

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN WORKERS
TO UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PART I: EMPIRICAL FACTS

by

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immigrant engineers, and 20.2 percent of all immigrant natural scientists admitted to the U.S. were Indians (by birth). Out of the 44,479 immigrant physicians and surgeons admitted to the U.S. during the peak period 1971-1977 about 27.4 percent were Indians (by birth).

Part I of this report deals with the magnitude and nature of this emigration process through some empirical facts available from various official reports; different changes in the U.S. immigration laws are also mentioned. Part II of this report will reveal some empirical facts on the U.S. immigration process in relation to different countries in the world. We shall discuss the causes and effects of immigration to the U.S. and emigration from India in Part III, along with some observations and comments on the current trend in relation to objective and subjective forces, both national (in India as well as in the U.S.) and international.

Introduction

The large-scale emigration of professional and technical workers from the so-called under-developed countries to the industrially developed capitalist countries, especially the U.S., has become a significant characteristic of the international division of labor after World War II. This movement reflects the change in the organic composition of capital, and the problems regarding valorization and accumulation of capital as well as the reproduction of professional labor power in the capitalist metropolitan centers on the one hand, and the social, economic and political development in the countries peripheral and semi-peripheral in the capitalist world on the other.

In this report we shall study this process, focusing our attention on the emigration of professional and technical workers from India to the U.S. The 1965 U.S. Immigration Act has led to the immigration of about 182,000 Indians to the U.S. during 1966-79. During 1966-79, about 68,000 Indian professional and technical workers immigrated to the U.S., a total surpassed only by the Filipinos. India's contribution to the total pool of professional and technical workers admitted to the U.S. as immigrants during 1970-77 was 14.2 percent, while only 3.78 percent of all immigrants admitted in that period were Indians by birth. Even in 1978-79 about 8,400 Indian professional and technical workers immigrated to the U.S., and the total number of Indian immigrants to the U.S. exceeded 40,000 during this two-year period. During 1966-79 more than 18,000 engineers, 6,000 scientists, and 11,400 physicians and surgeons emigrated to the U.S. from India, and India was the topmost source for immigrant scientists, engineers, and physicians and surgeons in the U.S. Between 1969 and 1978 about 24.2 percent of all

During 1901-1950 about 11,000 Indians immigrated to the U.S. The 1952 U.S. Immigration Act gave preferences to professional workers of high abilities. Moreover, as a result of implementing the Refugee Immigration Act after the Second World War many European quotas were unfilled. These two Acts led to an increase in the number of Indian immigrants to the U.S. About 3,100 Indians immigrated to the U.S. during 1951-60 and about 3,300 during 1961-65.

The large-scale emigration of Indians to the U.S. essentially started since 1969, as a result of the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act (fully effective after 1968). The 1965 Act replaced the nationality-quota system by the preference system, mainly classified into "relative preferences" (74% of over-all limitation), "occupational preferences" (20% of over-all limitation), and the preference for refugees (6%); the upper limit of the number of immigrants from any country in the Eastern Hemisphere was set at 20,000, the total number for this Hemisphere being 170,000. The total ceiling for the Western Hemisphere was set at 120,000, and the preference system became applicable to this Hemisphere since 1976. The preference system is now applicable to the global quota of 290,000 following the 1978 amendment.*

During the early phase 1966-69 about 17,700 Indians immigrated to the U.S., but the total number increased to about 83,000 in the next six years. Although the problems of "brain drain" were extensively discussed in the international circles, the number of Indian immigrants to the U.S. gradually increased; about 81,200 Indians immigrated to the U.S. during 1976-79, and about 22,000 of these Indians were listed as professional and

*Currently the world-wide quota under different preference categories is limited to 270,000 annually, of which 80% are allocated to relative preferences and 20% to occupational preferences. Special immigrants, "Immediate Relatives" of U.S. citizens, and refugee immigrants are exempt from numerical limitation.

Part I: Empirical Facts

1. Number of Immigrants. First we shall discuss the historical process which eventually led to the present trend of emigration of Indian workers to the U.S. Although over 19 million people, mostly blue-collar workers, immigrated to the U.S. in the last century, the participation of Indians in that process was negligible; only 696 Indians immigrated to the U.S. during 1820-1900. Indian labor was then under the British colonial power which was responsible for organizing the emigration of Indian (indentured) labor to the (former) British colonies, especially to the West Indies and British Guinea.

The early part of this century was the peak period for the influx of immigrants to the U.S., and in several years during that period the annual flow of immigrants exceeded one million. Out of a total of 8.8 million immigrants admitted to the U.S. during 1901-10 only 4,700 were Indians.

Although about 347,000 Chinese immigrated to the U.S. during 1851-1920 and 242,000 Japanese in 1881-1920, their immigration was restricted firstly by the "Chinese Exclusion Act" (1882), then by the "Gentlemen's Agreement" (1907) with Japan, and lastly by the 1917 U.S. Immigration Act which declared natives of a geographical area called the "barred zone" (which included India besides most of the Asian countries) inadmissible.

Immigration of Indians to the U.S. was furthermore restricted by the 1921 Immigration Quota Law (modified later in 1924 and 1929) which determined the limit on the number of immigrants of any nationality as 2-3 percent of the number of foreign-born in the U.S. of that nationality determined in a previous census (1890/1910). This law was applicable only to Eastern Hemisphere, for which the total annual quota was set at 150,000. The total quota for all the Asian countries was less than 3,000, and the quota for India was only 100.

Table 1a. Number of Indians Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1951-79:
By Birth, by LPR and by the State of Chargeability (in thousands)

Immigrant Indians	1951-65	1966-69	1970-75	1976-77*	1978-79	1966-79
By birth	6.5	17.7	83.0	40.7	40.5	181.9
By last permanent residence	4.6	15.8	75.4	37.1	37.8	166.1
By state of chargeability	1.3	15.5	78.9	38.5	36.4	169.3

*Includes July 1, 1975 to Sept. 30, 1977 (2.25 years).

Note: During 1966-79 about 7.4% of Indian (by birth) immigrants were exempt from numerical limitation--12% in 1979.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

It is not known how many Indian immigrants to the U.S. went back to India or to other countries; the U.S. government does not keep emigration statistics. According to the Alien Address Report (U.S.) the number of Indian citizens in the U.S. increased from 5,089 in 1966 to 125,630 in 1979 including 113,879 permanent residents; about 130,000 Indians were recorded in the 1980 Alien Address Report. According to the 1980 U.S. Census, the number of Asian Indians residing in the U.S. was 361,544 (1.6 percent of the U.S. population); about one-fourth of these Indians lived in N.Y. and N.J.

Immigrant Indians are becoming U.S. citizens at a rather slow rate; the following table gives the trend. About 30,000 Indians became U.S. citizens during 1971-79.

Table 2. Number of Indians Naturalized in the U.S., 1948-79.

Period	1948-65	1966-71	1972-76	1977	1978	1979	1948-79
Number	1,772	1,941	11,450	5,574	6,477	6,001	33,215

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

technical workers. Table 1 gives the number of Indian immigrants to the U.S. during 1901-79, along with comparisons with the total number of immigrants from all countries as well as from Asia.

Table 1. Number of Indians (by Birth) Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1901-79: Absolute Number and as Proportions of World's Total and Asian Total.

	1901-50**	1951-60	1961-65	1966-69	1970-75	1976-79*
No. of Indian immigrants: Annual average (in thousands)	0.22	0.31	0.67	4.44	13.84	19.09
As % of total no. of immigrants to the U.S. from all regions	0.05	0.12	0.23	1.18	3.59	4.00
As % of total no. of Asian immigrants to the U.S.	1.5	2.0	3.0	7.5	11.7	10.3

*Includes July 1, 1975 to September 30, 1979 (4.25 years).

**Number of Immigrants by last permanent residence.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Statistical Abstracts, U.S. Government.

However, Indians are identified by one of the three following ways: (a) by birth, (b) by last permanent residence (LPR), and (c) by state of chargeability. The following table gives the number of immigrant Indians to the U.S. by the above three counts. Many Indians immigrated to the U.S. from countries other than India, especially from the U.K., Canada, and Africa, and recently from the Middle East.

PTK immigrants in 1970-77 came from Asian countries, mainly from the Philippines, India, China (Taiwan), and Korea (South). Moreover, the annual flow (on the average) of PTK immigrants to the U.S. increased from 26,128 in 1961-65 (9 percent of total) to 42,150 in 1966-77 (10.8 percent of total). During 1978-79, out of 88,374 PTK immigrants, 51.7% were Asians of whom 9.5% were Indians; the percentage shares of Canada and Central America increased.

About 264 PTK Indians immigrated to the U.S. per year in 1961-65, but that annual figure increased to 4,855 in 1966-77. While 10.8 percent of all immigrants admitted to the U.S. in the period 1966-77 were classified as PTK workers, about 50.6 percent of all Indian immigrants admitted in 1966-69 and 40.8 percent of all Indian immigrants admitted in 1970-77 were PTK workers. About 14.2 percent of all PTK immigrants admitted to the U.S. in 1970-77 were Indians, whereas only 3.78 percent of all immigrants admitted in this period were Indians (by birth). Table 3 gives the trend and distribution of the influx of the PTK immigrants to the U.S. during the period 1961-79.

