

1. *Introduction*

IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY  
IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

*Nancy Foner*

New York is America's quintessential immigrant city. It has long been a gateway for the nation's new arrivals and is a major receiving center today. By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, after nearly fifty years of massive immigration, just over 3 million immigrants lived in New York City. They have come, in the main, from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, although sometimes it seems as if every country in the world is represented. In 1970, 18 percent of New York City's population was foreign-born, the lowest percentage in the twentieth century. By 2010, about one out of three New Yorkers were immigrants, or 37 percent to be exact. If we add the second generation—the U.S.-born children of the foreign-born—the figure is even more remarkable, an estimated 55 percent. How have immigrants affected New York City? And, conversely, how has the move to New York influenced their lives?

This collection of original essays offers an in-depth look at immigrant New York at the beginning of the twenty-first century as older post-1965 groups are replenished by new arrivals, as brand-new immigrant groups come to settle in significant numbers, and as a large and growing second generation takes its place in the city. The book's approach is two-pronged: it combines micro and macro levels of analysis. Case studies explore the move to New York City from the immigrants' viewpoint, analyzing the way New York has influenced their social and cultural worlds and the emergence among them of new meanings and new

social and economic patterns. The essays also demonstrate that the city itself has been deeply affected by the huge immigrant influx of recent decades. The presence of such large numbers of immigrants and their children has had a dramatic impact on the city's neighborhoods and economy and a host of social, economic, and cultural institutions. In fact, a dialectical relationship or interplay exists between the two kinds of changes. As immigrants change when they move to New York City, they affect the life of the city in particular ways. And as immigrants play a role in transforming New York City, this "new" New York in turn influences them.

The seven chapters on particular national origin groups deal with the experiences of a broad range of populations: Chinese, Dominicans, Jamaicans, Koreans, Liberians, Mexicans, and Jews from the former Soviet Union. These groups were chosen to give a sense of the diversity of New York City's immigrant population: with the exception of Liberians, they are among the most numerous immigrant groups in the city. All of the studies are based on in-depth research and long-term familiarity with the group in question.<sup>1</sup> In fact, many authors of the chapters are immigrants themselves.

Setting the stage for the case studies, chapter 2, by Arun Peter Lobo and Joseph J. Salvo, provides a detailed portrait of how immigration has been transforming New York City's population, as it has created a remarkable *mélange* of ethnic and racial groups and has fueled population growth. Chapter 3, by David Dyssegaard Kallick, examines the way that newcomers are fitting into and contributing to New York's economy. While the case studies of particular immigrant groups touch on the experiences of the second generation, chapter 11, by Philip Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf, and Mary Waters, focuses on the pathways and prospects of the children of immigrants as they have entered and begun to move through adulthood.

In this introductory chapter, I provide general background on the immigration of the last five decades and special features of New York as an immigrant city. As I sketch out the factors shaping the experiences of the newest New Yorkers—and the ways in which they are transforming the city—I point to common themes as well as differences among immigrant groups and raise some questions about patterns in the future.

## WHY IMMIGRANTS HAVE COME

The huge immigration since the late 1960s is not the first large influx to New York City, but it stands out from earlier immigration waves in a number of ways. Compared to the great wave of immigration at the turn of the twentieth century, today's arrivals come from a much wider array of nations and cultures. Whereas immigrants in New York City a century ago were overwhelmingly

European—the vast majority Russian Jews and Italians—today they are mainly from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia. More men than women came in the immigration stream a hundred years ago; in recent decades, female immigrants have outnumbered males (see chapter 2, this volume). Many arrive now, as in the past, with little education and few skills, but a much higher proportion of contemporary newcomers have college degrees and professional backgrounds. And while the proportion of immigrants in the city's population is lower than it was early in the twentieth century, as table 1.1 shows, the actual numbers are at an all-time high (see Foner 2000 for a full comparison of immigration today and a century ago).

The reasons for the current influx are complex and multifaceted. A crucial factor was the 1965 immigration act that repealed the national origins quota system favoring northern and western Europeans and amendments to the act in subsequent years (chapter 2, this volume; Kraly and Miyares 2001; Reimers 1992; Zolberg 2006). The big winners were Asians, who had been severely restricted from immigration before 1965, and natives of the English-speaking Caribbean, who had been subject to small quotas for dependencies. Since 1965, U.S. immigration policy has emphasized family reunification and, to a lesser extent, skills within the context of annual immigration ceilings, which, after a series of

TABLE 1.1. FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY,  
1900–2010

Year	Total Population (in Thousands)	Foreign-Born Population (in Thousands)	Percentage of Foreign-Born in New York City	Percentage of all U.S. Foreign-Born in New York City
1900	3,437.2	1,270.1	37.0	12.2
1910	4,766.9	1,944.4	40.8	14.3
1920	5,620.0	2,028.2	36.1	14.5
1930	6,930.4	2,358.7	34.0	16.5
1940	7,455.0	2,138.7	28.7	18.3
1950	7,892.0	1,860.9	23.6	17.8
1960	7,783.3	1,558.7	20.0	16.0
1970	7,894.9	1,437.1	18.2	14.9
1980	7,071.6	1,670.2	23.6	11.9
1990	7,322.6	2,082.9	28.4	10.5
2000	8,008.3	2,871.0	35.9	9.2
2010	8,185.3	3,046.5	37.2	7.6

Source: Foner 2000:5; chapter 2, this volume.

legislative changes, stood at a “flexible” cap of 675,000 per year at the beginning of the twenty-first century. (Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens—spouses, parents of citizens ages 21 and older, and unmarried children under 21—are admitted without numerical limitation.) Further, the United States has allowed the large-scale admission of particular groups as refugees, Soviet Jews and Cubans being especially prominent in the New York area. Recent refugees to New York come from other places as well, including Liberians (see chapter 8). The diversity visa program, created by the 1990 U.S. immigration act to provide permanent resident visas for those from countries with relatively few immigrants in the United States, has also led to new flows to the city, including Bangladeshis as well as Nigerians and Ghanaians.

Economic factors have also underpinned the large-scale immigration to New York City in recent years. Neither the resource base nor the levels of economic development in many immigrants’ home countries are adequate to meet the needs and aspirations of their populations. New York City has held out the promise of employment, higher wages, and improved living standards. In chapter 7, Vickerman notes how migration has long been a flight response among West Indians from the Anglophone Caribbean who come from small, resource-poor economies plagued by high levels of unemployment and underemployment and an unequal distribution of land, wealth, and income. West Indians are well aware of American affluence and standards of living owing to the impact of American media and tourism and because so many have relatives in the United States. Chapters 9 and 10 also describe persistent harsh economic realities—low incomes and low standards of living—fueling migration to New York.

Political factors in sending countries have also played a role. Unstable or oppressive conditions have driven some people out of their homelands, Liberians perhaps the most dramatic case in this book, who fled a country torn by bloody civil wars that were marked by torture and other gruesome atrocities (chapter 8, this volume). Changing exit policies in some sending countries have enabled large numbers to emigrate in recent years. In China, as Min Zhou explains (chapter 5), emigration was highly restricted between 1949 and 1976 (the end of the Great Cultural Revolution), a period when communication with overseas relatives was seen as antirevolutionary and subversive. In the late 1970s, when China opened its doors, it also relaxed emigration restrictions. Another group described in this book, Soviet Jews, were only allowed to emigrate in significant numbers after 1971, although in the early 1980s Soviet authorities again slammed shut the doors. By the late 1980s, in the context of political changes in the Soviet Union, the policy toward Jewish emigration was again liberalized, a situation that leads Annelise Orleck to speak of a Fourth Wave of émigrés in the post-1989 period although, as she also notes, after 2006 the influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union dropped off dramatically (see chapter 4, this volume).

Once begun, immigration tends to have a kind of snowball effect. Network connections lower the costs, raise the benefits, and reduce the risks of inter-

national migration. Every new migrant, as Douglas Massey has noted, “reduces the costs and risks of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives, and some of these people are thereby induced to migrate, thus further expanding the set of people with ties abroad and, in turn, reducing the costs for a new set of people, some of whom are now more likely to decide to migrate, and so on” (1999:13). By allocating most immigrant visas along family lines, U.S. immigration law reinforces and formalizes the operation of migrant networks.

“We opened the road,” is how a Mexican migrant, Don Pedro, described the beginning of migration to New York City from the municipality of Ticuani in the early 1940s. Don Pedro and his two companions initiated a migration from the Mixteca region that now accounts for a significant portion of the city’s Mexican population. By the start of the twenty-first century, new migration chains from other Mexican areas had taken hold so that more Mexican New Yorkers are from Mexico City as well as elsewhere (chapter 10, this volume; Smith 2001).

As in the past, New York City continues to be one of the major gateways for new immigrants in this country. (Los Angeles is the other major new immigrant destination, with large numbers also settling in Miami, San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, and Washington, DC.) New York City has a particular attraction for certain groups, the Caribbean connection being especially strong. In 2010, 13 percent of the Dominican immigrants, 37 percent of the Trinidadians, and 26 percent of the Jamaicans in the United States lived in the city. Alternatively, only about 2 percent of Mexican immigrants, by far the largest foreign-born group in the nation, lived in New York City.

