

**Studying on settlement patterns and networking of Low-Skilled Chinese
Immigrants in the United State**

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Master of Science in Urban Planning

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Abstract

This study analyses the new settlement patterns of low-skilled Chinese immigrants and both transit networking and social networking behind them. Research in recent years found that immigrants won't settle in the traditional gateway destinations, instead they are settling outside of the traditional established settlement areas. Based on the employment agency and its cooperation with bus company located in Chinatown, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, this study analyzes how the low-skilled Chinese immigrants settle in non-gateway destinations and the role that networking plays in the process. This thesis analyzes three aspects of the immigrant settlement process. First, I attempt to study the relocation process of both employers (Chinese restaurant owners) and employees. Second, I examine the role of employment service agencies in the process of relocation to the new destination. Third, this study explores the consequences of settlement for immigrants in new destinations.

Key Words: Settlement patterns, Low-skilled Chinese immigrants, networking, employment agency, non-gateway destinations.

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1. INTRODUCTION

On Feb 22, 2011, *The New York Times* published an article entitled “Many Immigrants Job Search Starts in Chinatown” (Dolnick.2011). It was a story about how employment agencies located in Chinatown help immigrants get jobs. Chinatown has a lot of different infrastructures(i.e. Mandarin services’ shops, employment agencies, or apartment rental) to help new immigrants find their footing. For example in Manhattan’s Chinatown, there are more than ten employment agencies within two blocks, which only provide Mandarin services.

However, the employment agencies no longer only working for new immigrants anymore, they more aim to serve all the low-skilled Chinese immigrants no matter how long have they been there. And most of the employment agencies in Chinatown have a cooperation with the bus company in order to provide the most convenient way to help the immigrants to settle and work. According to the article published in *The Wall Street Journal* entitled “On the East Coast, Chinese Buses Give Greyhound a Run” (Newman, 2005), which stated Chinatown bus company owned by the Chinese immigrants competing customers with Greyhound Buses on the east coast. The story took many by surprise because it seemed inconceivable that immigrant-owned businesses could compete with big-name corporations like Greyhound (worth \$1 billion at that time).

1.1 Background Summary

Immigration researchers have long taken for granted that immigrants concentrate in major gateway cities and states. Historically, for many Chinese immigrants, going to the

United States was almost synonymous with going to the Gold Mountain (San Francisco). Traditional settlement cities in many ways symbolize the meaning of America. Well-cited seminal studies tacitly embraced and perpetuated this attribution by focusing on major metropolitan areas with large numbers of immigrants (Foner 2000; Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994; Logan, Alba, and Zhang 2002; Nee and Nee 1973; Nee, Sanders, and Sernau 1994; Portes and Bach 1985; Waters and Jimenez 2005; Zhou 1992). Some even observed that post-1965 immigrants concentrated even more in selected locations than previous immigrant cohorts (Massey 1995; Min 2005).

Recently, researchers noticed an emerging phenomenon of immigrants arriving at non-traditional destinations. Using data from the US Census, Singer (2004) showed that nearly one-third of immigrants resided outside established settlement states in 2000, and subsequent studies have produced significant insights into the settlement process in new destinations (Gozdziak and Martin 2005; Hirschman and Massey 2008; Marrow 2011; Massey 2008; Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2005).

They immigrated to outside the established settlement. The new destinations have no bilingual education, bilingual services, the large ethnic community, or other hometown organizations. This expansion also challenges the consensus that ethnic economies need to remain concentrated (Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994; Portes 1995). To the extent that business ownership in itself can be a measure of success, expansion of Chinese restaurants to non-gateway destinations provides a new (perhaps faster) avenue for economic mobility.

Furthermore, the recruitment mechanism for moving to new destinations may differ across ethnic groups. For the Chinese case, there is a heavy reliance on employment agencies (EAs) operated by Chinese immigrants and located within New York City's (NYC) Chinatown. The EAs serve as a link by providing critical information about the new destination and employers to potential employees. Perhaps more than realized, EAs facilitate the settlement process for employees who venture into the new destinations. Thus, a systematic examination of new patterns of employment and settlement among recently arrived low-skilled Chinese immigrants is clearly needed.

1.2 The Shifting of Chinese immigrants

Brief history of Chinese immigrants

Chinese immigrants are the third-largest foreign-born group in the United States, after Mexicans and Indians. Chinese immigration to the United States has consisted of two waves, the first arriving in the mid-1800s and the second from the late 1970s to the present. The population has grown more than six-fold since 1980, reaching 2.3 million in 2016, or 5 percent of the approximately 44 million immigrant population overall.

Chinese migration to the United States picked up during the mid-19th century, when primarily male manual laborers arrived in the West Coast for agricultural, mining, railroad construction, and other low-skilled jobs. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act, a political response to virulent anti-Chinese public attitudes and pressures from labor unions, severely limited future immigration of Chinese workers and barred Chinese

residents from obtaining U.S. citizenship. Though the law was repealed in 1943, few mainland Chinese could immigrate due to other restrictions placed on non-European immigration in the 1920s.

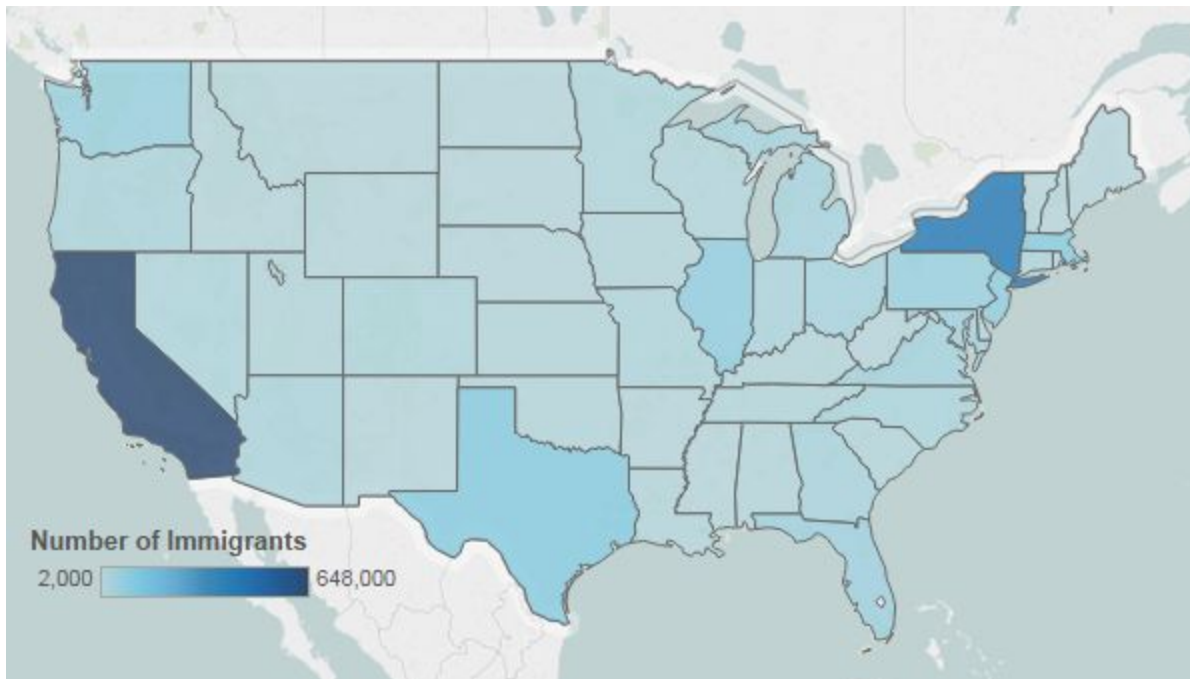
Beginning in the mid-1960s, significant policy changes in the United States and China opened a new chapter of Chinese migration. These shifts included the 1965 Immigration Act in the United States that reopened migration pathways for non-European immigrants and created temporary worker programs for skilled workers, as well as China's loosening of its emigration controls in 1978, and the normalization of U.S.-China relations in 1979. The number of immigrants from mainland China in the United States nearly doubled from 299,000 in 1980 to 536,000 in 1990, and again to 989,000 in 2000, reaching 2.1 million in 2016.