During 1966-79 about 77.1 percent of all immigrant Indian workers (declaring some occupations) were PTK, whereas this percentage was 25.3 for immigrants from all regions combined. There was a minor change in the occupational distribution of Indian immigrants in the late seventies--the percentage of immigrants with no occupations (wives, children) increased, and so did the percentage of immigrants in the white-collar jobs other than PTK. This was due to the fact that a large proportion of Indians were admitted to the U.S. under relative preferences in the late seventies; many Indian immigrants after being naturalized in the U.S., brought their parents

2. Occupations of Indian Immigrants. Before 1952, the U.S. immigration laws were not explicitly designed to import professional and technical workers. However, the political and economic instability in Europe before and after the First World War led to a major influx of European professionals to the U.S.; besides this, the influence of the Russian Revolution was also significant. Later the outgrowth of the Nazi forces in Germany and Eastern Europe was also responsible for the emigration of many European professionals (especially Jews) to the U.S. On the average, about 621,000 people immigrated to the U.S. per year during 1901-1930, and only 1.7 percent of them were classified as "professional, technical and kindred" (PTK) workers. Due to the economic depression in the U.S. only 52,700 people immigrated to the U.S. annually in the next 11 years, but 7.7 percent of them were PTK workers.

The influx of PTK workers to the U.S. considerably increased after the Second World War; during 1946-55 about 13,600 PTK workers (7.0 percent of the total) immigrated to the U.S. per year. The 1965 Act not only led to a considerable increase in the number of immigrants from the Asian countries (especially from the Philippines, India, Taiwan, and Korea), but also the number of immigrant PTK workers (especially from the under-developed countries) increased substantially.

Before 1945 almost all the immigrant PTK workers came from Europe or Canada; this trend more or less continued until 1965, although after the Second World War Latin American countries and the West Indies also contributed significantly to the pool of PTK immigrants to the U.S. During 1961-65 about 61.3 percent of PTK immigrants came from Europe and Canada, but this share reduced to only 21.5 percent in 1970-77. Over 59 percent of the

and brothers and sisters, who were not necessarily professional or technical workers. Table 4 shows the occupation-distribution of the Indian immigrants admitted in 1966-79.

Table 4. Occupational Distribution of Indians (by birth) Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1966-79.

Occupation	Indian Immigrants						All immigrants; 1966-79**	
	Percentage Distribution				1966-79*		Total (in thousands)	%
	1966-1969	1970-1975	1976-1977	1978-1979	Total	%		
Professional, technical & kindred (PTK)	50.6	44.3	33.7	20.8	67,894	37.3	604.7	10.4
Managers and administrators excl. farm (MA)	1.3	2.0	4.2	5.1	5,658	3.1	150.1	2.6
Sales workers (SW)	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.0	1,235	0.7	54.6	0.9
Clerical & kindred (CK)	2.4	2.2	3.1	3.3	4,865	2.7	239.8	4.1
Craftsmen & kindred	1.1	1.2	1.6	1.5	2,449	1.3	312.5	5.4
Operatives	0.5	0.8	1.4	1.6	1,934	1.1	334.4	5.7
Laborers excl. farm	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	383	0.2	203.7	3.5
Farmers and farm managers	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.2	290	0.2	22.9	0.4
Farm laborers & foremen	0.3	0.2	0.9	2.1	1,482	0.8	91.8	1.6
Service workers excl. private household	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.8	1,439	0.8	212.5	3.6
Service workers - private household	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	445	0.2	161.4	2.8
No occupation	41.6	47.5	52.8	63.1	93,827	51.6	3,445.5	59.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	181,901	100.0	5,834.0	100.0

*Includes the Transition Quarter, 1976.

**July 1, 1965 to Sept. 30, 1979.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

Table 3. Number of PTK Immigrants Admitted to the U.S., 1961-79.

Country/Region (by birth)	1961-65			1966-69			1970-72		
	Annual average	%	As % of total no. of immig.	Annual average	%	As % of total no. of immig.	Annual average	%	As % of total no. of immig.
All countries	26, 128	100.0	9.0	40,218	100.0	10.7	47,963	100.0	12.8
Europe	11,992	45.9	9.7	13,117	32.6	10.0	8,686	18.1	8.6
Asia	2,523	9.7	11.7	12,741	31.7	22.2	28,446	59.3	26.9
India	264	1.0	39.3	2,244	5.6	50.6	6,962	14.5	50.5
Canada	4,025	15.4	11.5	3,340	8.3	13.6	1,539	3.2	12.2
N. America excl. Canada	4,445	17.0	5.3	7,130	17.7	5.4	4,631	9.6	3.7
S. America	2,536	9.7	10.7	2,324	5.8	10.5	1,694	3.5	8.2
Africa	409	1.6	15.7	1,153	2.9	25.2	2,411	5.0	33.6
Oceania	196	0.8	15.0	413	1.0	18.1	554	1.2	17.7

Country/Region (by birth)	1973-77*			1978-79			1966-79		
	Annual average	%	As % of total no. of immig.	Annual average	%	As % of total no. of immig.	Annual average	%	As % of total no. of immig.
All countries	40,304	100.0	9.9	44,187	100.0	8.3	42,437	100.0	10.4
Europe	7,528	18.7	9.7	7,576	17.1	11.3	9,347	22.0	9.8
Asia	23,740	58.9	17.0	22,858	51.7	10.4	21,520	50.7	17.7
India	5,641	14.0	36.0	4,208	9.5	20.8	4,765	11.2	37.3
Canada	1,222	3.0	13.7	2,321	5.3	15.2	2,037	4.8	13.6
N. America excl. Canada	3,981	9.9	2.7	6,122	13.8	3.5	5,302	12.5	3.7
S. America	1,612	4.0	6.2	2,496	5.6	6.5	1,953	4.6	7.8
Africa	1,719	4.3	22.7	2,272	5.1	18.6	1,783	4.2	24.4
Oceania	502	1.2	14.4	542	1.2	12.2	494	1.2	15.3

*Includes the transition quarter July 1-Sept. 30, 1976.

1966-79: July 1, 1965 - Sept. 30, 1979.

Source: Annual Reports of the I.N.S., U.S. Government.

Table 5. Number of PTK Indians (by LPR) and Indian Students (by LPR) Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1969-79: by Major Occupational Groups.

Occupation	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	TQ '76	'77	'78	'79	1969-79
PTK-total	2,493	4,466	6,822	7,238	4,183	4,194	5,427	5,659	1,331	4,766	4,084	3,246	53,909
Accountants & Auditors	61	161	296	346	106	116	102	100	42	137	182	164	1,813
Architects	37	103	117	132	52	42	57	27	6	26	38	26	663
Engineers	1,119	2,347	3,254	2,502	636	663	973	892	251	782	1,148	1,040	15,607
Physicians & Surgeons	129	242	821	1,513	1,630	1,049	1,357	1,611	264	1,567	596	475	11,254
Registered Nurses	60	69	169	536	594	827	1,289	1,236	281	410	122	92	5,685
Scientists-Life, Physical, & Math	187	359	615	625	211	219	245	272	75	327	373	173	3,681
Social Scientists	29	62	58	48	13	49	46	35	12	38	39	30	459
Teachers-Colleges & Universities:total	220	236	345	205	52	94	98	94	28	93	138	117	1,720
Natural Science	83	82	127	75	14	17	17	15	8	10	21	16	485
Social Science	24	37	21	22	6	5	10	7	1	5	10	7	155
Engineering	22	21	15	13	5	6	7	8	2	8	5	10	122
Teachers-Schools	240	373	421	401	205	167	179	178	59	182	268	269	2,942
Computer Specialists	-	-	-	-	-	48	86	82	19	65	102	103	505
Pharmacists	22	36	59	95	115	104	173	210	61	249	131	84	1,339
Technicians	84	102	139	183	147	387	327	340	90	290	299	221	2,609
Students	205	332	376	443	564	752	1,002	1,220	383	1,664	2,222	2,296	11,459

Note: 1969-79: Total Immig. Indians (by LPR) = 155,527;
 Total PTK Immig. Indians (by birth) = 61,807

Source: I.N.S. Special Reports, U.S. Government (through personal communication).

immigrant scientists and engineers. Tables 6(a) and 6(b) give the number of scientists, engineers, and physicians and surgeons admitted to the U.S. during 1962-79 as immigrants along with the corresponding figures for Asian and Indian immigrants.

Table 6a. Number of Indian Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1966-78.

	E	NS	SS	CS	PS
Indians by LPR	17,302	4,794	675	300	11,002
Indians by birth	18,357	5,740	795	346	13,766

It may be added that 41 percent of the 5.8 million immigrants admitted during 1966-79 reported some occupations; moreover, 40.9 percent of these immigrant workers (having occupations) were recorded as white-collar, and 25.3 percent as PTK. It is important to note that the percentage of PTK workers among all employed persons in the U.S. increased from 12.5 in 1965 to 16.0 in 1980, and the percentage of white-collar workers increased from 44.8 to 52.2 during the above period; the total number of PTK workers increased by 76 percent whereas the total number of employed persons increased by only 36.8 percent.

During 1966-79 about 605,000 PTK workers were admitted to the U.S. as immigrants, and in this group there were 42,519 accountants and auditors, 92,585 engineers, 42,042 technicians, 28,635 natural scientists (including chemists), 7,164 social scientists, 66,874 physicians and surgeons, 79,671 nurses, and 21,556 teachers (colleges and universities).^{*} Similar data for Indian immigrants for 1969-79 are given in Table 5.

The most 'valuable' group among the immigrant PTK workers consists of scientists, engineers, and physicians and surgeons. The peak year for the immigration of scientists and engineers was 1970, and for physicians and surgeons it was 1972. During 1966-79 about 17.7 percent of all immigrant scientists and engineers, and 17.2 percent of all immigrant physicians and surgeons came from India; India contributed more than any other country to the pool of immigrant physicians and surgeons as well as to the pool of

^{*}In the early period chemists were listed separately. The group of college and university teachers include some scientists and engineers, not listed in other categories.

under the nonpreference category. The last category was mainly used in order to expedite the immigration process. Details are given in the following table. It is worth noting that during 1976-79 many more Indians were admitted under the relative preferences than under the occupational preferences, and this trend is becoming more prominent.

Table 7. Indian Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. under Different Preference Categories, 1966-79: Percentages of the Total Number.