Some groups, like West Indians, have a history of settlement in New York and initially gravitated there in the post-1965 years because of the presence of a long-established immigrant community (Foner 2001). In general, the presence of large numbers of friends and relatives continues to attract immigrants to the city and the surrounding region. Once an immigrant community develops, it tends to expand as compatriots are on hand to offer newcomers a sense of security and the prospect of assistance. “Moving to New York,” as one Jamaican woman told me, “became the thing to do. Most of my friends were here” (Foner 1987:198). New York is also appealing because newcomers do not stand out; the city has a tradition of immigration, with many different immigrant and racial groups.

The city itself has an image that draws certain groups. With large numbers of Caribbean people in New York, the city has become, in the words of Bryce-Laporte, the special object of their “dream[s], curiosity, sense of achievement, and desire for adventure” (1979:216). The city is salient in Caribbean immigrants’ mental map as a center of North American influence and power and as a logical entry point into the country. New York has become significant for other populations, too. Migration from Neza, the nickname for an area outside of Mexico City from which many recent migrants have come, has become so common these migrants often say that they live in “Neza York” (Smith 2001, 2006).

## NEW YORK AS A SPECIAL IMMIGRANT CITY

"Our deity La Ciguapa, arrived in New York City," goes a poem by a New York-based Dominican. "The subway steps changed her nature" (quoted in Torres-Saillant 1999:44). The move to New York City has a profound effect on immigrants, and their lives change in innumerable ways when they move there. New York, as a major U.S. city, offers newcomers economic opportunities of an advanced industrial society and exposes them to values and institutions of American culture. But New York City is special in many respects. That immigrants have settled there rather than, say, Los Angeles or Miami influences them in particular ways.

A host of features make New York distinctive as an immigrant city. New York City served as the historic port of entry for southern and eastern European immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries so that by 1920, Jewish and Italian immigrants and their children made up over two-fifths of the population. In the newest wave of immigration, since the late 1960s, the city has continued to attract a significant share of the nation's new arrivals. From 1900 to 2000, around 10 percent or more of the nation's foreign-born population has lived in New York City—in 2010, it was slightly lower, at about 8 percent, but still a substantial share. For much of the twentieth century, a fifth or more of New York City's residents were foreign-born; the figure reached 41 percent in 1910 and by 2010 it was nearly as high, at 37 percent (see table 1.1).

The result of these inflows is that the vast majority of New Yorkers have a close immigrant connection. If they are not immigrants themselves, they have a parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent who is. Many of the roughly 1 million Jewish New Yorkers have grandparents or great-grandparents who arrived at the turn of the twentieth century from eastern Europe; hundreds of thousands of others have roots in Italy and Ireland. New York's white population is dominated by first-, second-, and third-generation Catholics (Irish and Italians) and Jews, and white Protestants are practically invisible, if still economically and socially powerful (Mollenkopf 1999:419). Although Puerto Ricans are not considered immigrants—those born on the island are U.S. citizens at birth—the more than 700,000 Puerto Rican New Yorkers have their roots outside the mainland United States. Most African Americans in New York have their origins in the internal migration from the South between World War I and the 1960s, but many are descended from immigrants who arrived in the early twentieth century from what was then the British Caribbean.

A striking feature of New York City's immigrant population is its extraordinary diversity. No one, two, three, or even four countries dominate, and the city has attracted sizable numbers of many European as well as Asian, West Indian, and Latin American nationalities. In 2010, the top three immigrant groups ac-

counted for under a third of all immigrants in the city—the top ten groups, just over half (55 percent). As chapter 2 shows, this is different from many other major gateways, where Mexicans are the overwhelmingly dominant group—in Chicago and Houston, Mexicans are close to half of all immigrants, and in Los Angeles, Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans are almost three-fifths of the foreign-born population (see also Foner and Waldinger 2013). In New York City, a substantial fraction (more than a quarter) of the non-Hispanic black and white populations are immigrants—something that distinguishes New York from most other major American gateway cities, where "immigrant" generally means Latino or Asian. To put it another way, in New York City, every major ethnoracial group—non-Hispanic blacks and whites as well as Asians and Hispanics—has a significant proportion of foreign-born (Foner 2007).<sup>2</sup>

Ethnic diversity is the expectation in New York—a fact of life, as it were. This is welcoming for many immigrants, although for some it can be confusing. Soviet Jewish teenagers whom Orleck studied in the 1980s were confounded when they entered high school, wanting to know where the Americans were. "It is . . . hard to know what we are supposed to be becoming. Everybody here is from someplace else" (Orleck 1987:295).

There is also a long list of "place-specific conditions" that mark off New York City as an immigrant destination. By U.S. standards, New York City's government provides a wide range of social, health, and educational services, including the City University of New York (CUNY), the largest urban public university system in the nation, with about 240,000 undergraduate students enrolled in 2011, the majority of them immigrants or children of immigrants. Owing to its immigrant history, the city is home to a wide array of institutions that owe their existence, or many features, to earlier European immigrants and their children—and that provide support and assistance to new arrivals. These include settlement houses, churches and synagogues, hospitals, and labor unions (Foner forthcoming). Immigrants in New York City profit from the fact that labor unions have been consistently strong and politically influential for many decades. Indeed, in 2010–11, 23 percent of all wage and salary workers in New York City were union members, higher than any other major U.S. city; among the foreign-born in New York City, the unionization rates of those who had become U.S. citizens and entered the United States before 1990 were comparable to or higher than those of U.S.-born workers (Milkman and Braslow 2011).

New York City's political culture bears the stamp of earlier European immigration and is used to accommodating newcomers from abroad. Ethnic politics is the lifeblood of New York City politics, and no group "finds challenge unexpected or outrageous" (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). In the 1930s, Fiorello LaGuardia—who some consider the city's greatest mayor—sprinkled his speeches with Italian and Yiddish, and in the postwar years aspiring leaders visited the three I's—Israel, Italy, and Ireland—the touchstones of so many Jewish and



Catholic voters (Wakin 2003). In the twenty-first century, Mayor Michael Bloomberg not only has made trips to Israel to woo the Jewish vote but, after two years in office in 2003, had already visited the Dominican Republic three times. In May 2005, he rolled out the first of his television campaign spots in Spanish.

Politics in the city "presents newcomers with a segmented political system, organized for mobilization along ethnic group lines, and a political culture that sanctions, indeed encourages, newcomers to engage in ethnic politics" (Waldinger 1996b:2084; see also Mollenkopf forthcoming). A large number of political prizes are up for grabs—including a fifty-one-member city council and more than seven dozen state assemblymen and senators. Despite the importance of party support in sustaining native white or minority incumbents in immigrant districts, New York City's primaries have proved to be an effective path for immigrant political mobility when one group becomes predominant in a district. As of the 2009 election, the city council had nine members with immigrant roots, including three West Indians, four Dominicans, and two Chinese. (Another seventeen were African American or Puerto Rican, giving minority representatives a bare majority of the total.) In that year, the city's second highest office, comptroller, was won by John Liu, born in Taiwan (Mollenkopf forthcoming; chapter 5, this volume).

Given New York's remarkable diversity and long history of absorbing immigrants, it is not surprising that the city's official commitment to cultural pluralism and cultural diversity stands out. Officials and social service agencies actively promote events to foster ethnic pride and glorify the city's multiethnic character and history. Even something as mundane as parking rules reflect a public recognition of ethnic diversity; alternate side parking regulations are suspended on thirty-four legal and religious holidays, including the Asian Lunar New Year, Purim and Passover, the Feast of the Assumption, the Muslim holiday of Idul-Fitr, and the Hindu celebration of Diwali.

In a city that prides itself on its immigrant history, New Yorkers—both old and new—generally feel comfortable with, or at least do not openly challenge the principle of, ethnic succession. If Italians "are yesterday's newcomers and today's establishment, then maybe Colombians are the new Italians and, potentially tomorrow's establishment. New Yorkers . . . are happy to tell themselves this story. It may not be completely true, but the fact that they tell it, and believe it, is significant and may help them make it come true" (Kasinitz et al. 2004:398).

## FEATURES OF NEW IMMIGRANT GROUPS AND NEW PATTERNS IN NEW YORK CITY

Immigrants are inevitably influenced by New York's particular urban context, yet they do not become homogenized in a so-called melting pot in the city. The old and new blend in many ways in response to circumstances in the city—a

kind of New Yorkization process (cf. Foner 1999). As Glazer and Moynihan wrote some fifty years ago, in New York immigrants become "something they had not been, but still something distinct and identifiable" (1963:24). The particular blend of meanings, perceptions, and patterns of behavior that emerges is shaped, to a large degree, by the culture, social practices, skills, and education that newcomers bring with them when they arrive—as well as by a variety of sociodemographic features of their particular immigrant group. Moreover, even as they settle in New York City, immigrants often continue to maintain ties with their homelands—and these transnational connections have consequences for their lives in the city.

## PREMIGRATION CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PATTERNS

Immigrants come to New York City carrying with them a "memory of things past" that operates as a filter through which they view and experience life in the city. Some of their former beliefs and social institutions may persist intact, although usually they undergo change, if only subtly, in form and function in response to circumstances in New York. To put it another way, their premigration values, attitudes, and customs do not simply fade away; they shape, often in a complex fashion, how individuals in each group adjust to and develop new cultural patterns in New York.