Nationals of Hong Kong, a territory of the United Kingdom until 1997, were not subject to the same set of immigration limits as mainland Chinese citizens; they began moving to the United States in the late 1960s. By 1980, there were 85,000 Hong Kong-born immigrants in the United States, which increased to 212,000 by 2016, comprising about 9 percent of all Chinese immigrants.

Unlike in the 19th century, Chinese immigrants arriving post-1965 are predominantly skilled: China is now the principal source of foreign students enrolled in U.S. higher education, and its nationals receive the second-largest number of employer-sponsored H-1B temporary visas, after India. Chinese immigrants are enrolled in college and graduate school at a rate more than twice that of immigrants overall (15 percent,

compared to 7 percent). Chinese nationals are also overrepresented in applications for the EB-5 investor visa program, accounting for 90 percent of applicants in fiscal year (FY) 2015.

Till now, the Chinese immigrant population is highly concentrated in two states, with roughly half residing in California (31 percent) or New York (20 percent). The top four counties by concentration in the 2011-15 period were Los Angeles County, CA; Queens County, NY; Kings County, NY; and San Francisco County, CA. Together, these four counties accounted for about 28 percent of the overall Chinese population in the United States(Figure 1).



English proficiency

Chinese immigrants were less likely to be proficient in English and speak English at home than the overall U.S. foreign-born population. According to the data from U.S. Census Bureau 2010 and 2016 American Community Surveys (ACS), about 61 percent of Chinese immigrants ages 5 and over reported limited English proficiency, compared to 49 percent of the total foreign-born population. Approximately 10 percent of Chinese immigrants spoke only English at home, versus 16 percent of all immigrants.

Immigration Pathway

In FY 2015, China was the second largest country of origin, after Mexico, for new lawful permanent residents (LPRs, also known as green-card holders): Close to 77,000 or 7 percent of the 1,051,000 new LPRs were from mainland China, Hong Kong, or Macau. Compared to new green-card holders in general, Chinese immigrants were more likely to use employment-based preferences: Thirty percent, compared to 14 percent of the total. Chinese immigrants were less likely than new LPRs overall to obtain green cards as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (37 percent, compared to 44 percent).

There were significant backlogs for mainland Chinese citizens applying for LPR status through employment-based and family-sponsored channels, due to the annual per-country quota of immigrant visas available for these categories. According to the most recent visa issuance data, in September 2017 the State Department was processing visa applications for some family and employment preferences that had been filed by Chinese applicants in January 2002.

Although most Chinese immigrants in the United States are legally present, approximately 268,000 of them were unauthorized in 2014, according to Migration Policy Institute (MPI) estimates, comprising around 2 percent of the 11 million unauthorized immigrants in the United States.

In 2016, approximately 25,000 Chinese youth were immediately eligible for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, according to MPI estimates. However, as of September 4, 2017, just 740 youth from mainland China were active DACA holders. The DACA program, which offers work authorization and relief from deportation to young unauthorized immigrants brought to the United States as children, is set to be phased out starting in March 2018(Figure 2).

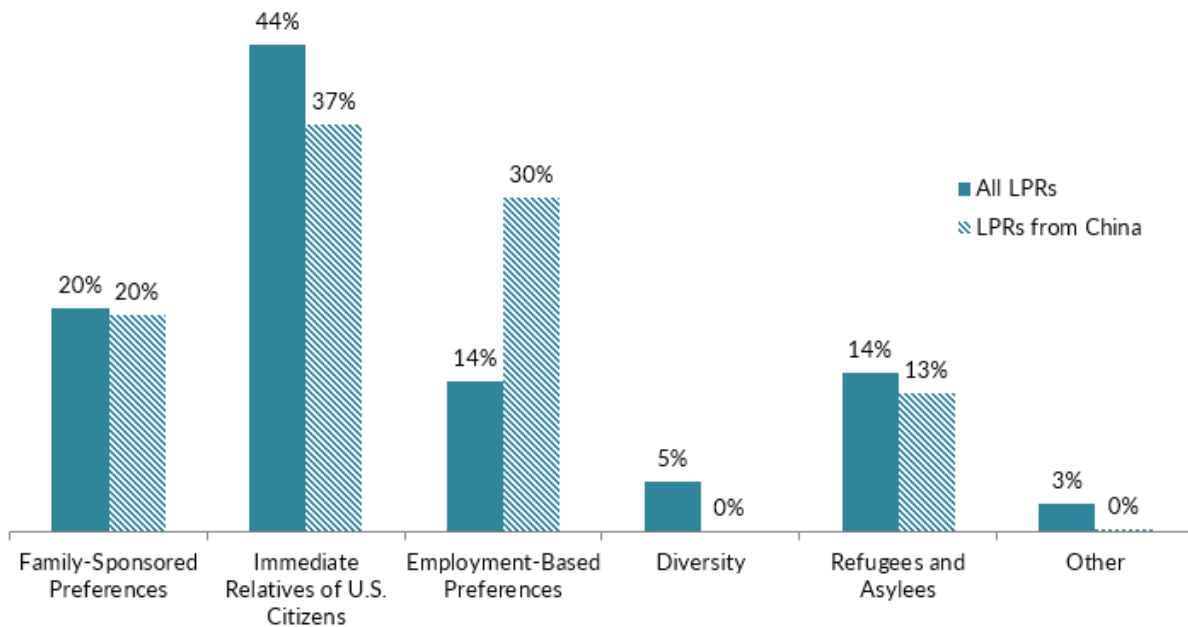


Figure 2 Immigration Pathways of Chinese Immigrants and All Immigrants in the United States

Educational Attainment

The educational attainment of Chinese immigrants of the native and foreign-born populations differ in distribution. Based on the ACS data, the foreign-born Chinese immigrants had a higher proportion of adults with less than a high school education (36 percent) compared to natives (16 percent).

Low-skilled Chinese Immigrants

Based on the above researches about English proficiency, immigration pathway, and educational attainment, It is worthing noticed that foreign-born Chinese Immigrants in every aspect has a lower skill level. The low-skilled Chinese immigrants in this study can be defined as foreign-born Chinese immigrants who educational attainment less than High school with limited English proficient, getting LPR by family-sponsored, Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens or refugees and asylees.