Preferences	1966-69	1970-75	1976-77**	1978-79	1966-79*	
	%	%	%	%	Total	%
Relative preferences: total	18.7	28.1	48.4	78.3	72,191	42.6
Second preference	12.8	20.8	24.1	29.4	38,367	22.6
Fifth preference	5.0	7.1	24.0	48.4	33,208	19.6
Occupational preferences: total	71.2	27.3	26.6	18.7	49,667	29.3
Third preference*	33.9	11.4	11.2	5.2	20,531	12.1
Sixth preference*	9.2	4.4	6.8	4.4	9,149	5.4
Nonpreference	10.0	44.6	24.9	3.0	47,444	28.0

*Excludes spouses and children.

**Includes the transition quarter July 1, 1976-Sept. 30, 1976.

Note: 1966-79: July 1, 1965-Sept. 30, 1979.

Note: 2nd preference: Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent residents. (Original quota was 20%--now 26%)

5th preference: Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, 21 years of age and over. (24% quota)

3rd preference: Professional persons of exceptional abilities. (10% quota)

6th preference: Skilled and unskilled workers in short supply. (10% quota)

Nonpreference: Not used by the specified preference categories.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

4. Adjustments to the Immigrant Status. In 1966-79 only 31.6 percent of Indian immigrants to the U.S. adjusted their non-immigrant status to immigrant status--14.2 percent from student visas, 3.4 percent from "exchange-visitor" visas, and 5.5 percent from "temporary visitor" visas. It is worth

Table 6b. Number of Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1962-79: from all Regions, Asia and India.

Region/Country (LPR)	Annual Average					
	1962-65	1966-69	1970-72	1973-77*	1978	1979
All countries						
Total S & E	5,334	10,739	12,587	7,258	10,465	8,673
E	3,531	7,550	8,585	4,694	6,762	5,930
NS	1,551	2,704	3,330	1,737	2,320	1,619
SS	252	485	672	582	784	643
PS	2,038	2,940	5,353	6,015	4,435	3,040
Asia						
Total S & E	817	3,923	7,926	4,073	5,580	4,275
E	543	2,740	5,645	2,820	3,810	3,215
NS	242	1,029	1,957	900	1,172	667
SS	32	154	324	209	236	150
PS	239	1,084	3,514	3,688	2,143	1,448
India						
Total S & E	152	1,256(1,362)	3,414(3,672)	1,169(1,310)	1,666(1,896)	1,345
E	107	951(1,009)	2,704(2,805)	806(878)	1,153(1,298)	1,050
NS	40	266(310)	627(771)	276(329)	398(462)	189
SS	4	39(42)	83(97)	43(53)	45(54)	37
PS	12	88(128)	859(1,072)	1,424(1,782)	596(684)	475

*Includes July 1, 1972 to Sept. 30, 1977.

Note: S - Scientists (includes CS: Computer Specialists), NS - Natural Scientists (includes mathematicians and statisticians), SS - Social Scientists, PS - Physicians and Surgeons.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the number of immigrant Indians (by birth) in different categories.

Sources: NSF 65-17, NSF 68-14, NSF 69-36, NSF77-305, NSF 80-324, and personal communications.

3. Preference Categories. During 1966-79 about 169,300 Indians were admitted to the U.S. as immigrants by the 'state of chargeability' (under numerical limitations), of them 42.6 percent were admitted under the relative preferences, 29.3 percent under the occupational preferences, and 28.0 percent

1966-75 adjusted from student visas, and 2.6% from "exchange visitor" visas. The adjustment rate for Indian P|S was 50% and most of these adjustments were made from exchange-visitor visas. Except for social scientists the adjustment rate for immigrant Indian S|E and P|S decreased in the later half of the 1970's.

Table 9. Indian (by birth) Scientists, Engineers, Physicians and Surgeons Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, and Adjustments from Non-Immigrant Status, 1966-75, 1977-78.

Occupation	1966-69	1970-72	1973-75**	1966-75*	1977	1978
Natural Scientists-total	1,240	2,312	980	4,532	404	462
% Adjusted-total	74.0	55.7	38.2	56.9	35.3	37.9
Students	57.8	38.8	25.4	41.1	23.0	26.0
Exch. visitors	7.4	9.8	6.3	8.4	6.7	5.8
Social Scientists-total	170	291	179	640	52	54
% Adjusted-total	81.2	67.7	74.9	73.3	65.3	92.6
Students	62.9	43.0	53.1	51.1	44.2	64.8
Exch. visitors	4.7	11.0	6.7	8.1	3.8	9.2
Engineers-total	4,037	8,414	2,744	15,195	905	1,298
% Adjusted-total	78.4	50.7	47.4	57.4	44.8	44.1
Students	71.0	47.4	43.0	52.9	39.1	37.5
Exch. visitors	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.9
Physicians & Surgeons-total	513	3,216	5,269	8,998	2,046	684
% Adjusted-total	38.6	63.9	42.6	50.0	26.6	32.0
Students	7.8	1.3	0.8	1.4	1.2	1.5
Exch. visitors	21.6	51.5	30.9	37.7	19.0	21.2

*July 1, 1965 to Sept. 30, 1975.

**Includes the TQ, 1975.

Source: N.S.F. Washington, D.C. (personal communication).

noting that during the above period more than 32,500 exchange visitors and 400,000 temporary visitors (from all regions) were able to secure immigrant status in the U.S. despite the general belief (and the U.S. regulations) that such adjustments are generally not possible. In the early period 1966-69 more than half of the Indian immigrants were first admitted to the U.S. as non-immigrants, but in the later period 1976-78 more than three-fourths of the Indian immigrants were "direct" immigrants.

Table 8: Number of Adjustments of Indian (by birth) Nonimmigrants in the U.S. to Immigrant Status, 1966-79.

Nonimmigrant status at entry	Percentage of total number of Indian immigrants admitted.				
	1966-69	1970-75	1976-78*	1979	1966-79*
Total adjusted	54.6	37.2	23.1	13.9	31.6(57,556)
Students	32.3	15.7	9.8	5.3	14.2(25,845)
Exchange visitors	1.8	5.5	2.0	0.5	3.4(6,170)
Spouses and children of students and exch. visitors	9.2	8.0	3.9	1.8	6.0(11,023)
Temporary workers & trainees	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4(799)
Temporary visitors	5.9	5.5	5.7	4.6	5.5(10,024)
Government officials	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3(565)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate total number.

*Includes TQ, 1976. Figures for TQ, 1976 are estimated.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

During 1966-75 about 58% of immigrant Indian S|E adjusted from non-immigrant status to immigrant status; the adjustment rate for social scientists was about 73%. About 50% of immigrant Indian S|E admitted during

the U.S. as immigrants during 1966-78 were of 20-39 years old--about 45% between 20 and 29 years. In the later period, the percentages in both the lowest and highest age groups as well as the percentage of females increased; this is due to the fact that more Indians were admitted under relative preferences, and a larger number of Indian families immigrated in the later period.

Table 11. Percentage Distribution of Immigrant Indians by Age and Sex, 1965-79 (By Birth).

Age (in years)	1965	1966-69	1970-73	1974-77	1978-79
Under 10	11	12	16	14	15
10 - 19	10	6	6	7	11
20 - 29	43	45	44	46	38
30 - 39	27	29	27	22	22
40 - 49	5	5	6	5	7
50 and above	5	2	1	5	7
Males	56	60	55	52	52

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

6. Nonimmigrants. As we have seen above, the majority of Indian immigrants were direct immigrants. However, the nonimmigrant status is the first major step towards securing an immigrant visa when the channels for direct immigration become restricted. Table 12 gives the number of Indians admitted to the U.S. under different nonimmigrant categories during 1966-79.

It is interesting to note that the number of exchange visitors from India gradually decreased, whereas the number of temporary visitors (especially for pleasure) substantially increased.

Academic and cultural contacts between India and the U.S. began to strengthen from the early fifties, and since then the numbers of Indian students, exchange visitors and trainees in the U.S. gradually increased

It appears that the difference between the year of adjustment to immigrant status and the year of entry to the U.S. as a non-immigrant is 3-4 years on the average for the group of Indians who adjusted their status in 1966-77. The distribution of these differences is given in Table 10.

Table 10. Number of Adjustments of Indian Non-immigrants to Immigrant Status, 1969-79: Years of Adjustment and Years of Entry to the U.S.(Indians by birth)

Difference between time of adjustment and time of entry (in years)	Number of adjustments under sec. 245 - percentage distribution											
	Year of adjustment											
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977*	1978*	1979*	
0 - 0.5	1.1	0.5	1.1	1.2	0.8	0.8	1.4	0.7	1.4	3.2	19.5	
0.5 - 1.5	11.6	10.0	11.5	14.2	26.0	19.7	15.0	9.0	11.6	11.1	13.9	
1.5 - 2.5	22.7	25.0	27.0	26.7	32.1	25.8	29.3	25.8	20.0	15.7	13.6	
2.5 - 3.5	20.0	24.8	24.5	24.8	18.9	19.9	19.3	20.7	21.9	16.1	14.6	
3.5 - 4.5	17.4	15.9	17.1	15.4	11.1	16.2	13.6	17.2	18.7	20.2	12.2	
4.5 - 5.5	10.9	9.7	8.2	9.8	5.9	9.8	10.7	11.3	11.9	14.7	8.8	
5.5 - 6.5	6.3	6.3	4.1	3.6	2.5	4.4	6.7	8.0	6.4	8.2	4.5	
6.5 and above	10.0	7.8	6.5	4.3	3.4	3.4	4.0	7.3	8.1	10.8	12.9	

*The first column is 0-0.75, 0.75-1.75 etc.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

Although occupational preferences were designed to import professional and technical workers, three-fourths of the PTK immigrants to the U.S. during 1966-77 were admitted under other preferences. Moreover, of those immigrant PTK workers admitted under occupational preferences, 45.8 percent adjusted from non-immigrant status. Of course, these proportions varied for different occupational categories, and these data for some specific occupations are given in Part II. Similar information for Indian immigrants, in particular, is not available.

