by Birth and Parentage and Sex

| Residence in 1970 | P.R. Birth | | | P.R. Parentage | | |
|-------------------------|------------|--------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| | Both Sexes | Male | Female | Both Sexes | Male | Female |
| All residences | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Metropolitan, urban | 37.9 | 35.3 | 41.2 | 47.0 | 45.4 | 48.7 |
| San Juan | (27.8) | (25.9) | (30.2) | (35.7) | (34.4) | (37.0) |
| Other | (10.1) | (9.4) | (11.0) | (11.3) | (11.0) | (11.7) |
| Non-Metropolitan, urban | 20.1 | 19.2 | 21.2 | 22.8 | 22.6 | 22.9 |
| Metropolitan, rural | 3.7 | 4.1 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| Non-Farm | (2.7) | (3.0) | (2.4) | (2.1) | (2.0) | (2.2) |
| Farm | (1.0) | (1.1) | (0.8) | (0.7) | (0.8) | (0.7) |
| Non-Metropolitan, rural | 38.3 | 41.4 | 34.4 | 27.3 | 29.2 | 25.6 |
| Non-Farm | (29.0) | (30.8) | (26.7) | (22.0) | (22.9) | (21.1) |
| Farm | (9.3) | (10.6) | (7.7) | (5.3) | (6.3) | (4.4) |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Significant differences in the pattern of geographic location of these two groups of migrants were evident between those returnees born in Puerto Rico and those born of Puerto Rican parentage. Among the group of return migrants born in Puerto Rico, those living in the United States in 1965 resettled in a greater proportion in urban areas, especially in metropolitan ones, than those in Puerto Rico in 1965. The opposite was true of the group of returnees born of Puerto Rican parentage. Those in Puerto Rico in 1965 settled in metropolitan areas, urban and non-farm, in a greater proportion than those in United States in 1965; while those in United States in 1965 seemed to prefer location in non-metropolitan areas to a greater extent than the other group. Furthermore, among those returnees of Puerto Rican parentage living in metropolitan areas, those living in United States in 1965 tended to concentrate in San Juan to a lesser extent and to a larger extent in

TABLE 26: Residence in 1970 of Return Migrants Five Years and Over, by Place of Residence in 1965 and by Birth and Parentage

| Residence in 1970 | In U.S. in 1965 | | | In P.R. in 1965 | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| | Both Sexes | P.R. Birth | P.R. Parentage | Both Sexes | P.R. Birth | P.R. Parentage |
| All residences | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Metropolitan, urban | 44.1 | 43.5 | 46.0 | 35.4 | 34.5 | 51.1 |
| San Juan | (33.2) | (32.7) | (34.7) | (25.6) | (24.8) | (39.5) |
| Other | (10.9) | (10.8) | (11.3) | (9.8) | (9.7) | (11.6) |
| Non-metropolitan, urban | 22.5 | 22.3 | 22.8 | 18.9 | 18.6 | 22.6 |
| Metropolitan, rural | 3.0 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 2.1 |
| Non-farm | (2.2) | (2.2) | (2.2) | (3.0) | (3.0) | (1.7) |
| Farm | (0.8) | (0.7) | (0.8) | (1.1) | (1.1) | (0.4) |
| Non-metropolitan, rural | 30.4 | 31.3 | 28.2 | 41.6 | 42.8 | 24.2 |
| Non-farm | (24.5) | (25.2) | (22.8) | (30.6) | (31.4) | (19.1) |
| Farm | (5.9) | (6.1) | (5.4) | (11.0) | (11.4) | (5.1) |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Caguas than those in Puerto Rico in 1965 (Table 27). Among the returnees of Puerto Rican birth those living in United States in 1965 were concentrated in San Juan and Caguas SMSA's to a larger extent than those in Puerto Rico in 1965. Their distribution among the four SMSA's was less uneven than for the returnees of Puerto Rican parentage, as is shown in the table below.

D. Labor Force and Income Characteristics of Return Migrants

In analyzing the labor force and income characteristics of return migrants we shall concentrate on broad age groups, 16-24, 25-44, 45-64, and 65 plus, more detailed groups being used only when considered particularly relevant for the analysis. The basic data for the analysis are contained in eleven of the twenty special cross-tabulations generated from the 1970 Census data. Relative to the non-migrant

TABLE 27: Distribution of Return Migrants Living in Metropolitan Areas in 1970, by Birth and Parentage and Place of Residence in 1965

| Metropolitan Area | Return Migrants of P.R. Birth | | Return Migrants of P.R. Parentage | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| San Juan | 72.6 | 67.1 | 73.9 | 75.6 |
| Ponce | 10.0 | 15.5 | 9.1 | 9.2 |
| Mayaguez | 6.0 | 8.1 | 4.1 | 4.3 |
| Caguas | 11.4 | 9.3 | 12.9 | 10.9 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

population, significant differences were evident in the labor force status of return migrants. But more significant are, perhaps, the differences evident among the return migrants themselves and which can be explained by various socio-demographic and manpower factors related to their adaptation upon return to labor market conditions in Puerto Rico. An analysis of the labor force characteristics of return migrants in terms of some of these factors is presented below.

Labor Force Participation Rates

About 47.8 per cent of the migrants who returned to Puerto Rico between 1965 and 1970 were in the civilian labor force in 1970, as reported in the Census. The over-all labor force participation rate of those return migrants living in the United States, however, was lower than that for the return migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965 (Table 28). The first group had a labor force participation rate of 42.7 per cent in 1970 compared to 49.5 per cent the second group, a difference of 6.8 percentage points. The differential suggests that the two groups of migrants were far from homogeneous and that significant socio-demographic and economic characteristics, along with other manpower factors, must have influenced their responsiveness to labor market conditions in the Island.

The sex-age pattern of participation rates, shown in Table 28 and Figure 4, was fairly similar for both groups, in the sense that participation rates decreased considerably in the extreme age groups from the peak reached in the 25-44 age group. However, though a finer breakdown of participation rates in this age group was not

TABLE 28: Sex-age Labor Force Participation Rates of Puerto Rican Return Migrants, by Place of Residence in 1965

| Sex and Age | Participation Rates | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| | All Migrants (1) | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 (2) | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 (3) | Difference in percentage points (3-2) |
| All migrants 16+ | 46.8 | 42.7 | 49.5 | 6.8 |
| 16-19 | 23.3 | 14.2 | 28.4 | 14.2 |
| 20-24 | 49.6 | 44.3 | 51.5 | 7.2 |
| 25-44 | 57.3 | 53.2 | 60.8 | 7.6 |
| 45-54 | 47.2 | 42.3 | 50.9 | 6.6 |
| 55-64 | 30.8 | 25.5 | 34.0 | 8.5 |
| 65+ | 11.6 | 7.0 | 14.7 | 7.7 |
| Male migrants 16+ | 62.9 | 61.8 | 63.5 | 1.7 |
| 16-19 | 31.3 | 17.5 | 38.0 | 20.5 |
| 20-24 | 61.1 | 57.6 | 61.9 | 4.3 |
| 25-44 | 74.6 | 75.2 | 74.1 | -1.1 |
| 45-54 | 66.3 | 63.8 | 67.8 | 4.0 |
| 55-64 | 50.2 | 44.2 | 53.4 | 9.2 |
| 65+ | 20.6 | 13.3 | 25.2 | 11.9 |
| Female migrants 16+ | 26.6 | 24.7 | 28.2 | 3.5 |
| 16-19 | 15.5 | 11.6 | 17.9 | 6.3 |
| 20-24 | 33.7 | 34.0 | 33.6 | -0.4 |
| 25-44 | 33.5 | 30.5 | 37.1 | 6.6 |
| 45-54 | 22.8 | 19.8 | 25.6 | 5.8 |
| 55-64 | 11.1 | 9.0 | 12.5 | 3.5 |
| 65+ | 4.3 | 2.4 | 5.8 | 3.4 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

PARTICIPATION RATES (PER CENT)

0 15 16-19 20-24 25-44 45-64 55-64 65+

AGE

SOURCE: TABLE 28

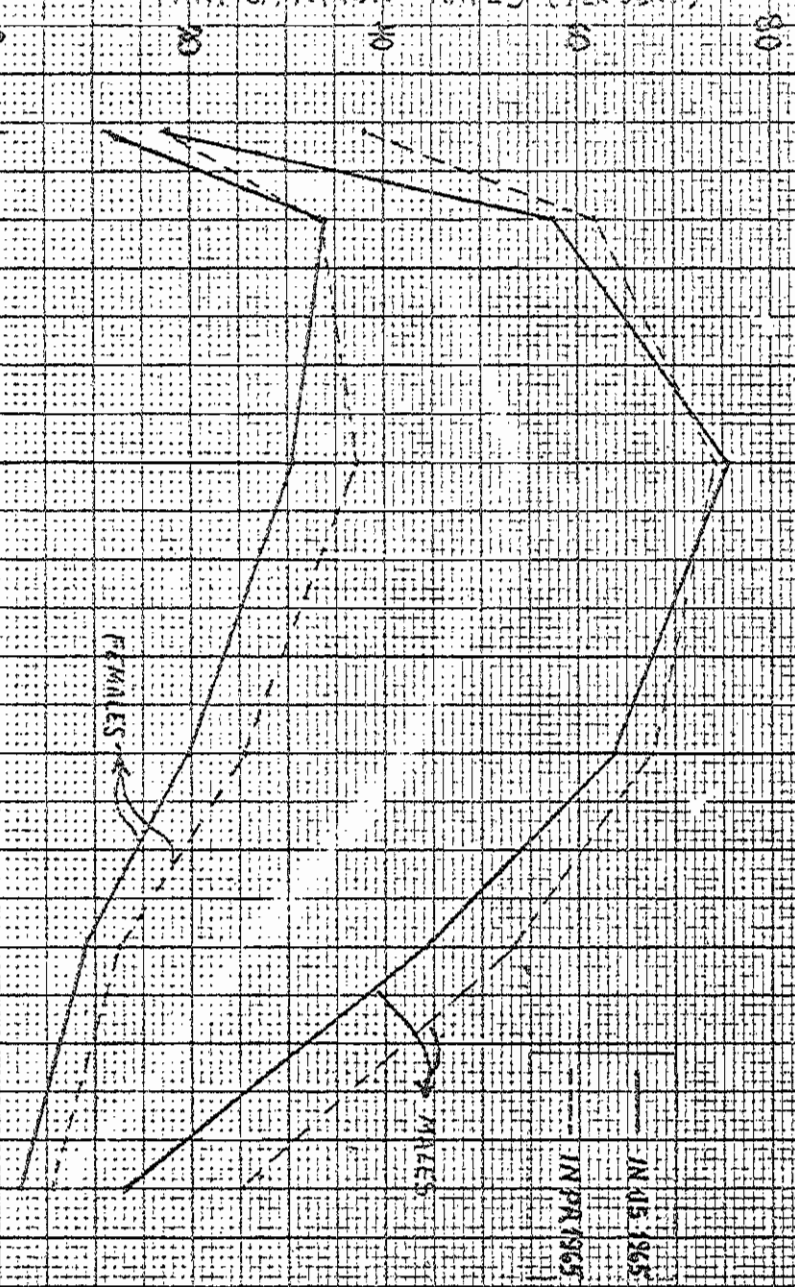


FIGURE 7
SEX-AGE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF PUERTO RICAN RETURN MIGRANTS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1965
PUERTO RICO, 1970

obtained, one can infer from the age distribution of both groups that those migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965 reached peak participation rates somewhat earlier, i.e. between ages 25-34.

Several facts are apparent on a closer examination of the table. First, women in both groups of migrants had significantly lower participation rates in all age groups than men, the most significant differences occurring in the age groups 25-54 (44 percentage points). In the second place, participation rates of both males and females were higher for the migrants who were in Puerto Rico in 1965. This was true for all age groups, with exception of males in the 25-44 and females in the 20-24 age groups, for which participation rates of migrants living in United States in 1965 exceeded those of the migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965. In the third place, the differential in sex-age participation rates between the two groups of migrants was much higher for the males in the younger age group 16-19 and the older age groups 55-64 and 65 and over.

These groups are of interest because of their disadvantageous position in the labor market. Age, obsolete skills, disability, and other factors related to age impede effective labor market interaction of the older groups and tend to increase dependency ratios. Low educational attainment and lack of experience work against effective labor force performance of the younger group. This younger group is of special interest. The differential in labor force participation rates among males in these ages between the two groups of migrants — 20 percentage points — is not easy to explain, though. The lower participation rates for those living in the United States in 1965 might have been due to a larger proportion of them staying in school than was true of the other group. Or, it could have been due to their being, because of language and other adaptation problems, in a more disadvantageous position than the other group to interact in the labor market and for that reason stayed out of the labor force, in which case the problem of idleness would be a matter of concern. But, the greater labor force participation rates of youngsters in these ages in the group of migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965 could have been counterbalanced, because of low educational attainment and lack of experience, by higher unemployment rates and by a greater concentration in low productivity unskilled and semiskilled occupations. These and other questions will be explored later.

Another fact is apparent in Table 28. When the female portion of the two return migrant groups is examined returnees living in the United States in 1965 reached peak participation earlier than those who resided in Puerto Rico in 1965. The highest participation rates for the first group occurred between the ages 20 to 24 while peak participation rates occurred somewhat later for the second group.

Differences of this sort in labor force participation rates between groups of individuals are a result of a vast array of factors, the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the individuals

not being the least important. To ascertain the possibility of such underlying factors explaining the differences pointed out in the preceding paragraphs, sex-age participation rates of both groups of returnees were crossed with such characteristics as year of last return to Puerto Rico, area of residence in 1970, educational attainment, marital status, child bearing, presence of children, and husband's presence and family income.

The cross-tabulation of the sex-age participation rates with the year of last return yielded interesting information. In general, participation rates for both groups tended to be lower, irrespective of sex, for the most recent returnees, i.e. those that came back in 1969 or 1970 (Table 29). A similar pattern was observed by Zell in

TABLE 29: Labor Force Participation Rates of Return Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Sex and Year of Last Return

| Year of Last Return | Sex | | |
|---------------------|------|------|--------|
| | Both | Male | Female |
| 1965 | 49.5 | 67.5 | 27.6 |
| 1966 | 51.0 | 69.0 | 29.7 |
| 1967 | 48.7 | 66.4 | 27.8 |
| 1968 | 49.3 | 66.2 | 29.5 |
| 1969 or 1970 | 43.7 | 58.6 | 23.9 |

Sources: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

his study of returnees in 1971-72^{1/}. But that is as far as similarity of the pattern of participation rates by year of return between both studies could be established. Our findings showed noticeable divergencies from Zell's findings in many respects. In the first place, the peak for male participation did not seem to occur with those returning in the second year prior to the end of the migration period, as found by Zell, but with those that returned in the 2nd year (1966) after the initiation of the migration period. In the second place, while he did not find any peak for female participation rates in the second year prior to the end of the migration period, as he did for

^{1/} Op. cit., p. 123.

males, our findings showed a bi-modal pattern, with peak participation rates occurring both in 1968 and in 1966.

Caution is indicated, though, in making this kind of precise comparisons between our findings and those obtained by Zell, because of the conceptual and methodological differences between the two studies pointed out in the first section of this report. The important fact, however, is that both studies have shown that the duration of the migration experience and the time of arrival are factors making for significant differences in the labor force behavior of return migrants. But, furthermore, that it is possible for labor force participation rates between returnees to differ significantly because of socio-historical factors, even though the general pattern shown were similar in terms of duration of migration experience and recency of arrival.

The analysis, for example, of sex-age labor force participation rates of return migrants by place of residence in 1965 and year of return revealed differences between the group that was in Puerto Rico in 1965 and the one that lived in the United States at that time which merit consideration. The pattern of labor force participation rates by year of return for both groups is shown in Table 30 and Figure 5. In regard to place of residence in 1965, the pattern was for male migrants residing in United States to attain lowest participation rates with the most recent returnees and highest with the ones that returned earliest. Participation rates declined for those migrants that returned in 1966 and 1967, rose for those that returned in 1968, and declined again to a much lower level for those that came back in 1969 or 1970. The age pattern was similar for those migrants aged 16 to 44. Participation rates for male migrants aged 45 to 64 living in United States in 1965 declined consistently by year of return throughout the migration period. Whereas for the return migrants aged 65 and over, participation rates declined for those who returned in 1966 and 1967, rose for those that came back in 1968, and declined again for those that returned in 1970, though not as much as for those that came back in 1967. The over-all pattern for the male return migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965 was for participation rates reaching the lowest level with the most recent returnees and rising with earlier returnees, but the highest level did not correspond to those migrants who came back in 1965 but to those that came back in 1966. Obviously, readjustment problems upon return in the same year, after such a short migration experience, worked against active participation in the labor market of the group that returned in 1965. By broad age groups, the prime working age-group 25-44 evidenced a similar pattern, not so other age groups. Participation rates of males 16 to 24 in this group increased consistently from the low level for migrants coming back in 1965 to its highest level for the migrants returning in 1968 and dropping again to a low level for the most recent returnees, though higher than for the ones that returned earliest. In the case of the 45-64 age group, participation rates showed a tendency to decline with the year of return, though the declining trend was interrupted with the returnees in 1967 to resume its declining

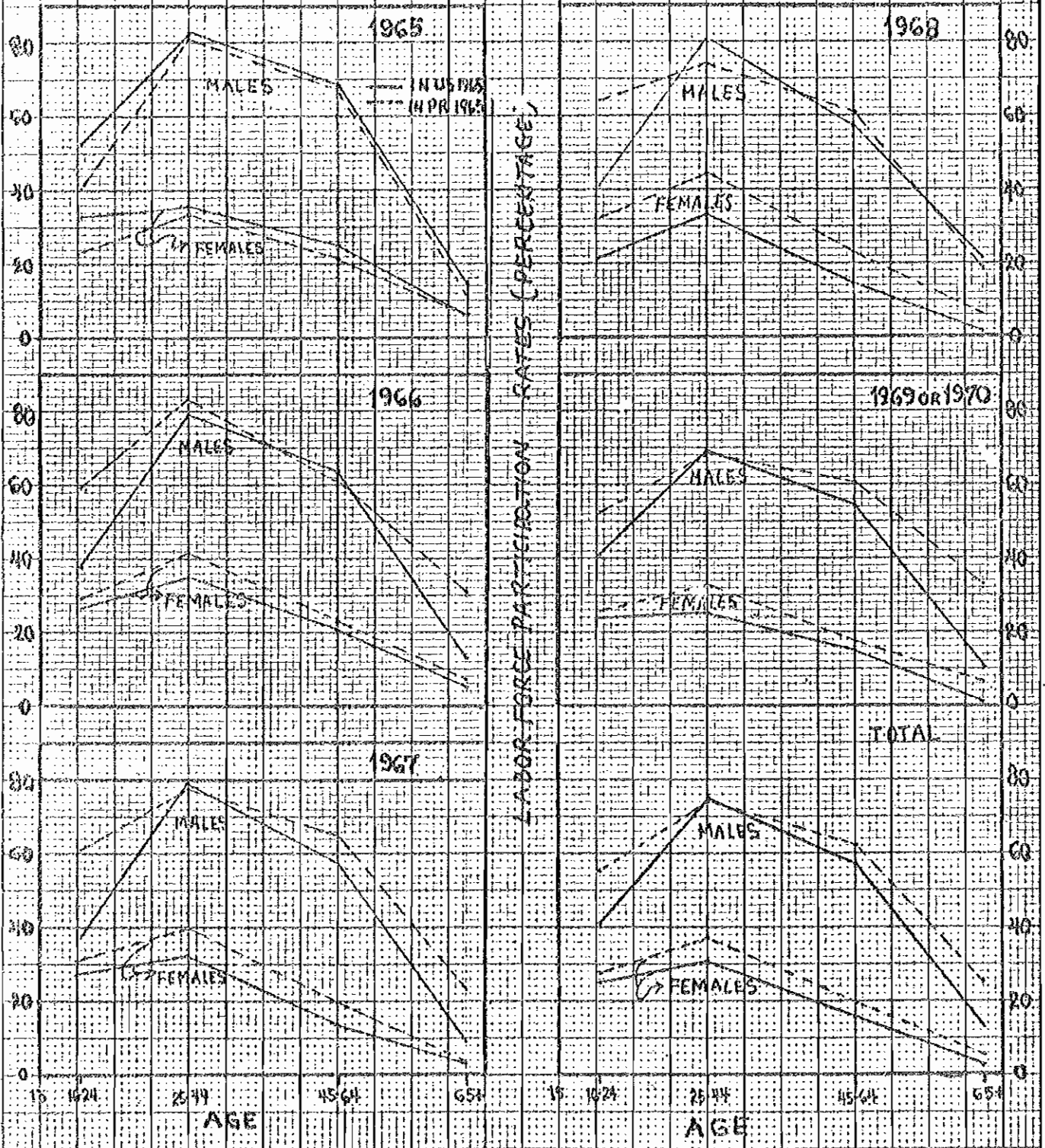
TABLE 30: Sex-age Participation Rates of Return Migrants, by Place of Residence in 1965 and Year of Last Return to Puerto Rico

| Migrants by Place of Residence in 1965 | Year of Last Return | | | | | 1969 or 70 |
|--|---------------------|------|------|------|------|---------------|
| | Total | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | |
| Migrants 16+ in U. S. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| Male, all | 61.8 | 71.8 | 64.8 | 64.1 | 65.7 | 57.2 |
| 16-24 | 40.8 | 52.7 | 37.8 | 37.8 | 41.2 | 40.9 |
| 25-44 | 75.2 | 82.8 | 78.8 | 79.6 | 80.7 | 69.0 |
| 45-64 | 57.2 | 68.5 | 63.9 | 57.8 | 56.8 | 54.1 |
| 65+ | 13.3 | 14.2 | 13.1 | 9.0 | 21.6 | 10.5 |
| Female, all | 24.7 | 31.5 | 27.5 | 25.7 | 25.5 | 22.4 |
| 16-24 | 24.9 | 32.6 | 26.5 | 27.0 | 23.9 | 23.6 |
| 25-44 | 30.5 | 35.7 | 34.6 | 32.1 | 33.3 | 26.7 |
| 45-64 | 15.7 | 24.6 | 20.1 | 13.6 | 14.4 | 15.1 |
| 65+ | 2.4 | 6.0 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 1.4 | 1.3 |
| Migrants 16+ in P. R. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| Male, all | 63.5 | 66.0 | 71.6 | 67.7 | 66.5 | 59.2 |
| 16-24 | 55.6 | 40.3 | 59.7 | 61.0 | 64.2 | 52.5 |
| 25-44 | 74.1 | 80.6 | 83.3 | 77.7 | 74.0 | 68.9 |
| 45-64 | 62.3 | 67.6 | 61.3 | 65.0 | 61.3 | 60.4 |
| 65+ | 25.2 | 10.5 | 31.4 | 23.8 | 18.9 | 32.9 |
| Female, all | 28.2 | 25.8 | 31.7 | 29.7 | 33.3 | 25.2 |
| 16-24 | 27.9 | 22.4 | 29.3 | 30.6 | 32.2 | 25.9 |
| 25-44 | 37.1 | 33.8 | 41.5 | 38.8 | 44.5 | 32.6 |
| 45-64 | 19.6 | 20.7 | 22.7 | 19.5 | 22.9 | 17.2 |
| 65+ | 5.8 | 6.0 | 7.1 | 3.6 | 6.1 | 6.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

FIGURE 3.
SEX-AGE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF RETURN MIGRANTS
BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1965 AND YEAR OF LAST RETURN

PUEBLO BICO, 1970



SOURCE: TABLE 30

trend with the more recent returnees. Participation rates for those males aged 65 and over in this group showed very low levels for those coming in 1966, dropped for those coming back in 1967 and 1968, and climbed again to an even higher level for those who returned in 1969 or 1970.

Divergent patterns of labor force participation rates by place of residence in 1965 and year of last return were also found for females. Participation rates for female migrants living in United States in 1965 showed a tendency to decline with the recency of return, the trend being more marked for the extreme age groups than for the intermediate ones. In the case of the 25-44 age group, participation rates by year of return were fairly stable throughout the migration period, except for the last 15 months of the period in which there was a decline of nearly 7 percentage points. In the case of the 45-64 age group, the pattern was one of sharp decline by year of return until 1967 (11 percentage points) and of slight increase thereafter. Female return migrants residing in Puerto Rico in 1965 evidenced a completely different pattern of participation rates by year of return. This was characterized by rising rates (except for a slight drop in 1967) and then declining rates in the most recent period to levels similar to those of the earliest year. This pattern was fairly consistent for all broad age groups, except for the oldest age group (65 and over). This group showed fairly stable participation rates except in the intermediate years 1966 and 1967. In 1966 the rate rose to a higher level and then dropped to its lowest level in 1967, before rising again and stabilizing at the level of the initial year of the migration period.

At this time, full explanation of these differentials is not possible. But, it seems evident that the place of residence in 1965 as a proxy of duration of migration experience and the year of return are influential factors in the labor force participation of return migrants and that the pattern of readjustment hypothesized by Zell as an explanation for differences in participation rates by year of return is heavily biased by the high proportion of short-term migrants in his sample. The lower participation rates in the initial year of the migration period for returnees who were residing in Puerto Rico in April 1965 suggest, when compared with the higher participation rates for the same year of migrants who were living in United States at the time, that readjustment problems upon return were greater the shorter the migration experience, but caution is indicated in establishing generalizations of this sort.

How were participation rates for these two migrant sub-groups related to their socio-economic composition? In an attempt to shed some light on this question, sex-age participation rates were cross-tabulated with those social variables frequently identified as being influential on the labor force status of individuals, such as area of residence, educational attainment, presence of spouse, and presence of children under six years of age. Area of residence in 1970 was broadly defined for this purpose as metropolitan and non-

metropolitan. It is shown in Table 31 and Figure 6, that return migrants living in metropolitan areas in 1970 had higher participation rates than those living in non-metropolitan areas, with the exception of males in the age groups 16-24 and 65 and over among the migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965. The general pattern of age participation rates among male migrants in both groups was fairly similar, irrespective of residence; labor force participation reached a peak between the ages 25-44. It is interesting to note, though, that age participation rates for male migrants in non-metropolitan areas who were living in United States in 1965 were consistently lower, with the exception of the 25-44 age group, than those of the migrants who were in Puerto Rico in 1965. And, that male migrants in metropolitan areas who were in United States in 1965 showed lower participation rates in the youngest age groups and the groups over 45 years of age than their counterparts living in Puerto Rico in 1965.

In the case of females, those who were living in United States in 1965 showed lower participation rates, irrespective of residence, than those who were living in Puerto Rico in 1965, with the exception of those in the 20-24 age group living in metropolitan areas. Participation rates for female migrants living in United States in 1965 reached a peak between the ages of 20-24, though at different levels for metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. In the case of female migrants who were in Puerto Rico in 1965, peak participation was reached later, between the ages 25 to 44, the differences in rate level between metropolitan and non-metropolitan residence being less than in the case of the female migrants living in United States in 1965.