Take something as basic as cooking and cuisine. Newcomers may add hamburgers, bagels, pizza, and fried chicken to their diets in New York City and concoct new dishes that use ingredients available there, but they still also eat such traditional foods as plantain and curried goat (Jamaicans), pickled herring and *shushlyk* (Jews from the former Soviet Union), and African peppers and cassava leaves (Liberians) (see, for example, Khandelwal 2002; Hauck-Lawson et al. 2008). Immigrant languages are alive and well in New York—indeed, lack of proficiency in English may limit patterns of association as well as the ability to obtain jobs in the mainstream economy.

Premigration family and religious patterns also have an impact. Of course, they may fill new needs and acquire new meanings in New York or be transformed in significant ways. South Asian families still often arrange their children's marriages or, in a modified "semiarranged" pattern, introduce suitable, prescreened young men and women who are then allowed a courtship period during which they decide whether they like each other well enough to marry (see Foner 1999; Khandelwal 2002; Kibria 2009; Lessinger 1995). In chapter 4, Orleck mentions that many Central Asian "Bukharan" Jews also continue to arrange their children's marriages in New York; when the children resist, serious conflicts, sometimes resulting in physical violence, may result. Child-rearing patterns may be

modified too. Although West Indian parents continue to believe that sparing the rod is a recipe for disaster, and are outraged if they cannot use corporal punishment the way they did back home, some parents seek to adopt new techniques that are more in tune with mainstream American norms, something that Ludwig also notes of Liberians (chapter 8; see Waters and Sykes 2009).

Religious beliefs and practices from immigrants' homeland cultures are what draw many to places of worship in New York. Many have been founded and built in the city to cater to the growing number of new arrivals, from Pentecostal churches among West Indians to Hindu temples among Indians and Muslim mosques among West Africans, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Middle Easterners; old-country beliefs also explain the continuation of customs like Haitian voodoo ceremonies (Abdullah 2010; Abusharaf 1998; Brown 1991; Guest 2003; Lessinger 1995; McAlister 1998).

### TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Home-country cultural patterns may be strengthened by ongoing ties with communities and people in the country of origin—what social scientists refer to as transnational ties. Immigrant New Yorkers often send money to relatives back home. Cheap phone calls, and the advent of cell phones, allow them to keep in touch with those they left behind, as does the Internet, through e-mail, instant messaging, and Skype. Frequent, fast, and relatively inexpensive flights, especially to nearby countries like the Dominican Republic, facilitate visits home and enable relatives and friends from the home country to visit New York, as well (see chapter 5, this volume). Given dual-citizenship provisions in a growing number of countries, many retain citizenship in their country of origin even after becoming U.S. citizens.

The consequences of involvement in home-country politics are complex—and sometimes contradictory. Although such involvement does not inevitably draw energies and interests away from political engagement in the United States, it can of course happen (see Jones-Correa 1998). Silvio Torres-Saillant and Ramona Hernández (chapter 9, this volume) note that while many Dominican New Yorkers see the U.S. political arena as the appropriate stage for their involvement—and younger local leaders are more committed to developing coalitions in New York than to homeland politics—others have their “hearts set on the affairs of one of the major political parties in the Dominican Republic.” At the same time, concerns about the country of origin can provide a catalyst for engagement in U.S. politics, and involvement in homeland-based organizations can provide organizational skills and strengthen migrants' ability to mobilize a base of support for political issues and elections in New York (see Basch 1987; Guarnizo et al. 1999; Rogers 2006; Wong et al. 2011).

In general, an appreciation of the connections migrants maintain with the homeland should not blind us to—or detract attention from—efforts to build communities and develop a home in New York. Ties to the country of origin can go hand-in-hand with being deeply grounded in and attached to the United States. This is true for both the first and second generation. Second-generation Dominicans, for example, do not see loyalty to the United States as requiring cutting off links to the Dominican Republic, where they often maintain close affective ties to grandparents and other relatives (chapter 9, this volume).

For the vast majority of the U.S.-born second generation—who represent an ever-growing proportion of the Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean communities in New York City—the United States is truly home. Deep connections to the parents' country of origin and regular transnational practices are the exception, not the rule, Philip Kasinitz and his colleagues conclude from their large-scale study of the young adult children of immigrants in metropolitan New York. They found that few seriously considered living in their parents' homeland for a sustained length of time; indeed, visits there often made them feel more “American” than before (Kasinitz et al. 2008:262–64; chapter 11, this volume).

### HUMAN CAPITAL AND ECONOMIC INCORPORATION

The concept of human capital refers to the knowledge or skills that individual migrants bring with them, but it can be applied to groups as well. Every group, of course, includes highly skilled people as well as those who are unlettered and have little training. Yet clearly some groups have human capital advantages that others do not share.

Asian and European groups in New York City have among the highest levels of education, many Latin American and Hispanic Caribbean groups among the lowest (Lobo and Salvo 2004). In 2010, about half of the adult Russian and Indian immigrants in New York City had a college degree—outpacing native-born New Yorkers—while this was true for only 5 percent of Mexican immigrants. Indeed, only about four out of ten Mexican immigrants in New York City were even high school graduates (chapter 2, this volume).

As one might expect, groups with high proportions of college graduates, like Russians and Asian Indians, do relatively well in New York's economy—though factors other than education and occupational skills also determine occupational success. Lack of U.S. job experience, credentials, and fluent English, for example, often prevents immigrants who held professional or highly regarded jobs in their home countries from getting work of comparable status here. Orleck speaks of an “intellectual holocaust” that has occurred as Jewish physicians, chemists, lawyers, and professors from the former Soviet Union have sometimes ended up

driving cabs, doing filing, or working as home health care aides in New York City (chapter 4, this volume). Well-educated immigrants who cannot find jobs congruent with their occupational backgrounds frequently turn to entrepreneurial pursuits as a better alternative than low-level service or factory jobs—one reason for the proliferation of small businesses in the Korean community. Not surprisingly, very few of the Korean second generation have gone into small business; armed with American college and university degrees, many have obtained high-level jobs in the mainstream economy (Kim 2004).

As David Dyssegaard Kalliek brings out (chapter 3), immigrants are a remarkable 45 percent of New York City's resident labor force. In 2009, about three-quarters of immigrant men and nearly three-fifths of immigrant women were in the city's labor force—which put the women on a par with, and men above, their native-born counterparts. Immigrants are well represented in occupations from the top to the bottom of the economic ladder, with nearly half working in white-collar jobs—a good number in managerial, technical, and professional occupations. To anyone familiar with the city, it would not be a shock to learn that three-quarters of New Yorkers who work as construction laborers and nursing aides are immigrants. It may come as a surprise, however, that immigrants are half of the accountants, a third of financial managers, and two-fifths of physicians living in New York City. Taken as a whole, immigrants have slightly lower poverty rates than the native-born, although for some groups the rates are higher—Mexicans and Dominicans are two prime examples (chapter 2, this volume).

Many immigrant groups are heavily concentrated in specific occupational niches. Kalliek mentions Mexicans in food preparation services, Pakistani taxi cab drivers, and Haitian health care workers (chapter 3). Other chapters bring out different concentrations—Korean nail salon owners, Jamaican nursing aides and nannies, and Chinese restaurant workers, to mention a few. Immigrant occupational specialties take hold for a variety of reasons. They reflect a combination of the skills, cultural preferences, and human capital within a group as well as the opportunities available when they arrived. Sometimes members of a group come with previous experience in fields for which a demand exists—Filipino nurses, for example. English language ability plays a role in steering some groups into jobs where interpersonal communication is important. By the same token, lack of transferable skills and fluency in English limits immigrants' scope. Sheer happenstance can be involved, too, as a few pioneers from a group go into a particular line of work and pave the way for others. Once a group becomes concentrated in an industry or occupation, this facilitates the entry of additional coethnics through job referrals and training so that ethnic niches become, as Roger Waldinger (1996a) puts it, self-reproducing (on the making of ethnic niches in the city, see also Foner 2000; Model 1993).

Much depends on the kinds of niches a group establishes. Koreans have benefited from their concentration in small business—and their web of trade asso-

ciations, ethnic media and organizations, and churches that have reinforced, supported, and encouraged entrepreneurial activity (Min 2001). Jamaican niches in health care and public employment have not provided anything like the opportunity to employ coethnics, accumulate capital, or establish credit that small business ownership does. In fact, educational credentials and bureaucratic requirements limit the scope of network hiring in white-collar and especially in public sector employment (Kasinitz 2001). On the positive side, concentration in health care and social assistance jobs largely accounts for high unionization rates among Jamaican as well as Guyanese, Haitian, and African immigrants; unionized jobs typically provide higher wages and more job security than non-union jobs (Milkman and Braslow 2011).

The young adult children of immigrants, as chapter 11 shows, have largely exited from parental occupational niches owing to greater opportunity as well as distaste for "stereotypical ethnic jobs." The most common jobs among the second generation in their study were mainstream retail, white-collar manager, and clerical positions. "I don't do that factory thing," said one young man of Colombian origin, explaining why he would not follow in his father's footsteps. Or as the daughter of a Chinese immigrant jewelry store owner put it when asked if her father would like her to take over the business: "No, he doesn't hate me that much!" (chapter 11, this volume).

### DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The demographic composition of an immigrant group can have an impact on patterns that develop in New York City. The group's sheer size as well as spatial concentration influences, among other things, whether it can support a sizable number of ethnic businesses and provide enough votes to elect its own candidates. Dominicans' concentration in northern Manhattan as well as neighborhoods in other boroughs has been an asset at the ballot box in putting Dominicans into office; residential segregation among West Indians, while clearly disadvantageous in many respects, has helped them gain seats in the city council and New York State legislature. Conversely, as Smith (chapter 10, this volume) argues, Mexican immigrants' geographical dispersion contributes to making political mobilization among them problematic.

