

MEET THE NEIGHBORS:

Organizational and Spatial Dynamics of Immigrant New Jersey

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

New Jersey has always ranked among the top destinations for US-bound immigrants. Today only California and New York can count larger shares of non-natives. The current era dates roughly to the mid-1980s, when global and domestic politics, natural disasters, economic dislocation and the ballooning of the US service sector empowered a new generation to pick up and move. Between 1990 and 2010, as the number of immigrants doubled (from just under 19 million people to almost 40 million) New Jersey experienced a proportionate change from 967,000 people in 1990 to more than 1.8 million in 2013.

Significantly, though these contemporary immigrants came from new source nations and brought with them different skills and challenges, and though they have arrived on a scale unprecedented in the history of the US, the federal government has not, as yet, addressed these changes with a comprehensive reform of the nation's immigration policy.

Absent comprehensive reform, sizable growth and demographic change have wrought a complex set of circumstances in communities nationwide. This report measures and characterizes the new reality in just one state. When comprehensive federal reform does carry the day, these data will be available to guide implementation. Arguably, the stakes have never been higher.

At least six salient features in the current landscape of immigrants in New Jersey merit attention.

1. A GLOBAL SHIFT IN SOURCE COUNTRIES

For most of US history, immigrants to New Jersey originated in European countries. Changes in federal policy and global economics since the 1980s have meant that the top sending countries are now in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Table 1. Top Countries of Origin for New Jersey Immigrants¹

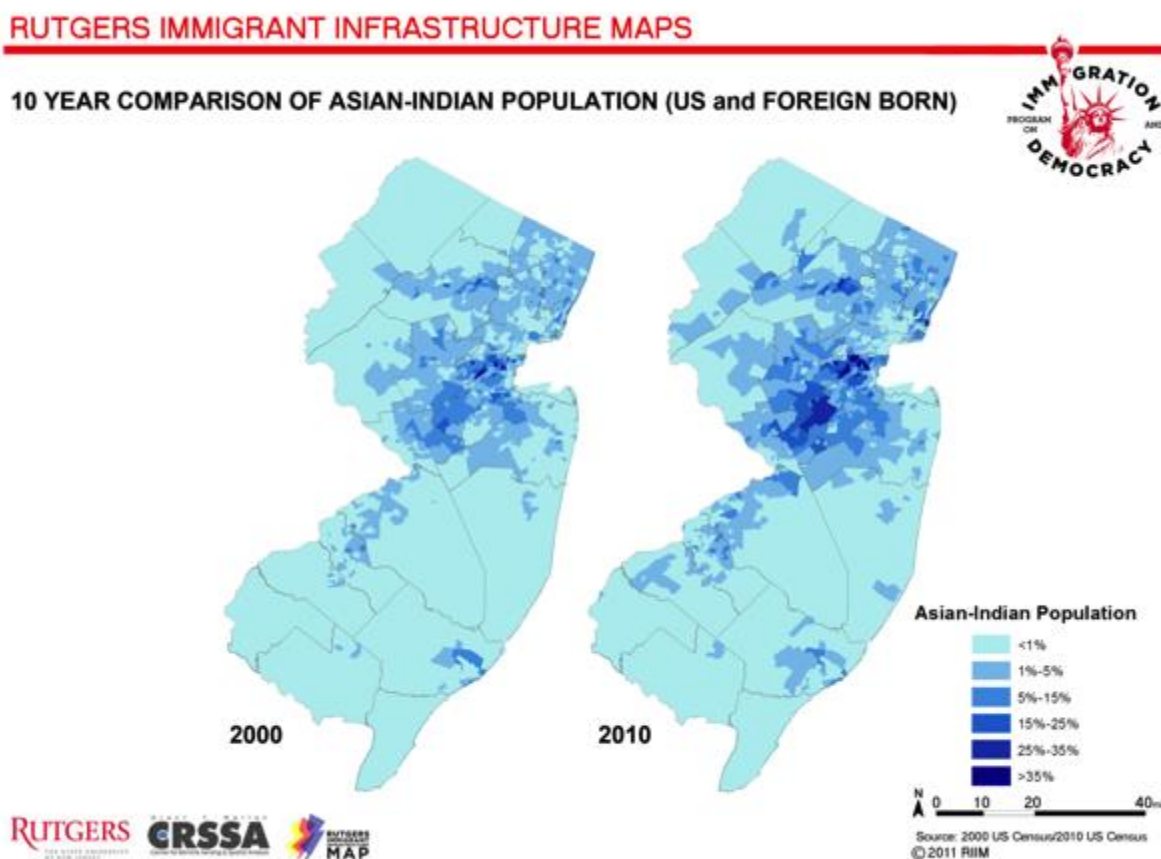
<u>1920</u> Italy Germany	<u>1930</u> Italy Germany	<u>1940</u> Italy Germany	<u>1950</u> Italy Germany	<u>1960</u> Italy Germany
<u>1970</u> Italy Germany	<u>1980</u> Italy Cuba	<u>1990</u> Italy Cuba	<u>2000</u> India DR	<u>2010</u> India Mexico

2. NEW DESTINATIONS, SOUTH AND TO THE SUBURBS

Historically, immigrants settled in urban centers where they could find their co-nationals as well as jobs, services and schools. In New Jersey this meant settlement clustered around the gateway of New York City. Today, immigrants nationwide are dispersing to the suburbs. This pattern of decentralization was anticipated in New Jersey, which has never had a single urban population center. Instead, current immigrants, like most state residents, tend to settle in suburbs. Outside of agricultural regions in the west and south, these are generally city-like suburbs, characterized by sprawl and a decentralization of services. They have carved out a cluster in the center of the state, which also happens to be the state's principal economic engine. These trends are evident in the dispersal of Asian and Hispanic populations since 1990.

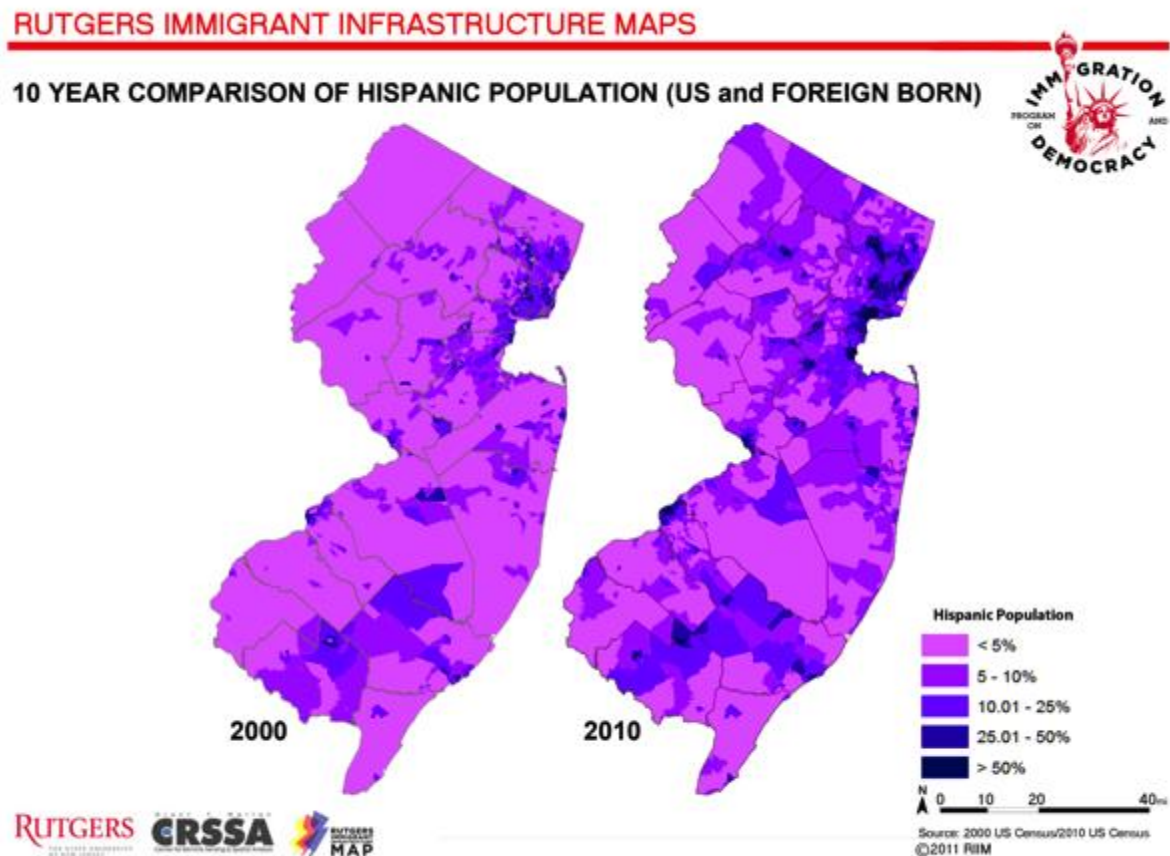
During the first decade of the 21st Century, Asian-Indian settlement in Central New Jersey intensified.

Figure 6. In the First Decade of the 21st Century, Asian-Indian Settlement Intensified in Central New Jersey



Over the same period, Latino settlement intensified and expanded statewide.

Figure 7. Between 2000 and 2010 New Jersey's Hispanic Settlement Intensified and Expanded Markedly



3. UNMET LANGUAGE NEEDS

Between 2000 and 2010, the number of New Jersey residents (five years and older) with Limited English Proficiency grew by 28.5%, from 676,021 to 868,963. By 2010 more than one million (1,031,000) working age adults in New Jersey lacked proficiency in English. That same year, estimates put the number of New Jersey adults enrolled in state-administered ESL programs at 25,010.²

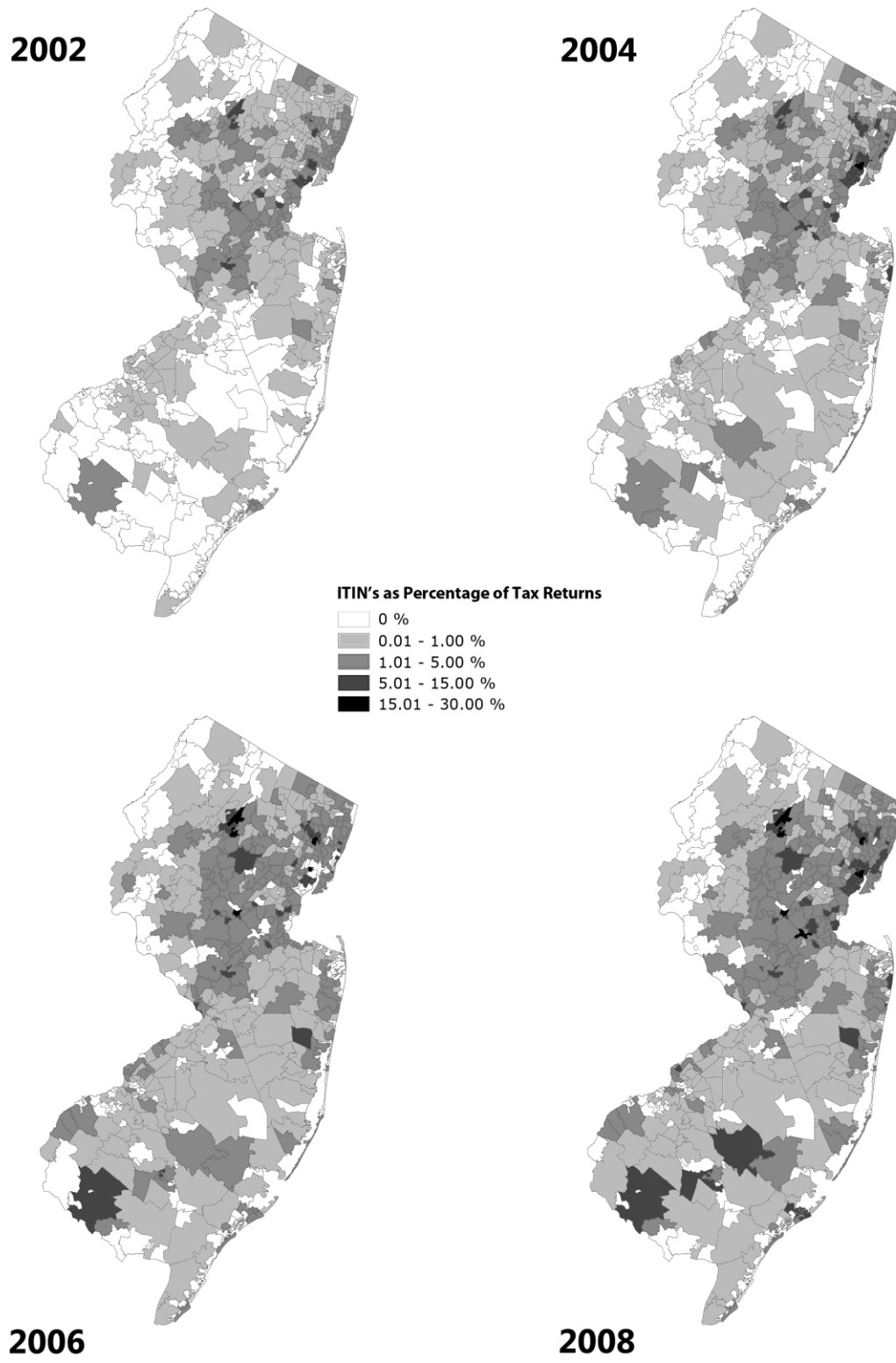
4. HIGH CONCENTRATION OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS

Policy changes since the mid-1960s have expanded the range of countries from which immigrants to the US originated, but also placed limits on migration from the Western Hemisphere. Compounded by North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), migration to the US from Spanish-speaking countries has swelled dramatically since the 1970s. Even as the US labor market has greedily absorbed the new workers, federal immigration policy has not kept pace.

Results of this mismatch can be seen in New Jersey neighborhoods. In 2008, 9.2% of New Jersey workers were undocumented, putting New Jersey among the top four states in the nation (after Nevada, California and Arizona) for the share of undocumented workers in its labor force. These workers tend to be unskilled, earn low wages – even lower than their native counterparts – and not qualify for basic rights and benefits available to other workers.

One snapshot of where New Jersey's undocumented workers live comes from data on Individual Taxpayer Identification Numbers (ITINs). ITINs are a mechanism established by the Federal Department of Treasury in 1996 as a way to encourage workers who do not qualify for Social Security numbers to pay taxes. Many immigrant workers embraced ITINs as a way to verify their taxpaying history in the event of an opportunity to regularize their status. Seen across several years, the maps illustrate growth in nearly all regions of the state. The relatively high rate of increase may reflect not just growth in the immigrant population, but also undocumented immigrants' increasing willingness to participate in this system.

Figure 8. Growth of Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN) Filers Over Time. (Concentration Among Total Tax Revenues in New Jersey for 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008.)



5. DENSE CONCENTRATION OF SKILLED FOREIGN WORKERS

New Jersey ranks among the top states in the nation (after California, New York and Texas) for the number of foreign-born residents holding H1-B visas. (The H1-B is a 3-year temporary visa issued by the US Department of Labor to employers hiring workers in “specialty occupations,” i.e. fields where a bachelor’s degree or equivalent is required.) H-1B dependent firms (defined as those with H-1B workforces of 15% or higher) must attest that they have tried to recruit US workers and that they have not laid off any citizens 90 days prior to or after hiring any H-1B workers.

Table 4. Top 10 H-1B employers in New Jersey

2011	2012	2013
Larsen Toubro InfoTech Ltd	Tata Consultancy Services	Compunnel Software Group, Inc.
Wipro Ltd	Larsen Toubro InfoTech Ltd	Oracle Financial Services Software, Inc.
Rutgers University	IBM	Merrill Lynch
Cognizant Technology	HCL Technologies America	Everest Consulting Group, Inc.
Infosys Technologies Ltd	Cognizant Technology	Orion Systems Integrators, Inc.
VSG Acquisition Corp.	Zylog Systems	Birlasoft, Inc.
Compunnel Software Group, Inc.	Wipro Ltd	Intone Networks, Inc.
Zylog Systems	KPIT Infosystems Ltd.	Cloudeeva, Inc.
Barclay's Capital Services, Inc.	Oracle Financial Services Software	Collabera (GCI)
Polaris Software Lab, Ltd	Merrill Lynch	Techdemocracy LLC

A state map of firms hiring H1-B workers highlights a major axis of white-collar employment running through the center of the state (parallel to the Northeast Corridor rail line and Route 1), with an additional cluster outside of Philadelphia.

Figure 10. Location of Top H1-B employers operating in New Jersey, 2011

RUTGERS IMMIGRATION INFRASTRUCTURE MAPS

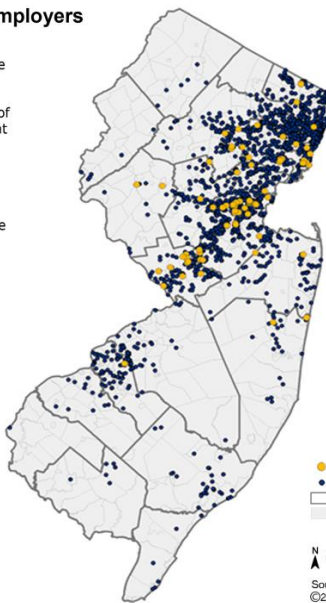
Top 100 H1B employers/all other H1B employers NEW JERSEY

H-1B visas are temporary visas (for six years, renewable after three) issued by Homeland Security's U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service to companies wishing to hire high-skilled foreign nationals in a range of technical occupations. To qualify, applicants must hold at least a bachelor's degree.

The H-1B program seeks to balance the needs of U.S. firms for high-skilled labor against protection for native workers. When their workforce includes 15% or more H-1-B visa holders, companies must verify that they were unable to recruit and have not recently laid off U.S. workers. Employers attest to the U.S. Department of Labor that the foreign worker will be paid wages that meet or exceed the prevailing wage rate.

H1-B visas are capped at 65,000 per fiscal year, less than 1% of the U.S. labor force. A report by the Government Accountability Office estimates that employers pay between \$2,300 and \$7,500 in legal and filing fees for each H1-B employee they hire. The vast majority of firms sponsor a single worker, but a small number of companies account for 30% of all H1-B visas.

New Jersey companies rank fifth (following CA, NY, IL, and TX) for the number of H1-B visas they receive. They work in the sectors that constitute the backbone of the New Jersey economy: telecommunications, biotechnology, pharmaceuticals, IT and higher education.



● Top 100 H1B Visa Employers
● All Other H1B Visa Employers
□ County Boundaries
□ Municipalities

0 10 20 40 miles

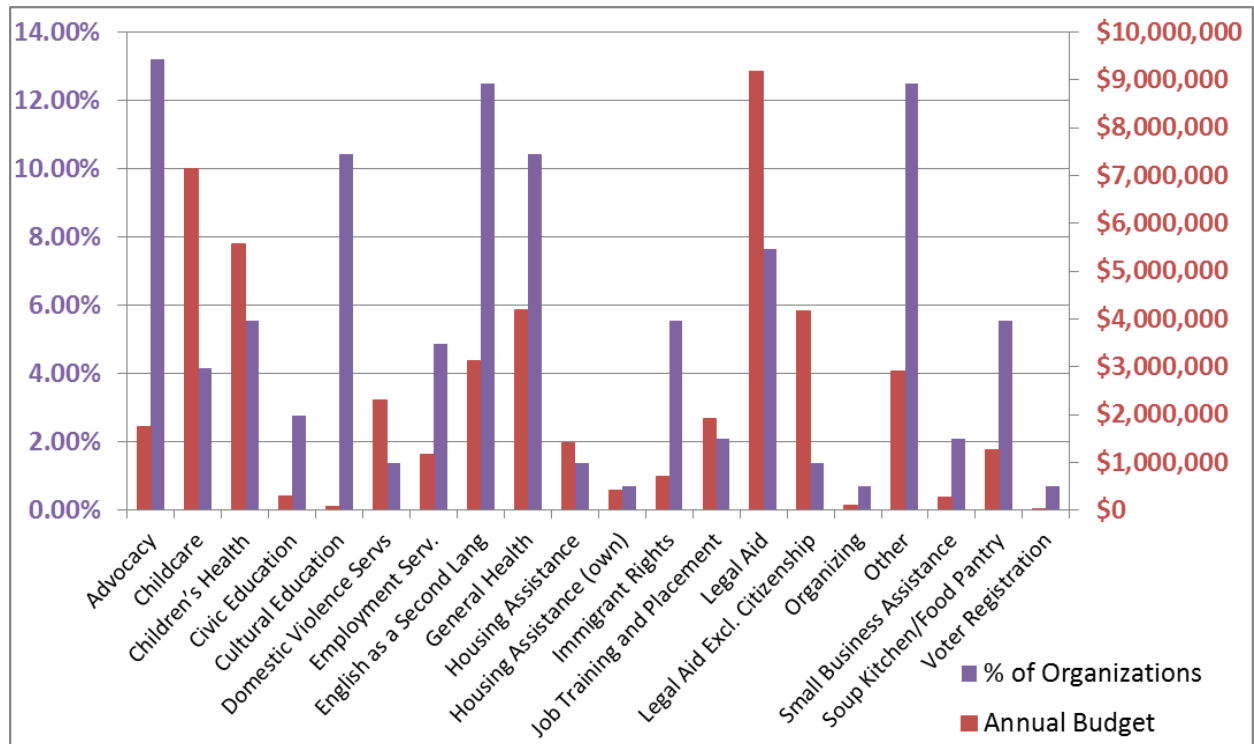
Source: US Department of Labor
©2010 RIIM



6. COMMUNITY-BASED INFRASTRUCTURE UNDER STRAIN

Immigrants to New Jersey have stumbled into the policy equivalent of the Bermuda Triangle. Across the earnings spectrum, employers want to hire them, but federal and state policies often inhibit their full integration. One result is increased pressure on community based-organizations. On strained budgets, a diverse nonprofit sector provides social and health services, fosters cultural networks, speeds language acquisition, offers legal support, and advocates for policy change.

Figure 22. Advocacy and ESL are Most Frequently Offered Services; Childcare and Legal Aid are Budget Priorities



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Numerous nonprofits around New Jersey took time away from their own tight schedules to complete our survey. Executive directors and senior staff of more than twenty of such organizations talked to us directly about these issues in sometimes lengthy interviews.

A year-long seminar series of The Eagleton Program on Immigration and Democracy brought some of the best scholars in their fields to Rutgers to share their own work on immigrant integration and to help shape ours. We thank Audrey Singer, Els DeGrauw, Monica Versanyi, Michael Jones-Correa, and Karthick Ramakrishnan --- among others.

The Rutgers Immigrant Infrastructure Map took shape as a large cross-disciplinary survey operation. Our colleagues, professors Christine Brenner, Mara Sidney, Ulla Berg, Robyn Rodruigez, James DeFilipis and Kathy Newman, all helped formulate that phase of the project.

The report also benefited from input and editing assistance from the Eagleton Institute of Politics. Mapping assistance was provided by John Bognar and Ibrahim Bouzine through the Grant F. Walton Center for Remote Sensing and Spatial Analysis. The authors particularly thank John Weingart, Kathy Kleeman, Sukhnoor Dhillon, and Randi Chmielewski.