This comparison of sex-age labor force participation rates of both groups of migrants in terms of area of residence in 1970 suggests that area of residence per se does not have much significance as an explanatory factor unless other factors, both personal and social, are considered. Factors such as the structure of labor demands in the area, personal characteristics bearing on the occupational skills of individuals, and other social factors seem to be more significant in explaining labor force participation.

Educational attainment as an influential factor on sex-age labor force participation of return migrants is examined in Table 32. The general pattern, irrespective of place of residence in 1965 and 1970, was for participation rates to increase with the level of schooling attained (Figure 7). The only exception was found among metropolitan area residents in the group living in United States in 1965. Participation rates were lower for female migrants aged 25 to 44 with 16 or more years of schooling as well as for males with that same level of schooling in the 45 to 64 age group. We suspect, but cannot prove at this point, that these deviations from the general pattern may have been influenced by such factors as length of stay, job experience, and earnings level attained in United States; unfulfilled expectations as to job availabilities and earning levels in Puerto Rico; prevailing hiring practices on the Island with relation to sex

TABLE 31: Sex-Age Labor Force Participation Rates of Puerto Rican Return Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965 and Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Residence in 1970

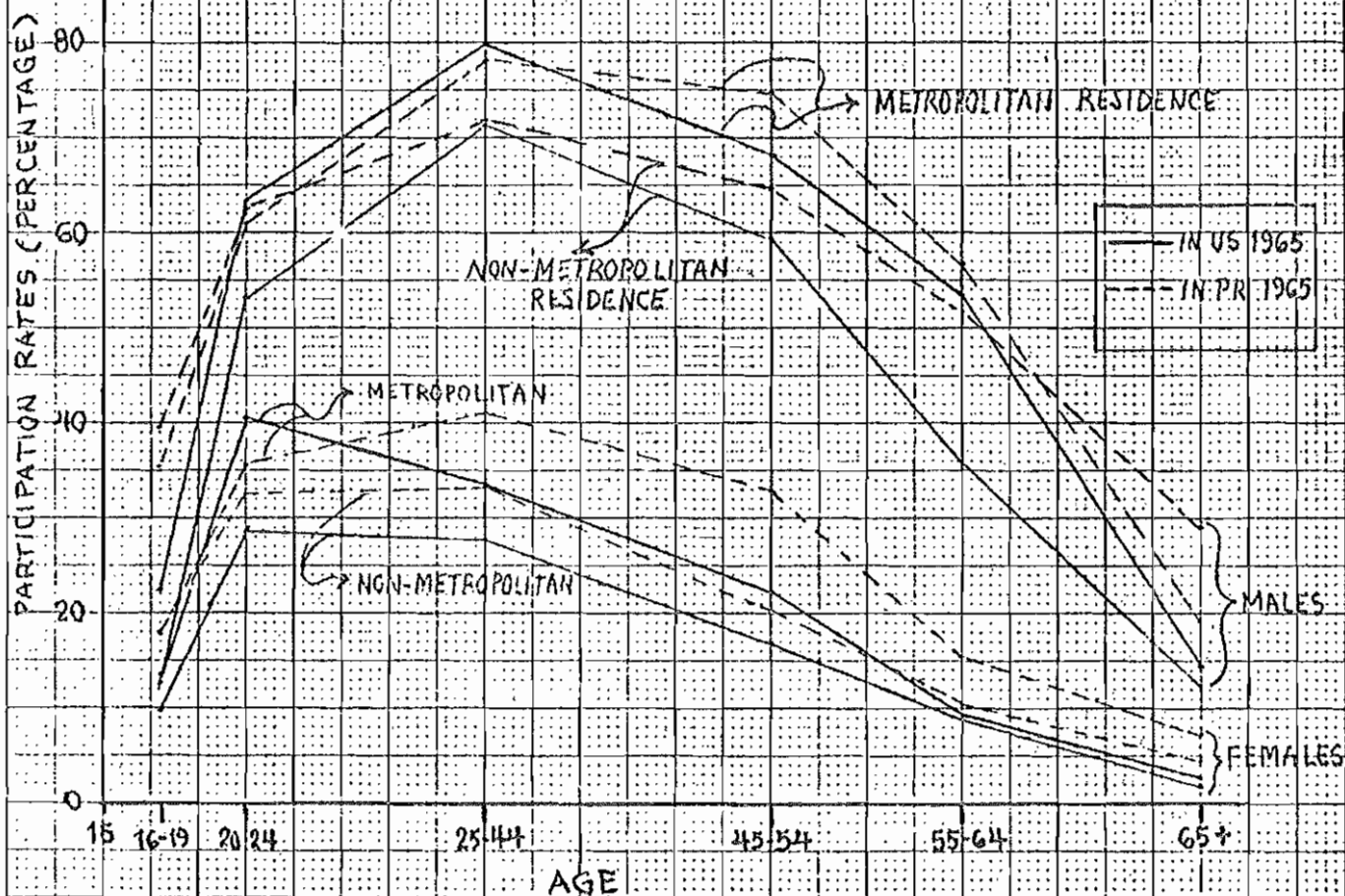
| | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| | Metrop. Res. 1970 | Non Metrop. Res. 1970 | Diff. | Metrop. Res. 1970 | Non Metrop. Res. 1970 | Diff. |
| Males, all | <u>66.1</u> | <u>57.8</u> | <u>8.3</u> | <u>65.2</u> | <u>62.6</u> | <u>2.6</u> |
| 16-19 | 22.4 | 12.4 | 10.0 | 35.3 | 39.6 | -4.3 |
| 20-24 | 63.3 | 53.1 | 10.2 | 61.0 | 62.4 | -1.4 |
| 25-44 | 79.9 | 71.1 | 8.0 | 78.0 | 71.9 | 6.1 |
| 45-54 | 68.0 | 59.3 | 8.7 | 74.8 | 64.8 | 10.0 |
| 55-64 | 53.2 | 36.0 | 17.2 | 56.8 | 51.9 | 4.9 |
| 65+ | 14.3 | 12.2 | 2.1 | 19.1 | 29.0 | -9.9 |
| Females, all | <u>27.1</u> | <u>22.4</u> | <u>4.7</u> | <u>31.3</u> | <u>25.8</u> | <u>5.5</u> |
| 16-19 | 13.5 | 9.7 | 3.8 | 17.9 | 18.0 | -0.1 |
| 20-24 | 40.5 | 28.6 | 11.9 | 35.5 | 32.4 | 3.1 |
| 25-44 | 33.5 | 27.7 | 5.8 | 41.0 | 33.6 | 7.4 |
| 45-54 | 22.2 | 16.9 | 5.3 | 32.7 | 20.3 | 12.4 |
| 55-64 | 9.2 | 8.8 | 0.4 | 15.4 | 10.4 | 5.0 |
| 65+ | 2.7 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 7.1 | 4.5 | 2.6 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

and age (that tend to favor the less old over the old and men over women); and, recency of arrival at Puerto Rico.

Comparison of sex-age participation rates by educational attainment and area of residence in 1970, showed that female migrants among the group that resided in United States in 1965 had lower participation rates than their counterparts in Puerto Rico in 1965 irrespective of the level of schooling, age, and area of residence in 1970. Male migrants in metropolitan areas, living in United States in 1965, showed higher participation rates for those with 9-15 years of schooling than their counterparts living in Puerto Rico at the time, but lower for all those with less than 9 years of schooling and also for those with 16 or more years of schooling. Closer examination of male participation rates by age group showed that the lower participation rate for those with the highest schooling in the metropolitan migrant group living in United States in 1965 was accounted for by those migrants aged 45 and over. The group in the prime working ages 25 to 44 with that level of schooling showed a higher participation rate than the group living in Puerto Rico in 1965.

FIGURE 6
 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE AND RESIDENCE
 IN 1965 AND IN 1970 OF RETURN MIGRANTS; PUERTO RICO, 1970



SOURCE: TABLE 3

TABLE 32: Sex-age Participation Rates of Return Migrants 25 to 64
Years of Age, by Educational Attainment and Area of Resi-
dence in 1965 and 1970

| Age and Schooling | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | | | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| | Metrop. Resid. 1970 | | Non-Metrop. Resid. 1970 | | Metrop. Resid. 1970 | | Non-Metrop. Resid. 1970 | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| All persons 25-64 | <u>71.6</u> | <u>26.5</u> | <u>63.3</u> | <u>22.7</u> | <u>71.8</u> | <u>32.5</u> | <u>66.0</u> | <u>24.8</u> |
| Less than 5 yrs. sch. | 53.3 | 12.3 | 50.5 | 10.6 | 59.1 | 14.8 | 59.7 | 12.4 |
| 5-8 | 65.1 | 17.5 | 61.5 | 18.7 | 69.3 | 23.9 | 67.0 | 20.9 |
| 9-11 | 76.3 | 25.2 | 70.6 | 28.7 | 71.2 | 30.9 | 70.7 | 33.7 |
| 12 | 77.7 | 40.7 | 70.3 | 36.1 | 77.4 | 45.7 | 74.8 | 48.2 |
| 13-15 | 83.0 | 48.7 | 68.1 | 50.9 | 74.1 | 51.0 | 69.0 | 56.8 |
| 16+ | 82.8 | 45.9 | 81.0 | 51.8 | 85.3 | 58.5 | 81.7 | 77.9 |
| All persons 25-44 | <u>79.9</u> | <u>33.5</u> | <u>71.1</u> | <u>27.7</u> | <u>78.0</u> | <u>41.0</u> | <u>71.9</u> | <u>33.6</u> |
| Less than 5 yrs. sch. | 67.6 | 23.7 | 63.7 | 16.9 | 74.9 | 26.7 | 69.0 | 18.6 |
| 5-8 | 76.5 | 22.7 | 69.2 | 21.1 | 77.9 | 29.5 | 71.4 | 24.0 |
| 9-11 | 79.8 | 27.4 | 73.0 | 29.7 | 73.0 | 31.0 | 72.2 | 36.1 |
| 12 | 81.9 | 43.1 | 74.5 | 36.7 | 80.8 | 49.2 | 76.9 | 48.6 |
| 13-15 | 86.2 | 52.7 | 72.4 | 53.6 | 75.1 | 53.6 | 69.1 | 61.3 |
| 16+ | 89.8 | 45.4 | 89.6 | 57.4 | 86.2 | 58.3 | 82.4 | 86.9 |
| All persons 45-64 | <u>63.2</u> | <u>17.4</u> | <u>51.0</u> | <u>13.7</u> | <u>68.0</u> | <u>24.9</u> | <u>59.7</u> | <u>15.7</u> |
| Less than 5 yrs. sch. | 61.9 | 11.1 | 48.3 | 8.3 | 61.3 | 15.7 | 56.9 | 12.3 |
| 5-8 | 60.8 | 13.3 | 52.0 | 15.9 | 67.4 | 21.0 | 61.6 | 16.9 |
| 9-11 | 63.7 | 19.6 | 58.0 | 21.4 | 69.5 | 28.9 | 63.6 | 20.5 |
| 12 | 65.8 | 27.1 | 46.3 | 37.5 | 68.8 | 32.8 | 63.7 | 47.3 |
| 13-15 | 77.2 | 36.7 | 50.0 | - | 74.3 | 46.4 | 73.4 | 49.5 |
| 16+ | 57.6 | 59.2 | 65.3 | 34.1 | 86.1 | 75.5 | 83.8 | 53.5 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

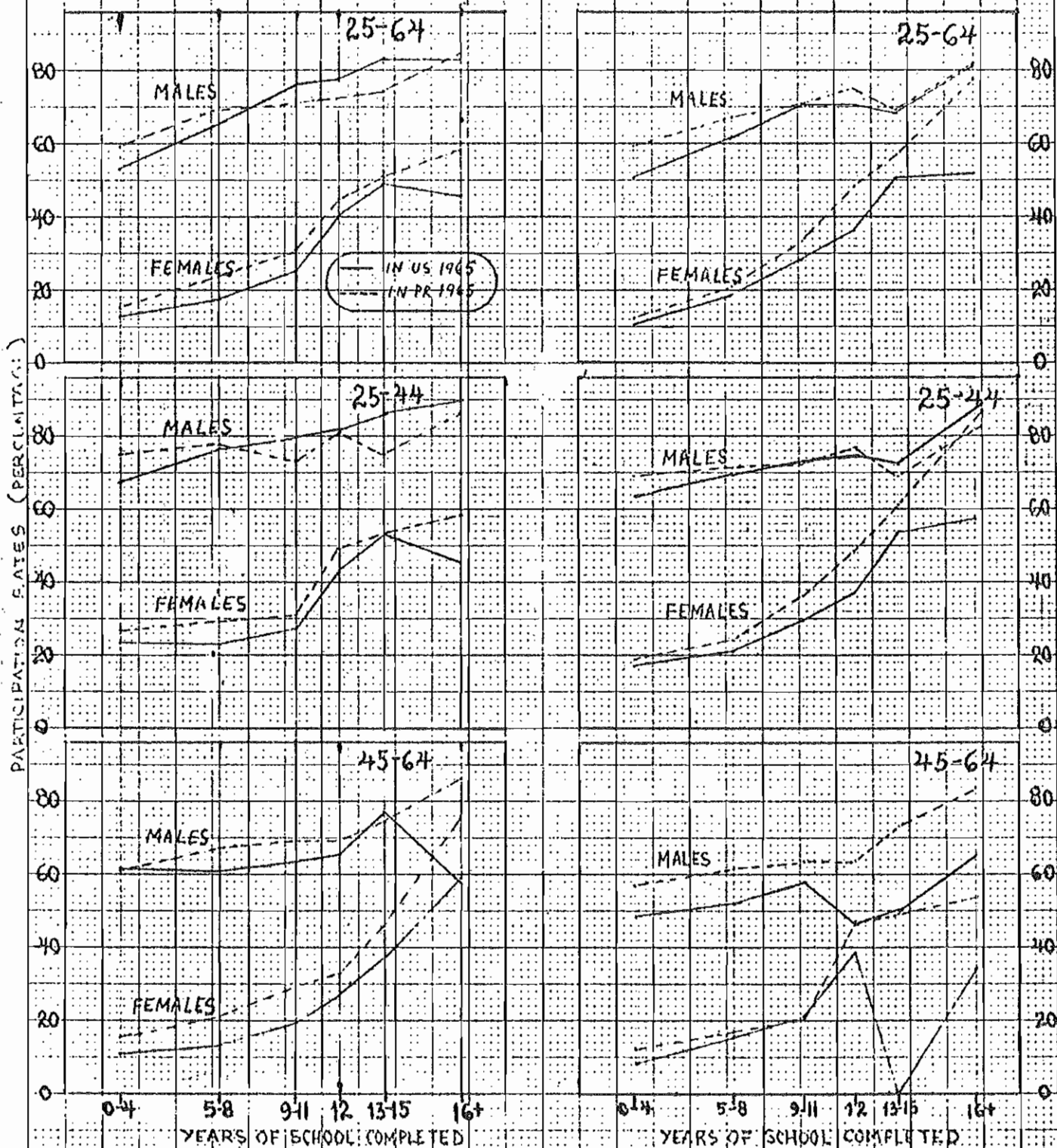
FIGURE 7

SIX-AGE PARTICIPATION RATES OF RETURN MIGRANTS
25 TO 64 YEARS OF AGE, YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED
AND AREA OF RESIDENCE IN 1965 AND 1970

PUEBLO RICO, 1970

a. METROPOLITAN

b. NON-METROPOLITAN



SOURCE: TABLE 32

It is interesting to note that participation rates for those in this age group in the two sub-groups were fairly similar for high school and university graduates, a fact that suggests that opportunities for effective interaction in the labor market when the requirement of a high school or university diploma are met are fairly equal for both groups of males but that when a diploma is missing other factors come into the picture.

Participation rates of male migrants aged 25 to 44 in non-metropolitan areas for both sub-groups compared more or less similarly with those for all males in metropolitan areas. But for male migrants aged 45 to 64 in these areas, those who lived in Puerto Rico in 1965 showed higher participation rates at all levels of schooling than their counterparts living in United States at the time.

The considerably lower participation rates of women return migrants at all levels of schooling in both groups and the fact that the proportion of non-ever married women did not exceed 20 per cent of the group living in United States in 1965 nor 30 per cent of the group living in Puerto Rico at the time, led us to look into the participation rates of the ever married women and try to relate these with their child bearing activity and the presence of spouse. As regards the influence of child bearing on labor force participation of women, Table 33 shows that there is certainly a negative relationship between child bearing and labor force participation. Ever married women childless in both sub-groups had much higher participation rates than mothers. Peak participation rates among childless women in the return migrant group living in United States in 1965 were achieved before age 35 while for those living in Puerto Rico in 1965 peak participation was achieved between ages 35-44. In the case of mothers, peak participation for both sub-groups was attained between ages 35 to 44, obviously after the children reach school age, i.e. 6 years of age.

It is to be noted from the table that participation rates for ever married women in the return migrant group living in Puerto Rico in 1965 were generally higher than those for their counterparts living in United States in 1965. Differences in educational attainment do not seem to be a significant factor explaining the differential; median years of schooling were fairly similar for women childless and mothers in both groups. Other factors such as the presence or absence of spouse, the legal or consensual nature of the marital union, the strength of family ties, and extent to which relatives can be relied on to take care of the children might possibly have been more significant in pushing into the labor force a greater proportion of the women return migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965. The proportion of women currently married with spouse absent was 23 per cent for this group while for the group living in United States in 1965 the proportion was somewhat lower (20 per cent). Similarly, the proportion of consensual marriages for the group living in Puerto Rico in 1965 was twice (10 per cent) that of their counterparts living in United States at the time. These differentials suggest a greater sense of economic insecurity out of the threat of desertion among these groups of

TABLE 33: Age Labor Force Participation Rates of Ever Married Women Return Migrants, by Child Bearing Status and Residence in 1965

| | Residence in U.S. in 1965 | | Residence in P.R. in 1965 | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|
| | Childless | Mother | Childless | Mother |
| All, 15 yrs. and over | 31.3 | 23.0 | 32.0 | 23.6 |
| 15-34 | 39.6 | 26.5 | 33.8 | 26.8 |
| 35-44 | 34.0 | 28.6 | 40.9 | 34.7 |
| 45 and over | 14.8 | 11.5 | 21.4 | 14.0 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

currently married female migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965, especially among those childless, that may have encouraged their greater incursion in the labor market.

Drawing on elements of child-rearing and family system in Puerto Rico, we can advance another hypothesis to explain the greater participation in the labor force of mothers in the group living in Puerto Rico in 1965. Since their last migration experience has been short-term in nature, unbroken family ties may be stronger the shorter the length of stay abroad and the more the willingness of immediate relatives to take care of the children while the mother is at work, especially if the children have reached school age. The longer the stay abroad, the more family ties loosen and the less the possibility of reliance on immediate relatives to take care of the children while the mother works. From the table above, it can be seen that the differential in participation rates between the two groups of mothers is greater for ages 35 and above.

A third hypothesis explaining the greater participation rates for women migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965 could be the lower family incomes of this group, compared to the other sub-group, and the greater need for the women to supplement the spouse's earnings.

By and large, the foregoing hypothesis explaining the greater labor force participation of ever married women among the return migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965, relative to the other sub-group, can not be entirely validated using Census data. Moreover, they could be taken as insights to pursue in future survey studies which could probe into their subjective and motivational character.

Employment, Unemployment, and Underemployment

The analysis of participation rates lacks significance unless related with the employment and unemployment rates. High participation rates are not necessarily accompanied by low unemployment rates; they may be accompanied by high unemployment rates. Low participation rates may be also accompanied by high unemployment rates. The unemployment rates are presented in Table 34 in their interrelationship with the labor force participation rates in 1970 for the total return migrant group and for the two subgroups living in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965. Close examination of the table reveals very interesting information. In the first place, it shows that, in spite of their lower participation rate, women had higher unemployment rates than men. It also shows that, throughout all age groups, participation rates of female returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 were lower than those for female returnees living in P.R. in 1965; but unemployment rates were higher than those for the group residing in P.R. in 1965. In the case of male returnees, those in the U.S. in 1965 showed lower participation rates, except for ages 25 to 44, but higher unemployment rates throughout all ages than their counterparts living in P.R.

Several questions are elicited by these facts. Why did the group of returnees with the longer migration experience and with greater exposure to labor market experience while in the States^{1/} show a poorer labor market behavior upon return relative to the other group? Would not these facts, coupled with their higher schooling attainment, have eased their reincorporation to the labor market? What factors could have slowed their adjustment to labor market conditions on the Island? Were the lower participation rates a result of a decision to retire temporarily from the labor market, for personal or other reasons, or of a decision to retire permanently? Were the higher unemployment rates a result of real scarcity of jobs or of a decision not to accept jobs under working conditions and/or wages below what had been obtained in the States, especially if eligible for reciprocal unemployment compensation? Though the Census data do not permit definitive answers to these behavioral questions, some light can be shed on some of them.

In Table 35, labor force participation and unemployment rates for both groups of migrants are shown by age group and year of return to Puerto Rico. It is seen that both participation and unemployment rates changed significantly with the year of return, i.e. with the length of time back on the Island. No clear relationship, though, could be established between the movement of both rates, indicating that participation and unemployment rates were not necessarily associated in

^{1/} The tabulation of the Census data on activity status in the United States, using the Public Use Sample revealed that 85.4 per cent of the males and 50.1 per cent of the females in the group living in the U.S. in 1965 reported work as their major activity while in the States compared with 73.8 per cent for the males and 33.7 per cent for the females in the group living in P. R.

TABLE 34: Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Rates in 1970 of Return Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965 and Sex.

| Age and Rates | Male | | | Female | | |
|--------------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | All | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 | All | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 |
| All | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 62.9 | 61.8 | 63.5 | 26.6 | 24.7 | 28.2 |
| Unemployment rate | 10.4 | 9.9 | 10.7 | 15.7 | 15.1 | 16.2 |
| Ages 16-24 | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 52.1 | 40.8 | 55.6 | 26.8 | 24.9 | 27.9 |
| Unemployment rate | 16.4 | 17.6 | 16.1 | 22.2 | 17.5 | 24.6 |
| Ages 25-44 | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 74.6 | 75.2 | 74.1 | 33.5 | 30.5 | 37.1 |
| Unemployment rate | 8.2 | 8.3 | 8.2 | 12.7 | 14.2 | 11.4 |
| Ages 45-64 | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 60.4 | 57.2 | 62.3 | 17.8 | 15.7 | 19.6 |
| Unemployment rate | 8.9 | 9.9 | 8.3 | 12.8 | 14.8 | 11.5 |
| Ages 65+ | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 20.6 | 13.3 | 25.2 | 4.3 | 2.4 | 5.8 |
| Unemployment rate | 7.0 | 9.3 | 6.2 | 10.2 | 13.5 | 9.2 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

a given direction. The striking fact from the table, though, is the significant decline of participation rates for the more recent returnees relative to earlier returnees, and the more dramatic increase of unemployment rates. Participation rates for male and female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 who came back to the Island in the 15 month period prior to the Census date declined by 12-13 per cent compared with those of returnees who came back in 1968. But unemployment rates increased much more dramatically, i.e. by 123 per cent for the males and 93 per cent for the females who came back to the Island in 1969 and 1970. The corresponding decline in participation rates for those who returned in 1969 and 1970, but who in 1965 were living in Puerto Rico, amounted to 11 per cent for males and 24 per cent for females. Unemployment rates for this group increased by 110 per cent in the case of males and by 66 per cent in the case of females.

It is evident from the table, then, that the unemployment situation of returnees in 1970 was worse the shorter the time of arrival at Puerto Rico, and that, in general, the place of residence in 1965 was not as significant a factor in determining differences in the unemployment situation between returnees as the length of time back in Puerto Rico. This is indicative that the process of reincorporation

Table 35: Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Sex-Age Rates
in 1970 of Return Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Year
of Last Return and Residence in 1965.

| Residence in 1965, Sex, and Age Group | Year of Last Return | | | | | 1969 or 1970 |
|--|---------------------|------|------|------|------|-----------------|
| | Total | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | |
| Returnees in U.S. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 61.8 | 71.8 | 64.8 | 64.1 | 65.7 | 57.2 |
| 16-24 | 40.8 | 52.7 | 37.8 | 37.8 | 41.2 | 40.9 |
| 25-44 | 75.2 | 82.8 | 78.8 | 79.6 | 80.7 | 69.0 |
| 45-64 | 57.2 | 68.5 | 63.9 | 57.8 | 56.8 | 50.1 |
| 65+ | 13.3 | 14.2 | 13.1 | 9.0 | 21.6 | 10.5 |
| Unemployment rate | 9.9 | 5.0 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 7.0 | 15.6 |
| 16-24 | 17.6 | 10.3 | 13.8 | 10.1 | 11.3 | 13.5 |
| 25-44 | 8.3 | 2.9 | 3.5 | 3.8 | 6.4 | 13.5 |
| 45-64 | 9.9 | 9.9 | 1.1 | 4.2 | 6.2 | 16.3 |
| 65+ | 9.3 | - | 13.8 | - | 7.8 | 14.7 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 24.7 | 31.5 | 27.5 | 25.7 | 25.5 | 22.4 |
| 16-24 | 24.9 | 32.6 | 26.5 | 27.0 | 23.9 | 23.6 |
| 25-44 | 30.5 | 35.7 | 34.6 | 32.1 | 33.3 | 26.7 |
| 45-64 | 15.7 | 24.6 | 20.1 | 13.6 | 14.4 | 15.1 |
| 65+ | 2.4 | 6.0 | 4.7 | 3.0 | 1.4 | 1.3 |
| Unemployment rate | 15.1 | 3.2 | 7.2 | 8.8 | 12.2 | 23.6 |
| 16-24 | 17.5 | 9.2 | 1.2 | 10.7 | 17.1 | 25.0 |
| 25-44 | 9.5 | 2.0 | 9.5 | 8.6 | 9.3 | 23.6 |
| 45-64 | 14.8 | - | 3.0 | 6.7 | 20.1 | 21.2 |
| 65+ | 13.5 | - | 46.7 | - | - | - |
| Returnees in P.R. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 63.5 | 66.0 | 71.6 | 67.7 | 66.5 | 59.2 |
| 16-24 | 55.6 | 40.3 | 59.7 | 61.0 | 64.2 | 52.5 |
| 25-44 | 74.1 | 80.6 | 83.3 | 77.7 | 74.0 | 68.9 |
| 45-64 | 62.3 | 67.6 | 61.3 | 65.0 | 63.3 | 60.4 |
| 65+ | 25.2 | 10.5 | 33.4 | 23.8 | 18.4 | 32.9 |
| Unemployment rate | 10.7 | 5.0 | 5.8 | 5.6 | 7.6 | 16.0 |
| 16-24 | 16.1 | 8.5 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 11.5 | 21.1 |
| 25-44 | 8.2 | 4.5 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 5.9 | 33.1 |
| 45-64 | 8.3 | 5.1 | 8.2 | 4.7 | 4.4 | 12.2 |
| 65+ | 6.2 | - | 15.6 | - | - | 8.3 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| Participation rate | 28.2 | 25.8 | 31.7 | 29.7 | 33.3 | 25.2 |
| 16-24 | 27.9 | 22.4 | 29.3 | 39.1 | 32.2 | 25.9 |
| 25-44 | 37.1 | 33.8 | 41.5 | 38.8 | 44.5 | 32.1 |
| 45-64 | 19.6 | 20.7 | 22.7 | 19.5 | 22.9 | 17.2 |
| 65+ | 5.8 | 6.0 | 7.1 | 3.6 | 6.1 | 6.1 |
| Unemployment rate | 16.2 | 12.0 | 9.1 | 10.7 | 13.7 | 22.8 |
| 16-24 | 24.6 | 17.4 | 13.8 | 17.6 | 20.2 | 31.9 |
| 25-44 | 11.4 | 7.9 | 6.5 | 6.3 | 10.3 | 17.5 |
| 45-64 | 11.5 | 18.6 | 9.3 | 9.7 | 6.8 | 13.3 |
| 65+ | 9.2 | 23.1 | 21.7 | - | 15.2 | - |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

to labor market conditions on the Island took time and that the more recent the arrival the more severe were the problems of readjustment.^{1/}

Unemployment among returnees was heavily weighted by the higher unemployment rates of the young people, i.e. 16 to 24 years of age, who usually tend to change jobs frequently in an effort to find the jobs they prefer and in between jobs report brief periods of unemployment. It is assumed that the lower the educational attainment the more difficult it was for young people to find jobs and that the high unemployment rates among the younger returnees, especially in the group under 20, could have been heavily weighted by the education factor as well as by the greater job instability peculiar to young workers. Data on unemployment by years of school completed, unfortunately, were not obtained for young persons under 25 years of age.