Gender and age ratios in each group affect marriage and family patterns. For example, a markedly unbalanced gender ratio will encourage marriage outside the group or consign many to singlehood or the search for spouses in the home country or elsewhere in the United States. A sizable proportion of old people in an immigrant group's population may, as among Russian Jews in Brighton Beach, ease the child care burden of working women (Orleck 1987). Korean families have often brought elderly relatives to New York City for this reason. Pyong Gap



Min has described how his own mother-in-law came to this country in 1981 “at the age of 58 as a temporary visitor to help with childcare and housework as my wife and I were struggling with three children, a small business, and my Ph.D. program. The next year my wife, a naturalized citizen, filed petitions for her parents’ permanent residence” (1998:87). The presence of an elderly mother or mother-in-law in Korean immigrant households has other implications—it puts less pressure on husbands to help out and thus may end up reinforcing patriarchal practices.

### RACE, RELIGION, AND LEGAL STATUS

Immigrants’ race has crucial consequences for their experiences and reactions to New York life. Nativism, or opposition to groups because they are foreign, may not be strong in New York City, especially compared to other parts of the United States, but racial inequality is deeply entrenched (Waters forthcoming). Whereas whiteness is an asset for newcomers of European ancestry, dark skin brings disadvantages. People of color continue to experience prejudice and discrimination, and residential segregation between whites and blacks in New York City persists at remarkably high levels. In an analysis of black-white segregation in fifty American metropolitan areas with the largest black populations in 2010, New York was the third most segregated area, just behind Detroit and Milwaukee (Logan and Stults 2011; see also Beveridge et al. 2013).

Immigrants with African ancestry develop new attitudes and perceptions of themselves in New York City, where their racialization as blacks reflects different racial conceptions than those in their home societies. As chapter 7 shows, Jamaicans may identify as Jamaican or West Indian, but other New Yorkers often just see them as “black.” Jamaican immigrants find it painful and difficult to cope with the degree of interpersonal racism they encounter in their daily lives (see Waters 1999). Apart from everyday slights and insults, racial discrimination places constraints on where they and other black immigrants can live and affects treatment by the police and opportunities on the job (see Foner 1987, 2000, 2001, 2005; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999). Other immigrants of color confront racial discrimination too, but this tends to be less problematic than for immigrants of African ancestry who are defined as black. Indeed, research shows that dark-skinned Latino immigrants face barriers and discrimination that their light-skinned coethnics do not experience.

For the vast majority of immigrants, who are Christian or Jewish, religion is not a barrier, indeed tends to facilitate acceptance in New York (Foner and Alba 2008). However, Muslim newcomers from South Asia (Pakistan, Bangladesh, India) and the Middle East, whose numbers have grown in recent years, may face difficulties. In the backlash after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade

Center, some have been victims of discrimination, harassment, and occasionally even hate crimes owing to their religion or nationality. “Why you live here, go back to your country,” a Palestinian woman in Brooklyn found written on her door, to give one example (Bakalian and Bozorgmehr 2009:144). The public controversy in 2010 over building a Muslim community center a few blocks from the World Trade Center—which was vocally supported by the Lower Manhattan Community Board and Mayor Bloomberg but attacked by many Republican politicians such as former mayor Rudolph Giuliani—also no doubt reflected and reinforced anti-Muslim prejudices among many New Yorkers.

Lack of legal status is a significant basis of inequality and exclusion for large numbers of Latino, Caribbean, and Asian immigrants. In 2010, an estimated 900,000 immigrants in New York City were undocumented (chapter 2, this volume), but because they often live in mixed-status families—for example, with U.S. born citizen children—a much larger number are affected by legal status issues. As Robert Smith indicates (chapter 10), a remarkably high proportion of Mexican immigrants live in the legal shadows. The undocumented are particularly vulnerable in the labor market, commonly found in low-paid jobs with unpleasant, sometimes dangerous, working conditions (chapter 3, this volume). Without legal status, they are ineligible for most federally funded social welfare and health benefits (emergency Medicaid is one exception), and the record number of deportations in the United States in recent years—nearly 400,000 in fiscal year 2011—has heightened fears among them.

New York City is sometimes referred to as a sanctuary city, which follows practices to protect undocumented immigrants—in 2006, for example, the city distributed a letter in eleven languages assuring immigrants that no one would question their legal status when they sought care at the city’s public hospitals, and undocumented immigrants in New York State are eligible for in-state tuition at public colleges. But New York City has little influence on federal policies which, as Smith notes (chapter 10), reign supreme when it comes to the all-important matter of legalization. As of this writing, federal laws have yet to provide a path to legalization and ultimately citizenship for the undocumented.

### IMMIGRANTS’ IMPACT ON NEW YORK CITY

The massive immigration of the last five decades has been remaking New York City in profound ways. At its most basic, immigration has brought about a dramatic demographic transformation; it is a major factor fueling population growth and has led to remarkable ethnorracial diversity, as chapter 2 describes in detail.

Many groups have been continually replenished by new members—Dominicans, Chinese, and Jamaicans, to mention three that have been in the top ten for several decades. New arrivals, fresh off the plane, often join compatriots



who have been in New York for decades as well as the U.S.-born children—and grandchildren—of the earlier arrivals. Some belong to groups that are new to the city's immigrant scene, Liberians among them, who only began arriving in significant numbers in the last ten or fifteen years. The Mexican population, which was practically invisible before 1990, has grown by leaps and bounds, now ranking as the third largest immigrant group in New York City official statistics. Taken together, the millions of new New Yorkers and their children have been changing the sights, sounds, and tastes of the city as well as a wide range of institutions and communities.

### NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

The more than doubling of the city's immigrant population since 1970 has given rise to dense ethnic neighborhoods. With continuing immigration, new ethnic neighborhoods and ethnic conglomerations have cropped up in every borough.

Many neighborhoods of the city have taken on a distinct ethnic character. In Crown Heights, Flatbush, and East Flatbush in central Brooklyn—and many bordering neighborhoods like Canarsie—West Indian beauty parlors, restaurants, record stores, and bakeries dot the landscape, and Haitian Creole and West Indian accents fill the air. “[When I walk] along . . . Nostrand Avenue,” the novelist Paule Marshall (1985) has noted, “I have to remind myself that I'm in Brooklyn, and not in the middle of a teeming outdoor market in St. George's, Grenada or Kingston, Jamaica.” Several neighborhoods in the northeastern Bronx (Wakefield, Williamsbridge, and Baychester) and southeastern Queens (Laurelton, St. Albans, Springfield Gardens, Rosedale, and Cambria Heights) also now have a definite West Indian flavor. In chapter 8, Bernadette Ludwig describes a new immigrant neighborhood—Little Liberia—on the northern end of Staten Island, which now has an outdoor market where women sell African foods.

Several chapters show how the number of settlements in different groups has multiplied in response to growing immigration. Although Brooklyn's Brighton Beach, or “Little Odessa,” remains an emotional and cultural home base for Russian Jews across the New York area, they have spread out to nearby Sheepshead Bay, Manhattan Beach, and Bensonhurst. A community of Central Asian Jews flourishes in Forest Hills and Rego Park in Queens, where 108th Street is now known as “Bukharan Broadway”; the neighborhood, according to Orleck (chapter 4), is affectionately known as “Queensistan.” Manhattan's expanding Chinatown has spilled over into adjacent districts, including the City Hall area, Little Italy, and the Lower East Side, and two new satellite Chinatowns are thriving in Flushing and Sunset Park; visible Chinese clusters can also be found in places like Woodside and Elmhurst in Queens and Bay Ridge, Bensonhurst, and

Sheepshead Bay in Brooklyn. Dominicans have branched out from their ethnic enclave in upper Manhattan's Washington Heights to areas of the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens. By 2008, the Bronx, with heavy Dominican concentrations in neighborhoods in the southwest such as Morris Heights and Tremont, had surpassed Manhattan as the most popular borough for people of Dominican ancestry, with 39 percent of all Dominicans as compared to 29 percent in Manhattan (Caro-Lopez and Limonic 2010).

Immigrants have created not only large and dense ethnic settlements but also polyethnic neighborhoods that are amalgams of newcomers from all parts of the world. The number 7 train that connects Times Square in Manhattan with Flushing in Queens has been dubbed the International Express, as it weaves through multiethnic neighborhoods in Queens that have no parallel in previous waves of immigration. Queens is in fact the most ethnically and racially diverse county in the United States (chapter 2, this volume). Elmhurst, to mention one Queens neighborhood, is a true ethnic *mélange*, with large numbers of Chinese, Colombians, Koreans, Mexicans, Filipinos, Asian Indians, Dominicans, and Ecuadorians. Although Flushing (also in Queens) is often referred to as a new Chinatown, it is home to a growing number of Central and South American as well as Chinese, Indian, and Korean immigrants who join a native-born white population that, though declining, remains substantial. At the other end of Queens, Astoria, once a predominantly Italian and Greek neighborhood, has attracted large numbers of Bangladeshis, Brazilians, Ecuadorians, Mexicans, and Middle Easterners, among others, thereby becoming another ethnic stew.