I. INTRODUCTION

As the federal government hashes out a reform of United States immigration policy, this report offers a forward-looking analysis that assesses the impact of a global pool of immigrants in one state. It is intended to inform policymakers, business leaders and community members seeking to understand the assets and challenges of immigrant populations and the conditions that facilitate their integration, with emphasis on the role of community-based organizations. During an era marked by significant immigration, the role of these organizations in meeting the challenges of integration has been crucial.

New Jersey has always been among the top immigrant destinations in the US. Over the past twenty years, shifts in the global economy have coincided with the ballooning of the service sector and changes in federal law to inflate the ranks of foreign-born workers across the nation. New Jersey's own immigrant population has swelled -- from 967,000 people in 1990 to more than 1.8 million in 2013. With immigrant workers constituting nearly one third of New Jersey's total labor force, and one in three children in the state having at least one foreign-born parent, at no time over the last eighty years have the stakes for integration of immigrants been higher.

After more than three years of study, data gathering and analysis, we offer this look at immigrants across New Jersey – who they are, where they live, where they work, how they organize, and how they both conform to and depart from historical patterns of settlement. We look at how immigrants today meet their basic needs, join existing organizations and networks, and also start their own.

For immigrants seeking to integrate in the US today, we argue, a solid infrastructure of community-based organizations is vital. Section II lays out our basic argument about infrastructure, offering a typology of organizations and a discussion of the role of policy context for the work that organizations

"THROUGHOUT WE OFFER CASE STUDIES, HISTORICAL DATA, MAPS AND AGGREGATED SURVEY DATA AS WELL AS DEMOGRAPHIC AND LABOR MARKET PROJECTIONS TO SUGGEST THE CONTEXT AND CHALLENGE OF INTEGRATION."

do. Section III presents a raft of fresh empirical data to convey the changing size, shape and character of the state's foreign-born population that has spawned this infrastructure. Section IV and V attend specifically to New Jersey's two largest immigrant groups, Asians and Latinos, focusing on workforce participation and education, and arguing that both have special relevance for organizing on the ground. Section VI offers data gleaned from a survey we conducted of immigrant nonprofits statewide to better understand crucial issues such as funding, leadership, longevity and staffing. Throughout we offer case studies, historical data, maps and aggregated survey

data as well as demographic and labor market projections to suggest the context and challenge of integration. In a concluding section (VII) we assess the prospects for immigrant integration in a new era of federal immigration policy.

Research presented here grew out of a Blue Ribbon Panel on Immigrant Integration, an initiative of the executive branch of state government, launched in 2008 and charged with producing recommendations to assist the state in its efforts to ease the integration of its 1.8 million immigrants. Over 18 months, members of the public testified before the panel on the status of immigrant communities and the impact of existing state policy. Its final report offered wide-ranging recommendations with implications for the Department of Education (tuition equality for undocumented students), the Department of Labor (improved worksite inspections), and the Department of Children and Families (safety procedures for the minors children of detained immigrant parents), to name just a few. The recommendations highlighted the nonprofit sector as a key strength in New Jersey's integration apparatus. In response, researchers at Rutgers (including Professor Janice Fine, a member of the original panel) launched a research initiative, Rutgers Immigrant Infrastructure Maps [RIIM]. This report represents the culmination of that work.

II. IMMIGRANT INFRASTRUCTURE AND INTEGRATION

Nonprofit organizations take center stage in many of these pages. Since the nation's founding, such organizations have played a significant role in the social, economic and political lives of newcomers to the United States. Whether they came from Northern, Western, Eastern or Southern Europe, or elsewhere in the Western hemisphere, whatever their ethnic and religious affiliation, immigrants have long established networks of individual and collective self-help. *Landsmanshaftn*, associations formed by Eastern European Jewish immigrants provided members important forums for social interaction as well as material benefits³. Similarly, *cofradías* or *confraternidades* were founded after the Spanish arrived in New Mexico and evolved into fraternal organizations, lodges, livestock associations and health cooperatives in Chicano communities.⁴ Before the New Deal spurred the federal government to develop social welfare services, fraternal and mutual aid organizations provided countless immigrant communities with support. Importantly, these groups were not seen as charities. As one historian observed: "Donors and recipients often came from the same, or nearly the same walks of life; today's recipient could be tomorrow's donor and vice versa."⁵

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WHAT IS IMMIGRANT INFRASTRUCTURE?

At the community level, the immigrant infrastructure includes a wide range of organizations: from religious, ethnic, cultural, hometown and recreational associations, to worker, business and political organizations, as well as social service agencies, public schools and libraries. Interestingly, we have seen that it sometimes takes a crisis to prompt organizations to reach across boundaries of nationality, ethnicity and race and to forge new connections. Organizational infrastructure includes the institutions and organizations (public and private) that build strength in immigrant communities and facilitate their integration with natives. For our purposes, the institutions include, but are not limited to:

- Ethnic and cultural associations
- Recreational associations
- Business associations
- Religious institutions
- Home town associations
- Political organizations
- Social service agencies
- Mainstream service and civic organizations
- Libraries
- Schools
- Neighborhood associations
- Community organizing groups
- Worker centers
- Unions

The circumstances that impel a group of people to come together to create an organization vary. Virtually anything can set the process in motion -- a natural disaster, a diplomatic shift, the emergence of a new source of funding. Sometimes an organization coalesces as the result a more gradual process -- a growing consensus or a subtle demographic shift. As a result, tremendous variety characterizes the range of immigrant nonprofits. This report offers portraits of several organizations that convey as sense of this variety while permitting some general insights about the sector as a whole.

Like their historical antecedents, immigrant organizations play critical roles, helping immigrants to become socially, economically and politically integrated in their communities. They are arguably the state's most powerful tools of democracy and facilitators of integration.

We take a broad approach to defining integration-related activities. For analytical purposes, we can think of integration occurring along multiple dimensions, and think

about the kinds of activities that organizations engage in to promote various aspects of integration. In various ways, organizations address newcomers' needs for access to education, jobs, housing, health care, opportunities for political participation, cultural expression, religious practice and leisure activities. They often help immigrants overcome barriers to integration such as language, cultural isolation, economic inequality and discrimination.

Economic integration: Organizations can help immigrants access jobs or navigate the US workplace. They can offer opportunities for skill-building or for education as a means to labor-market mobility. They might also help immigrants access financial services and avoid or recover from exploitative practices in these realms.

Social and cultural integration: Organizations foster the maintenance and transmission of immigrants' culture of origin through mother-tongue language programs for children of immigrants, a variety of expressive cultural forms such as dance or music, religious traditions, and leisure activities such as soccer clubs. These efforts focus on creating and maintaining ties within communities and passing down traditions. Conversely organizations focused on social integration teach immigrants about US society and culture; they might offer English language and citizenship classes, or help immigrants to meet basic needs such as housing, health care, or education.

Political integration: Organizational activities focus on fostering participation in governance by educating and mobilizing immigrants to advocate for themselves, whether through lobbying elected officials, registering and educating voters, testifying before government bodies or even helping immigrants run for office. In general, organizations focused on political integration seek to ensure that immigrants have a voice and a seat at the table in the policy making process.

These dimensions are connected of course, because resources accumulated in one realm help to leverage those in other realms. Thus cultural or leisure organizations could, through networks established, also wind up helping participants in other areas – providing connections to jobs, access to political information or opportunities to participate in politics. While some organizations may focus on a single activity, others often serve multiple purposes.

Organizations may undertake integration work intentionally, but fostering integration may also occur as an outcome of working for another goal. When a community-based organization [CBO] that provides mental health services adds Spanish and Creole-speaking therapists to better serve its changing community; when a hometown association sends funds for infrastructure improvements in a Mexican village; when a cricket league starts to operate in a local park; when a CBO helps an immigrant contest deportation proceedings... all are doing the work of integration.

Immigrants' experiences of integration differ widely according to factors such as their relationships to their countries of origin, circumstances of migration including status, the policy context and larger structures of inequality and racialization in American society, and their personal social, economic and educational circumstances. Organizations can help immigrants compensate for individual characteristics such as income, education, language fluency and legal status that may disadvantage their integration. At the local level, some organizations have emerged organically from within immigrant communities, while many others have adapted their constituencies and missions over time in response to demographic and other shifts.

POLICY CONTEXT

Whatever conditions might have helped bring an immigrant CBO into being, the prevailing policy environment exercises an important influence over decision making. What is happening in a CBO, in other words, is inevitably linked to local, state and federal policy.

Within the context of US federalism, the policy framework for immigrant integration happens along two dimensions: US law governs who enters the US and how. Within that context, however, it falls to states, counties, and municipalities to draw the contours of immigrant integration policy. It is this local integration policy that largely determines the extent to which newcomers become part of the fabric of US society.

Federal immigration law has not changed fundamentally since 1986, when President Ronald Reagan signed an amnesty that allowed close to three million undocumented people to naturalize as American citizens. Since then, enforcement has eclipsed other approaches to managing immigrants without legal status. Since 2009, the scale of deportation and detention has exceeded all previous records.⁶ Meanwhile, on paper New Jersey has seen no substantial change in state laws governing immigrants' rights in recent years. On the ground, however, the number of detention beds allocated to immigrant detainees has ballooned, and local police have intermittently cooperated with federal immigration officials to screen arrestees for immigration violations.⁷

These developments, along with the ongoing impact of the economic recession that began in 2007, set the backdrop for this study, since state policy and CBOs necessarily exist in dynamic relation to each other. In particular, CBOs:

Implement state or federal policy, e.g. when a neighborhood organization reviews Deferred Action Childhood Arrivals (DACA) applications for undocumented youth or assists low-income immigrants applying for heating assistance through a state grant.

Buffer effects of state or federal policy, e.g. offering sanctuary to religious refugees, as when the Reform Church of Highland Park opened its doors to

Chinese Christians seeking refuge in the US from religious persecution in their homeland.

Spotlight policy breeches, as when a study by the ACLU revealed that, despite explicit policy enjoining them from doing so, as many as one in three New Jersey public schools routinely asked youth in immigrant families to show proof of citizenship before enrolling; or providing pro-bono or low-cost legal assistance to immigrant workers who are being exploited under the terms of their work visas.

Advocate for changes in existing policies that grass root experiences show are not working as intended or are unjust. An example of this is efforts by a community-based nonprofit to lobby a county college to institute tuition equality for undocumented students. Likewise, CBOs such as Wind of the Spirit in Morristown were among the groups that fought against 287g, a policy that committed local law enforcement to cooperate with federal immigration agents. Finally, when a change in state eligibility rules cut 12,000 green card holders from the state's Family Care (medical insurance) program, Latino Action Network organized a letter-writing campaign.

Federalism looms large in the universe of immigrant CBOs. Until the Obama Administration announced its new policy to offer Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in spring 2012, more than thirty years had passed since any significant federal immigration reform. In the interval, states have enjoyed wide leeway to set the terms of integration for their resident immigrants.

New Jersey has not cracked down on immigrants as harshly as Arizona, Georgia or Alabama -- southern states that have seen sharp upticks in their immigrant populations since 2000. But compared to other states with large immigrant populations — states like California, Texas, Illinois and New York — New Jersey has adopted few policies to facilitate integration, much less to accelerate it. Indeed, over the last three years, certain changes in Trenton have erected hurdles to newcomers. Against this backdrop, community-based nonprofits have helped shoulder responsibility for immigrant integration.