Unemployment rates by level of educational attainment are presented in Table 36 for adult returnees 25 years and over. The pattern revealed was the one expected; unemployment rates showed a negative association with the amount of schooling attained, irrespective of sex and place of residence in 1965. But more interesting than the general pattern were the differences in unemployment rates by levels of schooling found among returnees by place of residence in 1965. Male returnees living in U.S. in 1965 showed higher unemployment rates through grade 8 and lower thereafter than their counterparts in Puerto Rico, while female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 showed higher unemployment rates throughout all educational levels than their counterparts in Puerto Rico. Since the group in the United States in 1965 had a longer migration experience than the other group, i.e. had been away longer, one can infer that the problems of readjustment to labor market conditions on the Island, other things equal, were more serious for them, more so the lower the level of schooling attained. One can also infer that the amount of frictional unemployment, due to job mobility while trying to locate a job in accordance with expectations, was greater among this group. This inference is reaffirmed when unemployment rates by schooling levels and age groups, presented in Table 36, are analyzed. Irrespective of sex, returnees in the prime working age group 25 to 44 who were living in the U.S. in 1965 had higher unemployment rates, with the exception of those in the grade level 9-11, than their counterparts in Puerto Rico in 1965. In the older age group, i.e. 45 years and over, male returnees in the U.S. in 1965 showed lower unemployment rates, except for those with a level of schooling under grade 9, than their counterparts in Puerto Rico. Female returnees in this age group living in the U.S. in 1965

^{1/} Reciprocal unemployment insurance regulations may have also been a factor explaining the higher unemployment rates of returnees. Under these regulations a person with work experience in the States is eligible to receive unemployment benefits at the same levels paid on the mainland. Returnees who qualify may prefer to collect unemployment benefits rather than to accept a job below expectations.

TABLE 36: Unemployment Rates in 1970 of Return Migrants 25 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965, Age and Sex, and Level of Educational Attainment

| Age and Educational Attainment | Males | | Females | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 |
| All, 25 years and over | 8.6 | 8.2 | 14.3 | 11.3 |
| Less than 5 years schooling | 13.6 | 8.9 | 18.4 | 17.7 |
| 5 - 8 | 11.6 | 11.0 | 21.0 | 14.7 |
| 9 - 11 | 7.2 | 9.1 | 17.6 | 17.6 |
| 12 | 5.8 | 5.3 | 10.2 | 8.5 |
| 13 - 15 | 5.8 | 6.3 | 5.1 | 3.7 |
| 16+ | 2.4 | 4.0 | 4.1 | 1.8 |
| All, 25 - 44 | 8.3 | 8.2 | 14.2 | 11.4 |
| Less than 5 years schooling | 14.0 | 9.8 | 19.0 | 23.7 |
| 5 - 8 | 11.4 | 11.2 | 21.7 | 16.8 |
| 9 - 11 | 7.1 | 9.1 | 17.4 | 18.1 |
| 12 | 6.0 | 5.0 | 10.6 | 7.3 |
| 13 - 15 | 5.6 | 5.6 | 4.6 | 3.5 |
| 16+ | 2.7 | 1.2 | 5.5 | 1.6 |
| All, 45 - 64 | 9.9 | 8.3 | 14.8 | 11.5 |
| Less than 5 years schooling | 13.1 | 8.5 | 17.6 | 12.2 |
| 5 - 8 | 12.2 | 10.0 | 20.0 | 10.2 |
| 9 - 11 | 7.8 | 8.6 | 19.7 | 15.4 |
| 12 | 3.8 | 4.8 | 6.1 | 18.8 |
| 13 - 15 | 6.9 | 10.4 | - | 6.8 |
| 16+ | - | - | - | 3.0 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

showed lower unemployment rates than their counterparts in Puerto Rico only for those with 12 years or more of schooling, but higher for those with lower levels of educational attainment.

The foregoing discussion was concerned with the unemployment rates of both groups of returnees and their interrelationship with the labor force participation rates. It was shown that though returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 had, in general, lower participation rates than their counterparts in Puerto Rico, these had been accompanied by higher instead of lower unemployment rates. It was also shown that participation rates of returnees tended to decline and unemployment rates to increase the shorter the time back on the Island. Furthermore,

it was shown that unemployment rates were higher for the younger returnees, i.e. 16 - 24 years of age, and higher for females.

The proportion underemployed was also higher for the younger returnees 16 to 24, relative to the older ones, irrespective of sex and residence in 1965 (Table 37), thus reaffirming the greater instability of employment among the young people. Comparison of the number of hours worked per week across age groups revealed a pattern of decline in the number of hours worked for the youngest and oldest age groups, increasing for intervening age groups, and reaching peak at ages 25 - 34 for the male returnees in both groups and for the female returnees in the U.S. in 1965. For female returnees in P.R. in 1965,

TABLE 37: Hours Worked Per Week by Returnees Aged 16 to 24 at Work, by Age and Residence in 1965
(Percentage Distribution)

| Residence in 1965 and Hours Worked | Age Groups | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | All | 16-19 | 20-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-64 |
| <u>Male</u> | | | | | | |
| Returnees in U.S. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| 1 - 34 hours | 15.3 | 43.8 | 24.6 | 11.2 | 11.4 | 19.6 |
| 35 or more | 84.7 | 56.2 | 75.4 | 88.8 | 88.6 | 80.4 |
| Returnees in P.R. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| 1 - 34 hours | 22.7 | 38.5 | 24.0 | 18.3 | 21.9 | 25.8 |
| 35 or more | 77.3 | 61.5 | 76.0 | 81.7 | 78.1 | 74.2 |
| <u>Female</u> | | | | | | |
| Returnees in U.S. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| 1 - 34 hours | 22.1 | 33.4 | 28.0 | 16.7 | 21.2 | 27.8 |
| 35 or more | 77.9 | 66.6 | 72.0 | 83.3 | 78.8 | 72.2 |
| Returnees in P.R. in 1965 | | | | | | |
| 1 - 34 hours | 24.7 | 33.3 | 21.2 | 26.5 | 22.0 | 28.1 |
| 35 or more | 75.3 | 66.7 | 78.8 | 73.5 | 78.0 | 71.9 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

peak was reached at ages 35 to 44. Men had a higher proportion of underemployed in the age groups 16 to 24 than female returnees, but a lower proportion in the age groups 25 and over. Similarly, returnees in the U.S. in 1965 had a higher proportion of underemployed in the ages 16 to 24, relative to the group in P.R., but lower in the age groups 25 and over.

These data imply that there were significant differences among returnees in the process of readjustment to labor market conditions on the Island which are not easy to explain, but that influenced labor force behavior. These differences were further reaffirmed when the relative distribution of both groups of returnees, by employment status, was related to their distribution in the civilian labor force. This relation is presented in Tables 38, 39, and 40 crossed by age and sex, educational attainment, and year of last return, respectively. It is shown in these tables that the unemployment situation was more severe among the younger group 16 to 24, and among females. It was also more severe the lower the educational attainment, and the shorter the length of time back in Puerto Rico.

The pattern of employment concentration of returnees is also shown in the above mentioned tables. The relative distribution of employed returnees was heavily concentrated in the prime working ages 25 to 44, declining in both the younger and older groups. The majority had a schooling attainment level between 5 and 12 years. The group living in the U.S. in 1965 had a smaller proportion of employed workers with less than 5 years of schooling than their counterparts in Puerto Rico, but also a smaller proportion of employed workers with 16 or more years of schooling completed. How were these facts related to the occupational and industrial distribution of the returnees? This question is examined below.

Occupational and Industrial Distribution

In general, returnees were concentrated in the blue collar and white collar occupations, but there were noticeable differences between the employed and the unemployed. Furthermore, significant differences were evident between the group of returnees living in U.S. in 1965 and the group in Puerto Rico at the time. These are shown in Table 41. Employed women tended to concentrate more in white collar than in blue collar occupations, while the men concentrated more in blue collar occupations. Unemployed males and females were primarily concentrated in blue collar occupations. It is interesting to note that return migrants, both male and female, living in the U.S. in 1965 had a superior occupational distribution than their counterparts in Puerto Rico. The relative distribution among occupations of employed returnees shows that 32.4 per cent of the males living in the U.S. in 1965 were in white collar occupations in 1970 compared with 26 per cent for those living in P.R. Of the female returnees in the U.S. in 1965, 46.3 per cent of those employed were in white collar occupations compared with 44.6 per cent for their counterparts in P.R.

Table 38: Per Cent Distribution of Return Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Age and Sex, Residence in 1965, and Employment Status in 1970

| Age and Sex | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Both | Empl. | Unempl. | Both | Empl. | Unempl. |
| Males, all | <u>21051</u> | <u>18977</u> | <u>2074</u> | <u>40966</u> | <u>36583</u> | <u>4383</u> |
| 16-24 | 13.6 | 12.4 | 24.3 | 31.6 | 29.7 | 47.7 |
| 25-44 | 67.9 | 69.1 | 57.1 | 50.7 | 52.2 | 38.9 |
| 45-64 | 17.5 | 17.5 | 17.6 | 16.1 | 16.5 | 12.5 |
| 65+ | 1.0 | 1.0 | - | 1.6 | 1.6 | 0.9 |
| Females, all | <u>8907</u> | <u>7566</u> | <u>1341</u> | <u>11944</u> | <u>10012</u> | <u>1932</u> |
| 16-24 | 24.8 | 24.1 | 28.8 | 36.6 | 32.9 | 55.5 |
| 25-44 | 63.1 | 63.7 | 59.4 | 48.8 | 51.6 | 34.3 |
| 45-64 | 11.5 | 11.6 | 11.3 | 13.2 | 13.9 | 9.4 |
| 65+ | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 0.8 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Table 39: Per Cent Distribution of Return Migrants 25 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965, Employment Status in 1970, and Educational Attainment

| Sex and Schooling Completed | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Both | Empl. | Unempl. | Both | Empl. | Unempl. |
| Males | <u>18182</u> | <u>16613</u> | <u>1569</u> | <u>28016</u> | <u>25724</u> | <u>2292</u> |
| Less than 5 yrs. sch. | 13.9 | 13.2 | 21.9 | 27.7 | 27.5 | 30.0 |
| 5-8 | 26.7 | 25.8 | 35.9 | 27.2 | 26.4 | 36.6 |
| 9-11 | 25.6 | 26.1 | 21.4 | 15.0 | 14.8 | 16.7 |
| 12- | 22.9 | 23.6 | 15.5 | 16.9 | 17.4 | 11.0 |
| 13-15 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 4.0 | 6.4 | 6.5 | 4.9 |
| 16+ | 4.9 | 5.2 | 1.3 | 6.8 | 7.4 | 0.8 |
| Females | <u>6697</u> | <u>5742</u> | <u>955</u> | <u>7578</u> | <u>6718</u> | <u>860</u> |
| Less than 5 yrs. sch. | 10.5 | 10.0 | 13.5 | 15.6 | 14.5 | 24.4 |
| 5-8 | 22.2 | 20.5 | 32.8 | 20.1 | 19.5 | 26.2 |
| 9-11 | 22.2 | 21.4 | 27.4 | 15.4 | 14.3 | 23.8 |
| 12- | 29.4 | 30.8 | 21.0 | 27.1 | 28.0 | 20.2 |
| 13-15 | 10.2 | 11.2 | 3.7 | 11.0 | 11.9 | 3.6 |
| 16+ | 5.5 | 6.1 | 1.6 | 10.8 | 11.9 | 1.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Table 40: Per Cent Distribution of Return Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Employment Status in 1970, Residence in 1965, and Year of Last Return to Puerto Rico

| Sex and Year of Return | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Both | Empl. | Unempl. | Both | Empl. | Unempl. |
| Males, all | <u>21051</u> | <u>18977</u> | <u>2074</u> | <u>40966</u> | <u>36583</u> | <u>4383</u> |
| 1965 | 7.0 | 7.4 | 3.6 | 9.8 | 10.5 | 4.6 |
| 1966 | 11.0 | 11.7 | 4.7 | 10.0 | 10.6 | 5.4 |
| 1967 | 15.9 | 16.8 | 7.3 | 14.7 | 15.5 | 7.7 |
| 1968 | 23.1 | 23.8 | 16.3 | 19.9 | 20.6 | 14.1 |
| 1969-70 | 43.0 | 40.2 | 68.1 | 45.5 | 42.8 | 68.1 |
| Females, all | <u>8907</u> | <u>7566</u> | <u>1341</u> | <u>11944</u> | <u>10012</u> | <u>1932</u> |
| 1965 | 7.6 | 8.7 | 1.6 | 9.9 | 10.3 | 7.3 |
| 1966 | 11.6 | 12.7 | 5.6 | 10.9 | 11.8 | 6.1 |
| 1967 | 16.5 | 17.8 | 9.7 | 15.4 | 16.4 | 10.1 |
| 1968 | 23.3 | 24.1 | 18.8 | 24.0 | 24.7 | 20.3 |
| 1969-70 | 40.9 | 36.8 | 64.3 | 39.9 | 36.8 | 56.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Table 41: Percentage Distribution by Occupation of the Returnees,
16 Years and Over, by Employment Status in 1970 and Residence in 1965

| Occupational Group | Employed 1970 | | | | Unemployed 1970 | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
| | In U.S. in 1965 | | In P.R. in 1965 | | In U.S. in 1965 | | In P.R. in 1965 | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| All workers | 18977 | 7566 | 36583 | 10012 | 1932 | 1153 | 4049 | 1501 |
| <u>White Collar</u> | 32.4 | 46.3 | 26.0 | 44.6 | 19.5 | 24.4 | 13.4 | 18.5 |
| Profes. techn., and kind | 6.8 | 10.9 | 7.4 | 14.6 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 2.2 | 3.4 |
| Managers and administrators ^{a/} | 8.6 | 3.1 | 6.4 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 1.0 | 2.7 | 0.0 |
| Sales workers | 8.9 | 6.1 | 6.0 | 5.4 | 3.6 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 6.0 |
| Clerical workers | 8.1 | 26.2 | 6.2 | 21.3 | 7.5 | 15.7 | 5.4 | 9.1 |
| <u>Blue Collar</u> | 52.3 | 40.8 | 63.6 | 38.6 | 61.1 | 67.9 | 78.4 | 68.2 |
| Craftsmen, foremen, and kind. | 20.7 | 4.2 | 20.0 | 3.5 | 17.7 | 6.8 | 20.1 | 3.5 |
| Operatives, manuf. durables | 3.4 | 5.7 | 2.8 | 5.1 | 10.9 | 14.7 | 7.2 | 15.3 |
| Operatives, manuf. non-dur. ^{b/} | 8.7 | 29.2 | 8.5 | 27.4 | 18.7 | 43.8 | 16.5 | 46.3 |
| Operatives, transport | 8.2 | 0.5 | 8.2 | 0.5 | 7.4 | 0.5 | 4.0 | 0.3 |
| Laborers, incl. farm workers | 11.3 | 1.2 | 24.1 | 2.1 | 10.4 | 2.1 | 30.5 | 2.9 |
| <u>Services</u> | 15.3 | 12.7 | 10.4 | 16.9 | 15.4 | 7.6 | 8.2 | 13.3 |
| Domestic service | 0.1 | 1.4 | 0.2 | 5.8 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.1 | 3.2 |
| Other | 15.2 | 11.3 | 10.2 | 11.1 | 15.2 | 6.5 | 8.1 | 10.1 |

^{a/} Includes farmers and farm managers

^{b/} Includes other operatives n.e.c.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

at that time. Furthermore, the proportion of laborers, including farm workers, was only 11.3 per cent for the employed returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 compared with 24.1 per cent for those in P.R. Female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 had only 1.4 per cent employed in domestic service against 5.8 per cent for those in P.R. at that time.

The occupational superiority of the return migrants living in the U.S. in 1965 is reaffirmed when the non-skilled to skilled occupational ratios for both groups of returnees are compared. These are presented in Table 42. Returnees in the experienced civilian labor force who were in the U.S. in 1965 showed lower non-skilled to skilled occupational ratios, relative to the group in P.R. in 1965. While in this group, for example, there were 94 non-skilled male workers per 100 skilled and 108 non-skilled female workers per 100 skilled, the corresponding ratios for male and female workers in the group living in P.R. in 1965 were 123 and 124, respectively. Similarly, there were 171 male workers in laborer occupations per 100 workers in professional, technical and kindred occupations among the group in the U.S. in 1965 compared with a ratio of 357 for the group in P.R. at that time. The ratio of laborers to craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers was 55 per hundred for the male returnees in the U.S. in 1965 and 123 for those in P.R. in 1965. The ratio of manufacturing operatives per hundred craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers was 832 for the female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 compared with 1049 for those in P.R. in 1965.

TABLE 42: Skill Ratios of Returnees 16 Years and Over in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Residence in 1965, Sex, and Age Group

| Ratios (Per 100 persons) | Residence in U.S. in 1965 | | Residence in P.R. in 1965 | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------|---------------------------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Non-Skilled/Skilled ^{a/} | 94 | 108 | 123 | 124 |
| Laborers/Professional | 171 | 13 | 357 | 17 |
| Laborers/Craftsmen | 55 | 30 | 123 | 64 |
| Mfg. Operatives/Craftsmen | 67 | 632 | 63 | 1049 |

^{a/} Skilled occupations include professional, technical, managerial, sales, clerical, craftsmen and foremen; non-skilled occupations include operatives, service, and laborers, incl. farm workers.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Occupational skill ratios for employed returnees are presented by age group in Table 43. Though the over-all occupational superiority of returnees in U.S. in 1965 is maintained, the table reveals some noticeable differences by age group. Male returnees in U.S. in 1965 had a smaller proportion of non-skilled to skilled workers in the age groups 20 to 64, but a higher proportion in the youngest and oldest age groups, relative to those living in P.R. in 1965. On the other hand, female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 had a smaller proportion of non-skilled workers in the age groups 16 to 24, but a higher proportion in the age groups 25 to 44 and 65 and over, relative to their counterparts living in P.R. in 1965.

TABLE 43: Non-Skilled to Skilled Occupational Ratio^{a/} for Employed Returnees, 16 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965, Sex, and Age Group.

| Age Group | Residence in U.S. in 1965 | | Residence in P.R. in 1965 | |
|-----------|---------------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| All | 88 | 97 | 117 | 108 |
| 16-19 | 245 | 61 | 202 | 194 |
| 20-24 | 117 | 57 | 125 | 108 |
| 25-44 | 83 | 115 | 106 | 93 |
| 45-64 | 81 | 112 | 130 | 148 |
| 65+ | 128 | 200 | 81 | 96 |

a/ Skilled occupations include professional, technical, managerial, sales, clerical, craftsmen, and foremen; non-skilled occupations include operatives, service workers, and laborers, including farm.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

The superior occupational distribution of the returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 is also evident in the composition of unemployment, also shown in Table 41 above. Returnees in the U.S. in 1965 had a higher percentage of the unemployed in white collar occupations than was true of the group in P.R. in 1965; the opposite was true for blue collar occupations. In general, unemployment for both groups was primarily concentrated in blue collar occupations, but to a greater extent for the group living in P.R. in 1965. The relative distribution of unemployment by occupation shows noticeable differences between the two groups and between sexes. Among the male returnees living in the U.S. in 1965, 51.6 per cent of the unemployed were concentrated in the

manufacturing non-durable operative; craftsmen and kindred, and service, other than domestic occupations; another 21.3 per cent concentrated in manufacturing durable goods operative and laborer occupations. While among male returnees living in P.R. in 1965, 67.1 per cent of the unemployed were in laborer, craftsmen, and kindred, and manufacturing non-durable operative occupations. On the other hand, nearly three-fourths (74.2 per cent) of the unemployed female returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 were concentrated in manufacturing operative (durable and non-durable) and clerical occupations. While among female returnees in P.R. in 1965, 70.7 per cent of the unemployed was concentrated in manufacturing operative (durable and non-durable goods) and service, other than domestic, occupations.

The selective occupational pattern of the returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 reflected in the industrial distribution of this group relative to the one in P.R. at that time (Table 44). The proportion of male workers in this group employed in agriculture was three times smaller than that of the group in P.R. in 1965, thus reflecting the greater proportion of farm laborers among the group in P.R. in 1965. Similarly, the proportion of male workers in the construction and mining industry was lower for the group in the U.S. in 1965, again reflecting the smaller proportion of laborers in this group. For all other industry groups, returnees in the U.S. in 1965 had a larger proportion of employed workers, relative to the other group. The same was true for employed female returnees in this group, with the exception of the service industry in which returnees in P.R. in 1965 had a larger proportion of employed workers, particularly in domestic service. The largest differential between the two groups in the proportion of females employed, apart from the service industry, was found in the manufacturing industry. Female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 were employed in manufacturing in a larger proportion than those in P.R. in 1965, thus reflecting the greater orientation to manufacturing employment of this group of returnees.

The foregoing analysis of the occupational and industrial distribution of the two groups of returnees and the existing differentials between them raises a number of interesting points. In the first place, the larger proportion of laborers and the higher proportion of workers employed in agriculture among the male group in P.R. in 1965 suggest that this group is in large part composed of rural farm laborers who migrate every year to the States to work in agricultural crops and return to their place of origin in Puerto Rico at the end of the harvest season. On the other hand, the high proportion of laborers unemployed in this group of returnees suggests that many of the returnees in the unskilled categories locate in or around the urban areas upon return while waiting for a job opportunity away from agriculture. Until they find a suitable job, they show a high degree of job instability, with periods of unemployment in between jobs.

Another interesting fact to note from the foregoing analysis of employment status by occupation and industry is the large proportion of non-durable manufacturing operatives among employed female returnees, and the much larger concentration of unemployed in this occupational category in both groups of returnees. For female returnees in the U.S. in 1965, the proportion employed in non-durable manufacturing occupations was 29.2 per cent, while the proportion unemployed in this occupational category was 43.8 per cent. The corresponding proportions for the group in P.R. in 1965 were 27.4 and 46.3 per cent. The situation was similar for male returnees in manufacturing occupations, though much less marked. These facts could be a reflection of the economic situation in the United States and in Puerto Rico. The secular decline of light manufacturing activity, specially apparel and textiles, in the North-Eastern region of the United States, and the consequent loss of manufacturing jobs in that region, may have been a factor in the decision to return for many Puerto Ricans in the working ages. The consequence has been increased pressure to obtain manufacturing employment in Puerto Rico. Evidently, the large proportion of unemployed returnees

TABLE 44: Industrial Distribution of the Employed Returnees, 16 Years and Over, by Place of Residence in 1965.

| Industry Group | Residence in U.S. in 1965 | | Residence in P.R. in 1965 | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------|---------------------------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| All | 18977 | 7566 | 36583 | 10012 |
| Agriculture | 4.9 | 0.7 | 15.9 | 1.2 |
| Constr. and mining | 14.7 | 1.7 | 20.0 | 1.6 |
| Manufacturing | 20.9 | 43.2 | 18.5 | 37.1 |
| Durable goods | 7.9 | 8.6 | 6.3 | 6.8 |
| Non-durable goods | 13.0 | 34.6 | 12.2 | 30.4 |
| Transp., comm., pub. util. | 9.4 | 4.2 | 7.7 | 2.4 |
| Trade | 23.1 | 16.0 | 15.1 | 13.7 |
| Wholesale | 2.8 | 1.7 | 2.6 | 1.7 |
| Retail | 20.3 | 14.4 | 12.5 | 12.1 |
| Finance, insur., real estate | 2.5 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 2.4 |
| Services | 18.5 | 26.6 | 14.2 | 35.2 |
| Public administration | 6.1 | 4.1 | 5.1 | 6.4 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

in manufacturing occupational categories has contributed to increase the gap between the supply of and demand for, manufacturing jobs in Puerto Rico.

These observations are in line with Zell's findings and conclusions^{1/} and consistent with published data on Puerto Ricans in the States.^{2/} Puerto Ricans in the States are part of the labor reserve there, particularly in the North-East, and their occupational characteristics and labor force behavior have important implications for labor markets in that region. At the same time, and to the extent that they may decide to return, to the Island, they are potentially part of the Island's labor reserve. Once they return and search for jobs, if they do not possess the right skills for the jobs aspired or have unrealistic salary expectations, they impose additional strains on the already existing intolerable unemployment situation.

Earnings by Occupation

The differences in the occupational distribution and employment status between the two groups of returnees were also reflected in the earning levels of those in the experienced civilian labor force in 1969. Median earnings in 1969 for the returnees in the experienced civilian labor force are shown in Table 45. Noticeable differences were evident between sexes and by occupation among the returnees. As expected, median earnings were higher for males than for females, and higher for white collar and skilled blue collar occupations than for semi-skilled and unskilled ones. But, far more evident were the differences between the two groups of returnees, i.e. between those in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965. Median earnings of returnees in the U.S. in 1965 were nearly three-tenths higher than those of their counterpart in P.R., the differential being more substantial between males than between females. The differential varied significantly between occupational groups. It was larger for such occupations as service workers in private household (94 per cent); laborers (40 per cent); craftsmen, foremen, and kindred (29 per cent); sales workers (25 per cent); transport operatives (24 per cent); and, service workers, other than domestic (23 per cent). The lowest differential was found in professional, technical, and kindred occupations (10 per cent), clerical and kindred (12 per cent), and non-durable manufacturing operative occupations (6.5 per cent).

Differences by sex between both groups favored male returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 throughout all occupational groups, the differences being more marked than in the case of females. Between both groups of returnees, earning differentials in the case of male

^{1/} Op. cit., pp. 165-57.