1.3 Labor Force Participation of Low-skilled Chinese immigrants

To understand the settlement of Chinese immigrants in new locations, we first need to examine the expansion of the Chinese restaurant business to new locations. The expansion of Chinese restaurants has been going on at a spectacular speed. According to some sources, there are over 48,000 Chinese restaurants (including buffet and take-outs) in the U.S., a number that is more than that of the combination of McDonald's, Burger King, and Wendy's outlets combined (Lee, 2008; Luo, 2006). They have spread all across the United States, rural or urban, towns big or small. The

ubiquity of Chinese restaurant did not happen accidentally, but rather as a result of multiple forces in operation.

Chinese food was the first Asian cuisine to land in the New World, and the Chinese who transplanted it in the mid-19th century, were the first large wave of Asian migrants.

Beginning to attract a fast-growing non-Chinese clientele of diverse ethnic backgrounds in major cities across the nation around the end of the 19th century, Chinese food was the first ethnic cuisine to be highly commodified as a type of food primarily to be prepared and consumed away from home at a national level. As such, it injected a refreshing air of diversity to a country long dominated by an Anglo culinary monotony, which remained evident as late as the 1960s. John Steinbeck recalled that “in the eating places along the roads the food has been clean, tasteless, colorless, and of a complete sameness” after taking a cross-country road trip in 1960. By 1980 Chinese had become the most popular ethnic cuisine in the United States as a result of changes in Chinese immigration.

Moreover, Chinese food has also been a vital lifeline for Chinese Americans, existing as one of the two main sources of employment for them (the other being the laundry business) for decades. Its development, therefore, is an important chapter in American history and a central part of the Chinese American experience.

Yet, it has not received the attention it deserves. First, although it stems from one of the world’s oldest and most sophisticated cuisines and has arrived in the country for more

than 160 years, it has largely remained at the lower end of America's gastronomical hierarchy. Second and equally important, few systematically studied its history until the first decade of the 21st century.

During the second stage in the developing history of Chinese food in America that began in the late 1880s, Chinese food largely remained confined to Chinese settlements but also began to gain increasing acceptance among non-Chinese consumers. We have noted Chinese food's cultural and social importance during the previous period; during this stage, the Chinese restaurant sector became the mainstay of the tourism-based Chinatown economy. These developments reflected key demographic and occupational changes in Chinese America.

The first change was the geographical redistribution of its population, marked, first and foremost, by Chinese America's urbanization. In 1880 the Chinese living in cities with a population of at least 100,000 represented only 21.6 percent of Chinese America, but by 1940 that number had surged to 71 percent. The main cause was anti-Chinese violence, which intensified during the 1870s, destroying most small-town Chinese communities.

At the same time, Chinese Americans increasingly moved out of the West to other parts of the country. This movement reconfigured the regional distribution of the Chinese population. In 1870, 99.4 percent of the 63,199 Chinese residents lived in the American West. In 1940, that number dropped to 60.4 percent. Many Chinese Americans moving

eastward entered major cities, where their presence grew visibly. In Chicago, for instance, the Chinese population grew from 172 in 1880 to 1,179 in 1900 and 2,353 in 1920.²⁰ The Chinese population in New York increased from 747 in 1880 to 6,321 in 1900 and close to 13,000 in 1940.

1.4 Research questions

This research is divided into three parts, Hence the part one research question is:

1. How is the relocation process of both employers (Chinese restaurant owners) and employees?

Part two research question is:

2. what is the role of employment service agencies in the process of relocation to the new destination?

Part three research question is:

3. What are the consequences of settlement for immigrants in new destinations?

1.5 Literature Review

Comparing with the huge amount of books, articles and papers discussing Manhattan's Chinatown, few of them talk about planning. Planning is defined here as implemented and failed the governmental-initiated and community-initiated physical plans, and zoning changes Zhou Mins book, Chinatown, The Social economic Potential of an Urban Enclave (1992) illustrates the change of Chinese immigrants attitude towards real estate investment. Although Chinese traditionally value real estate and regard it as an important indicator of success, the Chinese sojourners before the exclusion era had no

interest to hold real estate in the U.S. Their only goal was to send money back to China. After 1943, the exclusion acts were repealed, and Chinese immigrants started to think about staying in the U.S. and buying properties, New immigrants in 1960s and 1970s moved in with capital and desire to invest in real estate market. identified the late 1970s and 1980s as the lift-off time for Chinatowns real estate Investment, which most of the money coming overseas, leading to a series of conflicts concerning the redevelopment of the historic Chinatown.

Lin(1995) provided a dualist paradigm to understand conflicts in redeveloping Chinatown. Two polarized circuits are described: the lower circuit as the garment industry, restaurants, grocery stores, which provide jobs and services for low income class: and the higher circuit, international banking industry and local redevelopment he developmental orientation of the upper circuit has clashed with the interest of the lower circuit, which depends on preservation of the existing inventory of tenements and of the low cost of loft manufacturing space "The local state."

Historically, ethnic businesses often began by serving the needs of co-ethnic groups in the form of either restaurants or grocery stores (Portes 1995). In this regard, the close proximity of ethnic businesses to ethnic neighborhoods was important. Ivan Light and colleagues carried out a series of studies of immigrant entrepreneurship among Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Iranian immigrants (Light and Bonacich 1988; Light and Rosenstein 2005; Light et al. 1994). In most cases, their studies reveal that spatial clustering of immigrant businesses (often located in immigrant enclaves) is a key

characteristic of these businesses. For example, even when Korean immigrants in Los Angeles move their businesses to the suburbs, their businesses are still spatially clustered and continue to rely on Korean immigrant workers (Light and Bonacich 1988). Light et al. (1994) identified an exception: Iranian immigrant business owners in Los Angeles. Iranian immigrant business owners are not spatially clustered, in part because most of them are self-employed and do not need to employ other Iranian immigrant workers.

Recent studies of ethnic economies provide evidence that there are advantages in utilizing the ethnic social capital embedded in immigrant neighborhoods because social capital fosters and facilitates entrepreneurship. One of the challenges for immigrants starting their own businesses is accessing financial capital. Many immigrants lack the good credit necessary to obtain loans from mainstream financial institutions, so they rely on co-ethnic members to pool financial resources to start their businesses. The credit rotation practice has long been noted and continues today (Granovetter 1995; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).² Perhaps the chief advantage of locating businesses near immigrant neighborhoods is easy access to immigrant labor (Fong, Luk, and Ooka 2005; Sassen 1995; Zhou 1992). Fong, Luk, and Ooka (2005) suggest that the human ecology perspective predicts that immigrant businesses are likely located in a city's "transition zone," which is characterized by a high level of poverty and social disorganization. However, findings from their study in Toronto are not consistent with this perspective.