As the chapters on the different groups in the volume demonstrate, clusters of recent immigrants have given rise to new ethnic businesses and have affected the composition of schools and places of worship all over the city. Neighborhood-based immigrant institutions and organizations like community centers, voluntary associations, and political groups have emerged and grown as have new churches, mosques, and temples.

Immigrants have played a central role in revitalizing many neighborhoods. When immigrants began arriving in Brighton Beach in the mid-1970s, the neighborhood was in decline: apartments stood empty as elderly Jewish residents died or moved to Florida, and the main commercial avenue was a dying strip of old stores. Soviet Jews filled apartments and turned the avenue into a thriving commercial center, with nightclubs, restaurants, state-of-the-art electronics stores, and clothing boutiques selling European designer clothing (chapter 4, this volume). Another Brooklyn neighborhood, Sunset Park, was in the “throes of a long twilight” that began in the 1950s when the area was devastated by, among other things, a drastic cutback in jobs on its waterfront and in industry and the exodus of tens of thousands of white residents to the suburbs. Louis Winnick argues that in Sunset Park, as in many other city neighborhoods “outside the yuppie

strongholds of Manhattan and other favored areas of Brooklyn and Queens," immigrants have been the leading factor in neighborhood revitalization. "Owing to their high employment rates and multiple wage earners, the new foreigners have injected large doses of new purchasing power into the rehabilitation of an aging housing stock and the resurrection of inert retail stores" (Winnick 1990:62). The Chinese—who make up a growing proportion of Sunset Park's population—have opened numerous retail stores, service businesses, and garment factories where they and their coethnics work and shop, and they have bought, and fixed up, many of the two- and three-story houses in the neighborhood (chapter 5, this volume). The process has been repeated in the Queens neighborhood of Richmond Hill, where Indians and Indo-Caribbeans have established an array of new businesses—roti stands, sari stores, and groceries—that draw not only local customers but also immigrants from the suburbs looking for Indo-Caribbean and Sikh products. Throughout the five boroughs, immigrants have expanded the number of businesses, many of them catering to a growing ethnic market, one of the ways that new arrivals have contributed to economic growth in the city (chapter 3, this volume).

### CUISINE AND POPULAR CULTURE

Immigrants have added to the city's cultural and culinary life. Restaurants and groceries run by newcomers have exposed New Yorkers, native and immigrant alike, to new cuisines and foods. Some thirty years ago, Bernard Wong (1982) wrote about Chinese immigrants broadening New Yorkers' tastes beyond Cantonese cooking to regional dishes from Shanghai, Hunan, and Szechuan. Since then, Indian, Thai, Vietnamese, Korean, and Jamaican restaurants—to name but a few—have become common on the city's restaurant scene. Korean food, relatively unknown to New Yorkers twenty years ago, has become more familiar with the proliferation of Korean restaurants in "K-Town" in mid-Manhattan. In the wake of the huge Mexican immigration, New York, one journalist quipped, finally shed its reputation as a city with terrible Mexican food (Asimov 2000). The city's ubiquitous street food vendors serve up a multicultural feast, from chalupas to souvlaki; the winner of New York City's sixth annual Vendy award—for the best street food vendor—was a Palestinian-born "falafel king" who normally parked his van in Astoria (Pearson and Schapiro 2010).

Musically, too, immigrants have had an influence, from Jamaican reggae and dance hall to Dominican merengue (Allen and Wilcken 2001; Austerlitz 1997; Flores 2000). Hip-hop was originally as much a creation of Afro-Caribbean and Latino youth in New York as it was an African American form, and many famous hip-hop artists have Caribbean origins, including Biggie Smalls (Brooklyn-born Christopher Wallace of Jamaican parents), rapper-producer Wyclef Jean,

whose work celebrates his Haitian origins, and the Jamaican-born Kool Ha Ha (born Clive Campbell) (Kasinitz forthcoming; chapter 7, this volume). Music and visual arts with immigrant roots have imported, built on, and altered cultural forms from the homeland in the New York context. "African American young people dance to Jamaican dance hall music and imitate Jamaican patois," Kasinitz (1999:29) has written; "Puerto Ricans dance to [Dominican] merengue."

New ethnic parades and festivals represent practically every immigrant group in the city. The largest is the West Indian American Day Parade, which attracts between 1 and 2 million people every Labor Day on Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway and has become a mandatory campaign stop for politicians seeking citywide office. The annual Dominican Day Parade, described by Torres-Saillant and Hernández, held every August in midtown Manhattan, also attracts politicians of all stripes and provides an opportunity for Dominicans to "flaunt their ethnicity, their flag, and their resolve to affirm their belonging in the city" (chapter 9, this volume). Since 2004, the city has sponsored an annual Immigrant Heritage Week honoring "the vibrant immigrant cultures, heritages, and communities found in every corner of the City" through film screenings, art exhibits, walking tours, and other programs. The ethnic media are flourishing. By one count in 2001, at least 198 magazines and newspapers were publishing in thirty-six languages, including seven New York daily newspapers in Chinese with a combined circulation of half a million (Scher 2001). There are also many radio and television stations with programs that draw listeners and viewers in different ethnic constituencies.

A spate of novels emerging out of the experiences of recent immigrants and their children has enriched the city's literary tradition, among them *Typical American* by Gish Jen (1992, Chinese); *Native Speaker* by Chang-Rae Lee (1995, Korean); *Breath, Eyes, Memory* by Edwidge Danticat (1995, Haitian), and *Russian Debutante's Handbook* by Gary Shteyngart (2003, Soviet Jews). The literary output in the Dominican community is a subject of chapter 9 as part of the analysis of the creation of a Dominican American culture, which considers, among others, the award-winning *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* by Junot Díaz (2007) and *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents* by Julia Alvarez (1992).

### RACE AND ETHNICITY

The massive immigration of recent years has changed the racial and ethnic dynamics of New York City. In street-level and popular discourse, New Yorkers think of a four-race framework: white, black, Hispanic, and Asian. The proportion of Asians and Hispanics has mushroomed; the proportion of whites has

been steadily declining. Between 1980 and 2010, non-Hispanic whites went from 52 to 33 percent of New York City's population, Hispanics from 20 to 29 percent, Asians from 3 to 13 percent, and non-Hispanic blacks held fairly steady, 24 percent in 1980, 23 percent in 2010.

Gone are the days when Hispanic meant Puerto Rican; in 2010, Puerto Ricans accounted for just under a third of the city's Hispanic population, outnumbered by a combination of Dominicans, Mexicans, Ecuadorians, Colombians, and other Latin Americans. Asian no longer means Chinese but also Asian Indian, Korean, Filipino, and Bangladeshi (to name the largest non-Chinese groups). The black population increasingly has been Caribbeanized—and Africans are adding more diversity. By 2010, the Caribbean- and African-born populations were about a third of non-Hispanic blacks, up from less than 10 percent in 1970 (chapter 2, this volume).

This new racial and ethnic amalgam has been changing perceptions of race and ethnicity as well as creating new alliances, relationships, and divisions. All over the city, countless examples exist of amicable relations developing among immigrants from different countries, as well as between immigrants and the native-born, in workplaces, schools, and neighborhoods. Among the second generation, these patterns are especially pronounced, as young people mingle with each other and native minorities (less often with native whites) and become comfortable with those from different national backgrounds and take for granted the incredible ethnic mix in their classes, on the subway, in stores, and on the streets as a basic part of life in the city. As Kasinitz and his colleagues write, they may feel the sting of disadvantage and discrimination, but members of the second generation "move in a world where being from 'somewhere else' is the norm" and being ethnic is taken for granted as part of "being an American New Yorker" (2004:397, 286). Because established minority and second-generation young people in New York City under the age of eighteen dominate their age cohort, they have a great deal of contact with each other in their neighborhoods and a variety of institutions. Most respondents in the New York second-generation study had a diverse group of friends, describing social networks that included a "veritable United Nations of friends" (Kasinitz et al. 2008:339–40). Many defined themselves as "New Yorkers"—meaning people who "could come from immigrant groups, native minority groups, or be Italian, Irish, Jews, or the like" (Kasinitz et al. 2004:17).

Less happily, conflict is also part of the story. In this volume, Min Zhou writes of tensions between immigrant Chinese and longtime white residents in Flushing, as the remaining whites in what was once a virtually all-white area often feel locked out of what has become an Asian majority neighborhood (chapter 5). Black boycotts of Korean stores were visible in the city in the 1980s and 1990s (Min 2006), although they seem to be a thing of the past, according

to Min (chapter 6), who argues that the reduction in the number of Korean businesses and growing racial and ethnic diversity in black neighborhoods help to explain the change.

In chapter 7, Milton Vickerman gives a nuanced picture of relations between Jamaicans and African Americans, which are characterized by both distancing and identification; Jamaicans seek to assert their ethnic identity and show they are different from African Americans at the same time as they feel a shared bond with African Americans as blacks and victims of racial discrimination (see also Foner 1987, 2001; Vickerman 1999; Waters 1999). Among the second generation, he argues, evidence suggests a gradual blurring of boundaries between African American and West Indian youth. Immigrants in other groups, too, engage in strategies to avoid being lumped with, and experiencing the same kind of discrimination as, African Americans and Puerto Ricans. Torres-Sallant and Hernández (chapter 9) report that members of the Dominican second generation may use Dominican-inflected Spanish to avoid being taken for African American, while also attempting to distance themselves from the anti-Haitian and antiblack prejudices prominent in the Dominican Republic (also see Itzigsohn 2009). According to Robert Smith (2006), Mexicans see themselves as "not black" and "not Puerto Rican" although, interestingly, some academically successful Mexican youths in New York City high schools identify and seek out their black counterparts as a way to become incorporated into the African American middle-class culture of mobility and facilitate their own upward path.