^{2/} U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Force Experience of the Puerto Rican Worker, Regional Report No. 9, June, 1968; and, A Socio-Economic Profile of Puerto Rican New Yorkers, Regional Report, No. 46, July 1975.

Table 45: Median Earnings in 1969 of Returnees 16 years and Over in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Residence in 1965, Occupational Group, and Sex

| Major Occupational Group | In U.S. in 1965 | | | In P.R. in 1965 | | | Percentage Difference | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------|--------|-----------------|------|--------|-----------------------|-------|--------|
| | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| All persons | 2695 | 3009 | 2989 | 2094 | 2125 | 1991 | 28.7 | 41.6 | 4.9 |
| Profes., tech., and kindred | 4395 | 5437 | 3412 | 4435 | 4866 | 3841 | -9.9 | 3.0 | -11.2 |
| Manag. and administrative a/ | 3857 | 4202 | 1947 | 3325 | 3271 | 3558 | -16.0 | 28.5 | -45.4 |
| Sales workers | 2730 | 3067 | 1323 | 2184 | 2396 | 1379 | -25.0 | 28.0 | -4.1 |
| Clerical and kindred | 3236 | 3730 | 2893 | 2886 | 2969 | 2618 | 12.1 | 25.6 | 2.7 |
| Craftsman, foremen, etc. | 2978 | 3086 | 2151 | 2502 | 2311 | 2165 | 29.3 | 33.5 | -0.6 |
| Operatives, mfg. dur. | 2665 | 3133 | 1794 | 2174 | 2385 | 1664 | 17.9 | 31.4 | 7.8 |
| Oper., mfg. non-dur. b/ | 2126 | 2711 | 1756 | 1930 | 2121 | 1734 | 6.5 | 27.3 | 1.3 |
| Operatives, transport | 2582 | 2579 | 2600 | 2086 | 2090 | 1400 | 23.8 | 23.4 | 85.7 |
| Laborers, incl. farm workers | 1709 | 1699 | 1917 | 1220 | 1223 | 1036 | 40.1 | -38.9 | 85.0 |
| Service wks., excl. p.hs. | 2603 | 2877 | 1497 | 2122 | 2348 | 1925 | 22.7 | 22.5 | 13.0 |
| Service wks. in priv. hs. | 846 | 2125 | 744 | 436 | 500 | 426 | 94.0 | 325.0 | 74.6 |

a/ Includes farmers and farm managers.

b/ Includes other operatives n.e.c.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

workers exceeded the 20 per cent level in all occupations except in the professional, technical, and kindred category. The extremely large earning differential in favor of male workers in private households who were in the U.S. in 1965 was most probably due to the small number of workers in this occupation -- only 24 workers. Furthermore, half of these workers had resided in the States for five years or more, and, most likely, had well paid service jobs there. Given that the earnings data in the Census, do not specify whether earnings were received in Puerto Rico or on the mainland and that nearly half of the returnees came back within 15 months prior to the Census date, it is probable that most of the 24 men in domestic service living in the U.S. in 1965 received earnings in 1969 while still there. This speculation seems to be validated by the greater difficulty to find a job the shorter the time back on the Island, reflected by the higher unemployment rates of the more recent returnees.

Occupational earning differentials between females in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965 did not show as clear a pattern as that found for males. With the exception of clerical and kindred workers, women in the U.S. in 1965 showed lower median earnings in 1969 for the white collar and skilled blue collar occupations than their counterparts in P.R. in 1965, but higher in the semi-skilled and unskilled ones. The highest earning differential among skilled occupations between the two groups of female returnees was found in the professional and technical and the administrative and managerial categories. It is likely that the majority of those in P.R. in 1965 had had working experience on the Island in these occupational categories, moved to the States for whatever reason, and not being able to find a commensurate job in the States returned. It may be likely, too, that the lower median earnings for females in these occupational categories among the group living in the U.S. in 1965 may have resulted from part-time employment in 1969 (less than 52 weeks) prior to moving to Puerto Rico and difficulty in finding the job expected after settling on the Island. This seems to be validated from the data on unemployment discussed before in this section of the report and that on weeks worked in 1969 presented in Table 46 for those female returnees who came back in the 15 months prior to the Census enumeration. With the exception of workers in the 'other occupations' category, female returnees in the U.S. in 1965 showed a smaller proportion working 50 or more weeks in 1969 and a higher proportion working less than 27 weeks, relative to those in P.R. in 1965. Furthermore, the differential was higher for the professional, technical, and kindred occupational category than for the other categories.

That difficulty in finding a suitable job increased the more recent the arrival was evident when the amount of time worked in 1969 was related to the year of return (Table 47). The proportion of returnees working less than 50 weeks in 1969 was higher for the earlier returnees than for the more recent ones, irrespective of the place of residence in 1965. It is interesting to note, though, that the differential in the proportion fully employed in 1969 between the earliest

TABLE 46: Percentage Distribution of Employed Female Returnees 16 Years and Over, by Weeks Worked in 1969, Occupational Group, and Residence in 1965.

| Occupational Group and Weeks Worked | Returnees in U.S. in 1965 | Returnees in P.R. in 1965 |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Professional, techn, and kindred | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 26 weeks or less | 25.6 | 13.2 |
| 27 - 49 | 34.7 | 37.5 |
| 50 - 52 | 39.8 | 49.3 |
| Sales, clerical, and non-domestic service | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 26 weeks or less | 26.9 | 19.2 |
| 27 - 49 | 33.6 | 35.4 |
| 50 - 52 | 39.5 | 45.3 |
| Other occupations | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 26 weeks or less | 34.9 | 28.4 |
| 27 - 49 | 36.3 | 44.2 |
| 50 - 52 | 28.8 | 27.4 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census.

and the most recent returnees was about equal for males and females (22 percentage points) in the group living in the U.S. in 1965. But in the group in P. R. in 1965 the differential amounted to 20 percentage points for males and 10 percentage points for females. The higher differentials between the earliest and most recent returnees for the group in the U.S. in 1965 indicate that the longer the duration of the migration experience and the more recent the return the more difficult was the readjustment to labor market conditions on the Island. On the other hand, the higher proportion, irrespective of year of return, of fully employed persons among the group in the U.S. in 1965 suggests that this group had a higher employability, relative to the other group, which partly explains its superior earning position.

It is also possible that occupational earning differentials between the two groups of returnees may have been related to the amount of educational attainment and vocational training, as well as fluency in English. It has been shown before^{1/} that the returnees living in the

^{1/} Supra, pp. 46-49

Table 47: Weeks Worked in 1969 by Returnees 16 Years and Over in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Residence in 1965 and Year of Return

| Weeks Worked | Return Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | | | | | Return Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|---------------|
| | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 or 70 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 or 70 |
| Males | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 26 weeks or less | 8.0 | 8.8 | 11.7 | 11.0 | 18.2 | 10.9 | 11.9 | 16.4 | 19.3 | 27.3 |
| 27 - 49 | 29.7 | 33.1 | 31.3 | 35.2 | 41.7 | 37.8 | 39.6 | 36.3 | 36.3 | 40.9 |
| 50 - 52 | 62.4 | 58.1 | 57.0 | 50.6 | 40.0 | 51.3 | 48.5 | 47.3 | 44.5 | 31.8 |
| Females | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 26 weeks or less | 9.8 | 13.2 | 14.7 | 21.0 | 30.6 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 15.9 | 20.0 | 22.6 |
| 27 - 49 | 33.6 | 33.1 | 39.8 | 34.6 | 35.0 | 37.8 | 34.6 | 43.2 | 36.3 | 39.7 |
| 50 - 52 | 56.6 | 53.7 | 45.5 | 44.7 | 34.4 | 47.9 | 51.1 | 40.9 | 43.8 | 37.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

U.S. in 1965 had a higher over-all level of educational attainment than those living in P.R., the difference being more marked for males than females. They had also a higher percentage of persons with some degree of vocational training. Relevant data obtained in the Census show that 10 per cent of the males and females 16 years of age and over in the group of returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 had some kind of vocational training compared with 17 per cent of the males and 19 per cent of the females in the group living in P.R. in 1965. A more significant factor, though, may have been the differential in the ability to speak English. The Census data indicate that while 85 per cent of the returnees with working experience in the States among the group living in U.S. in 1965 could speak English, the corresponding percentage was 53 per cent for the relevant group among the returnees in Puerto Rico in 1965.

When earnings in 1969 are examined by earning bracket and broad occupational groups (Table 48), one can see that the occupations with the largest relative number of returnees with earnings under \$3000 for the year were those with low skill requirements. In contrast, those with the highest relative number of workers with earnings of \$10000 and more were the professional, technical, and managerial ones. The modal earning bracket for both groups of returnees in professional technical, and managerial occupations was \$3000 to \$5999; while for sales, clerical, and non-domestic service workers, the modal group was \$3000 to \$5999 for both sexes in the group of returnees in the U.S. in 1965 and \$1,000-\$2999 for the group in P.R. in 1965. The modal earning bracket for service workers was \$1000 to \$2999 for both groups. It is interesting to note that, though generally returnees in the U.S. in 1965 were more heavily concentrated in the earning bracket \$3000 and over than their counterparts in P.R., this did not hold for the women in professional, technical, and managerial occupations. Women in these occupations among the group in P.R. in 1965 were concentrated more heavily (70 per cent) in these earning brackets than their counterparts in the U.S. in 1965 (59 per cent).

Family Income

The relative family income position of the returnees is shown in Table 49, by sex of the family head and residence in 1965. It is evident from the table, that the group of returnees living in the U.S. in 1965 had a superior income position in 1969 than the group living in Puerto Rico, irrespective of the sex of the family head. The median family income of \$3970 for male headed families in the group in the U.S. in 1965 was nearly 30 per cent higher than the median family income of \$3075 for the corresponding group in P.R. at that time. In the case of female headed families the differential in favor of the group living in the U.S. in 1965 amounted to 20 per cent.

Table 48: Percentage Distribution of Returnees 16 Years and Over in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, with Earnings in 1969, by Residence in 1965, Broad Occupational Groups, Earning Bracket, and Sex

| Earning Brackets | Profes., Techn., and Managerial Workers | | Sales, Clerical, and Serv. (Other than dom). Workers | | Other Workers | |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 | Migrants in U.S. in 1965 | Migrants in P.R. in 1965 |
| Males, all | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$1000 | 6.6 | 11.0 | 10.1 | 15.2 | 14.5 | 25.6 |
| \$1000-2999 | 19.1 | 22.7 | 32.9 | 42.2 | 37.3 | 47.2 |
| \$3000-5999 | 32.7 | 29.9 | 40.1 | 33.0 | 38.0 | 23.0 |
| \$6000-9999 | 23.5 | 19.8 | 13.0 | 7.2 | 8.2 | 3.6 |
| \$10,000 and more | 18.1 | 16.6 | 3.8 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 0.7 |
| Females, all | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$1000 | 7.0 | 8.4 | 17.8 | 16.6 | 20.7 | 27.1 |
| \$1000-2999 | 33.9 | 21.9 | 34.9 | 46.2 | 59.2 | 55.1 |
| \$3000-5999 | 40.0 | 47.1 | 38.9 | 32.9 | 17.8 | 16.8 |
| \$6000-9999 | 13.4 | 14.3 | 7.0 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 1.0 |
| \$10,000 and more | 5.6 | 8.2 | 1.5 | 0.9 | 0.3 | - |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 49: Relative Income Position in 1969 of Returnees 16 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965 and Sex of Family Head

| Annual Family Income | Male Headed Family | | Female Headed Family | |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$1,000 | 8.5 | 15.9 | 27.6 | 33.3 |
| \$1000-1999 | 11.8 | 17.5 | 17.7 | 17.7 |
| \$2000-3999 | 30.1 | 30.9 | 30.4 | 24.5 |
| \$4000-5999 | 20.1 | 15.1 | 13.1 | 13.1 |
| \$6000-9999 | 19.9 | 12.8 | 9.2 | 8.6 |
| \$10,000 or more | 9.5 | 7.8 | 2.1 | 2.7 |
| Median | \$3970.20 | \$3075.10 | \$2314.20 | \$1927.40 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

It is seen from the table that male headed families in both groups of returnees had a higher median annual income than female headed families. The differential was higher for the group in the U.S. in 1965, relative to the one in P.R. For the first group, it amounted to 72 per cent, while for the second group 20 per cent. In other words, the income gap between male and female headed families was much smaller for the group living in P.R. in 1965.

Nearly 30 per cent of the male headed families living in the U.S. in 1965 had incomes over \$6,000 in 1969 compared with 21 per cent for those living in P.R. in 1965. But the percentage of female headed families with that amount of income in 1969 was the same for both groups of returnees. At the lower end of the income scale, the proportion of female headed families with incomes below \$1,000 was higher for the group living in P.R. in 1965, relative to the other group. Similarly, male headed families living in P.R. in 1965 had nearly twice the proportion of families with incomes below \$1,000, relative to the group in the U.S. at that time.

The interrelationship of family income with the level of earnings and other sources of family income is evident from Table 50. It was shown before that, in general, male returnees had higher median earnings in 1969 than female returnees, and that the earning differential between the two groups of returnees was much less marked for females than for males. This reflected in the income differentials discussed above. But earnings are just one source of family income. Though both groups of returnees depended heavily on earnings for their income, the table shows that returnees also received income from other sources. There were noticeable differences between both groups of returnees and

TABLE 50: Percentage Distribution^{a/} of Returnees,
16 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965,
Sex of Family Head, and Source of In-
come in 1969

| Source of Family Income | Male Headed Family | | Female Headed Family | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 |
| All | 20286 | 33081 | 2642 | 3875 |
| Wages and salaries | 85.3 | 88.6 | 64.3 | 67.2 |
| Self-employment | 16.9 | 15.5 | 7.5 | 9.3 |
| Social security | 13.4 | 11.4 | 25.4 | 31.9 |
| Welfare and public assist. | 2.6 | 7.4 | 9.1 | 18.7 |
| Other | 9.8 | 8.2 | 23.0 | 18.5 |

^{a/} Percentages may total more than 100 per cent as some families may have had more than one source of income.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

between male headed and female headed families in the reliance on the various sources of income. Male headed families relied more heavily on wages and salaries for their income; while nearly 90 per cent of the male headed families relied on wages and salaries, the proportion was much lower for female headed families, about two thirds. Self-employment as a source of income was less likely among returnees in female headed families; less than 10 per cent of the female headed families received income from self-employment in 1969 compared with 15 per cent of the male headed families.

In contrast, a larger proportion of female headed families received income from social security, welfare and public assistance, and other sources. One-fourth of the female headed families in the U.S. in 1965 received income from social security in 1969, as compared with 13.4 per cent of the male headed families. Similarly, 31.9 per cent of the female headed families in Puerto Rico in 1965 received income from social security in 1969 as compared with 11.4 per cent of the male headed families. The proportion of female headed families living in P.R. in 1965 receiving income from public welfare in 1969 was double that of female headed families living in the U.S. at that time. A similar differential was found between male headed families in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965 receiving this type of income. On the other hand, irrespective of the sex of the family head, the proportion of families receiving income from other non-specified sources was larger for those in the U.S. in 1965, compared with those in P.R. in 1965. By sex of family head, it was higher for female headed families.

The median annual family income, by source of income, is shown in Table 51. This was higher for male headed families throughout all income sources. Median family income from wages and salaries, self-employment, and non-specified sources was higher than the median from all sources for both male headed and female headed families and for both returnees in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965. But median income from social security and public welfare was lower than the median from all sources. The lowest median income by source corresponded to public welfare. The heavier dependence of female headed families on these two sources of income, particularly by those living in P.R. in 1965, explains in part their lower median family income, relative to male headed families.

TABLE 51: Median Family Income in 1969 of Returnees, 16 Years and Over, by Residence in 1965 and Sex of Family Head

| Source of Income | Male Headed Family | | Female Headed Family | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 | In U.S. In 1965 | In P.R. In 1965 |
| All sources | \$3970.20 | \$3075.10 | \$2314.20 | \$1927.40 |
| Wages and salaries | 4383.00 | 3284.40 | 2973.60 | 2936.40 |
| Self-employment | 5045.00 | 4092.70 | 3981.10 | 4181.80 |
| Social security | 3095.80 | 2667.00 | 2248.80 | 1642.50 |
| Welfare and public assist. | 1270.40 | 1432.40 | 551.60 | 559.60 |
| Other income | 4542.00 | 4102.20 | 2373.80 | 2687.50 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

E. Further Remarks on Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Differentials Between Returnees in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965.

The foregoing analysis revealed noticeable differences in the pattern of labor force participation and unemployment rates between the two migrant sub-groups. In general, the group living in the U.S. in 1965 had lower participation rates but higher unemployment rates relative to the one in Puerto Rico. This, in spite of the fact that the former group had longer migration experience and greater exposure to labor market experience in the States. The extent to which the poorer labor force behavior of this group could be explained by socio-demographic differentials between the two groups was explored. The findings obtained revealed that other factors, such as length of time since arrival, i.e. year of return, and economic conditions in the States and in Puerto Rico were apparently more significant in determining differences in labor force behavior within each group than socio-demographic factors. Differences between both groups, however, could not be explained by the year of return, for the pattern of return of both groups was almost equal.

In attempt to shed further light on this matter, labor force participation and unemployment rates were standardized ^{1/} by the year of return and also by socio-demographic factors, such as age, level of schooling and vocational training attained, and metropolitan and non-metropolitan residence in 1970. The analysis was performed separately by sex for the population 16 years and over and 25 years and over. Table 52 shows the unstandardized and standardized labor force participation and unemployment rates for both groups of returnees in the two population groups mentioned. Examination of the table shows that the higher labor force participation rates of the returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965, relative to the ones residing in the United States in that year, could not be explained by differences in the socio-demographic structure of these two groups. In fact, when the effect of the socio-demographic factors considered was held constant, the differential between the rates increased, always favoring the group residing in Puerto Rico. This was true for both males and females 16 years old and over and 25 years old and over.

Of the socio-demographic variables considered, vocational training and place of residence in Puerto Rico in 1970 did not seem to have any significant effect in explaining the existing differences in labor force participation rates between the two groups of returnees. This is evidenced by the fact that standardized rates obtained by holding constant these factors showed similar differentials as the unstandardized rates.

On the other hand, when age and/or education were held constant, the difference between the rates became greater, relative to that between the unstandardized rates. This seems to indicate that the difference in age and/or education between the two groups of returnees overshadowed the real factors making for differences in labor force behavior, as measured by labor force participation rates.

Unstandardized unemployment rates for the civilian labor force 16 years old and over were higher, as shown in Table 52, for the returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965, relative to their counterparts living in the U.S. When these were standardized by year of last return, the differential between the rates did not change significantly. This reaffirmed the fact that while the year of return was significant in explaining differences within each group, it did not explain differences between the two groups.

On the other hand, age seems to be the variable which explains the difference in unemployment rates between these two groups of returnees. When age was held constant, age standardized rates for males 16 years and over became higher for the returnees residing in the U.S.

^{1/} Readers not familiar with the technique of standardization are referred to: United Nations, Methods of Analyzing Census Data on Economic Activities of the Population (Series No. E. 69. XII. 2) pp. 40-63; and, A.J. Jaffe, Handbook of Statistical Methods for Demographers, Wash. D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 3rd, ed., 1960, pp. 43-58.

Table 52: Unstandardized and Standardized Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Rates in 1970 for Male and Female Return Migrants, by Place of Residence in 1965.

| Population Group, Rates, and Variables | Male Returnees | | | Female Returnees | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | Difference (U.S.-P.R.) | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 | Difference (U.S.-P.R.) |
| Population 16 years and over | | | | | | |
| Participation rates | | | | | | |
| Unstandardized | 61.8 | 63.5 | -1.7 | 24.7 | 28.2 | -3.5 |
| Standardized ^{a/} by: | | | | | | |
| Age | 55.8 | 60.9 | -5.1 | 22.9 | 27.6 | -4.7 |
| Vocational training | 61.5 | 63.6 | -2.1 | 24.5 | 28.0 | -3.5 |
| Residence in 1970 ^{b/} | 61.3 | 63.7 | -2.4 | 24.5 | 28.3 | -3.8 |
| Year of last return ^{c/} | 61.8 | 63.6 | -1.8 | 24.9 | 28.3 | -3.4 |
| Age and year of return | 59.1 | 64.3 | -5.2 | 24.3 | 29.0 | -4.7 |
| Unemployment rates | | | | | | |
| Unstandardized | 9.9 | 10.7 | -0.8 | 15.1 | 16.2 | -1.1 |
| Standardized by: | | | | | | |
| Age | 11.3 | 10.2 | 1.1 | 15.4 | 15.5 | -0.1 |
| Residence in 1970 ^{b/} | 10.1 | 10.5 | -0.4 | 15.2 | 16.0 | -0.8 |
| Year of last return ^{c/} | 9.7 | 10.6 | -0.9 | 14.9 | 16.2 | -1.3 |
| Age and residence | 11.2 | 10.1 | 1.1 | 15.6 | 15.3 | 0.3 |
| Age and year of return | 11.0 | 10.2 | 0.8 | 15.1 | 15.6 | -0.6 |
| Population 25 years and over | | | | | | |
| Participation rates | | | | | | |
| Unstandardized | 67.2 | 68.1 | -0.9 | 24.6 | 28.3 | -3.7 |
| Standardized ^{a/} by: | | | | | | |
| Age | 62.0 | 64.9 | -2.3 | 22.5 | 27.9 | -5.4 |
| Education | 64.5 | 68.0 | -3.5 | 23.0 | 27.5 | -4.5 |
| Residence in 1970 ^{b/} | 66.8 | 68.5 | -1.7 | 24.5 | 28.4 | -3.9 |
| Age and education | 62.0 | 65.2 | -3.2 | 22.3 | 27.3 | -5.0 |
| Education and residence | 64.4 | 68.1 | -3.7 | 23.0 | 27.6 | -4.6 |
| Age, educ. and residence | 61.7 | 65.5 | -3.8 | 22.2 | 27.5 | -5.3 |
| Unemployment rates | | | | | | |
| Unstandardized | 8.6 | 8.2 | 0.4 | 14.3 | 11.3 | 3.0 |
| Standardized ^{a/} by: | | | | | | |
| Age | 8.7 | 8.2 | 0.5 | 14.3 | 11.4 | 2.9 |
| Education | 9.2 | 8.2 | 1.0 | 13.9 | 11.6 | 2.3 |
| Age and education | 9.1 | 8.2 | 0.9 | 13.7 | 11.7 | 2.0 |

^{a/} The standard population utilized was the mean percentage distribution of migrants and non-migrants.

^{b/} Metropolitan and non-metropolitan

^{c/} All migrants used as standard population

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

in 1965, contrary to the unstandardized rates which were higher for the group in P.R. in 1965. The difference between female unemployment rates, on the other hand, tended to disappear when age was controlled.

When the group aged 16 to 24 was disregarded, i.e. only the population aged 25 and over was considered, both unstandardized and standardized rates showed that return migrants living in the U.S. in 1965 had higher unemployment rates than those living in Puerto Rico in that year. Standardization by age and/or education showed different patterns with respect to sex. While in the case of males, the differences between standardized unemployment rates increased, in the case of females the differences diminished.

Thus, sex, age, and education were the most significant socio-demographic factors making for differences between the group of returnees in the U.S. and in P.R. in 1965.

Part Four

Migration Experience and
Labor Force Behavior
of the Puerto Ricans

Section I

Differentials Between Return Migrants and the Non-Migrant Population

To properly understand the implications of the increase of the return migration flow in recent years for labor market conditions on the Island, a comparative analysis between the migrant and non-migrant population groups seems necessary. In this section, such an analysis is undertaken. Labor force and other characteristics of return migrants, analyzed in the preceding section, are compared first with those of the non-migrant population and subsequently with the total population in search of differentials significant for defining the role of migration experience in the behavior of the labor force in Puerto Rico. For the purpose of this analysis, the non-migrant population includes all Puerto Ricans by birth and parentage living in Puerto Rico in 1965 who had not resided in the United States for six months or more at any period between 1965 and 1970; the total population is the sum of the return migrant and non-migrant sub-groups. The restriction of the definition to persons of Puerto Rican birth and parentage only eliminates possible biases introduced by the selectivity of other immigrant groups living in Puerto Rico in 1970, e.g., Cubans, North Americans, and others, counted in the Census as part of the Island's Population. Furthermore, it allows us to compare our findings with those of Zell in his 1972 sample survey^{1/}.

A. Socio-Demographic Differentials

In this sub-section the migrant and non-migrant populations are compared in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, such as sex, age, education, marital status, family composition, fertility, and residential patterns on the Island. As was indicated in previous sections of this report, return migrants are not a homogeneous group, thus the two return migrant sub-groups, i.e. returnees in the United States and in Puerto Rico in 1965, are also compared separately with the non-migrant population.

Sex Composition

The sex structure of the return migrant population differed significantly from that of the non-migrant counterpart. The sex ratio of the non-migrant population in 1970 was 93 males per 100 females, while that of the return migrant population was 120 males per 100 females. The higher proportion of males than females in the emigration stream since the end of World War II reduced the male population of

^{1/}Op. cit.

the Island^{1/}. Thus, both movements of the migration stream, emigration and return migration, have been characterized by high sex selectivity.

Age-sex ratios of the return migrant and non-migrant populations also showed substantial differences. These are seen in Table 53. While returnees in the 20-49 age groups were characterized by a significant surplus of males, non-migrants of those ages were characterized by a marked deficiency of males. The opposite was true of the groups aged 60 and over; except for the group 75 and over, return migrants had a deficiency of males of these ages while non-migrants had an excess of males. The more striking divergencies, though, were found among the young adult group. Males aged 20 to 29 in the return migrant group outnumbered females in this age bracket by 40 per cent, but among the non-migrant group of these ages females exceeded males by 30 per cent.

The differences in the sex structure of the two population subgroups reflect both the impact that emigration to the United States had on the Island's population and the counter-effect of return migration.

Age Structure

As indicated earlier, return migrants were somewhat older than the non-migrant population of the Island. The median age of the first group was 26.5 years, while that of the second group was 24.4 years. The difference in median age of the two groups was higher for males than for females.

A comparison of the age structure of these two population groups showed significant differences (Table 54). Returnees were heavily concentrated in the age bracket 20 to 44, accounting for 52 per cent of all returnees. The corresponding proportion for the non-migrant population was 33 per cent. Non-migrants, on the other hand, outnumbered in proportion the returnees in the younger and older age groups. The differences in age structure were higher in the male groups.

In general, the return migrant group had proportionately more persons of labor force age than the non-migrant group, and the age composition was similar to that of the population group that had emigrated to the United States^{2/}. Therefore, returnees compensated to

^{1/} José L. Vázquez, "Las Causas y Efectos de la Emigración Puertorriqueña", Demographic Studies Section, School of Public Health, Medical Sciences Campus, University of Puerto Rico, 1966 (mimeograph).

^{2/} Ibid.