Another perspective draws insight from economic geography. Rooted in the new industrial space thesis (Scott 1988), Zhou (1998) studies the role of interfirm networks in the location strategies of Chinese producer service firms in Los Angeles. For example, Chinese-run computer businesses are typically located at the fringe of Chinese-concentrated areas while maintaining proximity with other computer distributors so that parts can be exchanged faster and more efficiently. Both Fong, Luk, and Ooka (2005) and Zhou (1998) note this shift in Chinese business patterns of settlement from ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown, toward the city outskirts or suburban areas, clearly signaling a departure from the traditional business settlement patterns. This pattern can be explained in part by the increase of Chinese immigrants living in suburban areas or ethnoburbs (Li 1998; Zhou 1998). There is also a fundamentally demand-side explanation advocated by economists that stresses the economic indicators of destination locations: unemployment rate, income level, and business climate (Card and Lewis 2005). This line of reasoning posits that entrepreneurs are more likely to open new businesses in locations undergoing economic growth and rising employment. This perspective is consistent with some of our interviews with restaurant owners, as they tend to identify “good locations” (hao qu) for their business operation.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 Methodology

This paper draws mainly on original data collected about employment agencies in NYC's Chinatown. and also it carried out in-depth interviews with staff members/owners of employment agencies(EAs), owners of selected Chinatown bus companies, and immigrant workers searching for jobs through EAs.

Statistical analysis and models aim to examine key contextual-level factors that determine restaurant job locations and the extent to which immigrants who work in non-traditional destinations have a more favorable outcome in salary. This paper takes advantage of the spatially explicit data and employs spatial modeling techniques in addition to statistical modeling.

2.2 Quantitative Analysis

Data sources

1. Job listings from EAs

This study surveyed EAs mainly located in Manhattan's Chinatown. The geographic locations of EAs are shown in Figure 4. For certain locations, one data point represents more than one EA because some buildings have multiple EAs within them. EAs are mainly located on Eldridge Street, Division Street, and East Broadway on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Some informants call East Broadway "Fuzhou Street" to represent the large number of immigrants from Fujian province there (Liang et al. 2008).

The geographic concentration of these EAs is not random but emerged because they initially wanted to serve the employment needs of Fujianese immigrants.



Figure 4 Location distribution of employment agencies in Manhattan's Chinatown

For each employment agency, I copied job-related information: location of the job (by phone area code), salary level, type of job (chef or food delivery) or any other information about the job (i.e. how tips are distributed, any preference for immigrants who came from different parts of China).

2. Phone Area Code data and County-Level Data

When analyzing business location choices, I use the area code level as the unit because job listings are classified by area code. The idea is to examine how area code

level characteristics are related to the number of Chinese restaurants in a particular area code.

I use county-level data to generate area code level data for analysis. To figure out what factors make this relocation process form, three kinds of county-level data are used: county-level poverty and income data, county-level current business patterns (CBP) data, and county level crime data. The first two data sets were downloaded from the US Census Bureau and County level crime data are downloadable from US Department of Justice.

NYC as a Major Research Site

As we can see, our starting point in this project is in NYC's Chinatown. Naturally one may wonder about by focusing on NYC we may present a somewhat incomplete picture of settlement in non-gateway destinations. For example, there is a reason to expect major differences between east coast and west coast (Halle,2003). The decision to use NYC as a starting point is motivated by several factors.

First, previous studies show that NYC is often the initial settlement place for most Fujianese immigrants and major Fujianese immigrant hometown associations are all based in NYC (Chin, 1999; Keefe, 2009; Guest; 2004; Liang, 2001; Zhang, 2008). Thus by studying NYC's EAs and subsequent immigrant settlement to non-gateway destinations, I am likely to capture a large portion, Fujianese immigrants. Second, the initial data analysis shows that these EAs have jobs that are located in many parts of

the country that covers many non-gateway destinations. This assures me that EAs based in NYC is not simply providing job information along the east coast, but pretty much covering a substantial part of the country. Third, the Chinatown in NYC unlike it in CA, having a long period to development. After a preliminary study of selected EAs in Southern California, one thing we have noticed is that EAs in CA tend to cover diverse kinds of jobs: restaurants, nanny, massage worker, and construction workers etc. In contrast, EAs in NYC tend to focus entirely on restaurant jobs. In addition, there are also EAs in CA that caters to high-level professionals.

Analytic Strategy

1. Mapping of Business Locations and Construction of Area Code level Data

The survey resulted in a list of jobs identified by telephone area codes. Using job counts of Chinese restaurants located in a specific area code, we mapped the distribution of business locations by area code using an area code boundary file. Both area code boundary and county-level boundary files are available from ESRI Data and Maps. We used both these files to map patterns of job distribution by other characteristics at the area code level (i.e., median household income, poverty level, and crime rate). To do this, we “converted” county-level information to the area code level (using ArcMap’s clip, merge, and dissolve features) by overlaying the area code boundaries with the county boundaries. In this manner, we aggregated the county-level data into area code-level attributes.

For example, if, hypothetically, the area code 555 roughly corresponds to the combination of two adjoining counties A and B, then we sum the corresponding (i.e., A and B) counties' attributes, such as population size or the number of businesses. The summed totals become the attributes for area code 555. However, it is also often the case that a county polygon is not entirely contained within a single area code. For example, county C may contain area codes 555 and 666. In this case, I proportionally split the attributes (such as population size) of county C based on the spatial distribution of each area code 555 and 666 within county C. Whether combining or splitting the county attributes, this process ultimately created our area code–level data.

To assess the potential impact of imprecision between area codes and the counties whose attributes were mapped onto the area codes, we created an indicator (dummy) variable, scored 1 if the area code polygon fully enveloped its component counties, and 0 otherwise, and included this as a control variable in each of our regression models. None of the dummy variables was statistically significant. We then refit the regressions without the dummy variable and compared the estimated coefficients, standard errors, and test statistics. None of the statistical inference differed between models with and without the dummy variable, so we report the models without the dummy control for area code to component-county mismatch.

2. Statistical Models of Location Choices of Chinese Restaurants Using Area Code Data

Following the procedure described above, I obtain area code level data file that contains the distribution of Chinese restaurants in each area code as well as basic economic,

business pattern, and crime data at the area code level. Our dependent variable is a number of Chinese restaurants in an area code zone. Count data are usually estimated by the Poisson model or negative binomial model (Long, 1997). Poisson distribution is more restrictive than the negative binomial model because of its assumption of mean equals to variance. As the count of Chinese restaurants in area code zone is skewed (with many zeros because some area codes may not contain Chinese restaurants) and maybe overdispersed, I will use negative binomial distribution (Long, 1997). The statistical model will take the following form:

$$\ln \hat{Y} = \alpha + \beta X$$

Where \hat{Y} represents predicted counts of the number of Chinese enterprises and X is a vector that includes are code-level variables, i.e. median income, poverty level, business growth rate, population, and Asian American population size, and crime rate.

3. FINDINGS

3.1 Quantitative Analysis of the jobs distribution

Map 1 shows the distribution of jobs obtained from our employment agency survey in NYC. As we can see the job distribution clearly spreads widely across the United States. We identify job frequency by different colors, with red color indicating the largest number of jobs, followed by blue, green and orange. Overall, these job listings spread across 37 states. This map use classification method of Massey (2008): big five, second tier, new destinations, and remaining states. States with diagonal stripes indicate new destinations and traditional destination states are in dark color. Using Massey's classification scheme, jobs in new destinations and remaining states represent a combined 56% of the job listings. This reveals a very dramatic geographic diversification of restaurant job locations and high concentration of jobs in non-gateway destinations in the United States.