### ETHNIC DIVISION OF LABOR

As immigrants have entered New York's economy and set up businesses, they have changed the ethnic division of labor—and perceptions of it. If you hail a taxi, your driver is likely to be South Asian; if you are a patient in a hospital, it is a good bet that the nursing aide taking your temperature will be West Indian; the vendor at the corner newsstand is Indian.

Nearly half of all small business owners living in New York City are immigrants, making up a whopping 90 percent of owners of dry cleaners and laundries, 84 percent of small grocery store owners, and 70 percent of beauty salon owners in the New York metropolitan area, to name a few (chapter 3). As particular groups concentrate in certain specialties, they often put their own stamp on them. Koreans reinvented the corner grocery, adding salad bars, deli counters, and bouquets of flowers, although Korean retail stores—grocery, produce, and fish stores—have recently declined in number owing in good part to the emergence of chain megastores. Koreans have also pioneered businesses, such



as the now-ubiquitous nail salons, by taking what were once more exclusive products or services and making them cheaper (Lee 1999). Nail salons and dry cleaners are now the two major Korean businesses in the New York–New Jersey metropolitan area. By 2006, Koreans owned the vast majority of the nail salons in this area—about 4,000 in all, a nearly threefold increase since 1991 (chapter 6; for an ethnographic account of Korean nail salons in New York City see Kang 2010). The number of Korean-owned dry cleaners has also grown astronomically, up to about 3,000 in the New York–New Jersey metropolitan area in 2006 and constituting around half of all such establishments (Min 2008:37–38). West Indians have brought the concept of a privatized network of passenger vans to New York City, as their jitneys ply the streets of Queens and Brooklyn, offering lower prices and more frequent and convenient services than city buses (chapter 7). West African merchants have altered the city's street-vending business, bringing high-end items like “Rolex” watches and “Prada” bags to the street corner (Stoller 2001).

### MAINSTREAM INSTITUTIONS

Immigrants are leaving their mark on a broad range of mainstream institutions in the city, from schools and hospitals to churches and museums.

The surge of immigration has led to major increases in public school enrollment, which is now over the 1 million mark, with the majority of students either immigrants or children of immigrants. With so many students and a limited budget, the public schools are squeezed for space. Although many immigrant students are doing remarkably well in the schools, there is no denying they bring with them a host of special needs. Many have to overcome poor educational preparation in their home countries or, at the least, unfamiliarity with subjects, teaching methods, and the discipline used. In addition to adjusting to new norms and customs in New York, many have a language problem to contend with. The diverse mix of immigrants in New York City means a dazzling array of languages. In one Queens elementary school, nearly 80 percent of the incoming students arrived speaking no English; among them the children in the school spoke thirty-six languages (Hedges 2000). In 2010–11, about 154,000 students in New York City's public schools were classified as English language learners (not proficient in English), with 168 home languages represented among them; Spanish was the home language for some two-thirds, and another quarter spoke Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese, and other dialects), Bengali, Arabic, Haitian Creole, Russian, or Urdu (New York City Board of Education 2010–11). In response to the immigrant influx, the city has opened a number of schools specifically designed for recent immigrant children with limited English profi-

ciency, the most well-known being the International High School in Long Island City. Higher up the educational ladder, new ethnic studies programs have emerged at universities and colleges, most notably CUNY, including one (the Dominican Studies Institute) headed by an author in this volume (Ramona Hernandez). CUNY has recently instituted an outreach program, based on an agreement with the Mexican Consulate, to promote education in the city's Mexican community, including a Web site offering information about CUNY in English and Spanish (chapter 10, this volume).

The city's Roman Catholic schools have also experienced an influx of immigrant children. Although many newcomers have formed their own churches, temples, and mosques—witness the more than 500 Korean Protestant churches in the New York–New Jersey metropolitan area (chapter 6, this volume; Min 2010)—large numbers have been drawn to the Catholic church and established Protestant congregations. New York's Catholic church has a growing Latino presence, and an increasing number of Catholic churches conduct masses in Spanish as well as other languages, including Haitian Creole (McAlister 1998). Catholic churches in Washington Heights have emerged as Dominican congregations, holding mass in Spanish and inviting officials from the island to participate in church activities; elsewhere in the city, Mexican immigrants have been “Mexicanizing” many Catholic churches, including adding devotional practices dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico (Galvez 2009; Semple 2011; Smith 2006; see Ricourt and Danta 2003 on the Latinization of the Catholic church in Queens).

The composition of the staff and patients of the city's hospitals has changed as well. The nurses, aides, and orderlies are often West Indian or Filipino; patients, especially at municipal hospitals run by New York City's Health and Hospitals Corporation, are frequently non-English-speaking immigrants who bring with them their own set of cultural values regarding health and medical treatment—which, in the New York context, means a bewildering assortment of patterns. New York City hospitals have established programs to address the need for better interpreter and translation services (language assistance is now mandated by law), and some have programs to serve the cultural and medical needs and health risks of particular groups. Lutheran Medical Center, for example, a nonprofit hospital close to Sunset Park, has special language, food, and cultural services available to the Chinese community (Zhou et al. 2013); Coney Island Hospital, a municipal hospital in southern Brooklyn, touts its treatment of the high incidence of thyroid cancers among Ukrainian and Russian survivors of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident and a healthy heart program geared to nearby Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants. In general, however, what is available in the health care system, in terms of language services and responsiveness to cross-cultural health care, is unfortunately still often inadequate



(Tung 2008; see Guo 2000 on the problems elderly Chinese immigrants face in New York in dealing with the health care system).

Immigration has also been reshaping mainstream cultural institutions. New York City's public library branches offer a growing number of books, DVDs, and CDs in many languages. In 2012, non-English titles made up 12 percent of items in the stacks of the Queens system, which had large collections in Spanish and Chinese as well as Korean, Russian, French, Hindi, Italian, and Bengali (Berger 2012). New museums have sprouted up to spotlight the history or arts of Asian and Latino groups. Two notable additions are the Museum of the Chinese in America in lower Manhattan, founded in 1980 and moved in 2009 to a building designed by the architect Maya Lin, and El Museo del Barrio in East Harlem, created in 1969 to focus on the Puerto Rican diaspora but since then changed to include all Latin Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. Older museums dedicated to Ellis Island-era immigrants are taking steps to include the post-1965 arrivals; the Tenement Museum has added "then and now" walking tours on the Lower East Side, and the Ellis Island Immigration Museum is slated to open a new section on the post-Ellis Island era in 2013.

## CONCLUSION

Immigrants, it is clear, are not only influenced by social, economic, and political forces in New York City, but are also agents of change in their new environment. The newest New Yorkers have radically transformed the city—and more changes are in store. Predicting the future is a risky business, yet it is worth reflecting on some ways that the influx of newcomers will leave its stamp on the city and the lives of immigrants and their children in the years ahead.

The signs are that high levels of immigration will continue, at least in the near future. The United States is likely to remain an immigration country for many years to come, allowing hundreds of thousands per year to enter; New York City can expect to receive a substantial share, if only because of the networks that link newcomers to settlers. Immigrants from abroad will not be the only new arrivals, of course. As Lobo and Salvo show, New York City receives large numbers of domestic, often college-educated, migrants from other parts of the country, who will remain a part of the demographic picture (chapter 2). At the same time, immigration is bound to continue to play a critical role in the city's population vitality, especially in the context of a growing proportion of elderly and the exit of many native-born New Yorkers to greener pastures in the suburbs and elsewhere. If first- and second-generation immigrants are the majority in New York City today, we can expect this to be the case for some time to come.

Continued inflows will enrich and replenish the city's ethnic communities. With fresh memories and connections to the homeland, new arrivals will help to keep alive old-country traditions and orientations as well as actual transnational ties. A number of trends already evident in New York's racial-ethnic dynamics are also likely to continue—and indeed, may well accelerate. Puerto Ricans' share of the city's Latino population is bound to shrink; the proportion of Dominicans, Mexicans, Ecuadorians, and Colombians will rise. In addition to ongoing immigration, many Latino groups have high fertility rates, which will add to their numbers (chapter 2).

The Caribbeanization of the city's black population will no doubt persist—and its Africanization will become more prominent. Although the number of Africans is still relatively small, legal immigration from West African countries has grown substantially in the last two decades. Given the network-driven nature of immigration, the dominant role of family preferences in the allocation of immigrant visas, and push factors in West African sending countries, the African influx is sure to accelerate. The proportion of Asians in the city will also grow, owing to immigration as well as fertility. Here, too, new players will be increasingly important, among the most notable Bangladeshis, who have gone from a tiny population in 1990 to one of the top twenty immigrant groups in 2010.