METHODOLOGY

To collect data on CBOs, researchers scoured the Department of Treasury's database of 990 forms filed by nonprofit organizations. Interviews with key players helped amass a list of immigrant organizations operating in New Jersey. Employing a snowball method to add more organizations, the researchers solicited surveys through:

- *State Agencies and Commissions:* New Jersey Departments of Human Services and Health and Senior Services, Blue Ribbon Panel on Immigration and Integration, Commission on New Americans
- *Foreign Consulates*
- *Public Libraries*
- *Funders:* United Way regional branches, Princeton Area Community Foundation, the Fund for New Jersey
- *Organizations, Coalitions, and Networks:* Anti-Poverty Network, New Jersey Immigration Policy Network, American Jewish Committee, American Friends Service Committee, Chambers of Commerce, Center for Collaborative Change, Literacy Volunteers of NJ
- *Elected Officials:* Mayors, State Legislators, Office of US Senator Robert Menendez
- *Rutgers Networks:* Office of Civic Engagement and Service Education Partnership, Law Schools in Camden and Newark, School of Social Work, School of Management and Labor Relations, Center for Remote Sensing and Spatial Analysis, Latino Research Institute, Center on Migration and the Global City—Newark.

Once the (thorough though not definitive) list of community-based organizations was compiled, a survey was developed to better understand the role of community-based organizations in the lives of immigrants in New Jersey. The survey was administered by phone, fax, and email. Data collected through the survey was compiled monthly into a databank and underwent a stringent screening process. That process included: (i) assessment of data accuracy, (ii) consideration of the possibility of missing data, (iii) detection of outliers, and (iv) identification of multiple survey submissions. Survey responses were then coded for uniformity across all items for which data was collected. The final dataset analyzed here contains data from surveys completed and submitted by 289 organizations.

The sample of organizations used for this project provides a rich and detailed source of data. However, the sample is unlikely to be representative of all community-based

organizations (CBOs) in New Jersey. To better understand the role of CBOs in the lives of immigrants living in New Jersey, efforts have been made to improve the data collection process. Future survey outreach will target specific regions that we believe may be underrepresented in the current sample, so that the survey and analysis will be more representative of the general population of CBOs in New Jersey.

III. IMMIGRANTS IN NEW JERSEY: PAST AND PRESENT PATTERNS

Since World War II, a few watershed changes in policy have dramatically altered the realities of immigrant integration. First, the liberalization of admission policies following the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as Hart-Celler Act) of 1965 overturned four decades of racially discriminatory national origin quotas. This legislative change dramatically shifted the countries from which immigrants to the United States originated. Fewer immigrants came from Europe, while the numbers from Latin America and Asia increased. Since 1970, Latin and Asian nationals have made up the large majority of newcomers. While the 1965 law ended discriminatory country quotas, it placed limits on migration from the Western Hemisphere for the first time. During this same period, the temporary worker program with Mexico, the *bracero* program, also ended. Later policy changes placed Mexico under a 20,000 per year country quota, abolished the right of minor children to sponsor the immigration of parents, and repealed the “Texas Proviso” that had exempted employers from prosecution for hiring undocumented workers.

Another dramatic policy change that set in motion current developments was the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, along with the structural adjustment policies that followed. Scholars have documented the ways in which these multinational agreements hurt Mexican agriculture as well as certain domestic manufacturing sectors, leading to increased levels of migration, even while avenues for legal admission and legalization remained cut off⁸. Employment-based admission essentially precluded unskilled workers from immigrating legally. Mexican workers, along with smaller but significant numbers from Central America, continued to migrate to work in the United States at least until 2007.⁹ Even as the economy beckoned, America’s immigration policy simultaneously made it harder for unskilled workers to immigrate legally.¹⁰

For a sense of the scale of this surge, consider that between 1990 and 2000, more immigrants arrived in the United States than had during any previous period in American history. The immigrant population in the US grew by more than one million people per year, rising from just under 20 million to 31 million¹¹. The largest share of the new arrivals came from Mexico and Central America. By 2009, foreign-born workers accounted for almost 16% of the civilian labor force; among these workers were eight million undocumented immigrants comprising over 5% of the total labor force.¹²

In racial terms, too, present patterns mark a departure from eras past. Fully 90% of immigrants to the US during the “Golden Era” were from Europe; most were what would now be considered white. By contrast, only 15% of today’s immigrants are from Europe, while half are from Latin America, with Mexicans comprising a full third of all of the foreign-born. Many have speculated that the different legal context of immigration may have something to do with perceived racial differences. The vast majority of immigrants arriving during the Golden Era received immediate authorization to work, and naturalization followed shortly. Over the past few decades, admissions policy has become more and more restrictive. A changed global economic environment coupled with increasingly polarized domestic politics have created a situation in which fully one quarter of all foreign-born immigrants are estimated to be undocumented. Whereas the vast majority of immigrants arriving during the Golden Era went to cities, today more than half of all Latinos in the US reside in the suburbs, a share that increased by more than 70% between 1990 and 2000.¹³

Since only the federal government has authority to establish who may enter the US legally, the story of integration at the state level follows the broad contours of the country as a whole, tracing a shift from mostly Western European arrivals through the mid-19th century to Central and Eastern Europeans through the 1970s.

Census records (Table 2) show how the global shift in the nationality of immigrants to New Jersey occurred. Driven by ideological or economic imperatives, Cubans led the vanguard of non-Europeans after WWII, settling in Jersey City and Union City in large numbers during the 1950s. Political and economic ties intensified following US occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1965; the US took steps to liberalize admissions policy and significant numbers of Dominicans began migrating. Starting in the late 1970s and early 1980s, Asian Indians arrived, lured by educational and professional opportunities. They made their homes in Central New Jersey municipalities such as Edison, West Windsor and Montgomery. Over the last two decades, Filipino and Mexican immigrants have registered among the top five nationalities of foreign-born residents, with members of each cohort finding niches in the service and professional sectors of the economy.

Table 2. Top Five Countries of Origin Among New Jersey's Immigrants, 1870 to 2010

1870	1880	1890	1900
Ireland (86, 784)	Ireland (93, 079)	Germany (106, 181)	Germany (119,598)
Germany (54, 003)	England* (32,148)	Ireland (101,059)	Ireland (94,844)
England* (27,418)	Holland (4,281)	England (43,778)	England (45,428)
Scotland (5,710)	France (3,739)	Scotland (13,163)	Italy (41,865)
France (3,130)	British America (3,536)	Italy (12,989)	Russia (19,745)
1910	1920	1930	1940
Germany (122,880)	Italy (157, 285)	Italy (190,858)	Italy (169, 063)
Italy (115,444)	Germany (92,382)	Germany (112,753)	Germany (87,692)
Russia (93,566)	Poland (90,419)	Poland (102,573)	Poland (77,782)
Ireland (82,749)	Russia (73,527)	Russia (62,152)	Russia (55,307)
Austria (56, 778)	England 46,781)	England (51,629)	Ireland (44,702)
1950	1960	1970	1980
Italy (150,680)	Italy (525,100)	Italy (116,444)	Italy (99,903)
Germany (75,823)	Germany (250,367)	Germany (66,896)	Cuba (68,096)
Poland (69,404)	Poland (238,532)	UK (49,565)	Germany (57,164)
USSR (50,620)	UK (201,164)	Poland (49,516)	Poland (40,768)
England* (35,505)	USSR (153,052)	USSR (33,166)	USSR (25,036)
1990	2000	2010	
Italy (70,451)	India (119,497)	India (206,050)	
Cuba (62,867)	Dominican Republic (91,316)	Mexico (129,852)	
India (52,347)	Philippines (69,773)	DR (127,453)	
Colombia (40,404)	Colombia (69,754)	China (83,139)	
Poland (39,305)	Mexico (67,667)	Korea (77,810)	
Europe	Asia	Latin America	

*England and Wales

Citation: Historical Censuses (1790-1960) and Core Summary Files (1970-2010) Minnesota Population Center. *National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota 2011.

At various moments throughout US history, federal policy has limited the number of legal immigrants admitted from a particular country. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was intended to prevent Chinese nationals from entering and working in the United States. At other moments, lawmakers have thrown open the nation's doors to accelerate the immigration and integration of a particular group. After the Cuban Revolution of 1959 that brought Fidel Castro to power, the US welcomed Cubans and extended support to their integration, largely for ideological reasons.

The chart is color coded to highlight the fact that, while Western Europeans dominated the ranks of New Jersey immigrants up until the 1980's, Asian and Latin American nations have become much more prominent in the latter decades, a shift that is visible in New Jersey's changing organizational infrastructure.

GATEWAYS

New Jersey encompasses a range of integration patterns characteristic of what the demographer Audrey Singer terms "established immigrant gateways."

Former gateways, such as Sayreville and Milltown: Small towns that attracted considerable numbers of immigrants during the "Golden Age," but no longer do.

Continuous gateways, such as Newark, New Brunswick and Trenton: Long-established destinations that have always attracted significant shares of the foreign born by virtue of proximity to jobs and concentration of services.

Post-World War II gateways: New Jersey towns such as Morristown and North Brunswick, which have become immigrant centers mainly during the past 50 years or so.

Among the towns and cities of New Jersey, there are also what Singer terms "New Gateway Destinations" -- places that have attracted significant immigrant settlement only over the past 25 years or so.

Emerging destination: Places that have experienced rapid growth in their immigrant populations during the past 25 years alone. Hammonton, where blueberry farming (now carried out largely by migrant farmworkers) is a centerpiece of the economy, is one example.

Re-emerging gateways: Locations such as Trenton, which held strong attraction for immigrants during the turn of the 20th Century and lost that pull during the middle of the last century, but have resurfaced as immigrant gateways.

Pre-emerging gateways: Places such as Perth Amboy and West Windsor, which experienced rapid growth in immigrant populations during the 1990s and since – and which seem likely to continue to attract immigrants.¹⁴

Where immigrant cohorts settle is never random. Key factors in the complex and shifting equation include:

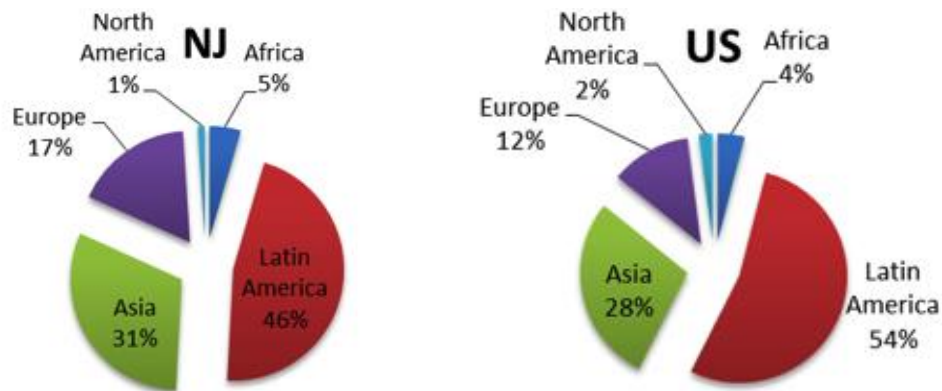
Regional labor markets occur when a critical mass of a particular type of enterprise develops in a given area, usually driven largely by cost. An ancillary effect is the concentration of immigrants with a particular skill set in a given area. For example, the burgeoning service sector in the north and central regions of New Jersey has opened up a wide array of employment for less skilled immigrants such as Pakistanis pumping gas or Haitians making hotel beds.

Transportation hubs exert a powerful influence. As Figure 3 shows, the patterns of immigrant settlement, and thus Limited English Proficient (LEP) schooling, are largely aligned with the principal transport arteries such as the Route 1 corridor and I-80.

“Chain migration” describes the process whereby immigrants settle near friends or relatives from back home. Examples include the Portuguese of Newark, Liberians of Trenton, the Laotians of Camden and the Israelis of Fairlawn. This pattern once led to the creation of immigrant urban enclaves. In today’s more sprawling suburbanized setting, the context and consequences for integration are different.

“Cataclysmic events” In the 1840s the Potato Famine drove large numbers of Irish to settle in New Jersey. In the aftermath of WWII, Italians, Germans and Poles flocked to the burgeoning American economy, many settling in New Jersey. After the failure of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, 40,000 Hungarians moved to the United States.