5. Age Distribution of Immigrants. Over 70% of Indians admitted to

Table 13. Number of Indian Students Admitted to the U.S. as Non-immigrants, 1967-78 (by LPR).*

	Year of entry											
	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967
Total number	2,948	2,112	2,350	3,194	4,293	3,780	3,725	5,314	5,137	4,330	3,888	3,019
Rank, country-wise	13	16	11	8	6	4	7	3	3	3	3	3
As % of the no. of all nonimmigrant students admitted	1.6	1.4	1.9	3.0	3.9	5.8	3.8	5.6	5.2	4.8	5.3	4.8

*Includes multiple entries.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

Until 1973 the top three nationalities among the foreign students in the U.S. were usually Canadian, Mexican and Indian. The number of Indian students in U.S. colleges and universities increased from 3,772 in 1959-60 to 12,523 in 1970-71, and then slowly decreased to 9,250 in 1980-81. However, the number of foreign students in U.S. colleges and universities increased from 48,486 in 1959-60 to 311,880 in 1980-81. About 35 percent of these foreign students in 1979-80 came from the OPEC countries. It is worth mentioning that in 1979-80 more than 80 percent of foreign students in U.S. colleges and universities were supported by personal family funds or the respective national governments, and only 9 percent of them were supported by U.S. colleges and universities. But in 1970-71 about 40 percent were supported by personal family funds or the respective national governments, and 18 percent were fully or partly supported by U.S. colleges and universities.

The 1975 periodic survey of National Center of Education Statistics revealed that out of 58,800 foreign graduate students in U.S. colleges and universities, about 33,000 were enrolled full time in graduate science

Table 12. Number of Indians Admitted to the U.S. as Non-immigrants, 1951-78:
Differernt Non-immigrant Status at Entry.

Non-immigrant status at entry	Annual Average						
	1957-60	1961-65	1966-69	1970-73	1974-77	1978	1979
Total: By birth			22,145	44,148	73,564	100,610	76,397
By LPR			16,581	29,184	40,412*	47,773	34,528
Students: By birth	1,116	2,133	3,603	4,853	3,297	3,202	1,263
By LPR	1,080	2,097	3,426	4,489	3,119*	2,945	1,098
Exch. Visitors (LPR)**	972	1,745	2,178	1,866	1,057*	884	570
Temporary workers & trainees (LPR)	51	187	132	193	241*	215	209
Temporary visitors (LPR)							
For business			2,057	3,468	4,992	6,417	5,323
For pleasure			5,304	12,450	20,488	27,499	21,206
Government Official (by birth)			459	622	514	606	463

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

*Includes TQ 1976.

**Includes students.

Note: No. of inter-company transferees (by LPR): 1978 - '96, 1979 - 120.

No. of nonimmigrant S|E (by LPR) admitted - annual average: 1966-69 - 328, 1970-73 - 140, 1974-75 - 350.

No. of nonimmigrant PS (by LPR) admitted - annual average: 1966-69 - 732, 1970-73 - 634.

until 1973. In the early period, most of the Indian students in the U.S. were supported by U.S. colleges and universities or government funds; later, personal family funds became the major source of support. There was also a shift in the major fields of study--from natural science and engineering to business management, computer science, and industrial engineering. In 1980, there were about 9,000 Indian students in U.S. colleges and universities; 31% of them were enrolled in engineering, 16% in science, and 21% in business (15% in business in 1976). The peak period for the influx of Indian students to the U.S. was 1970-73. Table 13 gives the number of Indian students admitted to the U.S. as non-immigrants during 1967-78.

complete record of individual movements. The number of Indian exchange visitors admitted to the U.S. (as non-immigrants) during 1966-76 is 21,452; but this figure includes repeated entries. Moreover, some exchange visitors might have first visited the U.S. with student visas or trainee visas or visitor's visas. Let us now assume that an exchange visitor would have to stay in the U.S. for three years as a non-immigrant before changing to immigrant status. The number of Indian exchange visitors who adjusted to immigrant status during 1969-79 is 5,967. However, some exchange visitors might have first left the U.S. temporarily and then re-entered the U.S. as direct immigrants; some others might have first changed to temporary trainee's visas and then adjusted to the immigrant status. Nevertheless, from the two figures cited above we may get an estimate (probably an underestimate) of the percentage of Indian exchange visitors admitted to the U.S. in 1966-76 who eventually became U.S. immigrants; that estimate turns out to be 27.8 percent.

It would be much less accurate to estimate the similar proportion for Indian students admitted to the U.S. as non-immigrants using the above method. Anyway, assuming that it would require 4 years (on the average) for a non-immigrant Indian student to adjust to immigrant status, the above method would indicate that about 51 percent of Indian non-immigrant students admitted to the U.S. (excludes multiple entries) in 1962-75 became U.S. immigrants.

Again, it is not possible to know what proportion of Indians admitted to the U.S. as immigrants in a given period are still U.S. residents. Data on multiple entries, deaths etc. are not available. According to the U.S. Alien Address Report there were 113,879 Indian (by nationality) permanent residents

and engineering programs; the number of foreign students enrolled in Ph.D granting institutions in 1975 represented less than 16% of the full time total in 1975, in contrast to the 20% share 5 years earlier.

In 1980, foreigners made up 21% of all full time S|E graduate students in doctorate-granting institutions, up from 16% in 1975 (NSF 82-306). Moreover, 46.3 percent of all recipients of new Ph.D. degrees in engineering in 1980 were foreign citizens; similar percentages for physical sciences, biological sciences and social sciences were 22.9, 11.5 and 20.0, respectively.

Table 14 gives the number of Indian students (not necessarily non-immigrants) in U.S. colleges and universities during selected periods in 1954-81.

Table 14. Number of Indian Students in U.S. Colleges and Universities, 1954-80.

	1954-55	1959-60	1960-66	1966-69	1969-74	1974-80	1980-81
Annual average	1,673	3,772	6,094	8,399	11,203	9,323	9,250
Total as % of all foreign students in U.S. colleges and universities	4.9	7.8	8.8	7.6	7.8	4.2	3.0

Source: Open Door, Institute of International Education, Washington, D.C.

7. Some Estimates. From the available official data it is not possible to know what proportion of exchange visitors (or students) from India eventually became U.S. immigrants (in a specific period); this would require

and exchange visitors in natural science, 9900 in engineering, and 4300 Indian exchange visitors in medicine adjusted to immigrant status during 1966-79. (See Table 9). Anyway, the C.S.I.R. data are presented below.

Table 15. Enrolled Number of Indian Scientists, Technicians, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons that Went Abroad for Training, and Number Returned Back. Selected Countries of Training.

Field	Country of Training							
	U.S.A.		U.K.		W. Germany		All Countries	
	Total	No. Returned	Total	No. Returned	Total	No. Returned	Total	No. Returned
Science	3,674	1,753 (47.7)	1,293	661	454	239	7,422	3,678 (49.5)
Technology	390	189 (48.5)	474	260	219	98	1,305	658 (50.4)
Engineering	3,054	1,304 (42.7)	2,793	1,321	1,158	560	8,457	3,891 (46.0)
Medicine	971	494 (50.9)	3,045	1,630	64	24	4,510	2,301 (51.0)
Total	8,089	3,740 (46.2)	7,605	3,872	1,895	921	21,694	10,528 (48.5)

Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages returned.

Source: Technical manpower, C.S.I.R., Government of India, New Delhi, January, 1980.

'Indians Abroad' started to include the list of social scientists in 1964. According to the C.S.I.R. report (1980), 496 Indians in social science and 653 in business administration are enrolled in the 'Indians Abroad'; the return-rates for these two groups are respectively 41.7 percent and 34.3 percent.

According to a report of the World Health Organization, 1334 Indian physicians returned to India from abroad between 1965 and 1969--917 from the U.K., and 313 from the U.S. (9)

8. Number of Indian (aliens) in the U.S. Every alien in the U.S. is legally required to report his/her address to the U.S. Government each January (until 1980). The following table gives the number of alien Indians reported.

in the U.S. in 1979. Between 1961 and 1979 about 32,400 Indian citizens naturalized in the U.S. On the other hand, about 170,000 Indians emigrated to the U.S. from India during 1956-79. It appears from the above data that roughly 86 percent of Indians admitted to the U.S. as immigrants during 1956-79 were still residents of the U.S. in 1979 (ignoring multiple entries, deaths, etc.)

It is more important to know what proportion of Indian scientists, engineers, and physicians and surgeons admitted to the U.S. in a given period eventually went back to India permanently (say, for at least two years of residence). However, neither the U.S. government nor the Indian government keeps track of these professional and technical workers. The only estimates available are based on voluntary reports received by the C.S.I.R., Govt. of India, and these estimates are far from accurate.

Since 1957 the C.S.I.R., Govt. of India, has been keeping records of the number of Indian scientists, engineers, and physicians and surgeons that went abroad; but this is based on voluntary reports by these professionals. According to the N.S.F., U.S.A., about 5,000 Indian natural scientists, 18,000 engineers and 11,500 Indian physicians and surgeons immigrated to the U.S. during 1966-79. The 'Indians Abroad' section of the C.S.I.R. Register, January 1980, lists only 7100 Indian scientists and engineers and 971 Indian physicians and surgeons that have received training in the U.S. Apparently, the C.S.I.R. Register does not include the Indian professionals who were directly admitted to the U.S. as immigrants. Even then, the C.S.I.R. estimate of the number of Indian students (college/university level), exchange visitors and temporary workers and trainees in S|E admitted to the U.S. as non-immigrants is a gross under-estimate. (See Tables 8 and 12). According to the N.S.F., U.S.A., 2600 Indian Students

Since 1970, the inflow of Indians to the Middle East has been increasing rapidly. However, most of these migrants are temporary workers, although many Indians have settled in certain regions in the Middle East. According to the 1971 Census, there were 6,657 Indians in Bahrain and 17,336 in Kuwait, but since then the number of Indians in those regions has increased considerably.