One of the advantages of working in traditional destinations for immigrants is that these locations tend to be in large cities with easy access to transportations. However, with large numbers of newly arrived immigrants work in these far away locations and rural towns, transportation can be a challenge. Chinese businessmen are quick to start a new business to serve the need of immigrants. While conducting fieldwork of employment agencies, we also found large stacks of business cards from bus companies in Chinatown (these days located mainly along Allen Street). I systematically collected all bus information from each employment agency. There are two major bus services, one

is mainly for short distance (to Boston, Philadelphia, or Albany), but the majority of them are for long distance. I have identified three major bus routes that serve the need of immigrants. Map 2-4 show three major bus routes. Map 2 shows the bus route that goes along the east coast with the final destination of Orlando. The second bus route goes to mid-west with the final destination of Kansas City. The third line goes to the deep south, with the final destination of Birmingham, Alabama.

I have conducted an initial analysis of determinants of job distributions by area code. This analysis use some basic area code level characterizes; income, unemployment rate, crime rate, proportion non-Hispanic whites, and proportion blacks. The results are reported in Table 1. Consistent with our expectation, these restaurant jobs tend to be located in areas with the low unemployment rate. Restaurant owners tend to start businesses in low crime rate areas, the coefficient for the crime rate is very significant. Not surprisingly, these jobs tend to be located in areas with a high proportion of Non-Hispanic whites, often associated with higher or middle income neighborhood. However, we also find that jobs are also likely to be located in areas with a high proportion of blacks as well. This is in line with other literature shows immigrant business owners often venture into a minority neighborhood to start the business (Min, 2004). I have carried out some preliminary fieldwork in a neighborhood in Philadelphia and find that large numbers of Chinese restaurants are located in this poor neighborhood. In fact, along with the metro line, there is a Chinese restaurant in each street. These are for the most part take-out restaurants. Unlike other take-out Chinese

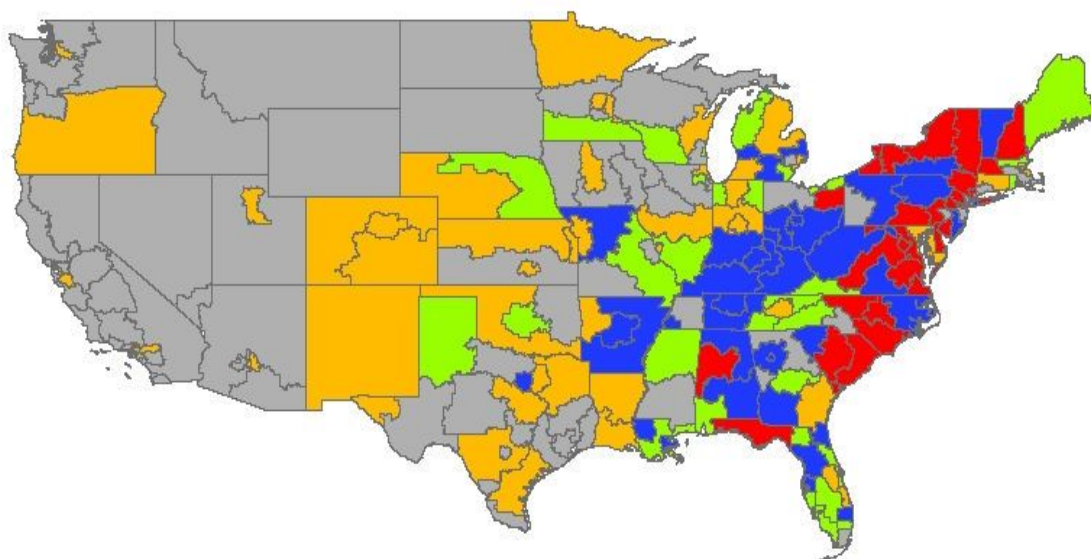
restaurants, the ones in this neighborhood all have the bullet-proof window and cash transaction is conducted in a manner that is similar to bank transactions in major cities.

This study also used salary information from employment agency survey to get a sense of how salary is related to new destinations. The substantive question is do immigrants receive higher compensation once they move out of NYC? Create a distance measure between Manhattan and each phone area code. The initial analysis suggests, the further away from Manhattan, the higher the salary. In fact, if we consider non-gateway locations are often less costly and employers always provide room and board, immigrants who work in non-gateway destinations clearly reap high level of financial gains.

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE</u>
Intercept	-.1452	.9555
Personal Income	2.92e-06	.0000
Unemployment Rate	-35.9829	20.5510
Non-Hispanic White proportion	3.7809 ***	.6416
Black Proportion	9.3523 ***	1.2319
Crime Rate	-27.3803 ***	8.1686
-2 Log Likelihood	1510.544	
Chi-Square	62.71 ***	
df	5	
Number of cases	274	

Note: * P < 0.05, ** P < 0.01 and ***<0.001

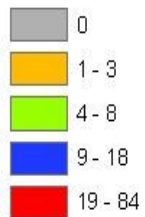
Table 1 Coefficients of Negative Binomial Regression Predicting Job Number in Area Code