Figure 1. Composition of Immigrant New Jersey Differs Only Slightly from that of the Nation as a Whole



Source: 2010 US Census

Immigrants integrate into their adopted country in part and when they are permitted to do so, by naturalizing as citizens, with all the rights and responsibilities that entails. States with the largest populations eligible to naturalize are California, New York, Texas, Florida and New Jersey. Nearly half (800,000) of all immigrants currently living in New Jersey have already naturalized. Demographers estimate that of the remaining half, somewhere between 250,000 and 500,000 may be undocumented. Roughly the same numbers are Legal Permanent Residents who are currently, or will soon be, eligible to naturalize.¹⁵

Historically, immigrants have settled in urban centers where they could find their co-nationals as well as jobs, services and schools. Today, immigrants nationwide are dispersing to the suburbs. This pattern of decentralization was anticipated in New Jersey, which has never had a single urban population center to rival neighboring states. Instead, immigrants, like most New Jersey residents, have often tended to settle in suburbs. Outside of its agricultural regions in the west and south, these are generally city-like suburbs, characterized by sprawl and a decentralization of services.

Figure 2. More Immigrants in Northern New Jersey (near Historical Ports of Entry); Share of Foreign Born Growing Almost Everywhere

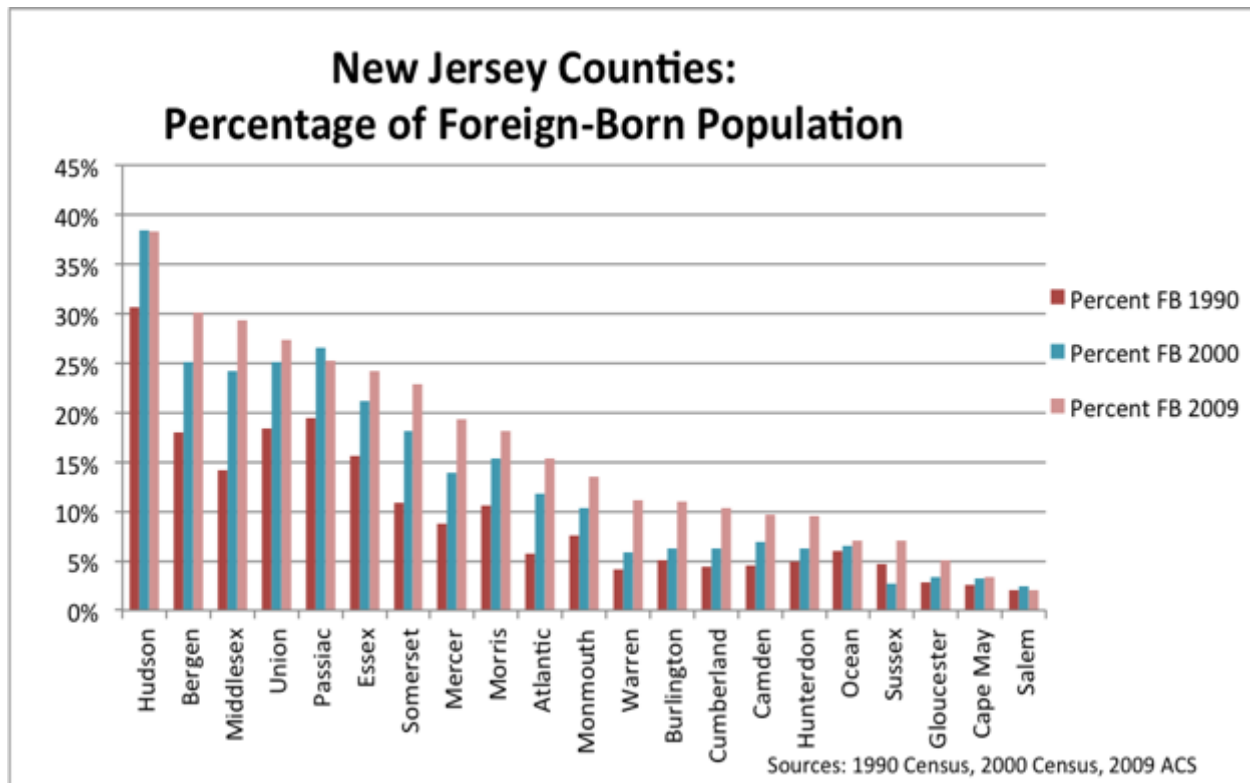
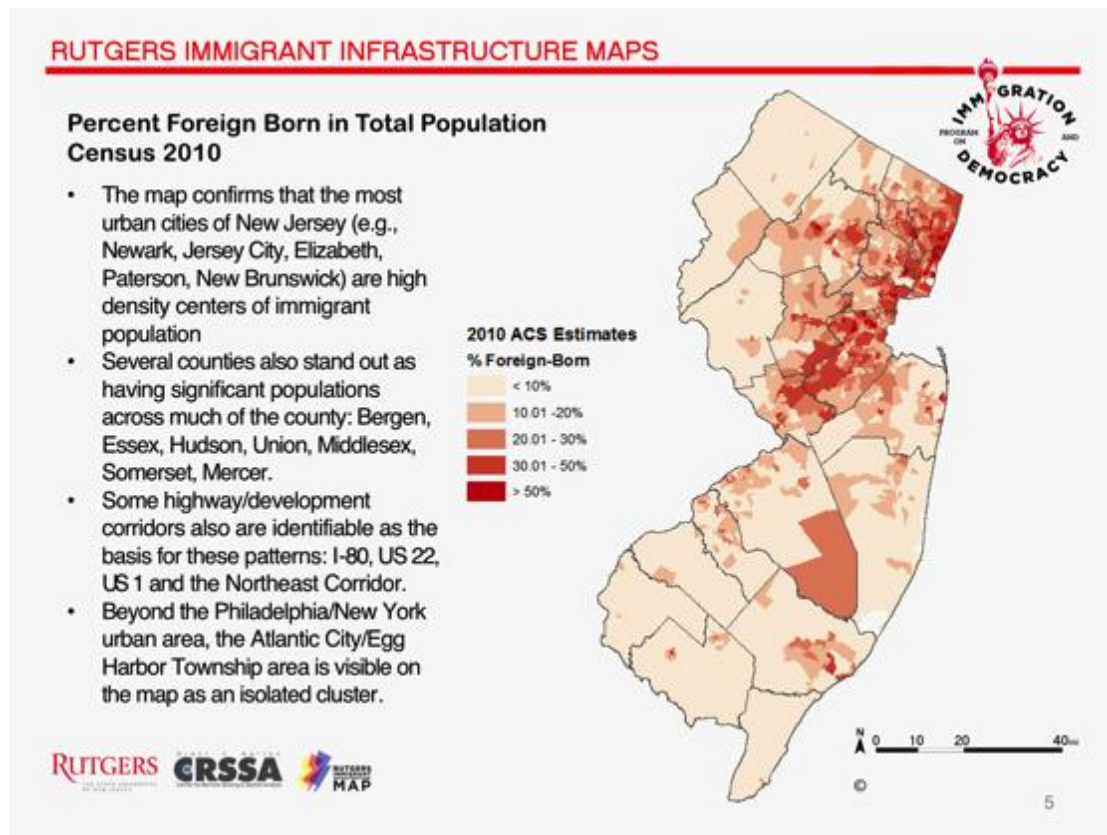


Figure 3. New Jersey Counties by Percent Immigrant



Based on US Census data, this map confirms that the most densely settled areas of New Jersey (e.g., Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Paterson, and New Brunswick) are likewise high-density centers of immigrant population. Given New Jersey's concentration of densely settled suburbs that closely resemble small cities, several counties also stand out as having significant foreign-born populations; Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Union, Middlesex, Somerset, and Mercer Counties manifest some density in suburbs as well as cities. Key highway and development corridors explain identifiable patterns that emanate from the urban core, particularly Interstate-80, U.S. Highway 22, U.S. Highway 1 and the Northeast Corridor rail line.

Perhaps less intuitive for those working in New Jersey's immigrant community are the "hot spots," notable for the heavy settlement of immigrants that lie outside the Philadelphia/New York urban areas. An example is the Atlantic City/Egg Harbor Township area, which is easily noticeable on the map as an isolated cluster. Further north and east, the Red Bank, Long Branch, and Eatontown area combines to create another identifiable area of higher density.

DIVERSITY

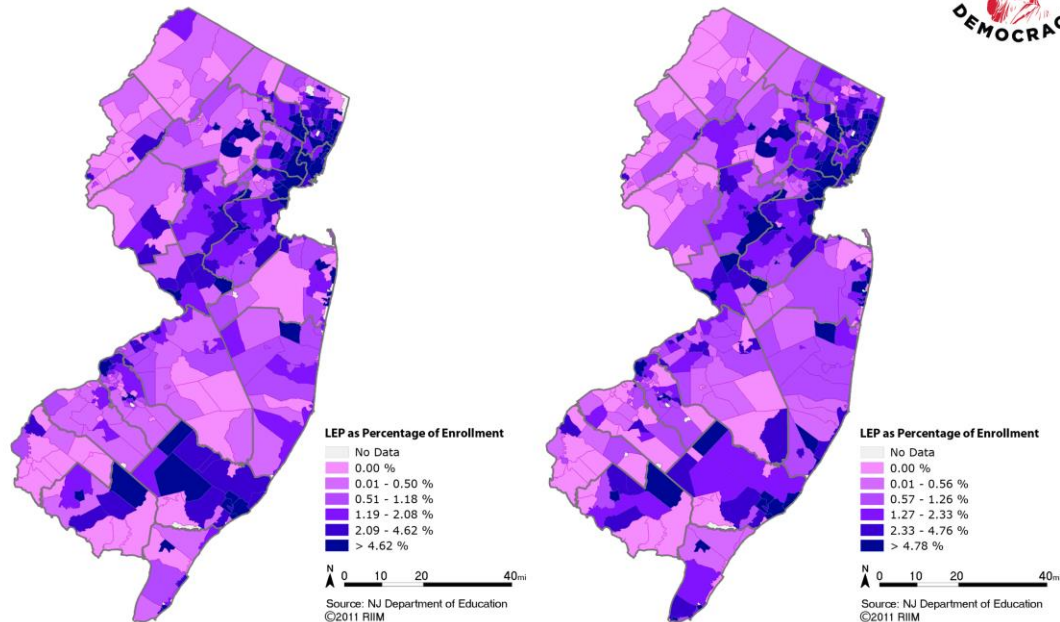
Part of what is striking about immigrants to the US in general, and perhaps those who settle in New Jersey in particular, is their dramatic diversity. Immigrants in New Jersey – like those in the US generally – differ widely in terms of national origin, educational attainment, language of origin and religion (to name just a few dimensions). Such diversity raises the stakes and compounds the challenges for organizations. Access to basic skills and resources becomes ever more important. Foremost among these is education.