(ii) India is the largest exporter of medical manpower. It is estimated that there were about 15,000 Indian physicians outside India in 1971. Indian physicians can be found all over the world.

During the late 1960s about 1,000 Indian physicians emigrated to the U.K. each year (on the average). Out of about 7,000 Indian-born physicians in the U.K. in 1970, about 5,700 were attached to the National Health Service, mostly in junior posts. Even in 1975 about 1,250 Indian physicians entered the U.K. But the inflow of Indian physicians to the U.K. has slowed down due to the fact that the British General Medical Council withdrew recognition of qualification from 55 medical colleges in India. (9)

In 1970, there were about 4,000 Indian medical graduates in the U.S., and 65% of them were either interns or residents. During 1971-77 about 12,200 Indian physicians immigrated to the U.S. (9,812 from India directly). The influx of Indian physicians to the U.S. has slowed down due to the restrictive measures by the U.S. Government in 1977.

Since 1970 the influx of Indian physicians to the OPEC countries of the Middle East has increased considerably. Indian physicians can also be found in different countries in Africa. In 1970, there were about 350 Indian physicians in Kenya, 200 in Tanzania, 70 in Uganda, 65 in Ghana. There was also a steady flow of Indian physicians, however small, to Canada. (9)

Table 16. Number of Indians Reported under Alien Address Program, 1965-79;
Selected years.

Year	1965	1968	1971	1974	1977	1979
Total number	3,906	29,804	56,725	80,060	108,596	125,630
Total permanent residents	994	13,359	35,095	63,638	95,557	113,879

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

Note: Total number of people deported from the U.S. to India during 1966-79 = 468.

9. Comments.

(i) After the Second World War the emigration of Indians to Great Britain and Northern Ireland considerably increased. During the second-half of the 1960s about 20,000 Indians emigrated to these regions annually. The 1971 Census in Great Britain revealed that there were 322,000 persons in Great Britain who had been born in India; of these, 252,000 had arrived after 1949. Net migration of Indians to Great Britain slowed down in the 1970s. During 1970-74 net migration from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to the U.K. was 64,000. (10)

It was estimated that about 600,000 Indians were living abroad in 1974. (10) Although emigrant Indians constituted the second largest nationality group (next to Lebanese) among all foreign nationality groups in Australia in the early 1970s, the major destination of emigrant Indians shifted from the U.K. to the United States and Canada in the last decade.

About 29,500 people emigrated from India to Canada between 1946 and 1970, and about 54,600 during 1970-77. More than 5,500 people immigrated to Canada from India in 1977. During 1970-74 the number of Indian-born emigrants to Canada was about 47,800, and by 1974 there were about 68,000 Indian-born residents in Canada. (10)

According to the U.S. Census, the number of Indian-born residents in the U.S. increased from 12,300 in 1960 to 51,000 in 1970, and then jumped to 361,544 (number of Asians of Indian origin) in 1980.

in the Indian ruling circles in order to promote the necessary fundamental economic and social reforms, in spite of many socialist rhetoric by the ruling power, are not only responsible for the massive wastage of natural and human resources in India but also for the loss of national wealth incurred through emigrant professionals. The "free" movement or the "free" development of some privileged Indians manifested partly in the emigration process, and the obstruction to the free development of the masses in India are the two sides of the same coin.

It is true that India's position is not comparable to those of Taiwan, the Phillipines, South Korea or Mexico so far as the extent and role of U.S. capital is concerned. India's ruling circles have a certain degree of autonomous political power, developed partly in the interests of the national bourgeoisie and partly in response to the ongoing internal class struggle. Nevertheless, the economic, educational and cultural contacts with the dominant forces in the U.S. play a major role in the aspirations and development of the ruling bourgeoisie in India amidst the dominant capitalist mode of production. Perpetuation of the prevailing mode of production in India and the contribution of the emigrant Indian professionals in the U.S. to the reinforcement and strengthening of the rule of U.S. capital, in particular, not only would reduce the degree of autonomous power of the Indian ruling circles and undermine any efforts for self-reliance but also heighten antagonism nationally in a wide scale.

On the other hand, the economic and political measures of the U.S. ruling circles so far as India is concerned are primarily directed towards keeping India within the periphery of the capitalist world. The U.S. Immigration Acts are designed to sustain and promote the interests of U.S. capital, in particular, and the rule of capital in general.

(iii) The U.S. official data on the occupations of immigrants to the U.S. reveal only the occupations declared by the immigrants at the time of entry. These data do not portray the actual situation. Firstly, there may be an "upward" bias in the declared categories of occupations. Secondly, many immigrant professionals were not able to engage into the respective professions as declared at the time of entry, especially during the early period of their residence in the U.S. As a matter of fact, it was not very uncommon to see an Indian physician in the U.S. engaged as a laboratory technician, and an Indian engineer as a dish-washer or an assembly-line worker, an Indian scientist even as a farm-worker, and an Indian chartered accountant as a bank-clerk. During the recession periods in the U.S. many immigrant Indian engineers were unemployed for a considerable period of time. In effect, a large number of Indian professionals in the U.S. were forced to accept low-paying jobs which do not conform to their qualifications and experiences.

On the other hand, many Indian professionals changed their occupations after emigrating to the U.S., and moved to more prospective professions (in business management, computer technology etc.). Although, in most cases "no occupation" was recorded for wives of immigrant Indians at the time of entry, later many such women took low-paying clerical or service jobs besides few of them who have become professionals.

(iv) The purpose of this report is not to indulge into empiricism. The first object is to reveal the data on the immigration process and to note that these data by themselves cannot explain the process. The movement of capital, governed by the rule of capital, essentially determines the prevailing migration process. The colonial past of India along with the rise of the new bourgeoisie, capitalist development largely dependent on the metropolitan capitalist centers, and the lack of any effective political will

10. Graphs. Eight figures are presented to reveal various time-series data on Indian immigrants to the U.S. It may be noted that the annual figures prior to 1977 relate to July 1 - June 30, and from October 1 to September 30 since 1977.

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These Acts are not at all concerned with the independent and rational development of science and technology in India or the welfare of Indian workers in general.

The emigration of Indian workers to the U.S. needs to be viewed in the perspective of the cumulative effect of the above processes. Lastly, it may be noted that the forthcoming changes in the U.S. immigration laws, introducing restrictions on adjustments to immigrant status from student visas and eliminating the Fifth Preference, would have significant effects on the trend (especially the occupational structure) of emigration of Indian workers to the U.S.; the new laws would lead to more direct immigrants and more PTK immigrants from India, indicating a shift from the recent trend.

Figure 2. Cumulative Graphs--Indian Immigrants admitted to the U.S. under Different Preference Categories, 1966-79.

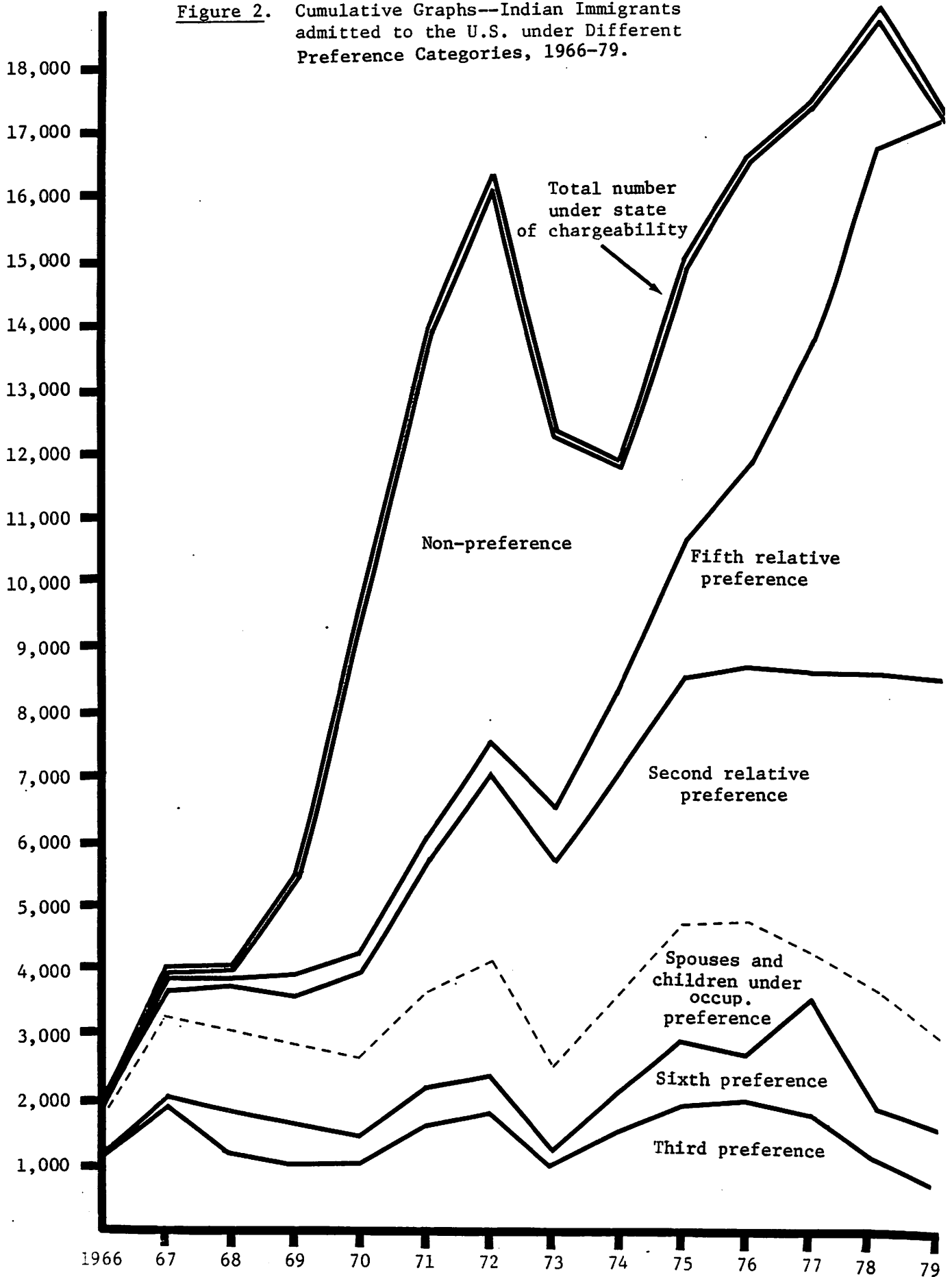


Figure 1. Number of Indian Immigrants to the U.S., 1965-79, under Different Classifications.