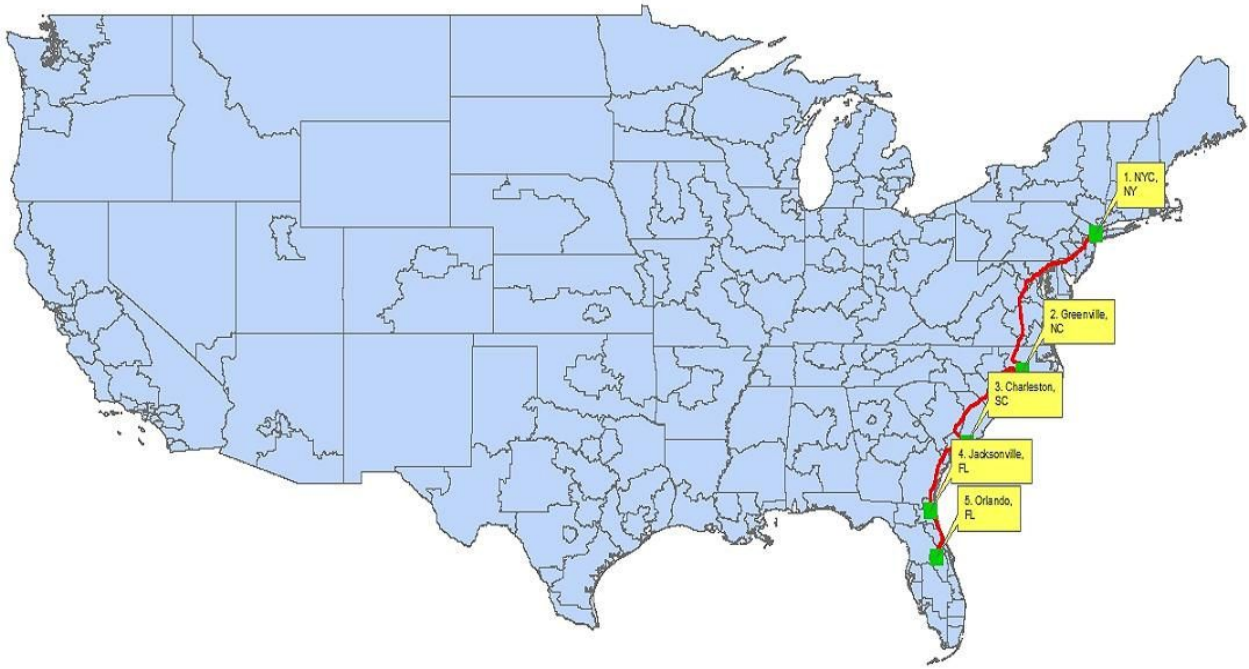
Job number

areacode2

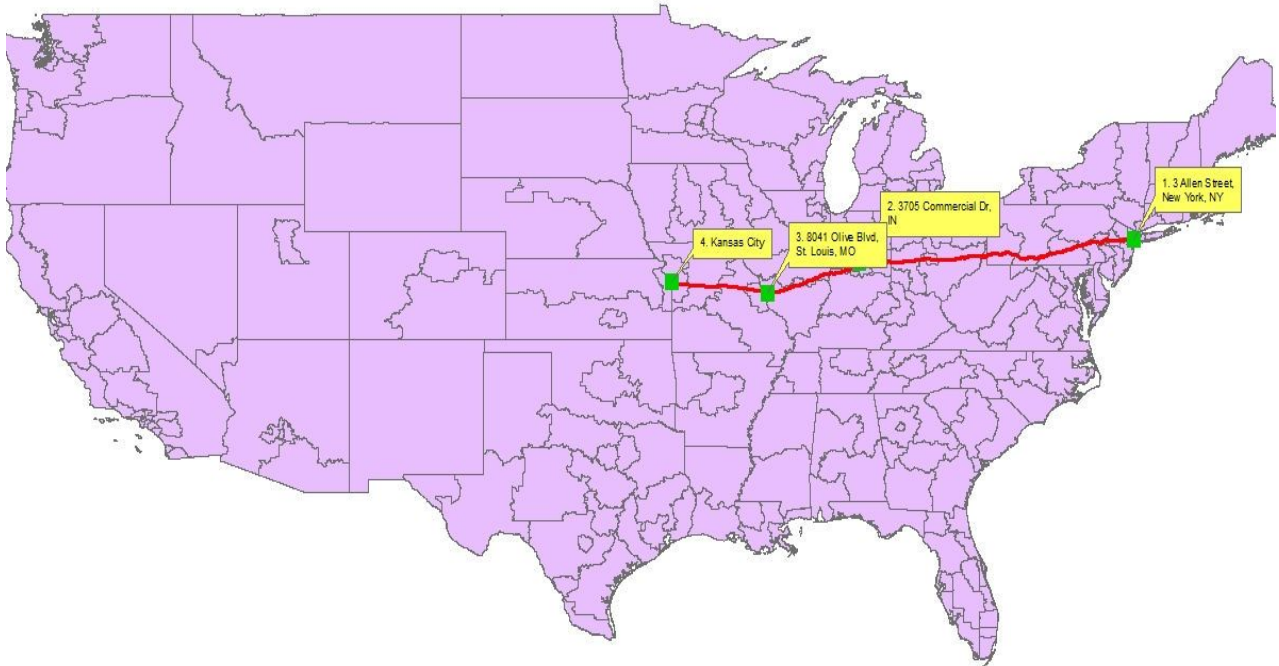
JOBNUMBER



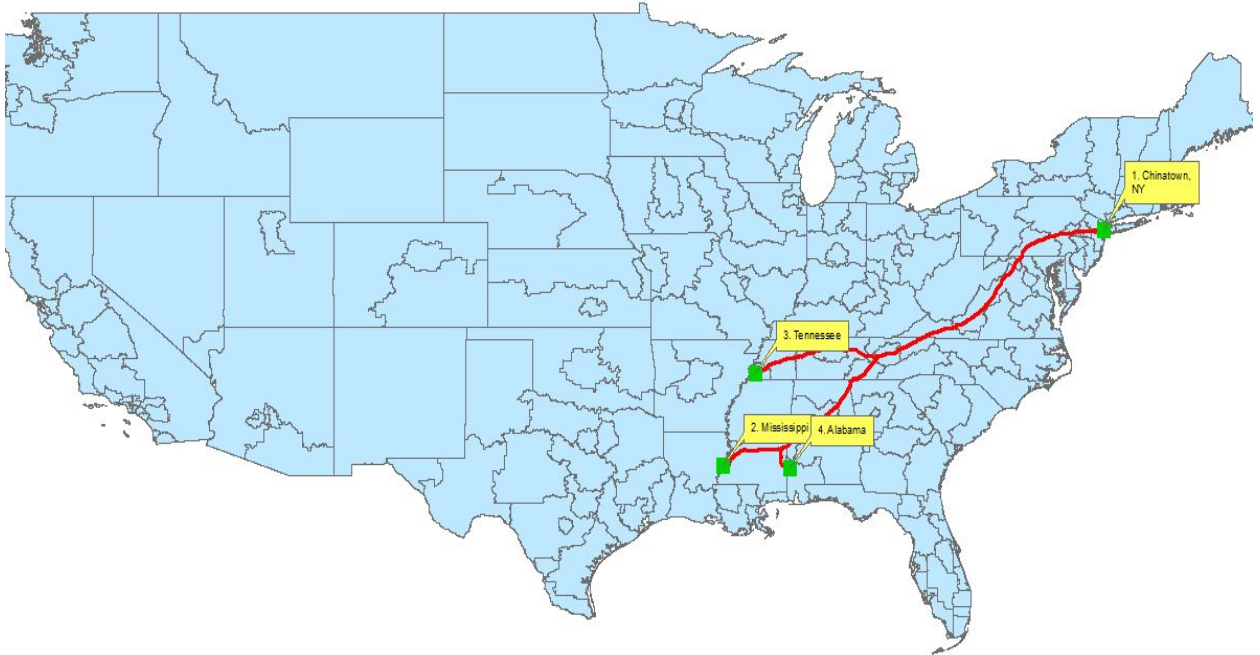
Map 1 Distribution of Job numbers



Map 2 Bus Route from NYC, NY to Orlando, FL



Map 3 Bus Route from NYC, NY to Kansas City, KS



Map 4 Bus Route from NYC, NY to Alabama

3.2 Interview responses

Interview with restaurant entrepreneurs

From the interviews, restaurant entrepreneurs often told me that when opening businesses, they look for “hao qu” (good community or neighborhood), which could be interpreted as low unemployment and a low crime rate. Some educated business owners use the Internet to find out this information. For example, Mr. Zheng, an immigrant restaurant owner in Ohio, used the Internet to research the income level of the neighborhood when he was planning his restaurant’s location. Other immigrant entrepreneurs obtained local information from real estate brokers. The low crime rate is especially important for these owners because there have been frequent reports of tragedies for those restaurants that are often located in poor neighborhoods. We also note that coefficients for low- or middle-income variables are statistically significant. Meals in Chinese restaurants are very affordable, especially in Chinese takeout places. As such, potential customers do not need to earn a high income to eat in a Chinese restaurant. But the key to a consistent customer base is steady employment within the restaurants’ neighborhood, which provides a stable income. Therefore, Chinese restaurant owners are sensitive to unemployment in a community.