In 1982, the Supreme Court case *Plyler v. Doe* established that all children must have equal access to public education regardless of their (or their parents') immigration status. While New Jersey schools are barred from asking students about their immigration status, each district is required by law to submit to the state annual data on the share of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students they enroll. While the map of LEP students reinforces many of the patterns shown in other data, it also adds nuance. For example, LEP data captures higher densities in the South Jersey farming communities than is shown in datasets such as the census. Over very short time periods, the LEP data also register relatively sporadic spatial changes in distribution patterns. While it is possible this is a result of inconsistent reporting, the abrupt changes also likely reflect transience among immigrant families with younger children. Families shown to earn lower incomes may be more likely to follow work opportunities.¹⁶

Figure 4. Districts with High Concentrations of Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students Intensified, Expanded between 2006-2007 and 2010-2011

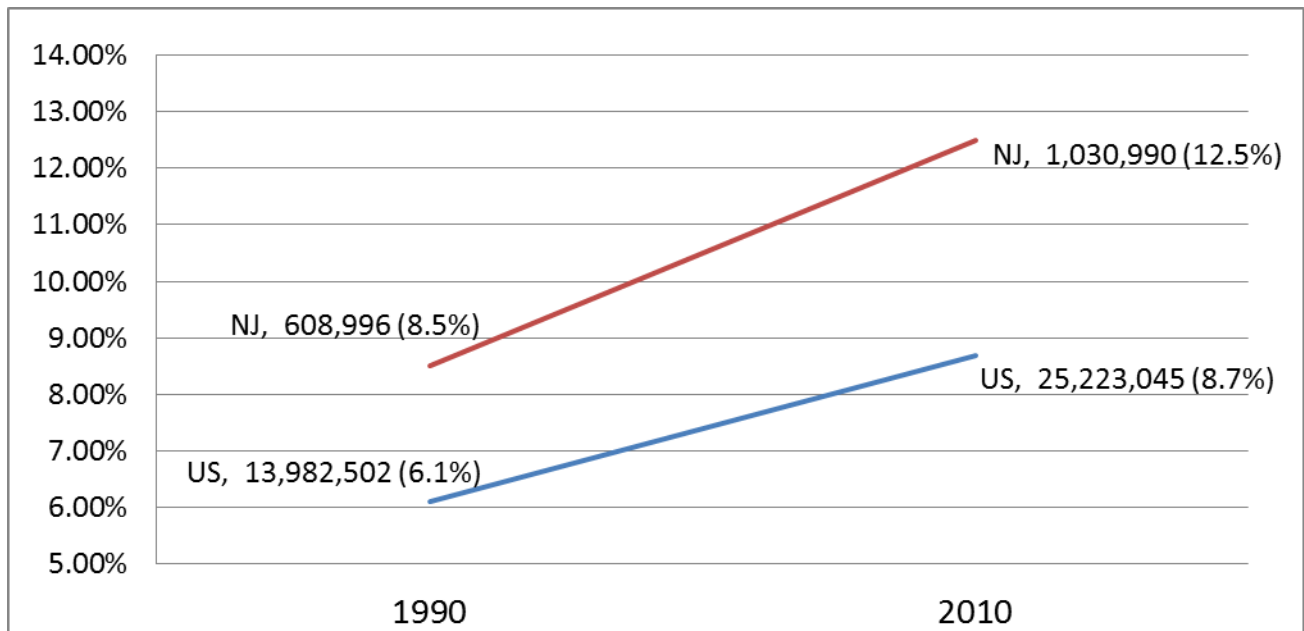
RUTGERS IMMIGRANT INFRASTRUCTURE MAPS

Student Rates of Limited English Proficiency by School District
2006-2007 2010-2011



A 2008 report confirmed the extent to which adult immigrants come to New Jersey with vastly different resources, strengths and needs. On balance adult immigrants in New Jersey have a higher average level of education than immigrants in other states.¹⁷ Some earned advanced degrees in their own countries. On the other hand, there are immigrants who come to the state with limited education and even with limited literacy in any language. Studies note that immigrants with English proficiency earn 13-24% more than those without it.¹⁸ Moreover, basic competency in English is required for naturalization. (Certain applicants over 50 years of age with long residency in the US may be exempt.)

Figure 5. Since 1990 the Share of the Population that is Limited English Proficient (LEP) has Grown Substantially. (LEP in NJ and US, 1990 and 2012, Individuals Age 5 and older.)



Source: New Jersey Department of Education and the Migration Policy Institute.

Table 3. The Migration Policy Institute estimates that in order to keep pace with recent growth in the limited English population, New Jersey would require 117 million hours of ESL instruction annually.

	NJ	US Total
LPRs	62.7 million	1.5 billion
Age 56 and older	16.6 million	
Age 50 to 55	4.6 million	
Age 25 to 49	32 million	
Age 17 to 24	9.7 million	
Unauthorized Immigrants	54.2 million	1.6 billion
Age 25 and older	42 million	
Age 17 to 24	12.2 million	
TOTAL	117 million	3.1 billion

Between 2000 and 2010, the state's LEP population (residents five years and older) grew by 28.5%, from 676,021 to 868,963. By 2010 there were 1,031,000 working age adults with limited English proficiency. That same year, there were an estimated 25,010 New Jersey adults enrolled in state-administered ESL programs.¹⁹

Those who need ESL represent almost every region of the world. Not surprisingly, however, they come disproportionately from the two largest regional cohorts among New Jersey immigrants: Latinos and Asians.

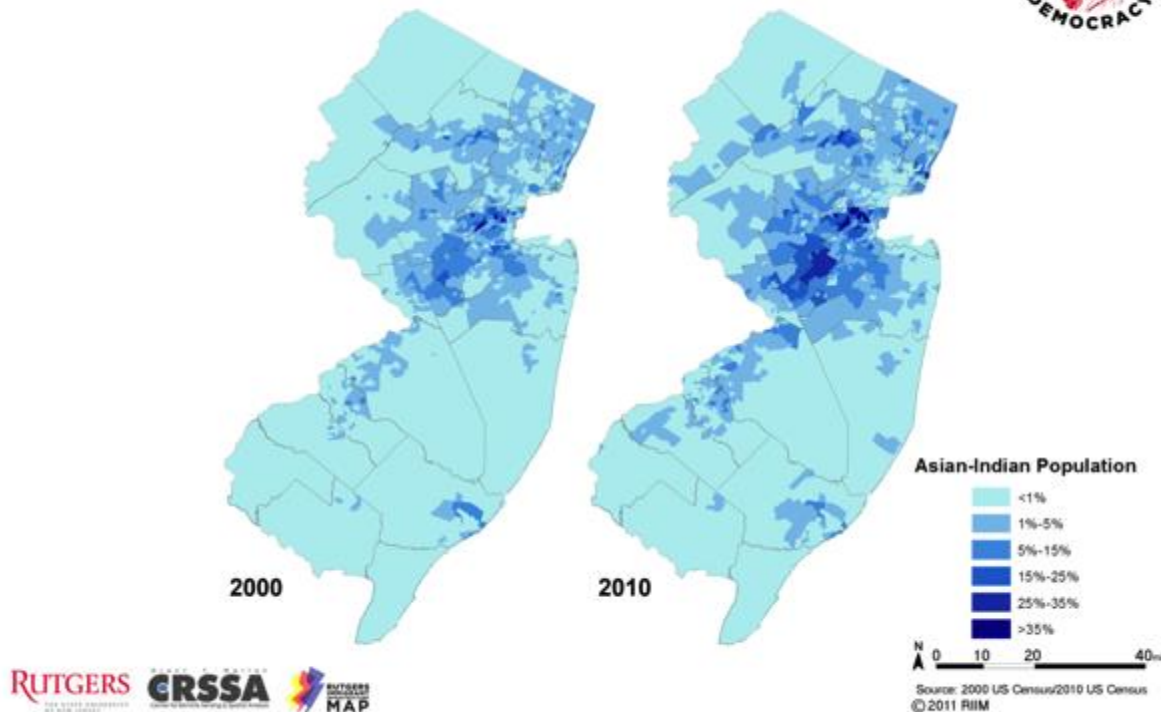
IV. ASIAN INDIAN IMMIGRANTS: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Central New Jersey is home to one of the largest communities of South Asians in the United States. This migration was set in motion partly by passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Nationally, the first wave of largely middle class and educated migrants had reached 400,000 individuals by 1980. Passage of a 1990 law liberalized immigration further by allowing immigration based on lotteries and family sponsorships. Although these early Asian Indian immigrants settled overwhelmingly in cities, as they became established many migrated to the suburbs of New York and New Jersey. With time it has become common for Asian Indians to move directly to the suburbs upon arrival in the US. Statistics support this observation. Between 1990 and 2000, the Indian population of New Jersey more than doubled, growing from 79,440 to 169,180. During this same period, suburban Edison Township, by many accounts the focal point of Asian Indian New Jersey; saw its Indian population almost triple in size, ballooning from 6,000 to just under 17,000 people.

Figure 6. In the First Decade of the 21st Century, Asian-Indian Settlement Intensified in Central New Jersey

RUTGERS IMMIGRANT INFRASTRUCTURE MAPS

10 YEAR COMPARISON OF ASIAN-INDIAN POPULATION (US and FOREIGN BORN)



Mapping census data on the distribution of Asian Indians in New Jersey adds nuance to what we know about the rapid growth and spread of this cohort throughout New Jersey. As of 2000, Asian Indians had already established large populations in Central New Jersey, particularly in the Edison/Iselin area and around West Windsor/Plainsboro. Today there is sufficient density to support a large cultural, educational and economic infrastructure. Asian supermarkets and grocery stores, shops, and restaurants constitute a hub that draws co-nationals and their families from surrounding New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and as far away as Canada.

The growth and success of this immigration has been such that in most non-rural areas in New Jersey Asian Indians constitute a notable presence, with sizable growth occurring in many parts of the state between 2000 and 2010. Demographic maps for those years convey the expansion of the population, much of it away from urban nodes. Those familiar with the geography will note growth in the parts of Burlington County along the New Jersey Turnpike; along Interstate-80 through the Highlands; as well as a continued expansion and densification of the already sizable concentrations of Asian-Indians in Central New Jersey.

RIIM STUDY: SOUTH ASIAN SAMPLE

By Maneesha Kelkar

South Asians comprise a growing proportion of the Garden State's population. Only two states, California and Hawaii, have proportionately larger Asian populations than New Jersey. While these facts are widely known, little has been written about the immigrant infrastructure of the Asian, and particularly the Asian Indian, population. Data from Rutgers Immigrant Infrastructure Maps (RIIM) permit preliminary analysis, based on the 42 organizations out of the 282 in the RIIM dataset that identified themselves as being affiliated with the South Asian community.

Slightly over 40% of the organizations were founded in the new millennium, consistent with the relatively new phenomenon of South Asian immigration. The lag between the arrival of a new immigrant group and the establishment of organizations is logical. It takes time for members of a community to become established enough to create new organizations or to rise in the ranks to win power within existing organizations.

India represents the single largest nationality among all of New Jersey's immigrants. Many of the organizations working in the Asian-Indian community define themselves as doing work that is primarily cultural – as opposed to strictly economic or service oriented. Although cultural education was reported by only 17% (n=6) of the organizations as a primary activity, and ESL by 14% (n=5), a very large number of organizations (n=17, or 41%) in the sample have a social/cultural flavor. A large number are general cultural organizations like the Asian American Cultural Center and the Garden State Cultural Association. Some, such as the Kerala Association of New Jersey and the Govinda Sanskar Center, represent ethnic sub-groups. Others are affinity groups, such as Gandhar, a meeting point for aficionados of classical music from the Indian subcontinent. Likewise, sports clubs abound – among them the Piscataway Cricket Club, the New Jersey Softball Cricket League, the Millennium Cricket League and St. Paul's Cricket Club. Both the number and the variety of such cultural groups suggests an conscious need and strong motivation among new immigrants to come together for spiritual, recreational and sometimes emotional sustenance through the sharing of food, language, music, culture, or sports that are not part of mainstream US culture. These customs may have largely defined individuals' lives in their homeland, but are likely to have receded to the periphery in their new country.

South Asians in New Jersey have also established a large number of professional or business focused organizations. From the New Jersey Muslim Lawyers Association to the Jersey City Asian Merchant Association and the more general Indian Business Association, to name just a few, their purpose is dual: both to build professional networks and to establish a familiar cultural milieu.