The growing number of newcomers—and naturalized and birthright citizens—will make immigrants (and especially their children) more important in New York City's political arena. Dominicans and West Indians, with their large numbers and geographic concentration, are likely to build on their history in the past two decades of electing coethnics to city and state positions. The Chinese, another large population, have begun to elect their own to city offices, including Taiwanese-born John Liu, who won the race for comptroller in 2009 through significant African American as well as Asian support in addition to the endorsement of many of the city's ethnic newspapers and other media outlets (chapter 11). In 2012, Grace Meng, the Queens-born daughter of Taiwanese immigrants, became the first Asian American elected to Congress from New York City, representing a newly drawn Queens district. Mexicans, a large and fast-growing group, are poised to make gains, although as Smith (chapter 10) argues, they have been hampered by residential dispersion throughout the city, a high proportion of undocumented, and a crowded field of ethnic politics with longer-established Latino groups.

Of course, immigrants' political influence is limited by the fact that noncitizens cannot vote—and continued large influxes will swell this population. In the late 1990s, John Mollenkopf wrote that "the full [political] incorporation of the Caribbean, Dominican, and Chinese populations must await the political maturing of the second generation, just as the full impact of the turn-of-the-century immigration was not felt until their children voted for the New Deal"

(1999:119). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, we are fast approaching this time—in 2008, immigrants and their children accounted for nearly half of voting-age citizens in the city. Although they have yet to enter the city's political leadership proportionate to their numbers, immigrant-origin candidates have won seats in the city council, the state assembly and senate, and the U.S. Congress. Young people from immigrant backgrounds are also emerging as leaders of student groups and nonprofit organizations (chapter 11, this volume; Mollenkopf forthcoming). How their political influence will be felt, and how they will enter the precincts of power, in the years ahead are critical questions.

As chapter 11 suggests, first-generation immigrants along with their second-generation children—born and bred in New York City—will provide fresh, and no doubt surprising, twists and turns in the process of creating a new kind of multicultural city out of the mixture and interplay of their different cultural backgrounds. The New York second-generation study conducted by Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters provides many grounds for optimism about the prospects for the children of immigrants. Contrary to fears about second-generation decline, most of the young adult children of immigrants in the survey were moving into the economic mainstream. The young adults were generally comfortable with racial and ethnic diversity, having grown up in neighborhoods where almost everyone's family was from somewhere else. They were at ease with their American and ethnic identities, seeing themselves as Americans and New Yorkers, albeit ethnic ones.

Yet there are some clouds on the horizon. The second-generation study was done in good economic times, before the recent recession, and one question is whether New York City will provide sufficient economic opportunities to absorb the children of immigrants now coming of age. Another question posed in chapter 11 is whether the city's schools and higher educational system can meet the challenge of preparing newcomers and their children for managerial and professional jobs of the twenty-first century. In addition, will racial inequalities continue to create barriers for many immigrants and their children? Issues of legal status also loom large. As chapter 10 makes clear, the prospects of Mexican immigrants are of particular concern, in good part because so many are undocumented and thus lack basic rights and opportunities. The U.S.-born children of undocumented parents, despite birthright citizenship, often grow up with economic insecurity, the threat of parents' deportation, and limits on their access to an array of government programs (Yoshikawa 2011). In looking ahead, a crucial question is whether the federal government will enact legislation providing a pathway to legal status, and ultimately citizenship, for the many undocumented immigrants in the city, young and old alike.

These are just some of the questions about the shape of immigrant New York in the years to come. If the United States is a permanently unfinished

country, as Nathan Glazer (1988:54) has written in another context, to an even greater degree the same can be said for New York City. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, fresh immigrant recruits keep entering New York City; newcomers who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s are by now old-timers; and a large second generation is growing up and entering the labor market. The chapters that follow provide a view of immigrant New York after a half century of massive inflows. They offer insights and raise questions that will enrich our understanding of the newcomers in America's ever-changing and quintessential immigrant city and, in the end, also broaden our perspective on immigration generally.

## NOTES

1. There is a growing number of full-length ethnographic accounts of contemporary immigrant groups in New York City (see, for example, Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, Pessar 1995, and Ricourt 2002 on Dominicans; Roth 2012 on Dominicans and Puerto Ricans; Margolis 1994, 1998 on Brazilians; Kang 2010, Park 1997, Min 1996, 1998 on Koreans; Khandelwal 2002 and Lessinger 1995 on Asian Indians; Chen 1992, Chin 2005, Guest 2003, Guo 2000, Lin 1998, Louie 2004, Wong 1982, and Zhou 1992 on Chinese; Bashi 2007, Kasinitz 1992, Vickerman 1999, and Waters 1999 on West Indians from the Anglophone Caribbean; Brown 1991, Pierre-Louis 2006, Laguerre 1984, and Glick-Schiller and Fouron 2001 on Haitians; Jones-Correa 1998, Ricourt and Danta 2003, Sanjek 1998 on Latinos in Queens; Markowitz 1993 on Russian Jews; Smith 2006, and Galvez 2009 on Mexicans; Stoller 2002, and Abdullah 2010 on West Africans).

2. According to the pooled 2005–10 American Community Survey, a little over a quarter of non-Hispanic whites and almost a third of non-Hispanic blacks were foreign-born, as compared to 72 percent of Asians and about half of Hispanics (Waters forthcoming).

## REFERENCES

- Abdullah, Zain. 2010. *Black Mecca: The African Muslims of Harlem*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Abusharaf, Rogala. 1998. "Structural Adaptations in an Immigrant Muslim Congregation in New York." In R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Witner, eds., *Gatherings in Diaspora*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Allen, Ray, and Lois Wilcken, eds. 2001. *Island Sounds in the Global City: Caribbean Popular Music and Identity in New York*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Alvarez, Julia. 1992. *How the Garcia Girls Lost Their Accents*. New York: Penguin.

- Amirov, Eric. 2000. "Now in New York: True Mexican." *New York Times*, January 26.
- Austerlitz, Eric. 1997. *Merengue: Dominican Music and Dominican Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bakalian, Amy, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. 2009. *Backlash 9/11: Middle Eastern and Muslim Americans Respond*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Basch, Linda. 1987. "The Vincentians and Grenadians: The Role of Voluntary Associations in Immigrant Adaptation to New York City." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bashi, Vilma. 2007. *Survival of the Knitted: Immigrant Social Networks in a Stratified World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Berger, Joseph. 2012. "Queens Libraries Speak the Mother Tongue." *New York Times*, January 2.
- Beveridge, Andrew A., David Halle, Edward Telles, and Beth DuFault. 2013. "Residential Diversity and Division: Separation and Segregation among Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Affluent, and Poor." In David Halle and Andrew Beveridge, eds., *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, Karen McCarthy. 1991. *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bryce-Laporte, Roy S. 1979. "New York City and the New Caribbean Immigrant: A Contextual Statement." *International Migration Review* 13: 214-34.
- Caro-Lopez, Howard, and Laura Limonic. 2010. "Dominicans in New York City, 1990-2008." Report 31, Latino Data Project, Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies, Graduate Center, City University of New York.
- Chen, Hsiang-Shui. 1992. *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Chin, Margaret. 2005. *Saving Women: Immigrants and the New York City Garment Industry*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Danticat, Edwidge. 1995. *Breath, Eyes, Memory*. New York: Vintage.
- Díaz, Junot. 2007. *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*. New York: Riverhead.
- Flores, Juan. 2000. *From Bomba to Hip Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Foner, Nancy. 1987. "The Jamaicans: Race and Ethnicity among Migrants in New York City." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 1999. "The Immigrant Family: Cultural Legacies and Cultural Changes." In Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds., *The Handbook of International Migration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- . 2000. *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- . 2005. *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration*. New York: New York University Press.
- . 2007. "How Exceptional Is New York? Migration and Multiculturalism in the Empire City." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30: 999-1023.
- . Forthcoming. "Immigrant History and the Remaking of New York." In Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Rogier van Reekum, eds., *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*. New York: New York University Press.
- Foner, Nancy, ed. 2001. *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Foner, Nancy, and Richard Alba. 2008. "Immigrant Religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion?" *International Migration Review* 42: 360-92.
- Foner, Nancy, and Roger Waldinger. 2013. "New York and Los Angeles as Immigrant Destinations: Contrasts and Convergence." In David Halle and Andrew Beveridge, eds., *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Galvez, Alyshia. 2009. *Guadalupe in New York: Devotion and the Struggle for Citizenship Rights among Mexican Immigrants*. New York: New York University Press.
- Glazer, Nathan. 1988. "The New New Yorkers." In Peter Salins, ed., *New York Unbound*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. 1963. *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Glick-Schiller, Nina, and Georges Fouron. 2001. *Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Grasmuck, Sherri, and Patricia Pessar. 1991. *Between Two Islands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Guarnizo, Luis, Arturo Sanchez, and Elizabeth Roach. 1999. "Mistrust, Fragmented Solidarity and Transnational Migration: Colombians in New York and in Los Angeles." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22: 367-96.
- Guest, Kenneth. 2003. *God in Chinatown: Religion and Survival in New York's Evolving Immigrant Community*. New York: New York University Press.
- Guo, Zibin. 2000. *Ginseng and Aspirin: Health Care Alternatives for Aging Chinese in New York*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hauck-Lawson, Annie and Jonathan Deutsch eds. 2008. *Gastropolis: Food and New York City*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hedges, Chris. 2000. "Translating America for Parents and Family." *New York Times*, June 19.
- Itzigsohn, Jose. 2009. *Encountering Faultlines: Race, Class, and the Dominican Experience in Providence*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.