TABLE 53: Sex Ratios for Return Migrants and the Non-Migrant Population, by Age Groups

| Age in Years | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 5-9 | 104.9 | 102.1 |
| 10-14 | 97.8 | 103.8 |
| 15-19 | 99.0 | 97.4 |
| 20-24 | 139.4 | 75.6 |
| 25-29 | 142.8 | 77.5 |
| 30-34 | 129.8 | 81.3 |
| 35-39 | 139.9 | 83.3 |
| 40-44 | 137.2 | 85.2 |
| 45-49 | 135.6 | 89.7 |
| 50-54 | 118.5 | 97.8 |
| 55-59 | 106.8 | 105.9 |
| 60-64 | 94.2 | 100.9 |
| 65-69 | 83.8 | 100.4 |
| 70-74 | 88.0 | 107.1 |
| 75 and over | 68.5 | 83.8 |
| All ages | 119.9 | 92.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 54: Per Cent Distribution of Return Migrants and the Non-Migrant Population, by Broad Age Groups and Sex

| Age in Years | Both Sexes | | Male | | Female | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants |
| 5-19 | 30.0 | 42.2 | 27.5 | 44.0 | 32.9 | 40.4 |
| 20-44 | 52.0 | 32.9 | 55.3 | 30.3 | 47.9 | 35.2 |
| 45-64 | 13.9 | 17.2 | 13.8 | 17.7 | 14.2 | 16.8 |
| 65 and over | 4.1 | 7.8 | 3.4 | 7.9 | 5.0 | 7.7 |
| All ages | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Median age in Years | 26.5 | 24.4 | 26.9 | 23.7 | 26.0 | 25.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

some extent for the distortional effect that sizeable emigration to the United States had on the age structure of the Island's population.

Educational Attainment

In general, return migrants had a higher educational level than the non-migrant population. The median years of schooling completed by the population 25 years of age and over in the return migrant group was 8.3 against 6.5 years for the second group (Table 55).

TABLE 55: Educational Attainment of Return Migrants and the Non-Migrant Population, by Age Groups and Sex

| Age and Educational Attainment | Non-Migrants | | | Return Migrants | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|------|--------|-----------------|------|--------|
| | Both Sexes | Male | Female | Both Sexes | Male | Female |
| 25 years of age and over | | | | | | |
| Less than 5 years of school (%) | 41.0 | 39.0 | 42.8 | 27.2 | 26.3 | 28.3 |
| High school graduates (%) | 24.8 | 26.4 | 23.4 | 27.5 | 27.9 | 26.9 |
| 4 years or more of college (%) | 5.3 | 6.0 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 3.9 |
| Median years of schooling | 6.5 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 8.3 | 8.4 | 8.1 |
| 25-44 years of age | | | | | | |
| Less than 5 years of school (%) | 23.9 | 21.2 | 26.1 | 17.1 | 18.6 | 15.1 |
| High school graduates (%) | 36.9 | 39.6 | 34.7 | 34.4 | 33.2 | 36.0 |
| 4 years or more of college (%) | 7.1 | 8.4 | 6.1 | 5.2 | 5.7 | 4.5 |
| Median years of schooling | 9.4 | 10.1 | 8.8 | 9.9 | 9.7 | 10.1 |
| 45-64 years of age | | | | | | |
| Less than 5 years of school (%) | 49.9 | 46.1 | 53.7 | 42.8 | 39.6 | 46.5 |
| High school graduates (%) | 16.4 | 18.8 | 14.0 | 15.0 | 17.8 | 11.8 |
| 4 years or more of college (%) | 4.2 | 4.8 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 2.7 |
| Median years of schooling | 5.0 | 5.6 | 4.7 | 5.9 | 6.3 | 5.4 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Return migrants had a considerably lower proportion of persons with less than five years of school completed compared with the non-migrant population, the differential in favor of the returnees being slightly higher for females than for males. Age-sex differentials between the two groups with less than five years of schooling favored the return migrant group throughout all ages but were more noticeable among females aged 25 to 44.

The differential between the return migrant and the non-migrant population was less clear with respect to the proportion of high school graduates in the population. Although return migrants had a higher over-all proportion of high school graduates than the non-migrant population, irrespective of sex, the relationship is not that clear when it is examined by age-sex groups. For the age group 25-44, this relationship applied only for females. But for the age group 45-64, non-migrants had a higher proportion of high school graduates than return migrants, the differential being more noticeable for females.

✕It is interesting to note that higher education was more common among non-migrants than among returnees. The relationship applied to all age-sex groups, but the differential was more noticeable among males. This could have been the result of less pressure on college graduates on the Island to emigrate in search of opportunities, thus accounting for a smaller proportion of college graduates among emigrants^{1/}. It could also have been the result of a low tendency of college graduates among Puerto Ricans in the States to return because of greater employment prospects there.

In general, return migrants, compared with non-migrants, were more concentrated in the intermediate levels of schooling. They had a higher median of schooling and also a higher percentage of high school graduates than non-migrants. On the other hand, the proportion with less than five years of school completed was lower for them than for the non-migrant population and also the percentage with 4 years or more of college.

Marital Status

There were noticeable differences in marital status composition between return migrants and non-migrants. In the first place, the proportion of single persons among return migrants was much lower than for the non-migrant group. Although this relationship held for all

^{1/}This has been reaffirmed by the out-migration survey for the years 1965 to 1967 made by the Puerto Rico Planning Board using the Department of Health basic sample for health and welfare. See Puerto Rico Planning Board, Report on Human Resources to the Governor, (San Juan, Puerto Rico, April 1970), p. 62.

age groups, irrespective of sex, the most significant differences were observed in the younger age group, 14-24 years (Table 56). Over 85 per cent of non-migrant males in this age group were single compared with 70 per cent of return migrant males. The corresponding percentages for females in the two groups were 72 and 55 per cent, respectively.

No significant difference was noticeable between the two population groups with respect to the over-all proportion of widowed and divorced persons, although slight variations were apparent throughout age groups.

The proportion of married persons was higher for return migrants, irrespective of sex. The only exceptions were the age group 25-34 where the proportion was nearly equal for the males in the two groups, and the age group 35-44 where the proportion was nearly equal for the females. The higher proportion of married persons among return migrants, compared with non-migrants, is something contrary to what has been observed in other migration movements where young single adults tend to be the most mobile group. One could hypothesize that in the Puerto Rican case return migration has been more of a family type movement than emigration but this is not validated by other available data. The absence of the spouse, for example, was more frequent among return migrants than among non-migrants, a fact which disproves the foregoing proposition. Eleven per cent of the male and 22 per cent of the female returnees, reported the absence of the spouse (Table 57). The corresponding figures for non-migrants were 8 and 12 per cent, respectively. A similar pattern was observed throughout all age groups, although the absence of the spouse was more frequent among the age group 14-24 years.

Absence of the husband was more frequent than absence of the wife both among the return migrant and the non-migrant group. However, the difference between returnees and non-migrants in the proportion married with husband absent, was much greater than the difference in the proportion married with wife absent (Table 57). Apparently, a greater proportion of females than males left their spouses behind in the United States upon return to the Island. This could indicate that when the economic situation in the States worsens the tendency is to send the wife and children back to the Island, while the spouse remains with the hope that the situation would improve. Or, it could indicate a greater tendency on the part of females to break consensual marriages and return to the Island when the economic situation worsens.

Consensual marriages were more frequent among return migrants, particularly among those living in Puerto Rico in 1965^{1/}, than among

^{1/}The group living in United States in 1965 had a lower rate of consensual marriages (6.4 for males and 5.9 for females) than non-migrants.

TABLE 56: Per cent Distribution of the Population 14 Years of Age, and Over, by Migrant and Marital Status, Sex, and Age

| Age and Marital Status | Males | | Females | |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants |
| 14 years and over | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 37.1 | 32.2 | 30.1 | 24.5 |
| Currently married | 58.3 | 64.2 | 57.2 | 63.3 |
| Widowed and divorced | 4.6 | 3.6 | 12.7 | 12.2 |
| 14-24 years | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 85.5 | 70.0 | 71.6 | 54.9 |
| Currently married | 14.2 | 29.3 | 27.3 | 42.2 |
| Widowed and divorced | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.1 | 2.9 |
| 25-34 years | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 21.2 | 20.6 | 15.0 | 12.5 |
| Currently married | 77.0 | 76.9 | 79.9 | 80.2 |
| Widowed and divorced | 1.8 | 2.5 | 5.1 | 7.3 |
| 35-44 years | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 11.2 | 8.5 | 7.2 | 6.2 |
| Currently married | 85.8 | 87.3 | 83.6 | 83.0 |
| Widowed and divorced | 3.0 | 4.2 | 9.2 | 10.8 |
| 45 and over | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Single | 9.3 | 6.7 | 6.9 | 5.2 |
| Currently married | 80.0 | 84.0 | 62.3 | 62.9 |
| Widowed and divorced | 10.7 | 9.3 | 30.8 | 31.9 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

non-migrants (Table 58). This finding is again contrary to the norm. Consensual marriages are usually more frequent among persons of low educational levels^{1/}, but the data showed that 27.2 per cent of the

^{1/} U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: Puerto Rico 1960, PC (1) - 53 D, Table 84; and, U.S. Census of Population: Puerto Rico, 1970, PC (1) - 53 D, Table 129.

TABLE 57: Per Cent of Currently Married Persons with Spouse Absent among Return Migrants and Non-Migrants, by Age and Sex

| Age In Years | Male | | Female | |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants |
| 14 years and over | 8.1 | 11.3 | 12.4 | 22.0 |
| 14-24 | 14.8 | 16.7 | 18.3 | 29.1 |
| 25-34 | 6.5 | 10.7 | 9.8 | 20.3 |
| 35-44 | 6.3 | 8.1 | 10.8 | 18.8 |
| 45 and over | 8.3 | 12.0 | 12.4 | 20.0 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

return migrants^{1/} had not had 5 years of schooling as compared with 41 per cent of the non-migrant population.

The prevailing system of public welfare in the United States, particularly in New York City, may have also contributed to the higher percentage of consensual marriages among return migrants as compared with non-migrants. The AFDC Program (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), for example, operates to help mother based families, particularly where the spouse is absent. An extraordinary number of Puerto Rican families has been receiving these benefits in New York City^{2/}, a fact that may have contributed to the breakdown of the family among the Puerto Ricans there. Furthermore, since other welfare

^{1/}Return migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1965 had a higher percentage of persons in the low educational level (32.5) than the group living in the United States in 1965 (20.2), but it was lower than that for the non-migrant group.

^{2/}It is estimated that over one third of the Puerto Ricans in the United States were receiving AFDC benefits in New York City in the late 60's. See: Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 155.

TABLE 58: Per Cent of Currently Married Persons with Spouse Present, in Consensual Marriages, for Return Migrants and Non-Migrants, by Age and Sex

| Age in Years | Male | | Female | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants |
| 14-19 | 19.2 | 20.4 | 15.6 | 17.1 |
| 20-24 | 10.4 | 11.8 | 9.5 | 11.1 |
| 25-34 | 7.4 | 9.5 | 7.9 | 7.5 |
| 35-39 | 6.8 | 8.9 | 7.8 | 5.8 |
| 40-44 | 7.3 | 8.9 | 6.8 | 6.1 |
| 45 and over | 7.1 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 6.6 |
| Total 14+ | 7.3 | 9.1 | 7.6 | 8.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

payments in New York City were also extremely generous, by Island standards, this could have been another contributing factor to the increased practice of consensual unions among migrants in the States.

Since Puerto Ricans are the poorest of New York's families, the pressures to find adequate income are severe. Although supplementary welfare payments can be arranged if a father's income is below a calculated minimum level, this supplement is small compared to the amount available if the mother can claim no support from a father in or out of the home. Thus, the pressure for the father to vacate the home is very strong. He may continue to work, contribute to the family, visit the family regularly, and fulfill his role as father, while the mother represents her family as abandoned. This is what Puerto Ricans call "playing the welfare business". The situation may prompt the father to leave the home so that both he and the family can live better, or it may put pressure on the mother to force the father out. The consequence may be continued separation and the breakup of the family. Either situation is unfortunate, and obviously contributes to family weakness.^{1/}

^{1/} Ibid, p. 159.

Fertility Differentials

As found in other studies on Puerto Rican migrants, female returnees had a significantly lower fertility than their non-migrant counterpart^{1/}. The average number of children ever born per 1,000 ever married women in reproductive ages (15-44 years) was 3,145 for the non-migrants and 2,412 for the return migrants (Table 59). The average per 1,000 mothers was 3,519 and 2,756, respectively, for all age groups (Table 60). With the exception of the very young group, 15-19 years of age, the differential in fertility between the returnees and non-migrants showed the same general pattern throughout age groups, that is, a lower fertility for the returnees.

These variations in fertility can not be attributed to differences in educational attainment between the two groups. When fertility patterns by age were cross-classified by years of school completed a similar general pattern was found. The greatest differences in fertility between non-migrant and return migrant women occurred in the lower educational categories. Differences among high school graduates were relatively small.

Because other theoretical and empirical studies have indicated that educational attainment and age are negatively associated, standardized fertility indexes holding education constant were computed in Table 61 for each age group and in Table 62 for each educational level, holding age constant. When education was held constant, fertility differentials by age increased for the younger age groups under 25, remained more or less constant for the 25-34 age group, and declined markedly for the 35-44 age group. In other words, education seemed to be a significant factor influencing fertility only for the age groups 35 and over. For age groups under 35, other factors coming into play possibly underscored the effect of education on fertility. Examination of the differences in fertility between the two groups, i.e. non-migrants and returnees, by years of school completed, holding age constant, revealed that, although the differentials were significantly reduced, the general pattern still prevailed. The fertility index throughout all educational levels was lower for female returnees than for their non-migrant counterpart. Furthermore, when the effect of differences in both age and educational attainment between the two groups was held constant through standardization procedures^{2/}, female returnees still showed a lower fertility than non-migrants. The age-education

^{1/} John J. Macisco Jr., et. al. "Migration Status, Education, and Fertility in Puerto Rico, 1960", Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, vol. 47, no 2 (1960): 167-87; and José Hernández Alvarez, Return Migration to Puerto Rico (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

^{2/} The age-education distribution of the total female population (non-migrants plus migrants) was used as standard

TABLE 59: Number of Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Ever Married Women
15-44 Years, by Age, Years of School Completed,
and Migrant Status

| Age and Years of School Completed | All Women | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | All | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 |
| 15-44 years old | 3055 | 3145 | 2412 | 2488 | 2330 |
| Less than 5 | 4639 | 4739 | 3395 | 3276 | 3485 |
| 5-7 | 3440 | 3539 | 2726 | 2828 | 2630 |
| 8 | 2980 | 3056 | 2530 | 2822 | 2181 |
| 9-11 | 2540 | 2597 | 2274 | 2396 | 2116 |
| 12 | 2014 | 2029 | 1915 | 2048 | 1751 |
| 13 and over | 1975 | 1998 | 1757 | 1842 | 1688 |
| 15-19 years old | 871 | 868 | 839 | 823 | 920 |
| Less than 5 | 1251 | 1245 | 1322 | 1800 | 1198 |
| 5-7 | 1010 | 994 | 1106 | 1033 | 1130 |
| 8 | 859 | 860 | 848 | 824 | 858 |
| 9-11 | 671 | 662 | 714 | 699 | 724 |
| 12 | 498 | 460 | 742 | 431 | 831 |
| 13 and over | 402 | 442 | 150 | 250 | 0 |
| 20-24 years old | 1709 | 1730 | 1591 | 1710 | 1513 |
| Less than 5 | 2459 | 2511 | 2008 | 2202 | 1929 |
| 5-7 | 2255 | 2289 | 2059 | 2242 | 1959 |
| 8 | 2090 | 2133 | 1894 | 2237 | 1645 |
| 9-11 | 1772 | 1810 | 1619 | 1700 | 1553 |
| 12 | 1107 | 1091 | 1191 | 1304 | 1105 |
| 13 and over | 779 | 772 | 827 | 888 | 796 |
| 25-34 years old | 3032 | 3103 | 2546 | 2527 | 2570 |
| Less than 5 | 4372 | 4461 | 3391 | 3164 | 3578 |
| 5-7 | 3639 | 3745 | 2895 | 2872 | 2922 |
| 8 | 3248 | 3349 | 2679 | 2691 | 2661 |
| 9-11 | 2907 | 2971 | 2621 | 2637 | 2595 |
| 12 | 2147 | 2157 | 2077 | 2120 | 2014 |
| 13 and over | 1933 | 1947 | 1808 | 1832 | 1787 |
| 35-44 years old | 4177 | 4277 | 3253 | 3091 | 3481 |
| Less than 5 | 5612 | 5710 | 4127 | 3669 | 4561 |
| 5-7 | 4480 | 4583 | 3566 | 3315 | 3915 |
| 8 | 3902 | 3941 | 3609 | 3681 | 3462 |
| 9-11 | 3444 | 3509 | 3077 | 2981 | 3270 |
| 12 | 2710 | 2748 | 2456 | 2495 | 2393 |
| 13 and over | 2635 | 2651 | 2428 | 2468 | 2391 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 60: Number of Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Mothers 15-44
Years Old, by Age, Years of School Completed,
and Migrant Status

| Age and Years of School Completed | All Mothers | Non-Migrant Mothers | Return Migrant Mothers | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | All | In U.S. in 1965 | In P.R. in 1965 |
| 15 years old and over | 3427 | 3519 | 2756 | 2778 | 2731 |
| Less than 5 | 4948 | 5050 | 3665 | 3502 | 3791 |
| 5-7 | 3737 | 3832 | 3033 | 3034 | 3031 |
| 8 | 3320 | 3390 | 2899 | 3143 | 2588 |
| 9-11 | 2900 | 2963 | 2605 | 2669 | 2517 |
| 12 | 2353 | 2369 | 2251 | 2354 | 2118 |
| 13 and over | 2366 | 2388 | 2149 | 2239 | 2075 |
| 15-19 years old | 1498 | 1493 | 1526 | 1592 | 1500 |
| Less than 5 | 1779 | 1785 | 1705 | 2152 | 1578 |
| 5-7 | 1532 | 1516 | 1631 | 1588 | 1645 |
| 8 | 1449 | 1451 | 1435 | 1544 | 1392 |
| 9-11 | 1350 | 1173 | 1441 | 1548 | 1379 |
| 12 | 1181 | 1139 | 1382 | 1222 | 1410 |
| 13 and over | 1194 | 1208 | 1000 | 1000 | -- |
| 20-24 years old | 2131 | 2163 | 1953 | 2026 | 1902 |
| Less than 5 | 2790 | 2848 | 2289 | 2420 | 2233 |
| 5-7 | 2504 | 2528 | 2355 | 2364 | 2350 |
| 8 | 2369 | 2417 | 2150 | 2483 | 1898 |
| 9-11 | 2068 | 2109 | 1900 | 1952 | 1855 |
| 12 | 1553 | 1543 | 1605 | 1689 | 1536 |
| 13 and over | 1376 | 1385 | 1312 | 1443 | 1246 |
| 25-34 years old | 3268 | 3340 | 2776 | 2740 | 2823 |
| Less than 5 | 4573 | 4664 | 3571 | 3293 | 3806 |
| 5-7 | 3800 | 3896 | 3102 | 3059 | 3153 |
| 8 | 3442 | 3539 | 2880 | 2852 | 2925 |
| 9-11 | 3077 | 3143 | 2790 | 2779 | 2807 |
| 12 | 2385 | 2392 | 2336 | 2382 | 2267 |
| 13 and over | 2233 | 2246 | 2114 | 2180 | 2059 |
| 35-44 years old | 4390 | 4486 | 3486 | 3298 | 3757 |
| Less than 5 | 5850 | 5945 | 4393 | 3969 | 4783 |
| 5-7 | 4693 | 4794 | 3780 | 3468 | 4229 |
| 8 | 4053 | 4069 | 3922 | 4003 | 3755 |
| 9-11 | 3626 | 2689 | 3264 | 3125 | 3553 |
| 12 | 2875 | 2905 | 2674 | 2706 | 2621 |
| 13 and over | 2827 | 2841 | 2642 | 2633 | 2651 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 61: Number of Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Ever Married Women, by Age Groups and Migrant Status

| Age in Years | Unstandardized | | | Standardized ^{a/} | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Percentage Difference | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Percentage Difference |
| 15-19 | 868 | 889 | -2.3 | 809 | 877 | -7.8 |
| 20-24 | 1730 | 1591 | 8.7 | 1819 | 1634 | 11.3 |
| 25-34 | 3103 | 2546 | 21.9 | 3205 | 2647 | 21.1 |
| 35-44 | 4277 | 3253 | 31.5 | 4000 | 3249 | 23.1 |
| 15-44 | 3145 | 2412 | 30.4 | 3120 | 2503 | 24.7 |

^{a/}Standardized by years of school completed utilizing the total female population (non-migrants plus migrants) as standard.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 62: Number of Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Ever Married Women 15-44 Years, Unstandardized and Standardized by Age, Years of School Completed, and Migrant Status

| Years of School Completed | Unstandardized | | | Standardized ^{a/} | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Percentage Difference | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Percentage Difference |
| Less 5 | 4739 | 3395 | 39.6 | 4340 | 3267 | 32.8 |
| 5-7 | 3539 | 2726 | 29.8 | 3600 | 2865 | 25.7 |
| 8 | 3056 | 2530 | 20.8 | 3178 | 2726 | 15.7 |
| 9-11 | 2597 | 2274 | 14.2 | 2803 | 2478 | 13.1 |
| 12 | 2029 | 1915 | 6.0 | 2063 | 1964 | 5.0 |
| 13+ | 1998 | 1757 | 13.7 | 1885 | 1742 | 8.2 |
| Total | 3145 | 2412 | 30.4 | 3122 | 2515 | 24.1 |

^{a/}Standardized by age utilizing the total female population (migrants plus non-migrants) as standard.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

standardized number of children ever born per 1,000 women was 2,575 for returnees and 3,108 for non-migrants, while the respective unstandardized figures were 2412 and 3145. In other words, the difference in the fertility index between the two groups was reduced from 30 per cent to 21 per cent by holding age and education constant, still a significant difference.

Residential Patterns

No significant difference in residential patterns in 1970 was found between return migrants and non-migrants; they were distributed in almost the same proportions in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas (Table 63). There was, however, a slightly greater proportion of non-migrant males living in metropolitan areas compared with return migrant males. The opposite was true for females; return migrant females concentrated in metropolitan areas in a slightly greater proportion than non-migrant females. In general, return migrants concentrated in urban areas in a larger proportion than non-migrants. Of the returnees, 60 per cent were living in urban areas in 1970 compared with 57 per cent the non-migrants. But within the urban areas, male return migrants seemed to prefer living outside the central cities to a larger extent than non-migrants, while in the case of females no difference was apparent between the two groups. Similarly, within the rural areas return migrants seemed to prefer the non-farm to the farm areas to a larger extent than non-migrants. Only 9 per cent of the return migrants lived in rural farm areas in 1970 as compared with 12 per cent the non-migrants.

TABLE 63: Place of Residence in Puerto Rico in 1970 of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants by Sex (Per Cent Distribution)

| Residence in 1970 | Both Sexes | | Male | | Female | |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants |
| All Residences | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Metropolitan | 42.8 | 42.9 | 42.4 | 40.7 | 43.2 | 45.6 |
| Urban | 37.8 | 39.4 | 37.2 | 36.8 | 38.4 | 42.5 |
| Central Cities | 25.6 | 24.2 | 25.0 | 22.7 | 26.1 | 26.1 |
| Other | 12.2 | 15.2 | 12.1 | 14.1 | 12.3 | 16.4 |
| Rural Non-Farm | 3.6 | 2.6 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 2.3 |
| Rural Farm | 1.4 | 0.1 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 0.8 |

TABLE 63
Cont. 2

| Residence in 1970 | Both Sexes | | Male | | Female | |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| | Non- Migrants | Return Migrants | Non- Migrants | Return Migrants | Non- Migrants | Return Migrants |
| Non-Metropolitan | 57.2 | 57.1 | 75.6 | 59.3 | 56.8 | 54.4 |
| Urban | 19.0 | 20.5 | 18.6 | 19.7 | 19.4 | 21.5 |
| Rural Non-Farm | 27.3 | 27.9 | 27.8 | 29.7 | 26.9 | 25.7 |
| Rural Farm | 10.9 | 8.7 | 11.2 | 10.0 | 10.6 | 7.2 |
| All Metropolitan Areas | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| San Juan | 70.2 | 70.4 | 70.2 | 69.7 | 70.3 | 71.1 |
| Ponce | 14.0 | 12.4 | 14.0 | 12.8 | 14.0 | 12.0 |
| Mayaguez | 7.6 | 6.6 | 7.7 | 7.0 | 7.6 | 6.2 |
| Caguas | 8.1 | 10.6 | 8.2 | 10.6 | 8.1 | 10.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

B. Socio-Economic Differentials

Differentials in labor force status and other economic characteristics between the return migrants and the non-migrant population are discussed below, the pattern of analysis being similar to that used in the preceding section for analysis of differentials in these dimensions between the two return migrant sub-groups.

Labor Force Participation Rates

Relative to non-migrants, return migrants showed a higher overall participation rate (Table 64). This is in keeping with Zell's findings in his 1972 survey study^{1/}; but the differential found was lower in our case ^{2/}. Like Zell's finding, the differential found

^{1/} Op. cit.

^{2/} This could have been due to differences between the two studies in the data base and time period considered as well as in the definition of migration experience. Our data was based on the 20 per cent sample of the 1970 Census while Zell's data was based on the sample used in the B.L.S. Household Survey of the Labor Force for April 1972, as was pointed out in Part One of this report. B.L.S. participation rates are usually higher than those given in the Census. Furthermore, Zell's consideration of lifetime migration instead of "recent" migration could have resulted in a higher proportion of migrants having been labor market participants on the Island before migration and/or in a greater cumulative experience in the United States labor market.