Like many immigrant nonprofits, the overwhelming majority of organizations in the Indian sample are run informally by volunteers or members. Slightly over a third (37%) reported having no paid staff members at all, and a little over half (55%) reported having two or fewer staff members, indicating a largely unstructured group of organizations, with an average volunteer base of 55. (An outlier here is Somerset County United Way, which boasts in excess of 1,000 volunteers, many of whom are not exclusively South Asian.)

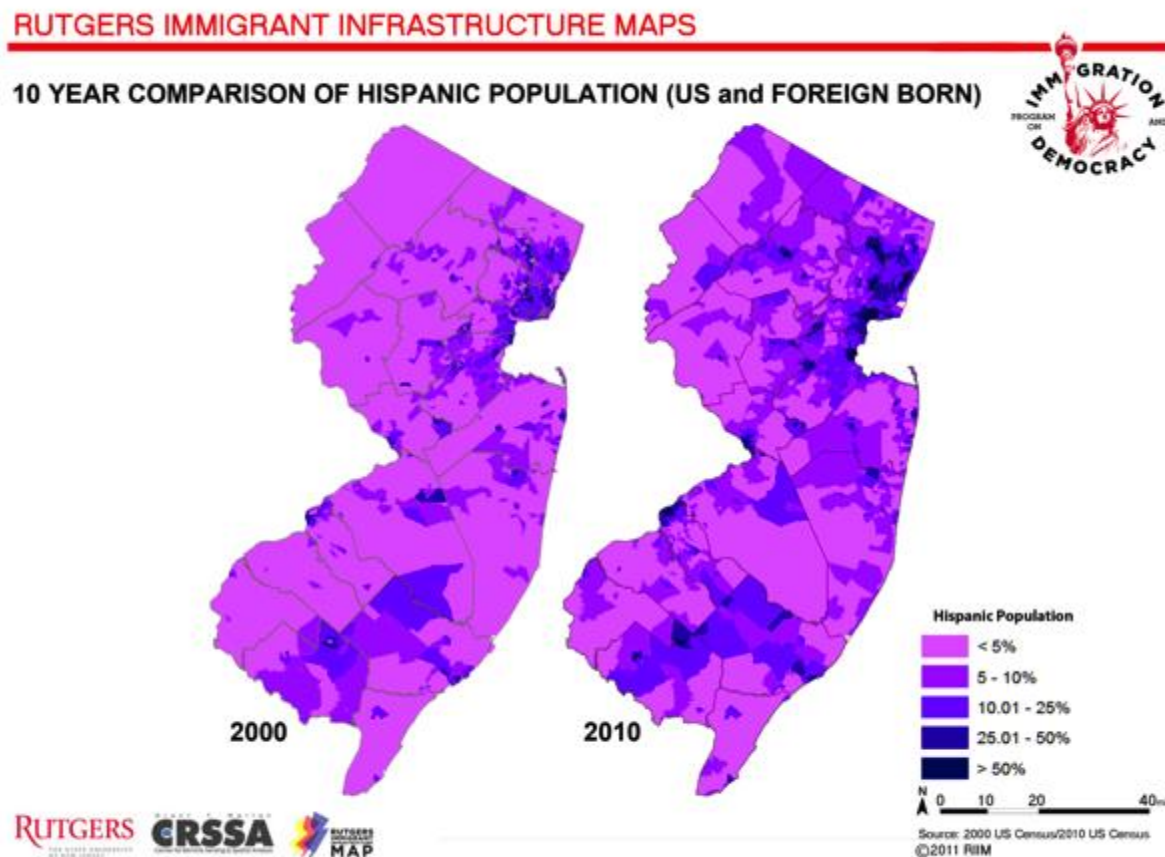
From a budgetary perspective as well, South Asian organizations follow the pattern observed among immigrant CBOs generally. Two groups are evident: Those with budgets under \$500,000 and those with larger budgets. Of the 27 (64%) of South Asian Organizations that reported a budget, half fell under the \$500,000 mark. The other half (those with budgets higher than \$500,000) were large, multi-service agencies with broad client bases. The informal, culture-focused organizations either did not report budgets at all or tended to have the smallest budgets. The smallest, Agraj Seva Kendra, ran on just \$900 per year. At the higher end, the Indian Culture Society of New Jersey reported a budget of \$175,000 for the same period. In direct contrast were the older, more established service agencies that serve Asian Indian immigrants among their clients of other ethnicities, such as Jewish Vocational Service, with a budget of \$8 million. Community Childcare Solutions, a large childcare referral service with South Asians among its clients, is a stark outlier in the sample, with a budget of \$20 million, 50 employees and 98 government contracts.

This first effort to understand the roots, impact and potential of the infrastructure of Asian Indian nonprofits in New Jersey suggests enormous potential. Future research will need to expand the South Asian sample to include more data points to permit more detailed analysis of both the small, informal, cultural and professional organizations that provide members with a community forum, as well as the large, multi-service agencies that typically provide the basic services that immigrants need.

V. LATINO IMMIGRANTS IN NEW JERSEY: LARGE, DIVERSE AND GROWING

Since the first significant influx of Spanish speakers arrived in New Jersey from Puerto Rico to work in manufacturing during World War II, Latinos have established a strong presence in the nonprofit sector. Nearly 18% of the state's population, or 1.7 million people, are of Hispanic origin. New Jersey's concentration of Hispanic residents slightly exceeds the national share of 16%. Yet after rapid growth from 1990 to 2000, New Jersey's Latino growth rate between 2000 and 2010 lagged the nation's (39% vs. 43%).²⁰

Figure 7. Between 2000 and 2010 New Jersey's Hispanic Settlement Intensified and Expanded Markedly



For nonprofits seeking to facilitate the integration of Latino immigrants, language remains a significant barrier. Among non-native English speakers in New Jersey today, Spanish is by far the dominant language. The organizations that make up the state's immigrant infrastructure, both large and small, reflect that reality. From La Casa de Don Pedro in Newark to the Hispanic Family Center in Camden (two of the most established organizations) and at hundreds of smaller community organizations throughout the state, Spanish speaking individuals find everything from cultural and social events to assistance with heating bills and after school programs.

As the largest long-standing immigrant group in the state, Latinos have enriched, challenged and shaped the nonprofit infrastructure. Initially largely established and led by Puerto Ricans, Latino organizations in the state now reflect the strong presence of other Spanish-speaking populations – Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorans, Guatemalans, and, increasingly in recent years, Mexicans, primarily from the states of Pueblo and Oaxaca.

Dating to the early 1980s, large-scale Latino immigration helps New Jersey retain its historical standing as one of the most culturally vibrant states in the nation. Numerous

festivals, parades, restaurants, music and dance troupes testify to the richness of the Latino diaspora that has taken root across the state. Likewise, the longstanding and varied Latino settlement has made possible new forms and styles of organizing and organizations. In the central part of the state, a worker center called New Labor has branched out from its original location in New Brunswick to connect to communities in Lakewood and Newark. Under its auspices, low-wage laborers statewide work together to hold employers to wage and hour standards, support health and safety protections, and make their voices heard on issues affecting their membership. Nearby, an urban 4H club pioneered by a Mexican-born community leader seeking after school opportunities for her young daughter has adapted the modes of the traditional agricultural organization to meet the needs of youth primarily living in smaller cities such as New Brunswick. In Princeton, the Latin American Legal Defense Education Foundation worked with local officials to create a community identity card that is available to all residents. Since 2009, more than 2,000 cards have been issued to natives of 29 different nations, irrespective of their immigration status, with 1 in 10 cardholders a US-born citizen. In Perth Amboy, a town that is 78% Latino, the Boys and Girls Club meets regularly, bringing young people and families together to work on projects ranging from support groups for parents to digital film-making classes for youth.

As the Latino population has grown over the past 35 years, settlement patterns have shifted. Although the largest concentrations of Latinos still reside in urban areas -- especially in Union City, Perth Amboy, West New York, Passaic, Dover and North Bergen -- New Jersey's many suburbs and smaller municipalities now draw larger Latino populations than ever before. Some of this growth has occurred in the agricultural strongholds of the southern part of the state, such as Hammonton and Egg Harbor. Elsewhere, from Hightstown to Summit, Latinos are finding roles in the service economy, manufacturing, and logistics or opening small businesses that serve as vital centers for up-and-coming neighborhoods. Towns like Riverside and Bound Brook have seen their downtowns rejuvenated with the establishment of Latino communities. Dominicans in Perth Amboy, Peruvians in Paterson and Costa Ricans in Bound Brook are more than just filling in at the edges. Their cultural, political and economic impact has been sizable.

Policy changes (such as the Hart-Celler Act, which overturned four decades of discriminatory national origin quotas) led to a dramatic widening of the range of countries from which immigrants to the U.S. originated, but also placed limits on migration from the Western Hemisphere for the first time. With the added impact of NAFTA, the multilateral trade agreement that had a dramatic impact on Mexican agriculture as well as American manufacturing, migration to the United States from Spanish-speaking countries has swelled dramatically since the 1970s. Even as the US labor market has greedily absorbed the new workers, federal immigration policy has not kept pace. As a result, in 2008, 9.2% of New Jersey workers were undocumented, putting New Jersey among the top four states in the nation (after Nevada, California

and Arizona) for its share of undocumented workers in the labor force. A majority of these undocumented workers hail from Latin America.²¹

Even as the Latino middle class grows and the general and immigrant populations disperse into suburbs, the concentration of poverty and the isolation that characterize many communities can deal a double blow. On balance, Latinos earn disproportionately lower incomes and are more likely to have young children, to be undocumented, and to be unemployed. They make up about 26% of New Jersey's population living in poverty. Latinos also are also less likely than whites or Asians to complete high school or college. Where official policy and discrimination converge, undocumented immigrants are more likely to encounter difficulty accessing public services, from health care to education.²² Nonprofit organizations, many of them run by Latino immigrants and members of the second generation, struggle to fill in the gaps.

BOUND BROOK: SHELTER FROM THE STORM

Bound Brook, a cozy community of 9,536 people on 1.6 square miles, has the dual distinction of being the oldest town in Somerset County -- founded in 1681-- and also, in recent decades, the community with the highest percentage (14.7%) of people born in Costa Rica living in the United States. (The next largest concentration is in Lincolnton, North Carolina with 8.8 %.) Bound Brook is also known because it has endured epic floods when the Raritan River overflowed its banks twice in less than a decade.

Like many New Jersey communities, Bound Brook's economic fortunes had fallen with the decline of American manufacturing. During the post-industrial era, the Borough became more of a bedroom community for a middle class that commuted to jobs in New York and northern New Jersey and an affordable haven for immigrant workers and their families working in service sector jobs in the surrounding areas. As is the case in many urban and suburban areas today, the white middle class and the Latino working class co-existed, inhabiting proximate spaces but vastly different worlds.

In the early 90's, downtown Bound Brook began to experience revitalization, thanks to a sizeable influx of Costa Rican and Colombian immigrants and a nascent arts scene. Through a process of chain migration, beginning in the 80's with immigrants from the town of San Isidro in the southeast, Costa Rican families heard from their friends and families about Bound Brook's small town feeling, affordable apartments and proximity to the train station. In response, they emigrated and worked hard, established businesses, bought homes and sent their children to the local public schools. Many were undocumented. But in an era of lax enforcement, they lived largely undisturbed, obtaining driver's licenses, securing jobs and, over time, car loans and home mortgages. At this early stage in the evolution of their community, while strong bonds and informal networks existed, they had not yet formed significant religious or civic organizations of their own.

In 1999, the Borough was devastated by tropical storm Floyd, and downtown Bound Brook found itself in 17 feet of water. Hundreds of homes and businesses flooded, and thousands of residents and businesspeople in the low-lying neighborhoods close to downtown were displaced. The rebuilding process was slow, difficult, and never adequately financed, causing some families, including some in the Costa Rican community, to move away. Despite that experience, Bound Brook remained a destination for Central and South American immigrants throughout the next ten years. Newcomers lived and shopped in the same historical downtown neighborhoods.