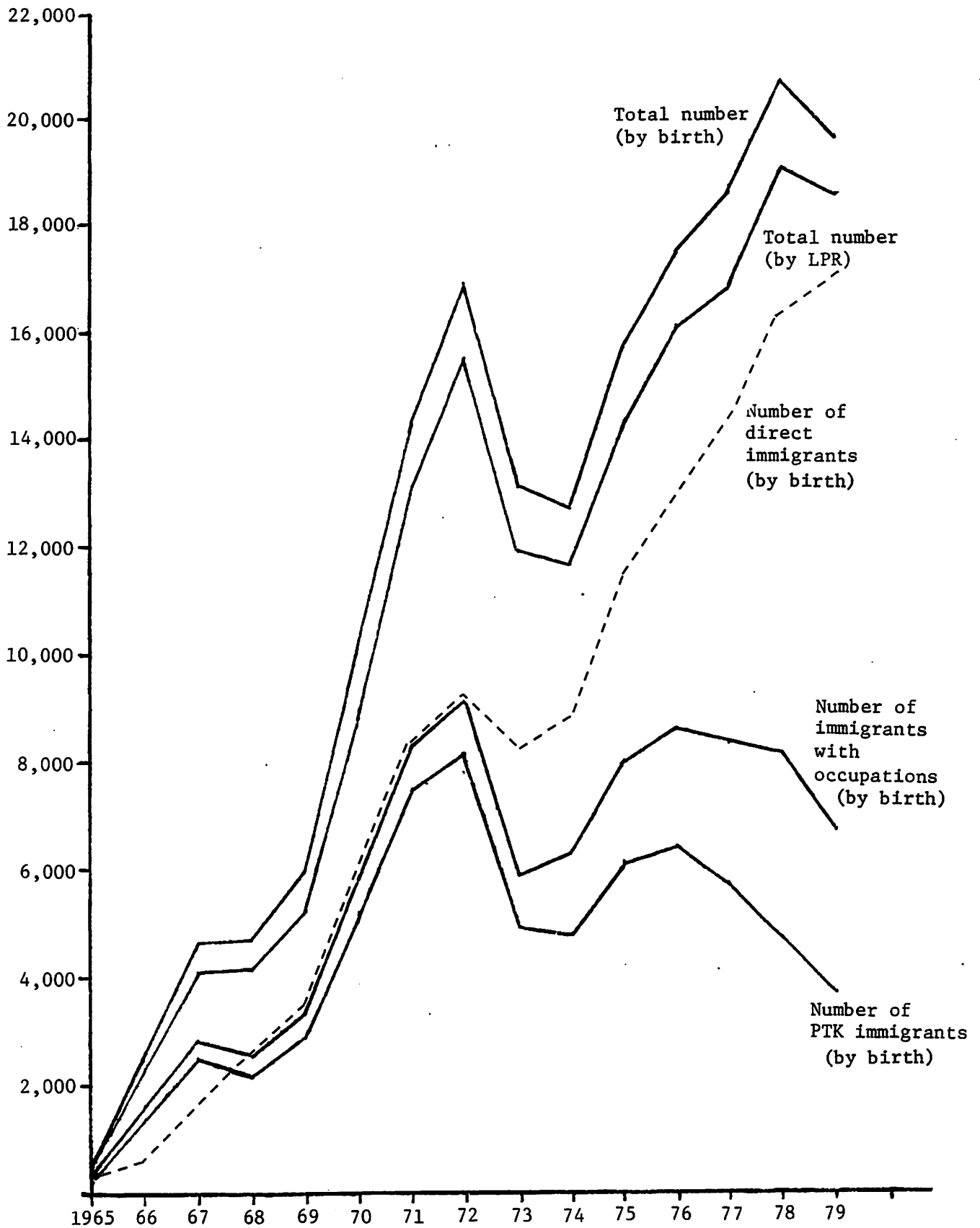


Figure 4. Number of Indian (LPR) Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1962-79.

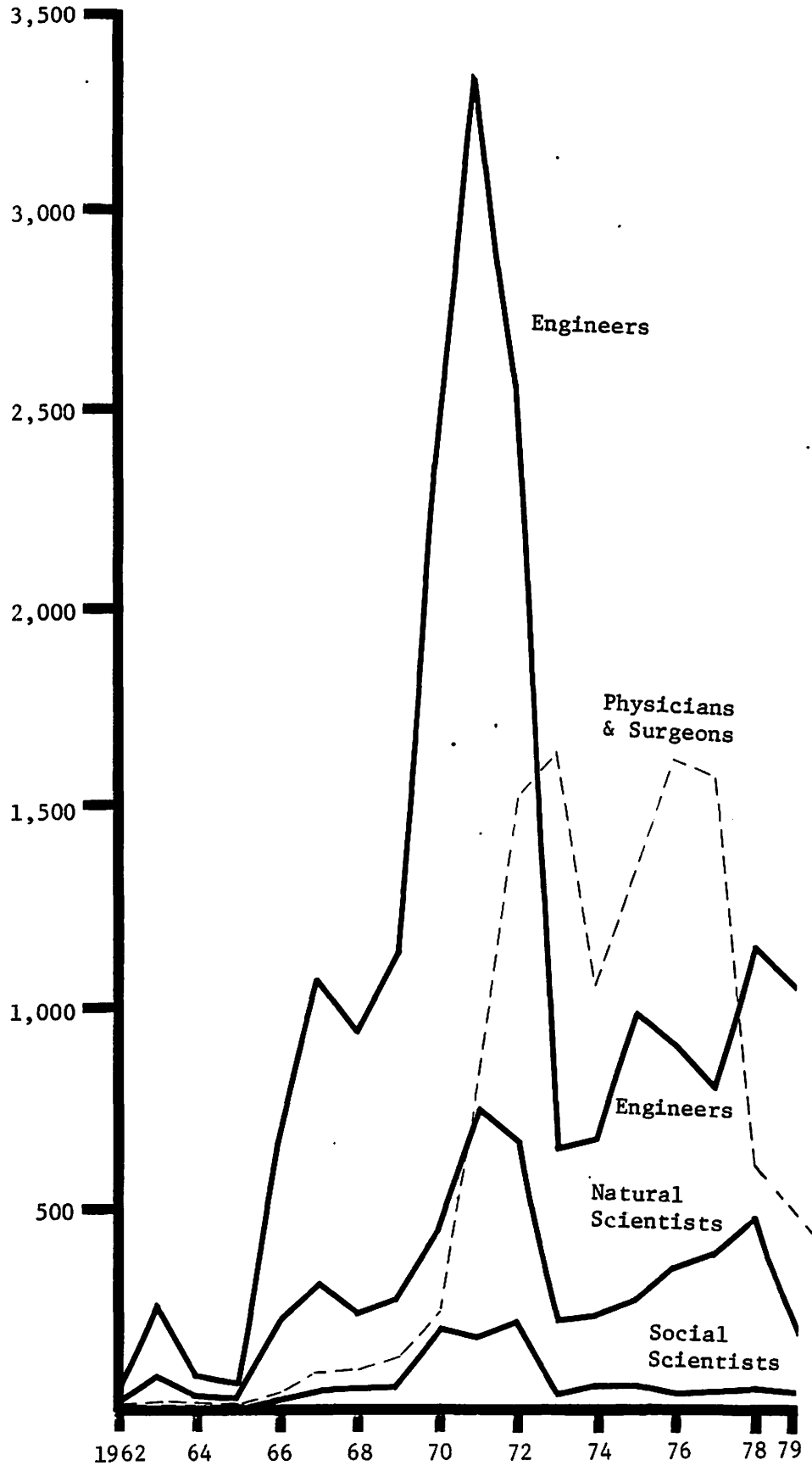


Figure 3. Number of Indian Immigrants who Adjusted to Immigrant Status from Different Nonimmigrant Categories. Cumulative Graphs: 1966-79.