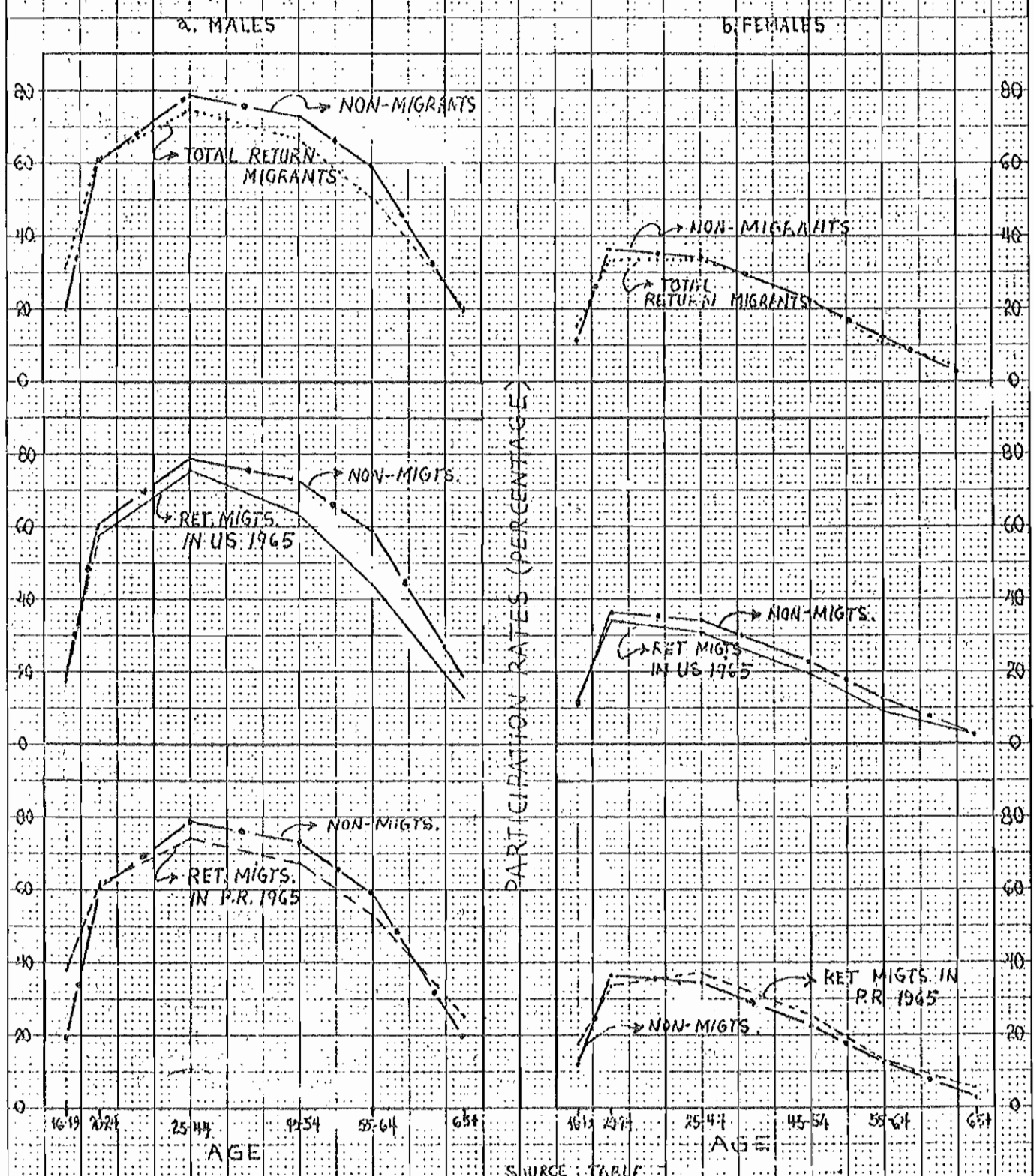
was not uniform throughout all ages and was more marked for males than for females. Significant differences, however, were evident in the pattern of the differentials by age groups and sex found in the two studies.

Compared with non-migrants, Zell found higher participation rates for male migrants aged 14 to 29, lower for those aged 30 to 64, and higher for those 65 years and over. Our data showed higher participation rates for male returnees aged 16 to 24 only for those living in Puerto Rico in 1965, the differential being of the order of 18.3 percentage points, relative to non-migrants, for those aged 16 to 19 and of only 1.8 percentage points for those aged 20 to 24. Returnees of these ages living in the United States in 1965 had a participation rate lower than non-migrants by 2.2 to 2.5 percentage points. For all other age groups, with the exception of the 65 years and over group, returnees had lower participation rates relative to non-migrants. The differential, appeared to be higher for those living in the United States in 1965, particularly in the age categories 45 to 64. It is interesting to note that in the age group 65 and over, male returnees living in the United States in 1965 had a participation rate 6.5 percentage points lower than non-migrant males, while those living in Puerto Rico in 1965 showed a participation rate 5.4 percentage points higher than their non-migrant counterpart.

The general pattern of participation rates for female returnees relative to non-migrants was similar to that for males, though less marked (Figure 8). The higher over-all participation rate for female returnees, relative to non-migrants, was due to the higher participation rates for returnees aged 16 to 19; in other age groups return migrants had lower participation rates than non-migrants. This seemed to be due to the lower participation rates, relative to non-migrants, for female returnees of all ages living in the United States in 1965, with the exception of the youngest age group, whose participation rate was nearly equal to that of non-migrants. Female returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965 had higher participation rates, relative to non-migrants, in all age categories, with the exception of those in the 20s.

In summary, the return migrant group living in Puerto Rico in 1965 showed higher differentials in age-sex participation rates, relative to non-migrants, than the group living in the United States in 1965. Are these differentials explained by differences in the socio-demographic composition of these population sub-group? How are the differences in participation rates for these groups related to employment and unemployment rates? To shed light on these questions, participation rates for non-migrants crossed by socio-demographic characteristics were compared with those for return migrants previously analyzed. These were then examined in relation to employment and unemployment rates.

FIGURE 8
SEX-AGE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF PUERTO RICAN
RETURN AND NON-MIGRANT POPULATION BY PLACE OF RES-
DENCE IN 1965; PUERTO RICO, 1970



SOURCE: TABLE

TABLE 64: Sex-Age Participation Rates of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over

| Population Sub-Groups by Sex | Age Groups | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| | All | 16-19 | 20-24 | 25-44 | 45-54 | 55-65 | 65+ |
| Male | | | | | | | |
| All return migrants | 62.9 | 31.3 | 61.1 | 74.6 | 66.3 | 50.2 | 20.6 |
| Non-migrant population | 57.1 | 19.7 | 60.1 | 78.7 | 72.9 | 56.8 | 19.8 |
| Differential | 5.8 | 11.6 | 1.0 | -4.1 | -6.6 | -8.6 | 0.8 |
| Migrants in the United States in 1965 | | | | | | | |
| All return migrants | 61.8 | 17.5 | 57.6 | 75.2 | 63.8 | 44.2 | 13.3 |
| Non-migrant population | 57.1 | 19.7 | 60.1 | 78.7 | 72.9 | 56.8 | 19.8 |
| Differential | 4.7 | -2.2 | -2.5 | -3.5 | -9.1 | -12.6 | -6.5 |
| Migrants in Puerto Rico in 1965 | | | | | | | |
| All return migrants | 63.5 | 38.0 | 61.9 | 74.1 | 67.8 | 53.4 | 25.2 |
| Non-migrant population | 57.1 | 19.7 | 60.1 | 78.7 | 72.9 | 56.8 | 19.8 |
| Differential | 6.4 | 18.3 | 1.8 | -4.6 | -5.1 | -3.4 | 5.4 |
| Female | | | | | | | |
| All return migrants | 26.6 | 15.5 | 33.7 | 33.5 | 22.8 | 11.1 | 4.3 |
| Non-migrant population | 23.9 | 11.0 | 36.5 | 34.2 | 22.5 | 12.1 | 2.6 |
| Differential | 3.5 | 4.5 | -2.8 | -0.7 | 0.3 | -1.0 | -1.7 |
| Migrants in the United States in 1965 | | | | | | | |
| All return migrants | 24.7 | 11.6 | 34.0 | 30.5 | 19.8 | 9.0 | 2.4 |
| Non-migrant population | 23.9 | 11.0 | 36.5 | 34.2 | 22.5 | 12.1 | 2.6 |
| Differential | 0.8 | 0.6 | -2.5 | -3.7 | -2.7 | -3.1 | -0.2 |
| Migrants in Puerto Rico in 1965 | | | | | | | |
| All return migrants | 28.2 | 17.9 | 33.6 | 37.1 | 25.6 | 12.5 | 5.8 |
| Non-migrant population | 23.9 | 11.0 | 36.5 | 34.2 | 22.5 | 12.1 | 2.6 |
| Differential | 4.3 | 6.9 | -2.9 | 2.9 | 3.1 | 0.4 | 3.2 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Examination of the participation rates crossed by area of residence in 1970 for both returnees and non-migrants showed the same general pattern stated earlier (Table 65). Return migrants had a higher over-all participation rate than non-migrants, irrespective of residence, but the differential was not uniform throughout age groups. As was noted earlier, the higher over-all participation rate for return migrants was due to the higher participation rate for the younger age group 16 to 19. Returnees in other age groups, with minor exceptions, showed lower participation rates than non-migrants. These data

TABLE 65: Sex-Age Labor Force Participation Rates of the Non-Migrant and Return Migrant Population 16 Years and Over, by Area of Residence in 1970

| Sex and Age | Metropolitan Residence | | | Non-Metropolitan Residence | | |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------|-------|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Diff. | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Diff. |
| Males, all | 65.5 | 61.4 | 4.1 | 61.2 | 53.7 | 7.5 |
| 16-19 | 30.3 | 21.5 | 8.8 | 32.1 | 18.5 | 13.6 |
| 20-24 | 61.5 | 59.9 | 1.6 | 60.8 | 60.3 | 0.5 |
| 25-44 | 78.9 | 81.5 | -2.6 | 71.6 | 76.2 | -4.6 |
| 45-54 | 71.3 | 78.0 | -6.7 | 62.9 | 68.7 | -5.8 |
| 55-64 | 55.1 | 62.6 | -7.5 | 47.3 | 56.4 | -9.1 |
| 65 and over | 16.9 | 20.3 | -3.4 | 23.4 | 19.6 | 3.8 |
| Females, all | 29.2 | 27.9 | 1.3 | 24.3 | 20.7 | 3.6 |
| 16-19 | 16.0 | 12.7 | 3.3 | 15.1 | 9.7 | 5.4 |
| 20-24 | 37.4 | 40.1 | -2.7 | 31.2 | 33.6 | -2.4 |
| 25-44 | 36.9 | 38.4 | -1.5 | 30.4 | 30.6 | -0.2 |
| 45-54 | 27.0 | 28.1 | -1.1 | 18.8 | 17.9 | 0.9 |
| 55-64 | 12.6 | 16.1 | -3.5 | 9.8 | 9.2 | 0.6 |
| 65 and over | 5.1 | 3.5 | 1.6 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 1.5 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

seem to suggest that the place of residence on the Island had no significant influence in determining the differential in participation rates between return migrants and non-migrants.

Educational attainment as a factor explaining the differential in participation rates between returnees and non-migrants is examined in Table 66. In general, return migrants had a slightly higher labor force participation rate than non-migrants, irrespective of sex, but this was due to the higher participation rate of returnees aged 65 and over, particularly those living in non-metropolitan areas. Returnees in the working ages 25 to 64 showed lower participation rates than non-migrants for all levels of schooling, with the exception of those with less than 5 years of schooling. The differential in favor of non-migrants tended to increase rather than decrease with the level of schooling. This is obviously contrary to what was expected, in so far as returnees were a more selective group than non-migrants in terms of education.

It may, thus, be inferred that in examining the differential in participation rates between return migrants and non-migrants by

TABLE 66: Sex-Age Participation Rates of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants 25 to 64 Years of Age, by Educational Attainment and Sex

| Age and Schooling | Male | | | Female | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Diff. | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Diff. |
| All, ages 25-64 | <u>67.7</u> | <u>64.5</u> | <u>3.2</u> | <u>26.5</u> | <u>23.9</u> | <u>2.6</u> |
| Less than 5 years sch. | 57.4 | 46.9 | 10.5 | 12.4 | 9.0 | 3.4 |
| 5-8 | 65.8 | 66.6 | -0.8 | 20.0 | 19.9 | 0.1 |
| 9-11 | 72.2 | 76.4 | -4.2 | 29.1 | 30.3 | -1.2 |
| 12 | 75.3 | 83.0 | -7.7 | 42.4 | 46.9 | -4.5 |
| 13-15 | 74.2 | 82.0 | -7.8 | 51.4 | 54.1 | -2.7 |
| 16 and over | 83.7 | 86.7 | -3.0 | 56.8 | 68.9 | -12.1 |
| Ages 25-44 | <u>74.6</u> | <u>78.8</u> | <u>-4.2</u> | <u>33.5</u> | <u>34.3</u> | <u>-0.8</u> |
| Less than 5 years sch. | 68.7 | 64.8 | 3.9 | 20.0 | 15.2 | 4.8 |
| 5-8 | 72.7 | 76.2 | -3.5 | 23.7 | 24.5 | -0.8 |
| 9-11 | 74.4 | 80.4 | -6.0 | 30.8 | 32.5 | -1.7 |
| 12 | 78.6 | 86.2 | -7.6 | 44.1 | 49.6 | -5.5 |
| 13-15 | 75.8 | 85.5 | -9.7 | 54.8 | 59.6 | -4.8 |
| 16 and over | 86.7 | 91.0 | -4.3 | 58.5 | 74.3 | -15.8 |
| Ages 45-64 | <u>60.4</u> | <u>66.5</u> | <u>-6.1</u> | <u>17.8</u> | <u>18.1</u> | <u>-0.3</u> |
| Less than 5 years sch. | 56.6 | 57.8 | -1.2 | 11.9 | 9.1 | 2.8 |
| 5-8 | 60.3 | 68.9 | -8.6 | 16.6 | 18.2 | -1.6 |
| 9-11 | 63.6 | 73.0 | -9.4 | 22.6 | 27.6 | -5.0 |
| 12 | 63.1 | 79.9 | -16.8 | 33.8 | 40.6 | -6.8 |
| 13-15 | 70.9 | 80.0 | -9.1 | 35.7 | 47.5 | -11.8 |
| 16 and over | 78.0 | 86.0 | -8.0 | 63.7 | 64.7 | -1.0 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

educational levels, one must take into account other influential factors that may obscure the relationship between education and labor force participation. Factors such as recency of arrival, lack of information about labor market conditions on the Island, and unrealistic expectations about jobs availability and earning levels may create serious problems of readjustment which retard the reintegration of returnees into the labor market. It should be noted that the differential was greater for the groups with high school and some

college training, i.e. 12-15 years of schooling. These are perhaps the groups most likely to be unable to adjust their job aspirations to realities, particularly if they have had successful work experience in the States.

In the case of female college graduates in the prime working ages 25 to 44, it is possible that other considerations such as sex discrimination for higher level positions by employers and family responsibilities may have caused female returnees to withdraw from the labor force. In the case of male college graduates of ages 45 to 64, it could be possible that the lower participation rate of returnees, relative to non-migrants, were a result of a decision to return to the Island to live on savings, either permanently or temporarily, after successful work experience in the States. Or, they could have withdrawn from the labor force because of fear of discrimination in favor of younger applicants.

On the subject of the effect of marriage and motherhood on labor force participation of return migrants compared with non-migrants, we found another interesting situation not easy to explain. Childless female returnees in the age groups 15 to 44 had lower participation rates than their non-migrant counterpart (Table 67). Only in the age group 45 years and over, did the childless female returnees showed participation rates slightly higher than non-migrants. This is contrary to what was expected, in view of the superior educational attainment of female returnees. Whether this reflects differences in motivations and pressures to seek employment outside the home, the Census data do not show.

TABLE 67: Age Labor Force Participation Rates of Ever Married Non-Migrant and Return Migrant Women, by Child Bearing Status

| Age | Childless | | | Mother | | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------|----------------|-------------|-------|
| | Return Migrant | Non-Migrant | Diff. | Return Migrant | Non-Migrant | Diff. |
| All | 31.7 | 30.5 | 1.2 | 23.3 | 21.3 | 2.0 |
| 15-34 | 36.2 | 38.6 | -2.4 | 26.6 | 27.2 | 0.6 |
| 35-44 | 37.1 | 39.8 | -2.7 | 31.1 | 30.7 | 0.4 |
| 45 and over | 17.6 | 16.5 | 1.1 | 12.9 | 12.1 | 0.8 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

It is interesting to note that the two groups of childless female returnees showed differences of labor force behavior compared

with non-migrants. Comparing the data in Table 67 with that shown earlier for the two groups of returnees^{1/}, it is seen that childless female returnees living in the United States in 1965 had a slightly higher participation rate (39.6) than non-migrants in the 15 to 34 age group, while those living in Puerto Rico in 1965 showed a lower participation rate (33.8). The opposite was true for the older age group 35-44 and 45 and over. Childless female returnees living in the United States in 1965 had lower participation rates than non-migrants in these age groups (34.0 and 14.8, respectively) while those living in Puerto Rico in 1965 had higher participation rates (40.9 and 21.4, respectively).

On the other hand, the available data showed no significant difference in labor force behavior between return migrant and non-migrant mothers. Differences were found, though, when the two groups of returnees were compared separately with non-migrants. Mothers among the returnees living in the United States in 1965 showed lower participation rates than non-migrants in all age groups while in the group of returnees living in Puerto Rico in 1965 participation rates were higher than those for non-migrants, except in the age group 15 to 34^{2/}. Again, given the superior education level of the group of returnees living in the United States in 1965, this is not easy to explain. Apparently there were differences in motivations, in pressures to seek employment outside the home, and in living arrangements related with child rearing between the two groups of mothers. Unfortunately, the Census data do not provide information on these matters.

The Census data on the relationship between fertility and labor force participation showed that fertility rates, as expected, had a stronger influence on the degree of female participation in the labor force than marriage and motherhood alone. Women in the labor force, returnee and non-migrant, had a smaller average number of children than those out of the labor force. But, relative to non-migrants, returnees had a lower fertility rate throughout all age groups and in all labor force categories (Table 68). For non-migrant ever married women, fertility was higher among the unemployed than among the employed, irrespective of age; but among return migrants the pattern was not clear. Fertility rates were higher among employed returnees, relative to the unemployed, in the age groups 15 to 34 and 45 and over; but were lower for returnees in the age group 35 to 44. Examination of fertility rates for the two groups of returnees showed that unemployed women among the returnees living in the United States in 1965 had higher fertility rates, relative to the employed, throughout

^{1/}Supra, p. 73

^{2/}Ibid.

all age groups. But among those living in Puerto Rico in 1965, only in the age group 35-44, fertility rates were higher for the unemployed; in all other age groups the opposite was true. Thus, again, it became evident that the two groups of returnees differed significantly in labor force behavior.

TABLE 68: Number of Children Ever Born Per 1,000 Ever Married Women 15-44 Years of Age in the Return Migrant and Non-Migrant Population, by Age and Civilian Labor Force Status

| Age and Labor Force Status | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants |
|----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 15 years of age and over | 4011 | 3127 |
| In C.L.F. | 2648 | 2254 |
| Employed | 2637 | 2267 |
| Unemployed | 2858 | 2175 |
| Not in L.F. | 4399 | 3407 |
| 15-34 years | 2513 | 2089 |
| In C.L.F. | 1898 | 1754 |
| Employed | 1886 | 1764 |
| Unemployed | 2066 | 1706 |
| Not in L.F. | 2763 | 2219 |
| 35-44 years | 4277 | 3253 |
| In C.L.F. | 3157 | 2733 |
| Employed | 3114 | 2708 |
| Unemployed | 4152 | 2899 |
| Not in L.F. | 4587 | 3491 |
| 45 years and over | 5129 | 4788 |
| In C.L.F. | 3501 | 3283 |
| Employed | 3478 | 3310 |
| Unemployed | 4237 | 3106 |
| Not in L.F. | 5361 | 5020 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Employment, Unemployment, and Underemployment

The differences in labor force behavior between the return migrant and the non-migrant population were reaffirmed when participation rates were examined in their relationship with the employment status of both groups. These are shown in Table 69. Examination of the table reveals that, in general, return migrants showed higher participation rates and also higher unemployment rates than non-migrants, the differential between both groups being greater with respect to unemployment rates than participation rates. Participation rates for return migrants exceeded those of non-migrants by 5.8 percentage points in the case of males and by 2.7 percentage points in the case of females. In the same manner, unemployment rates for return migrants surpassed those for non-migrants by 6.3 percentage points in the case of males and by 9.5 percentage points in the case of females. Looking at both rates by sex-age groups, one can see that the largest differential between both groups was found in the younger age group 16 to 24. Participation rates for male returnees in this age group were 14.5 percentage points higher than those for non-migrants, while unemployment rates were 6.3 percentage points higher. In other words, the differential was higher for participation rates than for unemployment rates. In the case of females, the opposite situation was found. Though female returnees also showed higher participation and unemployment rates than their non-migrant counterpart, the differential between both groups was larger for unemployment (10.7 percentage points) than for participation rates (3.0 percentage points). Evidently, the higher participation rate for younger male returnees and their disadvantageous position for obtaining a job largely explain their higher unemployment rates. But, in the case of young female returnees, it is possible that motivational factors may have worked together with the job seeking problems of women with little or no work experience to produce unemployment rates among female returnees nearly twice as high as those for non-migrants.

It is interesting to note that in the working ages 25 to 64, returnees showed lower participation rates than non-migrants, but higher unemployment rates. The differential in participation rates between the two groups was greater for males than for females, but the opposite was true with respect to the differential in unemployment rates between the two groups. The higher unemployment rates for returnees in these ages could not, thus, be explained by the level of the participation rates. Nor could they be explained by the differential in educational attainment between returnees and non-migrants. It was shown earlier that returnees had a higher educational level than non-migrants. Yet, the higher unemployment rates for returnees, relative to non-migrants, prevailed when unemployment rates were analyzed by level of schooling attained (Table 70). It seems, then, that in spite of their superior educational level, returnees had more serious problems of adjustment to labor market conditions than the non-migrant population and these were reflected in greater mobility between jobs while trying to locate a job in keeping with expectations, whether unrealistic or not. Reincorporation to the labor market takes

time. This explains in part, the higher unemployment rates, irrespective of residence in 1965, for the more recent returnees, as was shown in the previous section^{1/}.

TABLE 69: Labor Force Participation and Unemployment Rates of Returnees and of Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Age Group and Sex

| Age and Rates | Return Migrants | | Non-Migrants | |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| All | | | | |
| Participation rate | 62.9 | 26.6 | 57.1 | 23.9 |
| Unemployment rate | 10.4 | 15.7 | 4.1 | 6.2 |
| Ages 16-24 | | | | |
| Participation rate | 52.1 | 26.8 | 37.6 | 23.8 |
| Unemployment rate | 16.4 | 22.2 | 10.1 | 11.5 |
| Ages 25-44 | | | | |
| Participation rate | 74.6 | 33.5 | 78.7 | 34.2 |
| Unemployment rate | 8.2 | 12.7 | 3.0 | 4.7 |
| Ages 45-64 | | | | |
| Participation rate | 60.3 | 17.8 | 66.5 | 18.1 |
| Unemployment rate | 8.9 | 12.8 | 2.6 | 3.0 |
| Ages 65 and over | | | | |
| Participation rate | 20.6 | 4.3 | 19.8 | 2.6 |
| Unemployment rate | 7.0 | 10.2 | 2.6 | 2.3 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

^{1/}Zell came to a similar conclusion in his 1972 survey study of Puerto Rican return migrants. He, too, found higher participation rates and higher unemployment rates for return migrants, relative to non-migrants, and also found that the more recent returnees showed much higher unemployment rates than earlier returnees.

TABLE 70: Unemployment Rates of Returnees and of Non-Migrants
25 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, and
Educational Attainment

| Age and Educational Attainment | Returnees | | Non-Migrants | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| All | 8.4 | 12.7 | 2.8 | 4.2 |
| Less than 5 years of schooling | 10.0 | 18.0 | 3.8 | 6.7 |
| 5-8 | 11.2 | 17.8 | 3.7 | 6.7 |
| 9-11 | 8.1 | 17.6 | 2.9 | 6.4 |
| 12 | 5.6 | 9.3 | 2.0 | 3.0 |
| 13-15 | 6.1 | 4.4 | 1.0 | 1.4 |
| 16 and over | 1.4 | 2.5 | 0.4 | 0.7 |
| Ages 25-44 | 8.2 | 12.7 | 3.0 | 4.1 |
| Less than 5 years of schooling | 10.8 | 21.7 | 4.9 | 8.5 |
| 5-8 | 11.3 | 19.3 | 4.3 | 8.3 |
| 9-11 | 8.1 | 17.7 | 3.3 | 7.2 |
| 12 | 5.6 | 8.9 | 2.1 | 3.2 |
| 13-15 | 5.6 | 4.0 | 0.9 | 1.5 |
| 16 and over | 1.7 | 2.8 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| Ages 45-64 | 8.9 | 12.8 | 2.6 | 3.0 |
| Less than 5 years of schooling | 9.7 | 13.8 | 2.3 | 4.6 |
| 5-8 | 10.9 | 14.7 | 3.1 | 3.9 |
| 9-11 | 8.2 | 17.5 | 1.6 | 3.3 |
| 12 | 4.3 | 13.7 | 1.6 | 1.9 |
| 13-15 | 8.9 | 3.8 | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| 16 and over | 0.0 | 2.0 | 0.2 | 0.7 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

The relative distribution of returnees and non-migrants, by employment status, is shown in Tables 71 and 72. It is seen that the unemployment situation of both groups was more serious for the younger age group and for those with low educational levels, thus corroborating the findings discussed above. The differential between the percentage employed and the percentage unemployed was higher for the age group 16 to 24, than for other age groups.

TABLE 71: Per Cent Distribution of Returnees and of Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, and Employment Status

| Age and Sex | Returnees | | | Non-Migrants | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------|---------|--------------|--------|---------|
| | Both | Empl. | Unempl. | Both | Empl. | Unempl. |
| Males, all | 62017 | 55560 | 6457 | 367811 | 352566 | 15245 |
| 16-24 | 25.5 | 23.8 | 40.3 | 18.0 | 16.8 | 43.8 |
| 25-44 | 56.6 | 57.9 | 44.8 | 46.7 | 47.2 | 34.0 |
| 45-64 | 16.5 | 16.8 | 14.1 | 31.2 | 31.7 | 19.6 |
| 65 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 2.6 |
| Females, all | 20851 | 17578 | 3273 | 174508 | 163620 | 10888 |
| 16-24 | 31.5 | 29.1 | 44.5 | 27.9 | 26.3 | 51.4 |
| 25-44 | 54.9 | 56.8 | 44.6 | 52.6 | 53.5 | 39.2 |
| 45-64 | 12.5 | 12.9 | 10.2 | 18.3 | 18.9 | 8.9 |
| 65 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 0.5 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

TABLE 72: Per Cent Distribution of Returnees and of Non-Migrants 25 Years and Over, by Employment Status, Sex, and Educational Attainment

| Sex and Educational Attainment | Returnees | | | Non-Migrants | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------|---------|--------------|--------|---------|
| | Both | Empl. | Unempl. | Both | Empl. | Unempl. |
| Male, all | 46198 | 42337 | 3861 | 301760 | 293185 | 8575 |
| Less than 5 years sch. | 22.3 | 21.9 | 26.7 | 28.4 | 28.1 | 38.0 |
| 5-8 | 27.0 | 26.1 | 36.3 | 24.4 | 24.2 | 32.1 |
| 9-11 | 19.2 | 19.2 | 18.6 | 12.9 | 12.9 | 13.1 |
| 12 | 19.3 | 19.9 | 12.8 | 19.6 | 19.7 | 13.4 |
| 13-15 | 6.2 | 6.4 | 4.5 | 6.6 | 6.7 | 2.3 |
| 16 | 6.0 | 6.5 | 1.0 | 8.1 | 8.3 | 1.0 |
| Female, all | 14275 | 12460 | 1815 | 125823 | 120530 | 5293 |
| Less than 5 years sch. | 13.2 | 12.4 | 18.7 | 16.0 | 15.6 | 25.4 |
| 5-8 | 21.1 | 19.9 | 29.6 | 20.2 | 19.7 | 32.1 |
| 9-11 | 18.6 | 17.6 | 25.7 | 12.1 | 11.8 | 18.2 |
| 12 | 28.2 | 29.3 | 20.7 | 25.3 | 25.6 | 17.8 |
| 13-15 | 10.6 | 11.6 | 3.6 | 13.3 | 13.7 | 4.4 |
| 16 | 8.3 | 9.2 | 1.7 | 13.2 | 13.6 | 2.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Underemployment was also found to be higher among the young people, declining in the prime working ages 25 to 44 and increasing again in the ages 45 and over (Table 73). Male return migrants had a higher proportion underemployed than non-migrants, but the opposite was true for females. The proportion underemployed was higher throughout all age groups for non-migrant women, except in the ages 20 to 24. In the case of males, the differential in the proportion underemployed was larger for the extreme age groups, i.e. 16 to 24 and 45 to 64. But in the case of females, it was higher for the age groups 25 to 44.