Interview with staff working at employment agency

One of the qualitative methods in this research is on interviewing some of the staff working at employment agency in Chinatown, Manhattan. Eight questions (Appendix 1) were asked of them. One of my interviewer, Mr. Yang, an EA owner in Chinatown, stated that when he came to the United States in 1973, the fees were \$30 per

transaction. Today, EAs still charge about \$30–\$35 per job transaction. As such, this price has remained nearly unchanged for more than 40 years. The current fee structure makes it easier for immigrant workers to look for or change jobs. More importantly, staff members in EAs provide needed information about non-gateway destinations and often work with bus companies to help immigrants learn how to travel to new restaurants or other job opportunities. Since they have the most up-to-date information on the restaurant job market, EA staff can also relay information about new locations and suggest routes to bus companies.

Interview with those low-skilled Chinese immigrants

Though the information I got from one of EAs, I contacted several people but only two of them accepted the online interview. One of my interviewer, Mr. Zhang, say he have been working in Chinese Restaurants since he came to the US, and he has worked in Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, Washington DC, Boston, Upstate(New York) and Connecticut, the jobs are almost the same, cooking Chinese food.

At the first time he comes to the US by political asylum, he has no friend and family in New York City. he went to one employment agency in Chinatown and asking for a job. The first job he took in Florida, which took him 18 hours by bus from NYC. Alike the employment agency said at NYC, his salaries about \$1900 per month which is higher than in NYC as he s and he only work here for half a year.

It is worth noting that most of the interviewers said it is hard to hire people far away from the city, so the farther from the city, the more money they get, which is also why Mr. Zhang changed his jobs time to time.

Working in the Chinese Restaurant, they provide them food and apartment. When I ask them why don't learn English and find a better job instead of in the restaurant. All of them said it is much simpler to work with the Chinese, no matter the jobs or social.

3.3 Process Speculation

Based on previous interview responses, I can reasonably speculate that employers, restaurant owners, and low-skilled immigrants play a role in EA in the resettlement pattern.

In interviews with most restaurant owners, they mentioned that it has become more and more difficult to operate restaurants in big cities, not only because of the high capital investment in the previous period, but also the rents, hydropower and manpower required in big cities. Going with small cities, but also in big cities, running a restaurant has not had a substantial profit. This is mainly because the restaurant industry in the big cities is so saturated that the Chinese restaurant does not have any obvious advantages to compete with other existing restaurants.

The first principle of employers to open restaurants is to make profits. In the case that the premise is too high and the income is not obvious in the later period, the original restaurant owners chose to invest in remote small cities.

The most important reason is that the initial investment is small, regardless of rent or decoration. Although not as large as the daily profit in big cities, but relatively stable, the monthly net profit is basically stable. This is in contrast to big cities, where the profitability of the month is not stable, and the rent is expensive. The market in small cities is more stable. There is no need for capital turnover. The monthly profit can guarantee the rent for this month.

Of course, there are some shortcomings behind these advantages. The first thing that bears the brunt is that there are not enough employees and there is no way to make the restaurant have more labor. The first point is that the population diversity of small cities is insufficient and there are not many Chinese who can use them. The second point is that it is very difficult for Chinese immigrants who have settled in big cities to come to work in small cities. The only thing they can do is to raise wages and provide housing and food for them.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Political Factors

The U.S. government's unprecedented protective measures covered all Chinese nationals, not just students. In 1990, the non-naturalized Chinese population present in the United States numbered almost 300,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). In addition to LPRs, this population included about 40,000–43,000 Chinese students and scholars (Mann, 1990; Brooks, 1992) and about 70,000 unauthorized immigrants (INS, 2003). Students accounted for about one-half of applicants for the deferred enforced departure program (Brooks, 1992). Some observers speculated that unauthorized immigrants from China were a major beneficiary of the protective measures (Myers, 1994; Poston and Luo, 2006).

These measures are likely to have affected beneficiaries' labor market outcomes. The executive order and the CSPA should have increased the likelihood of employment among some beneficiaries but could have lowered it among others. Among skilled migrants, the measures are likely to have increased employment by relaxing constraints on where they could work. Students and scholars who were limited to on-campus jobs by the terms of their visas became able to work in any sector. Accompanying dependents who were barred from employment entirely by the terms of their visas became eligible to work. On the other hand, the measures made covered Chinese nationals eligible for public assistance programs. This may have reduced beneficiaries'

labor supply, particularly among low-skilled migrants. And, of course, concomitant changes in earnings may have affected labor supply within households.

The U.S. immigration policy changes should have boosted beneficiaries' earnings, even among those already working. Beneficiaries who were working under the table became able to work legally, enabling them to move to higher-paying jobs. Earnings likely increased for students and their spouses because the former now had more options about where to work while the latter now were allowed to work. Government-financed students and scholars who held exchange visitor (J-1) visas that required them to return to China within 18 months of completing their studies no longer had to do so, making them more attractive to employers. Temporary work visa holders were no longer tied to the employer specified by their work visa, making it easier for them to move to higher-paying positions. Beneficiaries no longer had to search for an employer willing to sponsor them for a temporary work visa or a green card, giving them more latitude in their job searches.

4.2 Economic Factors

Many employers are willing to pay immigrant labor the prevailing wage level, or at least the federal minimum wage if they can gain another major economic advantage. This advantage is acquiring a self-regulating and self-sustaining labor supply, that is, a labor supply that is self-recruiting, self-training, and self-disciplining (Browning & Rodriguez, 1985; Hagan, 1994; Rodriguez, 1986). This arrangement is similar to the benefits of outsourcing work but without actually having to contract with an external firm. The

employer simply turns over the responsibilities of the labor process to the immigrant workforce, whose members organize and operate the work process through internal social networks and hierarchies.

The end result is that the employer saves on the costs of managing and maintaining a labor force, as the labor cost is reduced mainly to paying for work performed. But this advantage is derived only when immigrant labor is hired in groups, which enables internal networks to develop and provide the internal mechanisms of labor management and control. As immigrant workers are increasingly hired in groups, employers create a reserved labor market for immigrant labor (Piore, 1979).

Alike the Mexico immigrants labor, which has The BRACERO Program(A private-public collaboration between large U.S. farmers and the U.S. and Mexican governments designed and implemented), Chinese farmers represent the largest single workforce in the world. With an income that is only slightly above that of African farmers (The World Bank, 1995), they have developed strong migration tendencies. In the past decade, an estimated 100 million Chinese peasants have migrated to Chinese cities (Zhang, 2001). Annually, several thousand Chinese workers enter the United States, with or without visas, but because of spatial barriers, China has not become a massive source of migrant labor for the U.S. labor market, as Mexico has been for decades.

Historically, ethnic businesses often began by serving the needs of co-ethnic groups in the form of either restaurants or grocery stores (Portes 1995). In this regard, the close

proximity of ethnic businesses to ethnic neighborhoods was important. Ivan Light and colleagues carried out a series of studies of immigrant entrepreneurship among Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Iranian immigrants (Light and Bonacich 1988; Light and Rosenstein 2005; Light et al. 1994). In most cases, their studies reveal that spatial clustering of immigrant businesses (often located in immigrant enclaves) is a key characteristic of these businesses. For example, even when Korean immigrants in Los Angeles move their businesses to the suburbs, their businesses are still spatially clustered and continue to rely on Korean immigrant workers (Light and Bonacich 1988). Light et al. (1994) identified an exception: Iranian immigrant business owners in Los Angeles. Iranian immigrant business owners are not spatially clustered, in part because most of them are self-employed and do not need to employ other Iranian immigrant workers.