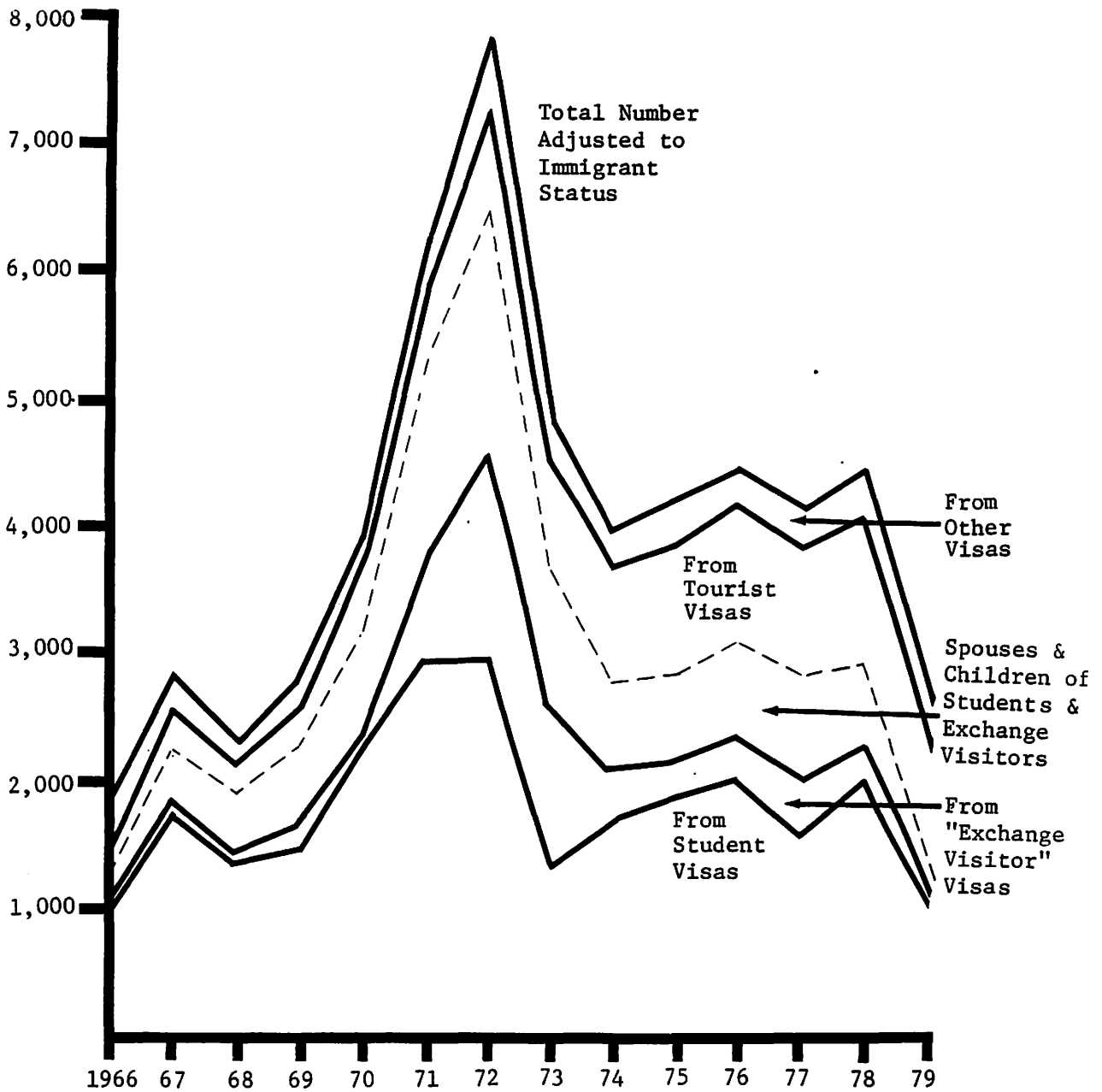
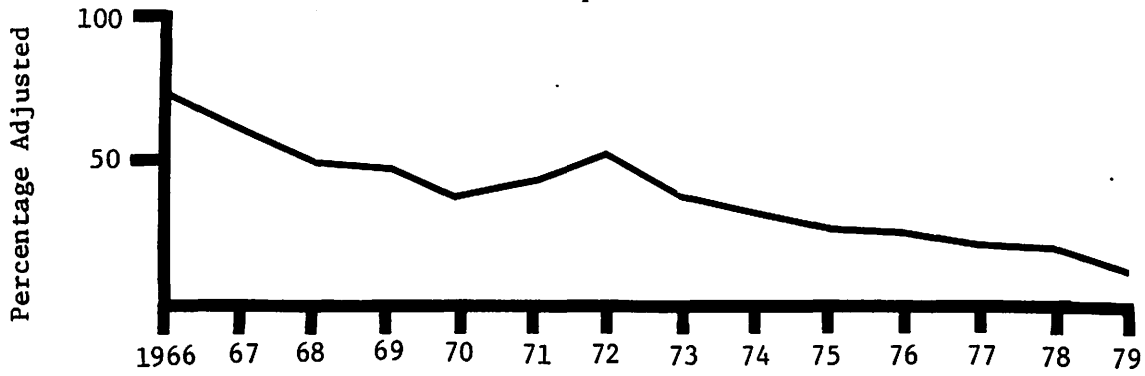


Figure 7. Number of Indians Reported Under U.S. Alien Address Program, and Indian Permanent Residents in the U.S.

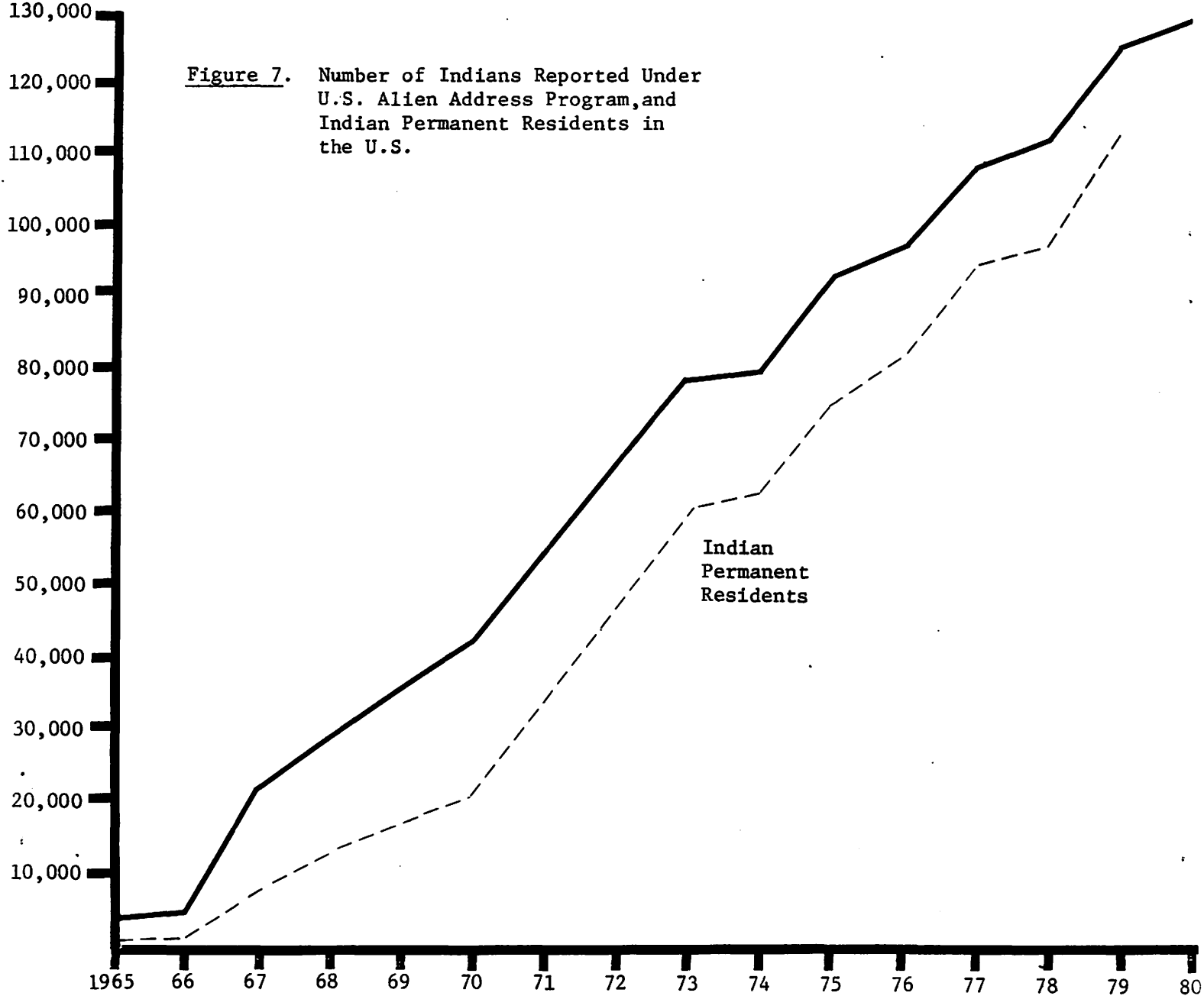


Figure 8. Number of Indians Naturalized in the U.S.