TABLE 73: Hours Worked by Persons Aged 16 to 64 at Work,
by Age and Migrant Status
(Percentage Distribution)

| Migrant Status and Hours Worked | Age Groups | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | All | 17-19 | 20-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-64 |
| <u>Male</u> | | | | | | |
| Return Migrants | | | | | | |
| 1-34 hours | 20.2 | 39.8 | 24.0 | 15.6 | 17.1 | 23.4 |
| 35 or more | 79.8 | 60.2 | 76.0 | 84.4 | 82.9 | 76.6 |
| Non-Migrants | | | | | | |
| 1-34 hours | 17.1 | 37.6 | 17.9 | 14.4 | 15.3 | 17.4 |
| 35 or more | 82.9 | 62.4 | 82.1 | 85.6 | 84.7 | 82.6 |
| <u>Female</u> | | | | | | |
| Return Migrants | | | | | | |
| 1-34 hours | 23.5 | 33.3 | 24.0 | 21.8 | 21.5 | 28.0 |
| 35 or more | 76.5 | 66.7 | 76.0 | 78.2 | 78.5 | 72.0 |
| Non-Migrants | | | | | | |
| 1-34 hours | 26.4 | 36.3 | 22.2 | 24.2 | 29.0 | 28.9 |
| 35 or more | 73.6 | 63.7 | 77.8 | 75.8 | 71.0 | 71.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

This suggests the existence of differences between women and men returnees in the degree of employability and propensity to change jobs as well as between returnees and non-migrants.

Differentials between returnees and non-migrants in the pattern of employment concentration by age were more marked for males than females, thus reflecting the differences in age structure between sexes. Employed male returnees were more heavily concentrated in the age groups under 45 than their non-migrant counterpart. In the case of women, employment of returnees was also more heavily concentrated in the ages under 45 than was the case for non-migrants. But the differential in favor of male returnees amounted to 17.7 percentage points, while in the case of females it amounted to 6.2 percentage points. How are these facts related with the occupational and industrial distribution of returnees and non-migrants? This question will now be examined.

Occupational and Industrial Distribution

The majority of the return migrants reported work as the major activity in the United States; it is, therefore, advisable to compare their occupational structure with that of the Puerto Ricans remaining in the States, and of the non-migrant population in Puerto Rico. Comparison with the occupational distribution of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland may provide insights concerning the influence of migration experience on their occupational profile as well as on the socio-economic conditions bearing on their decision to return. Comparison with the occupational structure of the non-migrant population, on the other hand, may provide insights as to the extent to which migration experience has been successful.

Table 74 shows the occupational distribution of employment in 1970 for the three population sub-groups: return migrants, non-migrants, and Puerto Ricans in New York City (the area of largest concentration of Puerto Ricans in the States). It is shown that, compared with the Puerto Ricans in New York City, return migrants had a higher proportion of workers in white collar jobs (with the exception of clerical jobs) and in skilled blue-collar jobs; but they also had a higher proportion of workers in laborer occupations. Operative and service work categories accounted for a little over one half of the total Puerto Rican employment in New York City in 1970, compared with 32 per cent for the returnees on the Island. These facts seem to indicate that returnees had a superior occupational distribution relative to their counterparts in New York City.

To evaluate correctly whether this occupational superiority was associated with their migration experience, information on the occupation in Puerto Rico before migrating as well as on the occupation in the United States before returning would have been necessary. Such information was not collected in the Census. However, drawing on other studies on Puerto Rican migration^{1/}, some inferences can be

^{1/}See: Lois S. Gray, Economic Incentives to Labor Mobility: The Puerto Rican Case. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1966); and, Celia Cintrón and Pedro A. Vales, Social Dynamics of Return Migration, op. cit.

Table 74: Occupational Distribution in 1970 of the Employed Return Migrant and Non-Migrant Population 16 Years and Over in Puerto Rico and of the Employed Puerto Rican Population 16 Years and Over in New York City

| Occupation | Male | | | | | Female | | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Puerto Ricans in N.Y.C. | | | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Puerto Ricans in N.Y.C. | | |
| | | | Total | Born in P.R. | Born in U.S. | | | Total | Born in P.R. | Born in U.S. |
| Male | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| White Collar Wks. | 28.2 | 34.0 | 27.2 | 24.8 | 41.8 | 45.3 | 50.4 | 46.5 | 39.4 | 76.6 |
| Profes., techn., and kind. | 7.2 | 8.2 | 4.0 | 3.2 | 7.2 | 13.0 | 18.8 | 6.5 | 5.7 | 8.8 |
| Managers and administrators ^{a/} | 7.2 | 10.4 | 4.5 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 3.2 | 3.6 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 2.0 |
| Sales workers | 7.0 | 8.1 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 7.2 | 5.7 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 3.8 | 6.1 |
| Clerical workers | 6.8 | 7.3 | 13.7 | 12.6 | 22.5 | 23.4 | 23.0 | 34.0 | 28.3 | 59.7 |
| Blue Collar Wks. | 59.7 | 55.6 | 51.6 | 52.8 | 43.3 | 39.6 | 30.9 | 41.2 | 48.1 | 23.4 |
| Craftsmen and foremen | 20.2 | 20.6 | 15.4 | 15.4 | 15.4 | 3.8 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 1.1 |
| Operatives, mfg. durables | 3.0 | 2.1 | | | | 5.4 | 3.6 | | | |
| Operats., mfg. non-durables ^{b/} | 8.6 | 6.9 | 30.1 | 31.7 | 20.0 | 28.2 | 22.5 | 37.6 | 44.0 | 11.0 |
| Operats transport Laborers, including farm | 8.2 | 7.9 | | | | 0.5 | 0.3 | | | |
| 19.7 | 18.1 | 6.0 | 5.7 | 7.9 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 0.3 | |
| Service Workers | 12.0 | 10.2 | 21.2 | 22.4 | 14.8 | 15.0 | 18.8 | 12.2 | 12.6 | 11.0 |
| In private household | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 3.8 | 4.8 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.6 |
| Other | 11.9 | 10.1 | 21.2 | 22.2 | 14.7 | 11.2 | 14.0 | 11.4 | 11.7 | 10.4 |

a/ Includes farmers.

b/ Includes operatives n.e.c.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data on Puerto Rico; Bureau of the Census, Special subject report on Puerto Ricans in the States, PC(2)-1 E, Table 25.

made. These studies indicate a tendency toward upward occupational mobility as a result of the migration experience. Migration to the mainland has meant for many Puerto Ricans a move away from farm labor to jobs in semi-skilled and unskilled operative and service occupations in the New York area and other mainland cities. It has also meant downward mobility for professional and highly skilled migrants who have been forced to take lower skilled jobs in the States. But, since the out-migration movement has been largely composed of persons with low skills, over-all a tendency toward upward occupational mobility has prevailed. With respect to return migration, these studies also indicate a tendency toward upward mobility after having acquired experience in the mainland market. Gray^{1/}, for example, found that 44 per cent of the return migrants living in Puerto Rico in 1960 were white collar workers, compared with 18 per cent among Puerto Rican workers on the mainland. The differential between both groups of workers still favored return migrants in 1970, more so if comparison is made with the Puerto Rican born workers on the mainland, but it has narrowed considerably.

The narrowing of the differential is most likely a reflection of the occupational shift in mainland labor markets, particularly in the New York area. The increasing shifting of employment opportunities in this area from blue-collar to white collar jobs has meant increasing strains for many Puerto Ricans unable to make the shift, and has most likely been an important factor determining the increasing flow of returnees in the late 1960's. The traditional sources of employment for Puerto Ricans in New York City, particularly the non-durable goods manufacturing sector, have experienced sharp declines since the 1960's with consequent high rates of unemployment and frequent lay-offs for the Puerto Ricans depending on these sectors for a living. Given the changing structure of the Island's economy, return migration, thus, may have meant for many Puerto Ricans, a chance of finding a job commensurate with their mainland experience.

How did the occupational distribution of the returnees in 1970 compare with that of the non-migrant population? Notwithstanding that relative to their counterparts in New York City, return migrants had a higher proportion of workers in white-collar and skilled blue-collar occupations, it was the reverse with the non-migrant population in Puerto Rico. Closer examination of Table 74 reveals that the proportion of male workers in white-collar and skilled blue-collar jobs amounted to 55 per cent among the non-migrant population employed while the corresponding proportion for the employed returnees was 48 per cent. On the other hand, the proportion of male workers in the semi-skilled operative category was higher (19.8 per cent) for returnees compared with non-migrants (16.9 per cent). Service workers among male return migrants also slightly exceeded the proportion

^{1/}Economic Incentives to Labor Mobility, op. cit.

corresponding to non-migrants; the same was true for male returnees in the laborer category. In other words, compared with the non-migrant population, male returnees were under-represented in white-collar and skilled blue collar jobs, and over-represented in semi-skilled operative and service jobs as well as in non-skilled laborer categories. The extent of under-representation of female returnees in white-collar occupations, relative to non-migrants, was about equal to that of male returnees. But the amount of over-representation, relative to non-migrants, in the operative classifications, was larger than that of males. On the other hand, while the proportion of males in service jobs was higher among returnees, in the case of females it was higher among non-migrants.

Our findings regarding the comparison of the occupational distribution of returnees are, thus, consistent with those of Zell^{1/}; return migrants were not superior to non-migrants in terms of occupational structure, but they were superior to their counterparts in New York City. The differentials were larger relative to the Puerto Rican born workers in New York City, than to the non-migrant workers on the Island, for blue collar and service occupational categories. This seems to indicate that there has been some upward occupational mobility upon reincorporation into the Island's labor market, i.e. movement from blue collar occupations to white-collar employment, from semi-skilled operative occupations to skilled blue collar jobs, from service occupations to blue collar jobs, from farm laborer occupations to laborer jobs in non-farm areas, upon return.

The extent to which occupational expectations upon return have been fulfilled can in part be inferred from the analysis of unemployment in relation to employment. The percentage distribution of employment and unemployment by occupation is presented in Table 75 for return migrants and non-migrants. It is seen that for white collar occupations, the proportion employed among both returnees and non-migrants was about twice the proportion unemployed. The proportion employed in service industries was also higher than that unemployed, but the differential did not seem to be significant. While in the case of blue collar occupations the proportion unemployed exceeded significantly the proportion employed, more so in the case of returnees than non-migrants.

When the data on unemployment is examined in detail, one can see that more than one third (36.5 per cent) of the male returnees were skilled and semi-skilled blue collar workers. This proportion, however, did not differ significantly from that corresponding to non-migrants (35.2 per cent), except for the fact that unemployment in blue collar occupations among non-migrants was about equally divided between skilled and non-skilled occupations while among non-migrants the

^{1/}Op. cit.

Table 75: Per Cent Distribution by Occupation of the Return Migrant and Non-Migrant Population 16 Years and Over, by Employment Status in 1970 and Sex

| Occupational Group | Employed | | | | Unemployed | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| | Return Migrants | | Non-Migrants | | Return Migrants | | Non-Migrants | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| All workers | <u>55560</u> | <u>17578</u> | <u>352466</u> | <u>163620</u> | <u>5981</u> | <u>2654</u> | <u>11843</u> | <u>6584</u> |
| <u>White Collar</u> | <u>28.2</u> | <u>45.3</u> | <u>34.0</u> | <u>50.4</u> | <u>14.3</u> | <u>21.1</u> | <u>14.7</u> | <u>25.2</u> |
| Profes., techn., and kind. | 7.2 | 13.0 | 8.2 | 18.8 | 2.8 | 4.2 | 2.5 | 4.2 |
| Manag., and adminis- trators ^{a/} | 7.2 | 3.2 | 10.4 | 3.6 | 2.2 | 0.5 | 3.1 | 1.2 |
| Sales workers | 7.0 | 5.7 | 8.1 | 5.0 | 3.3 | 4.4 | 4.8 | 6.0 |
| Clerical workers | 6.8 | 23.4 | 7.3 | 23.0 | 6.0 | 10.0 | 4.3 | 13.7 |
| <u>Blue Collar</u> | <u>59.7</u> | <u>39.6</u> | <u>55.6</u> | <u>30.9</u> | <u>74.1</u> | <u>68.1</u> | <u>76.4</u> | <u>56.0</u> |
| Craftsmen, foremen, and kind | 20.2 | 3.8 | 20.6 | 2.9 | 19.3 | 4.9 | 27.4 | 3.4 |
| Operatives, mfg. durables | 3.0 | 5.4 | 2.1 | 3.6 | 8.4 | 15.0 | 3.5 | 7.2 |
| Operatives, mfg. non-dur. | 8.6 | 28.2 | 6.9 | 22.5 | 17.2 | 45.2 | 9.8 | 40.7 |
| Operatives, transport | 8.2 | 0.5 | 7.9 | 0.3 | 5.1 | 0.4 | 6.4 | 0.6 |
| Laborers, incl. farm | 19.7 | 1.7 | 18.1 | 1.6 | 24.0 | 2.5 | 29.3 | 4.0 |
| <u>Service</u> | <u>12.0</u> | <u>15.0</u> | <u>10.2</u> | <u>18.8</u> | <u>10.6</u> | <u>10.8</u> | <u>8.9</u> | <u>18.8</u> |
| Service workers in pr. hs. | 0.1 | 3.8 | 0.1 | 4.8 | 0.2 | 2.3 | 0.2 | 5.8 |
| Other | 11.9 | 11.2 | 10.1 | 14.0 | 10.4 | 8.5 | 8.7 | 13.0 |

a/ Includes farmers.

b/ Includes other operatives n.e.c.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

proportion was higher for skilled blue collar workers than for semi-skilled blue collar workers. Given that the proportion employed in these occupations among both groups, migrants and non-migrants, showed no significant difference, it is inferred that the unemployment situation among skilled blue collar workers was more serious among non-migrants, while for semi-skilled blue collar workers it was more serious among return migrants. Unemployment among female returnees was also more serious among semi-skilled blue collar workers; 60 per cent of all unemployment among female returnees concentrated in these occupations. But it was also high among non-migrant females in these occupations, 48 per cent. Another 18 per cent of the female returnees unemployed were in clerical and service occupations, compared with 26 per cent among non-migrant females. Unemployment among returnees and non-migrants also concentrated heavily in unskilled laborer occupations. Nearly one fourth of the unemployed male returnees and nearly 30 per cent of the non-migrant males unemployed were laborers.

The above data reveal a number of interesting facts related with the socio-economic conditions on the Island which explain the decision of individuals to migrate, as well as those in the States to return. Socio-economic conditions on the Island have considerably improved since the late forties and fifties when thousands of Puerto Ricans were forced to move to the States in search of better opportunities. This resulted in upward occupational mobility on the Island, a fact that is evident when the occupational structure of non-migrants vis-a-vis return migrants in 1970 is compared with the situation in 1960. Hernández Alvarez in his study of return migration^{1/} found a distinctive superior occupational structure among return migrants compared with the non-migrant population. Our data and that of Zell^{2/} revealed just the opposite, even though the differential between both populations in 1970 was not as marked as that in 1960. Diversification of the Island's economic structure toward industrialization and supporting sectors, together with the improvement of education and training facilities, have made mobility up the occupational ladder possible for many Puerto Ricans, with the consequent increase in income. This has reduced the need to migrate in search of opportunities, a fact that is reflected in a decline in the out-migration flow in the 1960's and 1970's.

At the same time, the shift in the occupational structure of employment in the areas of largest concentration of Puerto Ricans on the mainland have shrunk employment opportunities for many Puerto Ricans in these areas, whose occupational skills do not fit in the new occupational structure. This has meant increased unemployment for them in these areas, possibly motivating them to return, or fear of unemployment has induced the return. The increasing loss of manufacturing

^{1/}Hernández Alvarez, Return Migration to Puerto Rico, op. cit.

^{2/}Op. cit.

jobs in these areas in the 1960's and the worsening of economic conditions generally, particularly in New York, explain in part the high concentration of returnees in the manufacturing, trade, and service sectors (Table 76). These are the sectors in which Puerto Ricans have heavily concentrated on the mainland, and are also the sectors in which employment is concentrated in Puerto Rico. The resemblance of the occupational structure and industrial distribution of the return migrant and non-migrant populations implies increasing competition for jobs between the two groups. To the extent that the availability of jobs commensurate with the expectations of the individuals are short of the demand, the proportion of unemployment tends to be higher in those sectors and occupational categories for which the gap between demand and supply of jobs is greater.

TABLE 76: Industrial Distribution of Employed Returnees and Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Sex

| Industry Group | Return Migrants | | Non-Migrants | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| All | 55560 | 17578 | 352566 | 163620 |
| Agritulture | 12.1 | 1.0 | 11.9 | 0.7 |
| Construction and Mining | 18.2 | 1.6 | 17.3 | 1.3 |
| Manufacturing | 19.3 | 39.8 | 16.3 | 29.6 |
| Durable goods | 6.8 | 7.6 | 5.4 | 5.1 |
| Non-durable goods | 12.5 | 32.2 | 10.9 | 24.5 |
| Transp., comm., pub. util. | 8.3 | 3.1 | 9.6 | 2.3 |
| Trade | 17.8 | 14.7 | 18.5 | 12.1 |
| Wholesale | 2.7 | 1.7 | 2.7 | 1.2 |
| Retail | 15.2 | 13.1 | 15.8 | 10.9 |
| Finance, insur., real estate | 2.2 | 2.8 | 2.3 | 3.0 |
| Services | 15.6 | 31.5 | 15.7 | 42.7 |
| Public administration | 6.4 | 5.4 | 8.4 | 8.3 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Earnings by Occupation

The differences in occupational distribution between the return migrant and non-migrant population were reflected in the earning levels of both population sub-groups in 1969. The median earnings in 1969 of both male and female non-migrants in the experienced civilian labor force exceeded those of their counterpart in the return migrant population (Table 77). The differential amounted to 15.2 per cent in the case of males and to 26.5 per cent in the case of females. The differential favored the non-migrant population throughout all occupational groups, though not by the same amount. In the case of males the highest differentials were found among transport operatives,

Table 77: Median Earnings in 1969 of Return Migrants and Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Major Occupation and Sex

| Major Occupational Group | Non-Migrants | | | All Migrants | | | Percentage Difference | | |
|---|--------------|------|--------|--------------|------|--------|-----------------------|------|--------|
| | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female |
| All persons | 2697 | 2764 | 2574 | 2300 | 2399 | 2034 | 17.3 | 15.2 | 26.5 |
| Professional, tech., and Kindred | 4947 | 5839 | 4457 | 4424 | 5013 | 3703 | 11.8 | 16.5 | 20.4 |
| Management and Administrative ^{a/} | 4007 | 3997 | 4075 | 3605 | 3727 | 3021 | 11.2 | 7.2 | 34.9 |
| Sales workers | 2661 | 2832 | 2135 | 2393 | 2642 | 1362 | 11.2 | 7.2 | 56.7 |
| Clerical and kindred | 3321 | 3690 | 3116 | 3041 | 3270 | 2847 | 9.2 | 12.8 | 9.4 |
| Craftsmen, foremen, etc. | 2891 | 2912 | 2647 | 2512 | 2542 | 2159 | 15.1 | 14.6 | 22.6 |
| Operatives, mfg. durables | 2672 | 2842 | 2484 | 2335 | 2674 | 1728 | 14.4 | 6.3 | 43.8 |
| Operatives, mfg. non-durables ^{b/} | 2296 | 2572 | 2157 | 2016 | 2316 | 1743 | 13.9 | 11.1 | 23.8 |
| Operatives, transport | 2627 | 2635 | 2170 | 2259 | 2260 | 2211 | 16.3 | 16.6 | -1.9 |
| Laborers, incl. farm wks. | 1401 | 1388 | 1727 | 1300 | 1300 | 1304 | 7.8 | 6.8 | 32.4 |
| Service wks., excl. p. hs. | 2338 | 2675 | 1795 | 2307 | 2551 | 1382 | 1.3 | 4.9 | 29.9 |
| Service workers in priv. hs. | 746 | 1016 | 734 | 494 | 1125 | 475 | 51.0 | -9.7 | 54.5 |

^{a/} Includes farmers and farm managers

^{b/} Includes other operatives n.e.c.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data

professional and technical workers, craftsmen and foremen, clerical and kindred workers, and manufacturing non-durable goods operatives, but in no case did it exceed from 17 per cent. While in the case of females, it exceeded 20 per cent in all occupations, except clerical and kindred, which showed a differential of less than 10 per cent.

Comparing the distribution of the return migrant and non-migrant workers by earning level and broad occupational groups (Table 78), it is clear that male workers were distributed more or less in similar proportions by earning brackets within the occupational groups, with the exception of the professional, technical and kindred group. In this occupational group, returnees had a slightly higher proportion of workers at the lower end of the earning scale, and a slightly smaller proportion at the upper end of the scale than non-migrants; the percentage in middle earning brackets was more or less similar for both groups. In the case of females, return migrant workers in the professional, technical, and kindred group had a higher proportion of workers at both ends of the earning scale than non-migrants, but the gap was greater for workers at the lower end of the scale. In contrast, return migrant female workers in sales, clerical, and service occupations had a smaller proportion of workers in the earning brackets below \$3,000 than non-migrants, but a higher proportion in the earning brackets \$6,000 and over. The distribution by earning bracket was more or less similar between both groups for the workers in other non-specified occupations.

However, the analysis of differentials in occupational earnings between returnees and non-migrants using Census data presents a number of limitations given the characteristics of the return migrant group. Earnings are reported in the Census for the year 1969. In the case of returnees, these were obviously affected, more than by skill level differences relative to the non-migrants, by the fact that the great majority of the returnees arrived in Puerto Rico in 1969 and 1970. To the extent that the arrival had occurred within this period, it is possible that earnings may have been more significantly affected by the amount of time worked in 1969 than by any other characteristic of the migrants relative to non-migrants. Some returnees within this period of time may have worked part of the year in the United States prior to return and may have been mostly unemployed for some time after return while trying to locate the preferred job on the Island. Effective reincorporation into the labor market upon return takes time, the amount of time depending on the socio-economic characteristics of the returnees and their motivations to return, as well as on labor market factors.

Family Income

The relative income position of return migrant and non-migrant families in 1969 was fairly similar. The median family income for these two population groups showed no significant difference (Table 79). The median family income of \$3,496 for male headed families in the

Table 78: Percentage Distribution of the Return Migrants and Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Broad Occupational Groups, Earning Bracket, and Sex.

| | Profes., Techn., and Managerial Workers | | Sales, Clerical, and Service (other than dom. Workers) | | Other Workers | |
|------------------|---|--------------|--|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants |
| Males, all | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$1000 | 9.4 | 8.6 | 13.0 | 11.1 | 22.3 | 20.4 |
| \$1000 - 2999 | 21.3 | 20.0 | 38.2 | 39.9 | 44.2 | 45.7 |
| 3000 - 5999 | 31.0 | 31.4 | 36.1 | 35.7 | 27.5 | 27.9 |
| 6000 - 9999 | 21.2 | 20.2 | 9.7 | 9.4 | 5.0 | 4.8 |
| 10000 - or more | 17.2 | 19.8 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 1.1 | 1.2 |
| Females, all | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$1000 | 7.9 | 5.1 | 17.1 | 14.1 | 24.5 | 24.2 |
| \$1000 - 2999 | 26.5 | 21.3 | 41.0 | 48.3 | 56.8 | 58.4 |
| 3000 - 5999 | 44.4 | 54.9 | 35.5 | 31.8 | 17.2 | 16.3 |
| 6000 - 9999 | 14.1 | 14.8 | 5.1 | 5.0 | 1.4 | 1.0 |
| 10000 - or more | 7.2 | 3.9 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 0.1 | * |

*Less than one half of one per cent.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

non-migrant group was only 2 per cent higher than that of the return migrant group. And the median family income of \$1,944 for female headed families in the non-migrant group was only 7 per cent below that of the return migrant group. The relative distribution by income brackets of both groups of returnees was also fairly similar. However, when the two groups of returnees are compared separately with the non-migrant group, by sex of the family head, it appears that the family income situation of female headed families in Puerto Rico in 1965 resembled more that of the non-migrant group than that of the group in the United States in 1965^{1/}. This last group had a superior income position than the non-migrant group. Among male headed families, the group in the United States in 1965 had a superior income position and the group in Puerto Rico in 1965 an inferior income position compared with the non-migrant group. The group of returnees in the United States in 1965 had a much lower proportion of families at the lower end of the income scale than the non-migrant group.

TABLE 79: Relative Income Position in 1969 of Returnees and Non-Migrants 16 Years and Over, by Sex of Family Head

| Annual Family Income | Male Headed Family | | Female Headed Family | |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$1000 | 13.1 | 14.1 | 31.0 | 33.4 |
| \$1000-1999 | 15.4 | 14.8 | 17.7 | 17.4 |
| \$2000-3999 | 30.6 | 28.2 | 26.9 | 24.1 |
| \$4000-5999 | 17.0 | 16.0 | 13.1 | 12.1 |
| \$6000-9999 | 15.5 | 16.1 | 8.9 | 9.1 |
| \$10000-or more | 8.5 | 10.8 | 2.5 | 3.8 |
| Median income | \$3409.40 | \$3495.70 | \$2096.40 | \$1943.90 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

The sources of family income are shown in Table 80 for both the return migrant and non-migrant population. Though all families relied primarily on wages and salaries for income, male headed families in the non-migrant population relied more on self-employment, social security, and public welfare for income and less on wages and salaries than those in the return migrant population. The proportion of female headed families receiving income from wages and salaries and

^{1/}See supra, p. 96

from self-employment was nearly equal for both groups of returnees^{1/}. But those in P.R. in 1965 depended to a larger extent on social security and public welfare than those in the U.S. in 1965. In contrast, 27 per cent more female headed families living in the U.S. in 1965 received income from other sources, relative to those living in P.R. receiving income of this type.