Recent studies of ethnic economies provide evidence that there are advantages in utilizing the ethnic social capital embedded in immigrant neighborhoods because social capital fosters and facilitates entrepreneurship. One of the challenges for immigrants starting their own businesses is accessing financial capital. Many immigrants lack the good credit necessary to obtain loans from mainstream financial institutions, so they rely on co-ethnic members to pool financial resources to start their businesses. The credit rotation practice has long been noted and continues today (Granovetter 1995; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Perhaps the chief advantage of locating businesses near immigrant neighborhoods is easy access to immigrant labor (Fong, Luk, and Ooka 2005; Sassen 1995; Zhou 1992). Fong, Luk, and Ooka (2005) suggest that the human

ecology perspective predicts that immigrant businesses are likely located in a city's "transition zone," which is characterized by a high level of poverty and social disorganization. However, findings from their study in Toronto are not consistent with this perspective.

Another perspective draws insight from economic geography. Rooted in the new industrial space thesis (Scott, 1988), Zhou (1998) studies the role of interfirm networks in the location strategies of Chinese producer service firms in Los Angeles. For example, Chinese-run computer businesses are typically located at the fringe of Chinese-concentrated areas while maintaining proximity with other computer distributors so that parts can be exchanged faster and more efficiently. Both Fong, Luk, and Ooka (2005) and Zhou (1998) note this shift in Chinese business patterns of settlement from ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown, toward the city outskirts or suburban areas, clearly signaling a departure from the traditional business settlement patterns. This pattern can be explained in part by the increase of Chinese immigrants living in suburban areas or ethnoburbs (Li 1998; Zhou 1998). There is also a fundamentally demand-side explanation advocated by economists that stresses the economic indicators of destination locations: unemployment rate, income level, and business climate (Card and Lewis 2005). This line of reasoning posits that entrepreneurs are more likely to open new businesses in locations undergoing economic growth and rising employment. This perspective is consistent with some of the interviews with restaurant owners, as they tend to identify "good locations" (hao qu) for their business operation.

5 CONCLUSION

This paper aims to examine a new employment and settlement pattern for low-skilled Chinese immigrants in the United States. Relying on the unique surveys of EAs in NYC's Chinatown, I systematically analyze this new pattern. The results show that there has been a fundamental shift in patterns of settlement among recently arrived, low-skilled Chinese immigrants. The days of these immigrants congregating exclusively in Chinatown for jobs and settlement are long gone. A substantial number of low-skilled jobs today are located across the United States.

This decisive shift in employment patterns of low-skilled Chinese immigrants is due to several critical factors. First, the broad economic picture is that NYC's market has made it difficult and unappealing to open new Chinese restaurants. After all, there is a limited customer base and the high commercial rent prompts immigrant restaurant entrepreneurs to look beyond the city. Although the fieldwork suggests that there have always been Chinese immigrants who ventured outside New York City and opened restaurants in remote places, nothing compares to the scale of present-day expansion.

The Chinese restaurant business today has reached almost everywhere: from Alabama to Alaska. Beyond factors related to NYC's restaurant market, I argue that two more factors were critically important in facilitating this expansion: the role of EAs and Chinatown buses. EAs established market mechanisms to build a bridge between employers and potential employees. The Chinatown buses greatly reduced the transportation needs of low-skilled Chinese immigrants. With convenient routes and

reasonable prices, Chinese immigrants can easily navigate across geographic spaces without a high degree of English proficiency.

5.1 Consequences

The fundamental shift to non-gateway destinations has several important consequences. The trend of moving to non-gateway destinations opens up a broader labor market that can provide employment opportunities for a substantially larger number of immigrants. In this sense, the recent significant entry of immigrants from Fujian province cannot be sustained without these Chinese immigrant entrepreneurs opening restaurants in different parts of the country. Likewise, without the large supply of immigrant workers, these entrepreneurs cannot realize their American dream of starting their own business. This is a win-win situation for entrepreneurs and low-skilled immigrant workers. It is often the case that geographic mobility leads to socioeconomic mobility.

Immigrants who choose to work in non-gateway destinations can reap a significantly higher salary than immigrant workers in NYC. The current study echoes studies that find that immigrants working outside ethnic enclaves obtain better economic advancement than those working in the enclaves (Sanders and Nee 1987; Xie and Gough 2011). Recent literature seems to give short shrift to the issue of how new destinations are linked to socioeconomic mobility for immigrants. Our study provides evidence that moving out, in this case, means moving up, as measured by increased salary.

5.2 Challenges

Although immigrants are likely to enjoy a higher salary, this decisive shift in the geographic location of employment presents some challenges for immigrants and their families. First, by definition, immigrants in these new destinations do not have easy access to immigrant organizations when they encounter practical difficulties (e.g., driving license tests, health care access, and church services in their native language). This is particularly challenging for recently arrived immigrants who do not speak English very well. Second, these Chinese immigrants are far away from their immigrant networks (often in NYC) that provide friendship or moral support and work long hours in non-gateway destinations (typically 12 hours a day for six days a week). Under such circumstances, immigrants are very vulnerable to mental health issues that deserve our attention (Luo 2006). Third, immigration scholars also study potential racial conflicts between local residents and immigrants in new destinations. This study suggests that Chinese immigrants and entrepreneurs are generally well received and some Chinese restaurant owners also hire local white workers. For example, Mr. Lin, who used to own two restaurants in South Carolina, mentioned hiring white workers to take care of the bar in his restaurants. He said he had to pay a higher salary to white workers, but insisted that it helped his business. In our ongoing work in Northern Philadelphia, the situation is less rosy. These are neighborhoods with a high concentration of minority members, a high rate of unemployment and poverty, and a high rate of single-parent families. As such, running a restaurant in that kind of environment is often dangerous. In the first week of August 2016, 12 Chinese restaurants were robbed at gunpoint (Overseas Chinese Daily 2016). Most restaurant owners in the area have installed

bulletproof windows and security cameras. Perhaps this is not news for immigration. however, the potential race and ethnic conflict need more attention.

Finally, based on the fieldwork, I find that some immigrant workers left family members in NYC while they moved from job to job across states. This clearly generates additional stress for immigrant families, especially those with children. Thus, moving to non-gateway destinations may prove to be a mixed blessing for some families. To the extent that the immigration labor market is quickly expanding to non-traditional destinations, scholars and policymakers need to find ways to facilitate immigrant adaptation in these destinations and resolve potential issues related to these new types of fragile immigrant families.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1 Interview question draft

1. How you get the jobs information?
2. Does the employer pay your company?
3. Can the employer speak English?
4. How many people will come to your company to ask for the job?
5. What percentage of people will get the job?
6. Does your company provide the survey that takes the take those people to their jobs location?
7. How much should the people pay for asking jobs?
8. In your opinion, why are more and more people choosing to work in remote places?

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