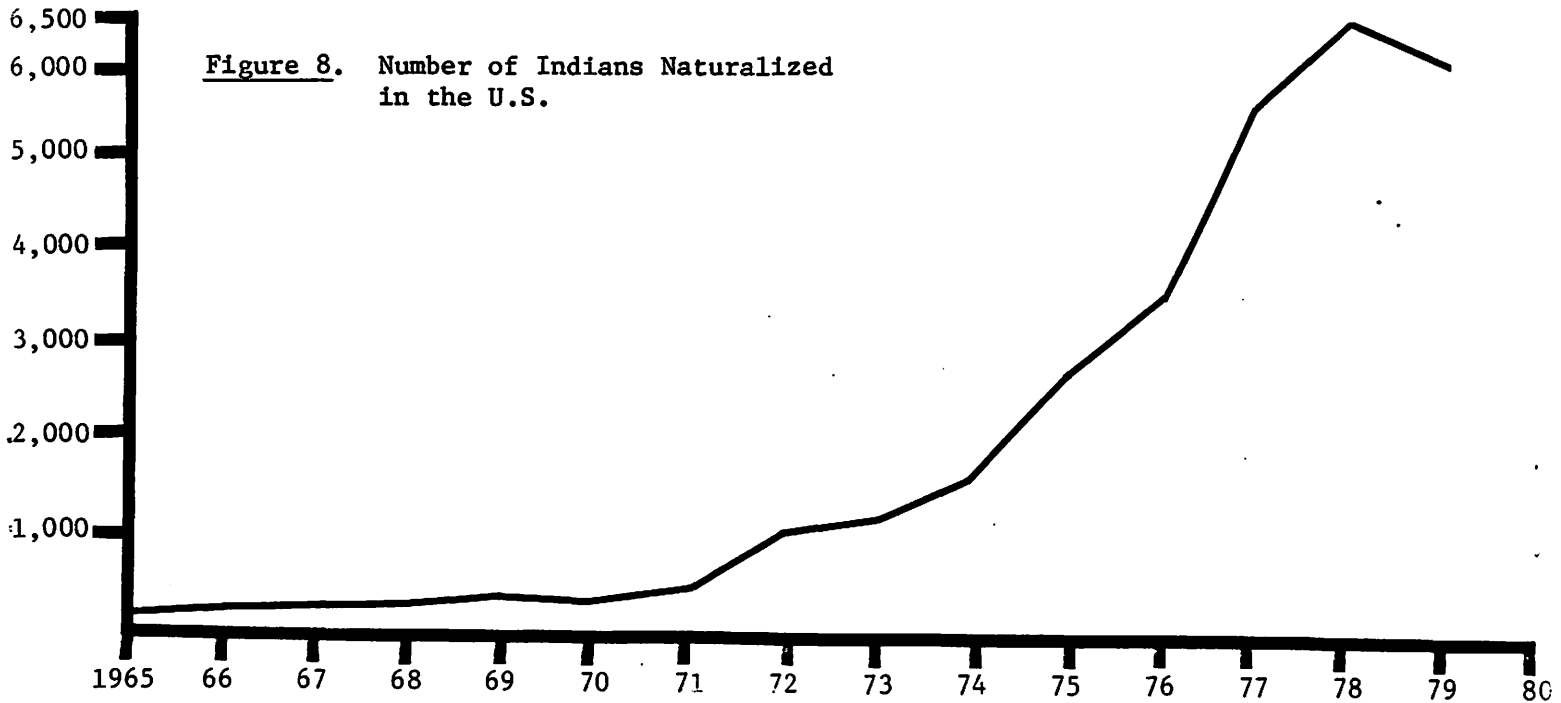


Figure 5. Indian Students in U.S. Colleges & Universities, and Nonimmigrant Indian Students Admitted to the U.S.

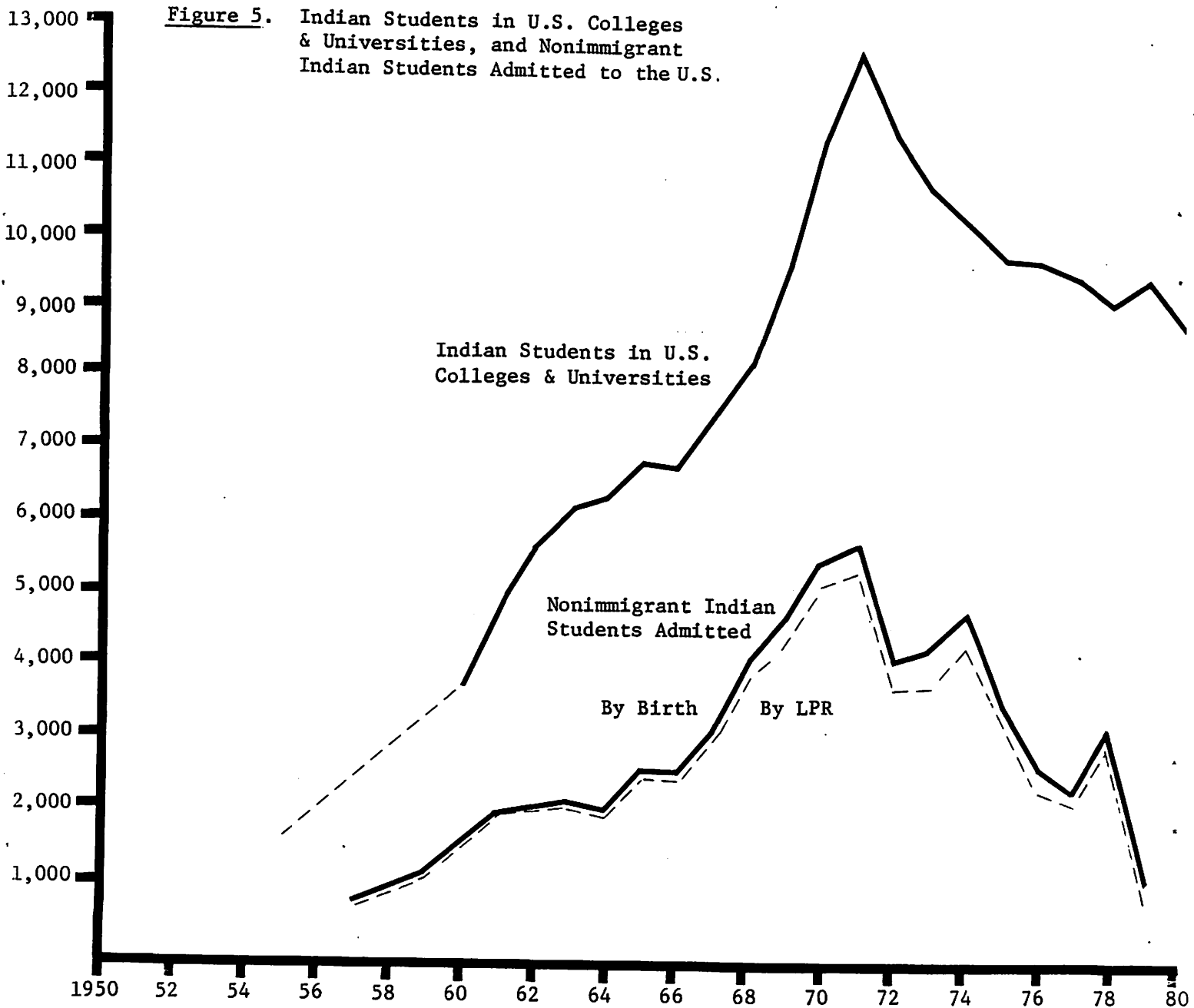
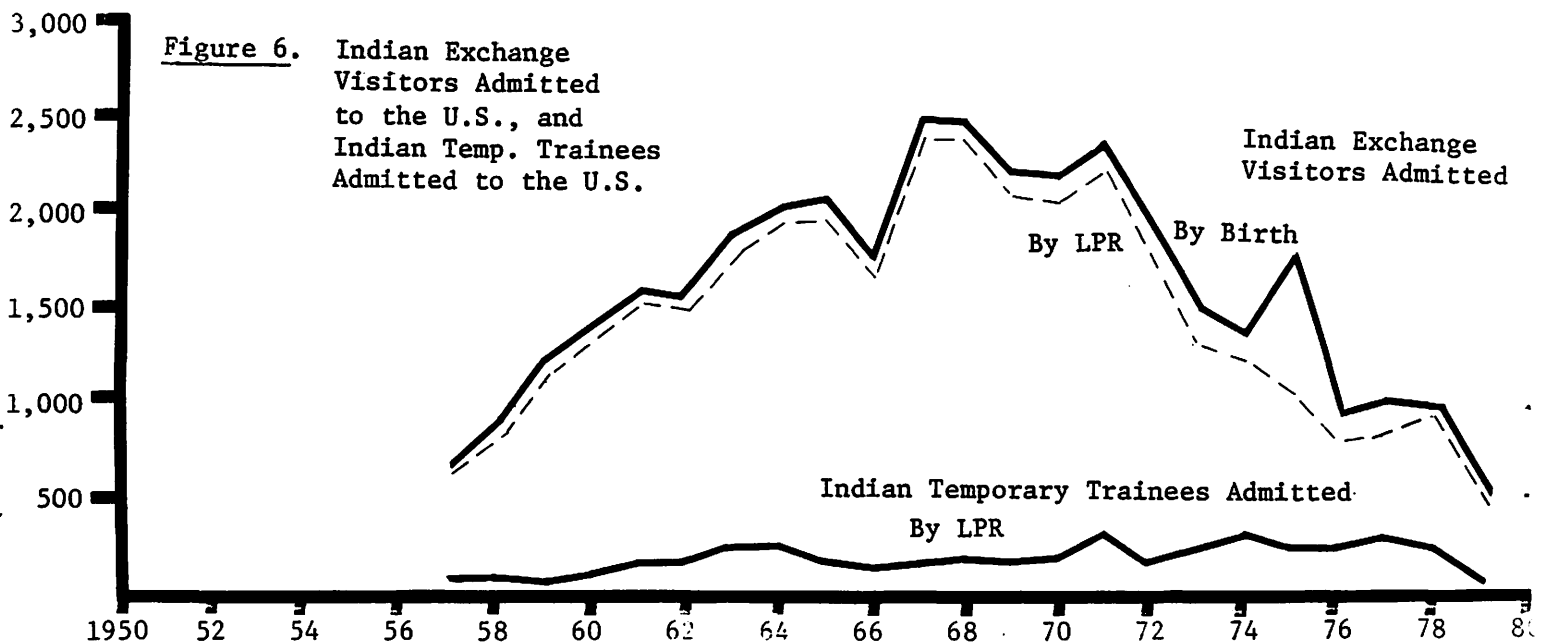


Figure 6. Indian Exchange Visitors Admitted to the U.S., and Indian Temp. Trainees Admitted to the U.S.



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