Table 80: Percentage Distribution^{a/} of Returnees and Non-Migrants, 16 Years and Over, by Sex of Family Head and Source of Family Income in 1969

| Source of Family Income | Male Headed Family | | Female Headed Family | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants | Return Migrants | Non-Migrants |
| All (number) | 53367 | 371418 | 6517 | 65410 |
| Wages and salaries | 87.3 | 81.6 | 65.4 | 64.9 |
| Self-employment | 16.0 | 19.2 | 8.5 | 9.5 |
| Social security | 12.1 | 20.5 | 29.3 | 33.4 |
| Welfare and public assist. | 5.6 | 7.4 | 14.8 | 22.4 |
| Other | 8.9 | 8.2 | 20.3 | 16.0 |

^{a/}Percentages may total more than 100 per cent as some families may have had more than one source of income.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Compared with the non-migrant population, median annual income from wages and salaries, self-employment, and other non-specified sources of male headed families was higher for the return migrant group (Table 81). However, median annual income from social security and public welfare was higher for male headed families in the return migrant group than in the non-migrant group. Median income from these two sources was lower than that from all sources. Female headed families in the return migrant group had lower median incomes from wages and salaries, self-employment, and public welfare than the non-migrant group. But they had higher median incomes from social security and other non-specified sources, relative to the non-migrant counterpart.

Comparison of the non-migrant families with the return migrant families, by residence in 1965, showed a superior income situation for male headed families living in Puerto Rico in 1965, relative to

^{1/}See supra, p.97

TABLE 81: Median Family Income in 1969 for Return Migrants and Non-Migrants, 16 Years and Over, by Source of Income and Sex of Family Head

| Source of Income | Male Headed Family | | Female Headed Family | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| | Return Migrant | Non-Migrant | Return Migrant | Non-Migrant |
| All sources | \$3409.40 | \$3495.70 | \$2096.40 | \$1943.90 |
| Wages and salaries | 3636.20 | 3958.90 | 2951.60 | 3195.30 |
| Self-employment | 4483.20 | 4699.20 | 4102.80 | 4629.40 |
| Social security | 2864.00 | 2258.10 | 2223.40 | 1790.80 |
| Welfare and public assist. | 1413.25 | 1188.70 | 557.25 | 587.40 |
| Other income | 4260.40 | 4514.90 | 2494.00 | 2361.10 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

their non-migrant counterpart^{1/}. The picture was less clear with respect to female headed families, Median income from wages and salaries and from self-employment was lower for both groups, relative to non-migrants. But median income from social security was higher for the female headed families in the United States in 1965 and lower for the ones in Puerto Rico in 1965, relative to non-migrants. In contrast, median income from other non-specified sources was higher for female headed families in Puerto Rico in 1965 than for those in the United States in 1965, although in both cases it exceeded the median income for the non-migrant counterpart.

B. Effects of Return Migration on the Labor Force

The effects of return migration on the labor force are not only a function of the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants but also of the magnitude of the flow. When the group of returnees is very small their effect upon the labor force may be negligible regardless of their differences from the non-migrant population.

It was shown in Part Two of this report that return migration began to increase in noticeable proportion in the late 1950's. Hernández identified a return flow of 34,000 persons of Puerto Rican birth during the period of 1955-1960^{2/}. In relative terms, this figure represented 1.4 per cent of the population of Puerto Rico in 1960. The flow increased much more significantly in the 1960's.

^{1/}See supra, p. 98

^{2/}Hernández Alvarez, Return Migration to Puerto Rico, op. cit.

A return movement of more than 226,000 persons of Puerto Rican stock was recorded in the 1970 Census. This number represented ten per cent of the total population 5 years of age and over. Apparently, the return migration flow has continued its increasing trend in the present decade. A flow of this magnitude must have affected the size and the sex-age structure of the labor force and influenced the levels of employment and unemployment as well as the occupational composition of the total labor force.

To assess the impact of this return movement on the total population and labor force, the non-migrant population was identified as the "expected" population in the absence of migration, and the percentage by which the "expected" population changed as a result of return migration was utilized as an index of the effect of this population flow.

Size and Sex-Age Structure of the Population

While the Island's total population 5 years of age and over increased by 11 per cent as a result of return migration, the population in the working ages, i.e. 16 and over, increased by 13 per cent due to the differences in age structure between returnees and the non-migrant population. The male group was affected by the return migration flow in a more noticeable way than the female counterpart. Among males 16 years of age and over, returnees amounted to 15 per cent of the "expected" non-migrant group. For females, the corresponding figure was 11 per cent. The difference between the sexes was a consequence of the higher proportion of males among return migrants.

Not only did migration have a differential effect upon the working ages with respect to sex but it also influenced significantly the age structure of the "expected" population in these age brackets. As shown in Table 82 return migration increased the population considerably in the prime working ages (25-44 years), especially in the male group. In these ages, return migration increased the male and female "expected" populations by 22 and 13 per cent, respectively. Significant increments also occurred in the ages 16 to 24 years. In this age bracket the effect of return migration accounted for an increase of 17 and 12 per cent for males and females, respectively. The impact on the age groups 45 years and over was less pronounced and similar for both males and females.

It is evident from the figures analyzed above, that return migration has increased the population considerably in the working ages, and has altered its age and sex structure. The consequence has been a worsening of the chronic unemployment situation which has prevailed in Puerto Rico for many decades.

Labor Force Participation

The overall labor force participation rates of return migrants 16 years of age and over were somewhat higher than those of the non-migrant

TABLE 82: Percentage Increase in the "Expected" Population as a Result of Return Migration, by Age and Sex

| Age Group (in years) | Male | Female | Both Sexes |
|-------------------------|------|--------|------------|
| 16 and over | 15.3 | 10.8 | 12.9 |
| 16-24 | 17.3 | 12.0 | 14.4 |
| 25-44 | 21.6 | 12.8 | 16.7 |
| 45-64 | 9.9 | 8.3 | 9.1 |
| 65 and over | 5.4 | 6.4 | 5.9 |
| 5 and over | 12.7 | 9.8 | 11.1 |

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

population. This was true for both sexes. The net effect of these differences, as observed in the total population, was a slight increase in labor force participation. Among males 16 years of age and over, the rate increased from 57.1 per cent in the non-migrant group to 57.9 in the total population (Table 83). For females, the corresponding increase was from 23.9 to 24.2 per cent. However, these small changes were mainly the result of the differences in age structure between return migrants and the non-migrant population. Standardized rates show that the small differences in the overall labor force participation rate between the "expected" population (non-migrants) and the total population almost disappeared when age was controlled. It seems that other variables, such as place of residence in Puerto Rico (metropolitan vs. non-metropolitan) and the fact of having attained some type of vocational training did not account for the differences observed in labor force participation between migrants and non-migrants. Thus, return migration did not have any significant impact on labor force participation rates in Puerto Rico.

Employment and Unemployment

Return migration had a similar effect on total employment as it had on the population. The number of employed males 16 years of age and over in the "expected" population increased by 16 per cent due to the effect of return migration, while the female counterpart increased by 11 per cent. The most significant increments were observed in the age groups 20-24 and 25-44, irrespective of sex, although for males the effect was considerably greater. In the age group 20-24 years, return migrants increased the male employed civilian labor force by almost 26 per cent, and by 19 per cent in the prime working ages 25-44 years (Table 84).

The effect of return migration on the Island's unemployment level is probably the most negative consequence that this movement had on the labor force. As returnees had considerably higher

TABLE 83: Unstandardized and Standardized Rates of Labor Force Participation for the Non-Migrant and Total Population 16 Years of Age and Over, by Sex

| Rates, Population 16 years and over | Male | | | Female | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------|-------|---------------------|------------------|-------|
| | Total Population | Non- Migrants | Diff. | Total Population | Non- Migrants | Diff. |
| Unstandardized | 57.9 | 57.1 | 0.8 | 24.2 | 23.9 | 0.3 |
| Standardized ^{a/} by: | | | | | | |
| Age | 56.9 | 57.1 | -0.2 | 23.9 | 23.9 | 0.0 |
| Residence | 57.9 | 57.1 | 0.8 | 24.2 | 23.9 | 0.3 |
| Vocational training | 57.9 | 57.1 | 0.8 | 24.1 | 23.9 | 0.2 |
| Age and Vocational training | 57.5 | 57.1 | 0.4 | 24.0 | 23.9 | 0.1 |
| Age and residence | 56.9 | 57.1 | -0.2 | 23.9 | 23.9 | 0.0 |

^{a/}The non-migrant population for each sex was utilized as standard. For this reason their standardized and unstandardized rates are equal.

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

unemployment rates than non-migrants and as they represented a sizable group in the total population, the number unemployed in the total civilian labor force increased dramatically — by 37 per cent — as a consequence of the return flow. The increment was, however, more dramatic for males, 42 per cent, compared with the increase of 30 per cent for females.

The unstandardized unemployment rates for males 16 years of age and over was 4.1 per cent for the "expected" population in the absence of return migration and 5.0 per cent when returnees were included (Table 85). The corresponding rates for the female group were 6.2 and 7.2 per cent. When these rates were standardized by socio-demographic variables no significant difference was observed between the unstandardized and standardized rates (Table 85). The adjustment by these variables did not affect the differences in unemployment between the return migrants and the total population, indicating that factors, other than socio-demographic, influenced the unemployment rate of returnees.

The Occupational Composition

Employed returnees tended to concentrate in the so-called blue collar occupations. Proportionally, there were less engaged in service

TABLE 84: Percentage Increase in the Number of Employed and Unemployed in the "Expected" Civilian Labor Force as a Result of Return, Migration by Age and Sex

| Sex and Age | Employed | Unemployed |
|------------------------|----------|------------|
| Males 16 and over | 15.8 | 42.4 |
| 16-19 | 13.3 | 22.1 |
| 20-24 | 25.7 | 54.1 |
| 25-44 | 19.3 | 55.9 |
| 45-54 | 9.7 | 37.4 |
| 55-64 | 6.3 | 21.2 |
| 65 and over | 5.4 | 14.9 |
| Females 16 and over | 10.7 | 30.1 |
| 16-19 | 6.0 | 21.8 |
| 20-24 | 12.2 | 28.9 |
| 25-44 | 11.4 | 34.2 |
| 45-54 | 7.6 | 34.2 |
| 55-64 | 6.6 | 34.6 |
| 65 and over | 9.5 | 44.2 |
| Both Sexes 16 and over | 14.2 | 37.2 |

Source: Special tabulation of the 1970 Census data.

work and fewer in white collar jobs as compared with the non-migrant population (Table 86). These differences reflected in the occupational structure of the total population.

It is shown in the table that while total employment increased by 14.2 per cent as a result of return migration; employment in blue collar jobs increased by more than 16 per cent. On the other hand, the increments in white collar occupations and service jobs were 11.7 and 13.6 per cent, respectively; both figures are below the general average for all occupations.

Among all blue collar workers the greatest increases occurred in the category of operatives in the manufacture of durable goods and the second highest increment was observed in the laborers' group. In the employed male group, the effects of return migration were more noticeable among operatives in the manufacture of durable and non-durable goods. The percentage increase in these two occupations due to return migration amounted to 22 and 20 per cent, respectively. A significant increase occurred also in the group of employed service workers (including private household workers) where the increase due to return migration was 19 per cent.

TABLE 85: Unstandardized Rate and Standardized Rates of Unemployment for the Non-Migrant and Total Population 16 Years of Age and Over, by Sex

| Rates, Population 16 years and over | Male | | | Female | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|-------|------------------|--------------|-------|
| | Total Population | Non-Migrants | Diff. | Total Population | Non-Migrants | Diff. |
| Unstandardized | 5.0 | 4.1 | 0.9 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 1.0 |
| Standardized by ^{a/} | | | | | | |
| Age | 5.0 | 4.1 | 0.9 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 1.0 |
| Vocational training | 5.1 | 4.1 | 1.0 | 7.3 | 6.2 | 1.1 |
| Residence | 5.0 | 4.1 | 0.9 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 1.0 |
| Age and residence | 5.0 | 4.1 | 0.9 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 1.0 |
| Age and vocational training | 4.9 | 4.1 | 0.8 | 7.2 | 6.2 | 1.0 |

^{a/}The non-migrant population for each sex was utilized as standard. For this reason their standardized and unstandardized rates are equal.

Source: Special tabulation from the 1970 Census data.

Among females, the effects of return migration were also more noticeable in the group of operatives in manufacturing. There was also a significant increase in the craftsmen and foremen category. Female employment in white collar and service jobs, on the other hand, showed increases below the general average.

Conclusion

The data analyzed in this section indicate that return migration affected the Puerto Rican labor force in several ways. In the first place, it significantly increased the size of the population in the working ages as well as the volume of the labor force. In the second place, it changed considerably the age and sex structure of the labor force, increasing significantly the proportion of the population in the age groups 20-24 and 25-44 years. Third, and probably the most important impact of return migration on the labor force, unemployment increased dramatically. No significant effect occurred in the labor force participation rates as a result of this return movement, and the occupational structure was affected only moderately.

TABLE 86: Ratios between Return Migrants and Non-Migrants in the Employed Civilian Labor Force 16 Years of Age and Over, by Major Occupational Groups and Sex
(In per cent)

| Major Occupations | Both Sexes | Males | Females |
|---|------------|-------|---------------|
| White Collar Workers | 11.7 | 13.1 | 9.7 |
| Profes., techn., and kindred | 10.6 | 13.9 | 7.4 |
| Managers and administrators ^{a/} | 10.6 | 10.8 | 9.7 |
| Sales workers | 13.3 | 13.7 | 12.4 |
| Clerical workers | 12.5 | 14.7 | 10.9 |
| Blue Collar Workers | 16.2 | 16.9 | 13.7 |
| Craftsmen and foremen | 15.4 | 15.5 | 13.8 |
| Operatives, mfg. durables | 19.4 | 22.1 | 16.0 |
| Operatives, mfg. non-durables ^{b/} | 15.9 | 19.7 | 13.5 |
| Operatives, transport | 16.2 | 16.2 | ^{c/} |
| Laborers, including farmers | 16.9 | 17.1 | 11.8 |
| Service Workers | 13.6 | 18.7 | 8.6 |
| In private households | 9.1 | 15.3 | 8.7 |
| Other | 14.8 | 18.7 | 8.6 |
| All Occupations | 14.2 | 14.8 | 10.7 |

^{a/} Includes farmers

^{b/} Includes operatives n.e.c.

^{c/} An insignificant group among employed females

Source: Special tabulation of 1970 Census data.

Part Five

Concluding Remarks,
Implications for Policy,
and Need for Further Research

Section I

Concluding Remarks

An attempt has been made in this study to add to the existing body of information on the return side of the Puerto Rican migration stream. Attention has been directed to the relevant data on this subject collected in the 1970 Population Census. Cross-sectional analysis of these data was undertaken aimed at establishing the relationship between migration experience and the labor force behavior of the Puerto Rican population. The focus of the analysis was the labor force behavior of the returnees in the period between 1965 and 1970 and their impact on the total labor force.

The results indicated that caution must be taken in drawing conclusions with regard to the impact of the return migrant group on the total labor force because of significant differentiation within the group, apart from the expected ones due to socio-economic variables. Clearly defined categories of returnees were apparent because of differences associated with factors other than socio-economic variables. Birth and parentage, place of residence in 1965, the length of the migration experience, and the year of return operated to produce noticeable ambiguity related to the effect of differences in socio-economic characteristics among the returnees. With reference to the Hernández study using data in the 1960 Census ^{1/} differentiation within the return migration stream on the basis of these factors is new, although not entirely unprecedented. In his 1972 survey study of return migration, Zell ^{2/} followed the pattern of the 1970 Census questions, thus being able to establish differentiation within the return migration stream on the basis of these variables, except for the place of residence in 1965. His findings, however, are not comparable with those of Hernández due to the different methodology used in both studies. Thus, this study transcended Hernández efforts by providing unprecedented information on return migration to Puerto Rico on the basis of the Census data. At the same time, it yielded additional information to that provided by Zell on the factors making for differences of behavior among returnees.

The study revealed significant differences in the volume and pattern of migration activity between the returnees living in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico in 1965. The size of the return flow was larger for the group in Puerto Rico in 1965, but it was largely characterized by short-term migration, whereas the group in the United States in

1/ Op. cit.

2/ Op. cit.

1965 was characterized by a longer migration experience. Though this group was more superior in socio-economic terms than the group in Puerto Rico in 1965, it displayed a poorer labor force behavior, as seen in the lower participation and higher unemployment rates. It seems that adjustment to labor market conditions upon return is negatively associated with the length of residence in the United States. In other words, the longer the residence in the United States, the more difficult the adjustment to the Island's social structure. This seems to indicate that the longer the residence in the United States, the more the returnee becomes integrated into the ways of life, including the labor market, of the United States. And, to the extent that they return with hopes or standards reflected by their experience in the States, the more difficult and lengthy is the process of adjustment.

A strong relationship was also found between labor force behavior and the year of return to Puerto Rico. Labor force participation rates tended to decline and unemployment rates to increase the more recent the arrival at Puerto Rico, irrespective of other factors. Again, this indicates that adjustment to labor market conditions upon return is negatively associated with the recency of return. Since nearly half of the returnees in each group returned in 1969 and 1970, the problems of adjustment of this group as reflected in labor force participation and unemployment rates, had a noticeable impact on the over-all labor force behavior.

These factors do not minimize the importance of socio-economic variables in determining adjustment to conditions on the Island upon return. But they can certainly overshadow the influence of socio-economic variables. In fact, our findings seem to indicate that only in the case of age, sex, and education was the influence of socio-economic variables not completely overshadowed by the influence of such factors as length of residence in the United States and year of return.

One of the most significant differences between the various subgroups of returnees was their age structure. The group of Puerto Rican parentage was a very young one, characterized by a large number of children under 15, especially in the subgroup living in the United States in 1965. In contrast, the return migrants of Puerto Rican birth were concentrated in the economic active ages, 25 to 44 years. A very low proportion of all the returnees were persons in the older age groups, i.e. 45 and over. Thus, return migrants, far from being primarily retirees, were either active or potential labor force participants. Furthermore, since unemployment rates were higher for the young people than for other age groups, the adjustment problems of this group must be of particular concern.

Another interesting finding of the study was the fact that even though the pattern of migration experience of the returnees in the United States and in Puerto Rico in 1965 differed significantly, both

groups had a similar pattern of return. This fact seems to indicate that the decision to return may have been largely influenced by the conditions of the U.S. economy and the feeling that when life becomes difficult, "there is no place like home".

The fundamental conclusion of this research is that the return migrant group is a complex one, far from homogenous, whose problems of adjustment to the labor market upon return can not be oversimplified. Adjustment to the labor market conditions upon return is relative not only to the socio-economic composition of the return migration stream, but is also relative to the duration of the migration experience, recency of arrival, and socio-economic conditions both in the States and in Puerto Rico.

Section II
Implications For Policy And The Need For Further Research

Policy Implications

The wave of return migration which has gained momentum since the 1960's is causing a distortion in the age-sex structure of the population and the labor force, similar to that resulting from the wave of out-migration of the 1950's, but as shown in Part Four of this report, the effects on the society have been different and so complex that it is imperative that policies be implemented to cope with these. Such policy considerations cannot be disregarded, for though it is possible that the wave of return migration has not reached its peak, the size, composition, and behavior of the population and the labor force in the future will to a great extent be determined by current migration trends. If efficient integration of return migrants to the social structure and the labor market of the Island is to be achieved, specific policy options must be designed to alleviate the difficult process of reincorporation and reduce the gap between the supply and demand for employment opportunities on the Island.

The age structure, the lower participation rates, and the substantially higher unemployment rates of the return migrant group are already imposing additional pressures to accelerate the rate of creation of new jobs to match their effect on the labor force growth beyond those originated in the chronically prevailing high rates of unemployment and underemployment of manpower resources on the Island. Notwithstanding their rural origins, the majority of newly arrived returnees tend to resettle in urban areas and become absorbed in the growing pool of unemployed and underemployed in these areas, causing increased pressures on existing essential social services and welfare programs. Thus, the shortage of workers at prime productive ages becomes markedly evident in the rural areas, and the workforce increasingly older and consequently less productive.

It is imperative at this time that manpower policies for the rural areas be clearly and competently designed. In the first place, efforts must be intensified to stimulate agricultural and rural development as an integral part of the Island's economic and social development policy, with all efforts geared toward improving the prospects of rural life to the end that they be more economically and socially attractive. In this way, further migration of young rural workers could be discouraged, and returnees in their prime productive years be motivated to return to their rural homes.

Despite the higher levels of unemployment and congestion in urban metropolitan areas, the trend to resettle there still continues. This situation is the result of a number of preconceived notions on the part of returnees that their "expected" life-style and prospects of employment in keeping with the former would be fulfilled in the urban, rather than nonmetropolitan and rural areas. This combination of unrealistic

expectations of wages and labor conditions, and the time taken to realize these hopes, contribute to produce the paradoxical situation of continued resettlement in areas of high unemployment. Thus, given the choice of returning to farm labor, the unskilled returnees may prefer to remain in the unstable situation of hanging on in or around urban areas in the vain hope of an urban job, rather than accept the more stable available farm job. It is obvious that the average returnee with job expectations beyond the realities of his qualifications will not secure a high-paying urban job immediately; rather, he will be either totally unemployed for some time, or shift from one casual job to another in the hope of finding a suitable stable job.

The solution to such a situation is two-fold: On the one hand, as Zell suggested earlier, there is the need to discourage the return migration of Puerto Ricans on the mainland who base their decision to return on erroneous information on existing conditions on the Island. To solve this, the Migration Office of the Labor Department in New York could set up programs to provide orientation for Puerto Ricans planning to return, so that the decision to return be based on long term careful planning, and rational and realistic considerations of available job opportunities and social conditions existing on the Island. On the other hand, measures should be taken to ensure that returnees be identified upon arrival, and provided with programs designed to facilitate rapid reincorporation into the social structure and the labor market. Given the close relationship between unemployment and low educational attainment, the role of education in reducing unemployment can not be underestimated. Programs for retraining displaced workers, because of lagging or obsolete skills, need be provided. Human resources development programs in remedial and supportive services to ease the adjustment problems upon return should be provided, in addition to training and retraining programs.

The problems presented by the youngsters in the 16 to 24 age groups are of particular importance and programs must be designed to minimize them. In the same manner, the premature withdrawal from the labor market of returnees 45 years and over, who are still in the productive ages, impose hardships that must be avoided or minimized through programs aimed at overcoming the factors motivating their decision to withdraw from the labor force. These might include training and retraining programs to improve their employability, as well as programs aimed at reducing discriminatory hiring practices. Higher labor force participation of women returnees could also be encouraged through programs aimed at stressing the potential role of women in the economy and combating discrimination by employers; improved legislation aimed at developing new social attitudes towards women's role in the labor market might help to eradicate discriminatory practices against the employment of women.

The return of an increasing number of children under 15 of Puerto Rican parentage is posing serious burdens on the school system. Empirical studies undertaken on the school adjustment of these children^{1/} have indicated that there are significant within-group differences in

^{1/} Ramos Perea, op. cit.

school adjustment. School adjustment tends to be poorer the longer the residence in the States, the higher the residential mobility of the family, the lower the social status, and the lower the ability to speak and write Spanish. Since a large number of Puerto Rican emigrants have come from the lower socio-economic groups, their limited knowledge of English acquired through home experiences limited their adjustment to and interaction in the school ambience. The consequence of the marginalism to which they are thus subjected, induce them to develop their own forms of communication and "we-feeling" which they bring with them when moving to the Island. All this suggests the urgent need for creating experimental educational programs to cope with the particular problems of these children, including specialized programs to deal with personality maladjustment problems and negative attitudes resulting from their marginal position in mainland schools. Since these children are potential labor force participants within a few years, education seems to be the key solution of the problem of youth unemployment that they would obviously create unless properly equipped to meet the formal education and skill requirements of modern employment.

Much research, however, remains to be conducted to provide clear answers to the questions related to the "within-group" and "between group" differences associated with the reincorporation to the social environment and labor market in Puerto Rico of these groups, after having resided and interacted in the United States society for a period of time and which are relevant to the policy considerations discussed above. Some suggestions of the kind of research needed are sketched below.

The Need for Further Research

The following suggestions for further research needed to clarify unresolved questions related to the various aspects of return migration are not exhaustive. It is obvious that a cross-sectional study similar to the one conducted on a particular segment, that is the 1965-1970 period, of the return migration flow has many limitations. These were indicated earlier in the introduction to this report, and there is no need for repetition at this stage, except to stress the type of additional research needed to complement the findings from such a study. Exhaustive research is needed to provide a complete case history of the Puerto Rican migrant, encompassing the entire life migration experience.

Such studies should provide data on the influence of the social, cultural psychological, economic, and historical factors associated with the initial decision to migrate and subsequent return migration. These studies should explore fully family ties, education, economic and social conditions, religion, neighborhood environment, marriage, nationality of spouse, place of birth of children, attitudes, values, as well as job mobility on the Island before departure, on arrival in the U.S., and again on return. In brief, they should explore the sum total of the conditions which produce differentials in attitudes, values, and expectations, to form a pattern of behavior which makes the migrant at one and the same time, a stranger both in the U.S. and in Puerto Rico, and which could account for a continual back and forth movement as he seeks social and economic betterment.

In depth studies are needed of labor force behavior of Puerto Rican migrants, before, during, and after the migration experience; of the process of readjustment to, or assimilation of, the cultural, social and economic way of life of, the host mainland society, and the socio-historical and psychological factors associated with the decision to return.

Documentation on the reasons for the heavy flow-like character of this migratory movement is far from complete. It is important to understand clearly the motivations which influence migrants to remain permanently, or for lengthy periods in the U.S., or to move back and forth, and to evaluate the constraints which work against the efficient reincorporation to the host society, or to their society of origin, which make for their inability to establish permanent residence in either society. For example, while available data clearly shows that the migratory movement is influenced by economic factors, yet even though favorable economic conditions are present, this back and forth flow still continues, though in varying degree. From the evidence, one could predict that this pattern of living may be damaging to the stability of the family, but sufficient research has not been conducted in this area to arrive at conclusive statements; for on the other hand, it is possible that this new social person may have created a new life style, acceptable and rewarding to both himself and his family.

Research priorities should also be given to studies on the reincorporation of returnees to the Island society, with special emphasis on the adjustment of their children to the new experience, for while for parents it is the return home, for the child it is an alien society, with pressures to learn a new language, to adapt to new norms, and in effect, once again he may become the unwanted stranger. Research in this area could provide data which could be the basis for predictions of future return migration to the U.S. in the coming decade. Of particular importance in all this is the impact of the returnee on the Island's institutions. Further studies on their impact on the society, the economy, the labor market, the family, the school system, health, welfare and housing programs, would be of relevant and enormous value for long term planning for the Island.

Return migration has increased during the past five years, and as stated earlier this trend may have not yet reached its peak, thus it is clear that intensive and dedicated research is urgently needed in the areas mentioned, so that the data derived will be used to provide indicators to deal successfully with the effects on migrants of this continuous migratory movement, and the resultant impact on the Puerto Rican society.

APPENDIX

List of Supplementary Tables

Analysis of the data assembled for this study yielded many hundreds of tabulations, the majority of which have not been included in the text. Many of these might be of interest to specialists in the subject. These tables are listed below. Interested persons can obtain them by writing to any of the following:

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Table Title

Table No.

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