- Jen, Gish. 1992. *Typical American*. New York: Penguin.
- Jones-Correa, Michael. 1998. *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kang, Miliann. 2010. *The Managed Hand: Race, Gender, and the Body in Beauty Service Work*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kasinitz, Philip. 1992. *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 1999. "A Third Way to America." *Culturefront* 8: 23–29.
- . 2001. "Invisible No More? West Indian Americans in the Social Scientific Imagination." In Nancy Foner, ed., *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . Forthcoming. "Immigrants, the Arts, and the 'Second Generation Advantage' in New York." In Nancy Foner et al., eds., *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape: New York and Amsterdam*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kasinitz, Philip, John Mollenkopf, and Mary Waters, eds. 2004. *Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kasinitz, Philip, John Mollenkopf, Mary Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway. 2008. *Inheriting the City*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Khandelwal, Madhulika. 2002. *Becoming American, Being Indian: An Immigrant Community in New York City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Kibria, Nazli. 2009. "Marry into a Good Family: Transnational Reproduction and Intergenerational Relations in Bangladeshi American Families." In Nancy Foner, ed., *Across Generations: Immigrant Families in America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Kim, Dae Young. 2004. "Leaving the Ethnic Economy: The Rapid Integration of Second-Generation Korean Americans in New York." In Philip Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf, and Mary Waters, eds., *Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographies of the New Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kraly, Ellen, and Ines Miyares. 2001. "Immigration to New York: Policy, Population, and Patterns." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*, rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kwong, Peter. 1997. *Forbidden Workers: Illegal Chinese Immigrants and American Labor*. New York: New Press.
- Laguerre, Michel. 1984. *American Odyssey: Haitians in New York City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lee, Chang-Rae. 1995. *Native Speaker*. New York: Riverhead.
- Lee, Jennifer. 1999. "Retail Niche Domination among African American, Jewish, and Korean Entrepreneurs: Competition, Coethnic Advantage, and Disadvantage." *American Behavioral Scientist* 42: 1398–1416.

- Lehoucq, Johanna. 1995. *From the Ganges to the Hudson: Indian Immigrants in New York City*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lin, Jun. 1998. *Reconstructing Chinatown: Ethnic Enclave, Global Change*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Loeb, Arun Peter, and Joseph Salvo. 2004. *The New New Yorkers 2000*. New York: New York City Department of City Planning.
- Logan, John, and Brian Stults. 2011. "The Persistence of Segregation in the Metropolis: New Findings from the 2010 Census." Census Brief prepared for Census 2010 Project. <http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Report/report2.pdf>.
- Louie, Vivian. 2004. *Compelled to Excel: Immigration, Education, and Opportunity among Chinese Americans*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Margolis, Maxine. 1994. *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1998. *An Invisible Minority: Brazilians in New York City*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Markowitz, Fran. 1993. *A Community in Spite of Itself: Soviet Jewish Emigres in New York*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Marshall, Paule. 1985. "Rising Islanders of Bed-Stuy." *New York Times Magazine* (November 3): 179–82.
- Massey, Douglas. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." In Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds., *The Handbook of International Migration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- McAlister, Elizabeth. 1998. "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism." In R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Witner, eds., *Gatherings in Diaspora*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Milkman, Ruth, and Laura Braslow. 2011. "The State of the Unions 2011: A Profile of Organized Labor in New York City, New York State, and the United States." New York: Joseph Murphy Institute for Worker Education and Labor Studies, City University of New York.
- Miu, Pyong Gap. 1998. *Changes and Conflicts: Korean Immigrant Families in New York*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- . 2001. "Koreans: An Institutionally Complete Community in New York." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 2006. *Caught in the Middle: Korean Communities in New York and Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2008. *Ethnic Solidarity for Economic Survival: Korean Greengrocers in New York City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- . 2010. *Preserving Ethnicity through Religion in America: Korean Protestants and Indian Hindus across Generations*. New York: New York University Press.



- Model, Suzanne. 1993. "The Ethnic Niche and the Structure of Opportunity: Immigrants and Minorities in New York City." In Michael Katz, ed., *The "Underclass" Debate*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mollenkopf, John. 1999. "Urban Political Conflicts and Alliances." In Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds., *The Handbook of International Migration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- . Forthcoming. "The Rise of Immigrant Influence in New York City Politics." In Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Rogier van Reekum, eds., *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*. New York: New York University Press.
- New York City Board of Education. 2010–11. "The 2010–11 Demographics of New York City's English Language Learners." Report of the New York City Board of Education, Office of English Language Learners.
- Ng, Mei. 1998. *Eating Chinese Food Naked*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Orleck, Annelise. 1987. "The Soviet Jews: Life in Brighton Beach, Brooklyn." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Park, Kyeyoung. 1997. *The Korean American Dream*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Pearson, Jake, and Rich Schapiro. 2010. "Falafel King Freddy Zeideia, Who Parks His Falafel Truck in Astoria, Wins Vandy Food Title." *New York Daily News*, September 26.
- Pessar, Patricia. 1995. *A Visa for a Dream*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Pessar, Patricia, and Pamela Graham. 2001. "Dominicans: Transnational Identities and Local Politics." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*, rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pierre-Louis, Francois. 2006. *Haitians in New York City: Transnationalism and Hometown Associations*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Reimers, David. 1992. *Still the Golden Door*, 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ricourt, Milagros. 2002. *Dominicans in New York City: Power from the Margins*. New York: Routledge.
- Ricourt, Milagros, and Ruby Danta. 2003. *Hispanas de Queens: Latino Panethnicity in a New York City Neighborhood*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Rogers, Reuel. 2006. *Afro-Caribbean Immigrants and the Politics of Incorporation: Ethnicity, Exception or Exit*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roth, Wendy. 2012. *Race Migrations: Latinos and the Cultural Transformation of Race*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sanjek, Roger. 1998. *The Future of Us All: Race and Neighborhood Politics in New York City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Scher, Abby. 2001. "NYC's Ethnic Press." *Gotham Gazette.com* <http://old.gothamgazette.com/commentary/80.scher.shtml>.

- Temple, Kirk. 2011. "Mexicans Fill Pews, Even as Church Is Slow to Adapt." *New York Times*, March 25.
- Wolfgang, Gary. 2003. *Russian Debutante's Handbook*. New York: Riverhead.
- Smith, Robert C. 2001. "Mexicans: Social, Educational, Economic, and Political Problems and Prospects in New York." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*, rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 2006. *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stoller, Paul. 2001. "West Africans: Trading Places in New York." In Nancy Foner, ed., *New Immigrants in New York*, rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press.
- . 2002. *Money Has No Smell: The Africanization of New York City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Toures-Saillant, Silvio. 1999. "Nothing to Celebrate." *Culturefront* 8: 41–48.
- Tung, Larry. 2008. "Language Barrier Begins to Fall at City Hospitals." *Gotham Gazette*, July. <http://old.gothamgazette.com/article/immigrants/20080722/11/2589>.
- Vickers, Milton. 1999. *Crosscurrents: West Indian Immigrants and Race*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wakin, Daniel. 2003. "Religion and Mayoralty: In a City of Diverse Faiths, a Deft Touch Is Often Required." *New York Times*, August 31.
- Waldinger, Roger. 1996a. *Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1996b. "From Ellis Island to LAX: Immigrant Prospects in the American City." *International Migration Review* 30: 1078–86.
- Waters, Mary C. 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . Forthcoming. "Nativism, Racism, and Immigration in New York City." In Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Rogier van Reekum, eds., *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*. New York: New York University Press.
- Waters, Mary C., and Jennifer Sykes. 2009. "Spare the Rod, Ruin the Child? First- and Second-Generation West Indian Child-Rearing Practices." In Nancy Foner, ed., *Across Generations: Immigrant Families in America*. New York: New York University Press.
- Winnick, Louis. 1990. *New People in Old Neighborhoods*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Wong, Bernard. 1982. *Chinatown: Economic Adaptation and Ethnic Identity of the Chinese*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Wong, Janelle, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, and Jane Junn. 2011. *Asian American Political Participation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Yoshikawa, Hirokazu. 2011. *Immigrants Raising Citizens*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Zhou, Min. 1992. *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Zhou, Min, Margaret M. Chin, and Rebecca Kim. 2013. "The Transformation of Chinese America: New York vs. Los Angeles." In David Halle and Andrew Beveridge, eds., *New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zolberg, Aristide. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

## 2. A Portrait of New York's Immigrant Mélange

Arun Peter Lobo and Joseph J. Salvo

The success of any great city lies in its capacity to reinvent itself over time. What aids New York in this enterprise is the vitality provided by the inflow of people from all over the globe who have made the city their home. The energy unleashed by a city continuously remaking itself demographically—and by the dreams of upward social mobility that immigrants embody—allows it to reinvent itself socially, culturally, and economically. Immigrants are an integral part of the changing social and economic fabric of New York City, which helps explain why the city has benefited from immigration throughout its history.

New York City has been an ethnic *mélange* since its earliest years under the Dutch and English. Later, in the 1830s and 1840s, famine and oppression in Europe drove large numbers of Irish and German settlers to the city, but by 1880 immigrant origins had shifted to southern and eastern Europe. New York grew even larger when it was incorporated as a city of five boroughs in 1898, with its population of more than 3 million living primarily in lower Manhattan and northwestern Brooklyn. It was a very densely settled place, with more than two-thirds of the population living on less than 10 percent of the city's land mass. Population densities in the tenements of the Lower East Side were above 500 persons per acre (by comparison, today's high-rise neighborhoods of the Upper East Side or Upper West Side rarely exceed 300 persons per acre).