Eight years later, when a brutal nor'easter swept across the Eastern Seaboard in the spring of 2007, Somerset County was declared a federal disaster area, and Bound Brook was once again at the epicenter of the destruction. This time, the displaced included Colombian, Peruvian and Mexican immigrants and their families, along with some of the remaining Costa Ricans.

In the wake of each disaster, established local organizations stepped up to provide emergency assistance as well as ongoing support to the immigrant community during rebuilding efforts. Beyond blankets, clothing and food pantries, scores of members of the Presbyterian Church, many of whom had lived in Bound Brook their entire lives, invited families into their homes for extended periods. Some report having been transformed by the experience. New relationships continued well after families were able to move out. Members of the church describe how, during this period, the

"THEY BECAME PEOPLE WE
KNEW, WHO HAD
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BEFORE, NO."

membrane that had long separated the established community from the immigrant community was broken. One recalled being at a church picnic the week before Floyd hit, seeing a group of young Hispanic men waiting for the bus nearby, and wondering aloud, "Do you think we will ever be able to reach any of the Hispanic people and find out anything about them?" One week later, 250 Latino neighbors had moved into their church, staying for ten days. "They became people we knew, who had names," said the native-born parishioner, "They would speak to you and you

would speak to them and there was eye contact; whereas before, no."

Church members persuaded the Federal Emergency Management Agency to open an office there but realized early on that people without birth certificates or social security cards were not eligible for assistance. They formed a new nonprofit organization, the Somerville Area Disaster Recovery Committee, to raise funds that would not require US documentation, and they worked for three years using a case management approach to direct funds and services to families displaced by the flood.

Strong relationships developed between lay leaders of the Presbyterian Church and a lay minister who was just forming the first US branch of a Costa Rican Protestant denomination, Casa Del Banquette, and the church agreed to allow the group to use its sanctuary for services. (Similar arrangements had been made in the past with Korean and Hindu congregations, but as these populations shifted, the ties did not endure.) Thus a long-established congregation moved beyond service provision to play a pivotal role in helping birth a new institution that would become one of the building blocks of the emergent Latino community infrastructure of Bound Brook. While affirming their divergent traditions of worship, the two institutions housed within one church remain strong allies.

IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Immigrants are major players in the dynamic New Jersey economy, accounting for 28% of the workforce. Most came to the state to build better lives for themselves and their families, primarily through work. As a result, the foreign born population is more likely than those born in the US to be of working age. Immigrants bring in almost one quarter of all earnings statewide, and while unemployment rates for immigrants are similar to those of the native born, on average immigrant workers earn less. Compared to their US-born neighbors, those who came to New Jersey from abroad are both less likely to have completed high school and more likely to have earned graduate or professional degrees.²⁵

Foreign-born workers are over-represented in critical occupations at both ends of the earnings distribution: More than 40% of chemists, nursing aides, physicians, and janitors are foreign-born. Over 40% of New Jersey's scientists and engineers are foreign-born. Foreign-born entrepreneurs own 1 in 5 New Jersey businesses²⁶

Mirroring the rest of the American workforce, foreign-born workers are divided starkly by the levels of pay they earn. And while it may not be obvious what an Egyptian born chemist has in common with a hotel housekeeper from Haiti, the answer is more than meets the eye. As often as not, nonprofit organizations—whether a religious institution, a worker center, a neighborhood organization, or a civil rights group—fill gaps in their US-based lives.

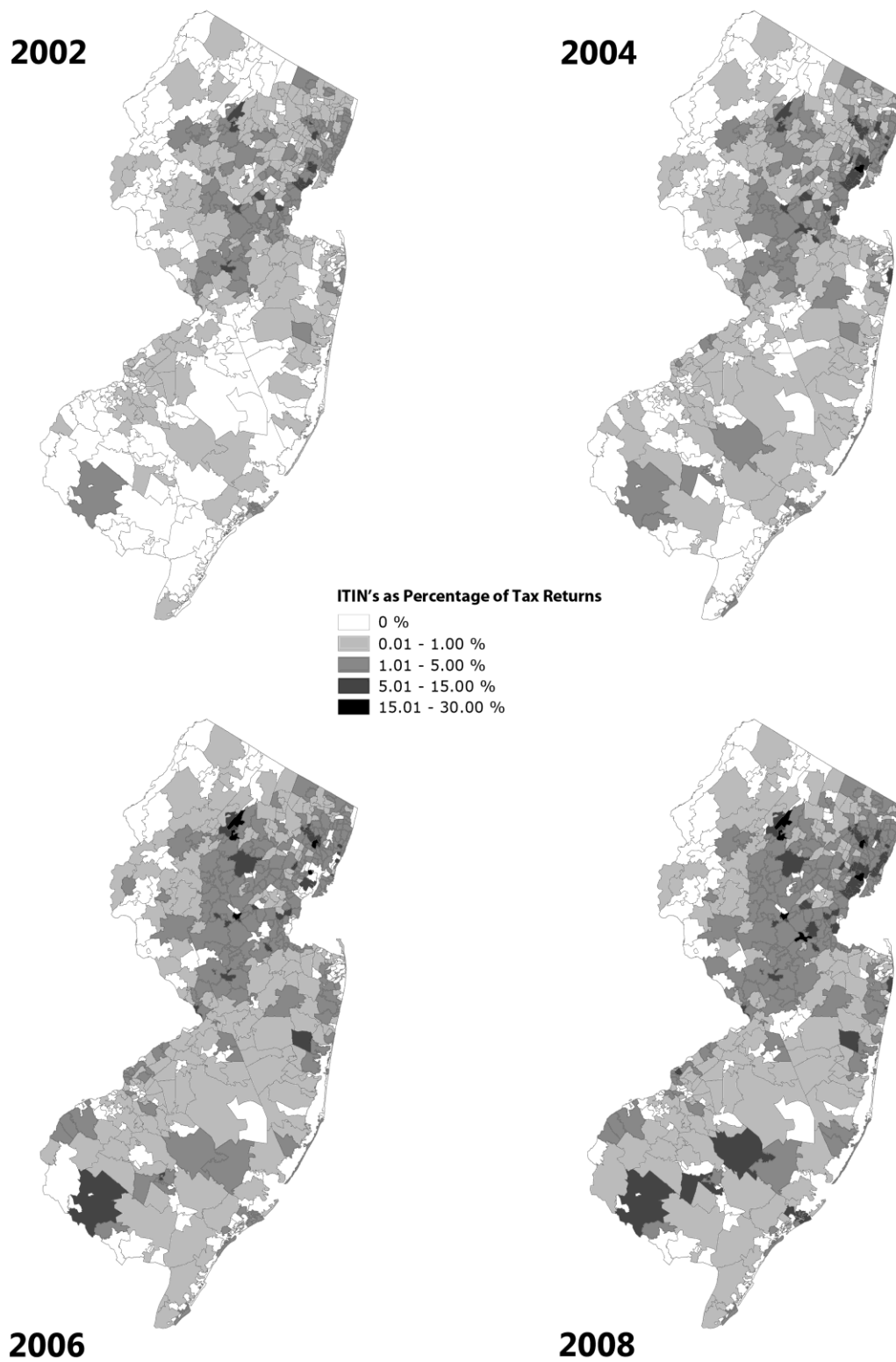
In the following section we amplify our portrait of immigrant New Jersey by highlighting both ends of the earnings spectrum of the foreign-born: for example, the undocumented workers who lack legitimate social security numbers and the high-skilled workers with H1-B (high-skilled) visas. Despite their differences, we show that each segment relies on the community-based infrastructure to meet their needs.

Undocumented workers toil at the low end of the wage scale. According to demographers, about 9% of New Jersey's workforce is undocumented. Although they

are more likely to earn incomes below the poverty level, these individuals do not qualify for most federal or state benefits. Barred from the programs that were set up to assist low wage earners, some look to local community based organizations to get by. For a person without access to most parts of the government-funded safety net, a church-run food pantry, a worker center or a cultural organization is a crucial source of support.

For a sense of where some of the neediest immigrant workers live statewide, we look to the geographic settlement of individuals with Individual Taxpayer Identification Numbers (ITIN) around the state. ITINs are a mechanism established by the Federal Department of Treasury in 1996 as a way to encourage workers who did not qualify for Social Security numbers to pay taxes. The idea was to enable these undocumented workers to report their earnings to the IRS, file income tax returns and open interest-bearing accounts. Many immigrant workers embraced ITINs as a way to verify their taxpaying history and create a paper trail in the event of an opportunity to regularize their status.

Figure 8. Growth of Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN) Filers Over Time. (Concentration Among Total Tax Revenues in New Jersey for 2002, 2004, 2006, and 2008.)



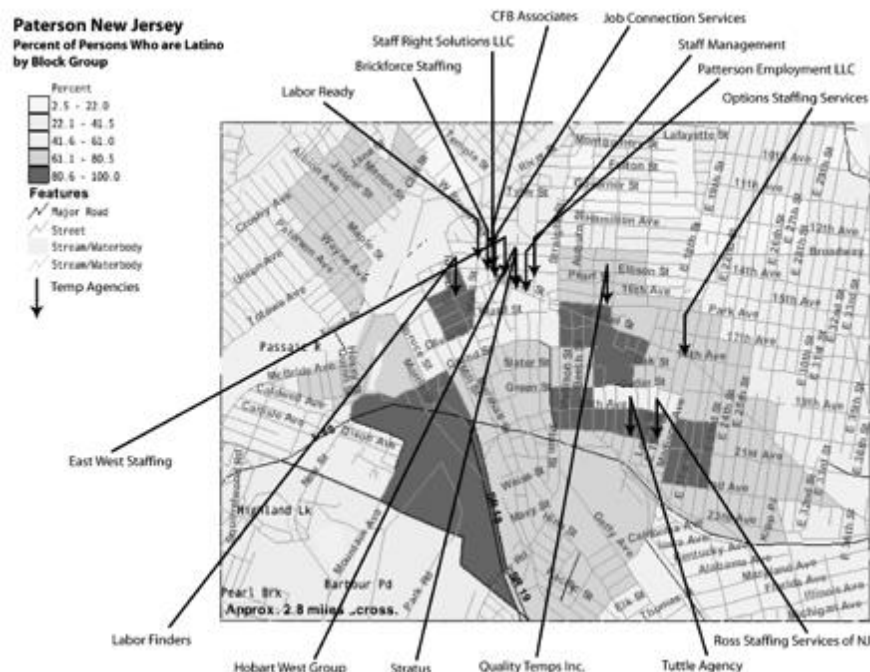
To meet the demand and help get the word out, many nonprofit agencies and grassroots community organizations assisted workers in applying for ITINs and subsequently in filing their taxes. The results can be seen in a time series progression of tax filers who filed using ITINs from 2000 to 2008.

Zip codes with the highest share of ITINs in the general population emerged in the north and south of New Jersey, around agricultural, light manufacturing, and service hubs (i.e. places known to employ large undocumented populations). These findings, derived from spatial analysis, help corroborate what quantitative studies (such as one from the DC-based Institute on Tax and Economic Policy) reveal: that in recent years, New Jersey has collected nearly \$450 million in state and local tax revenues from undocumented immigrants.²⁷

Research by the Urban Institute, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, and the Congressional Budget Office, among others, underscores the significance of immigrant workers to the fiscal stability of federal programs. Social Security and Medicare, to name two of the biggest federal programs, have been threatened since the aging of the American workforce has altered the ratio of (paying) workers to (receiving) retirees. Since immigrants are disproportionately young and working, authorizing immigrants supports more workers in the labor force. Social Security becomes more sustainable because more young workers are contributing to the system through payroll taxes.²⁸

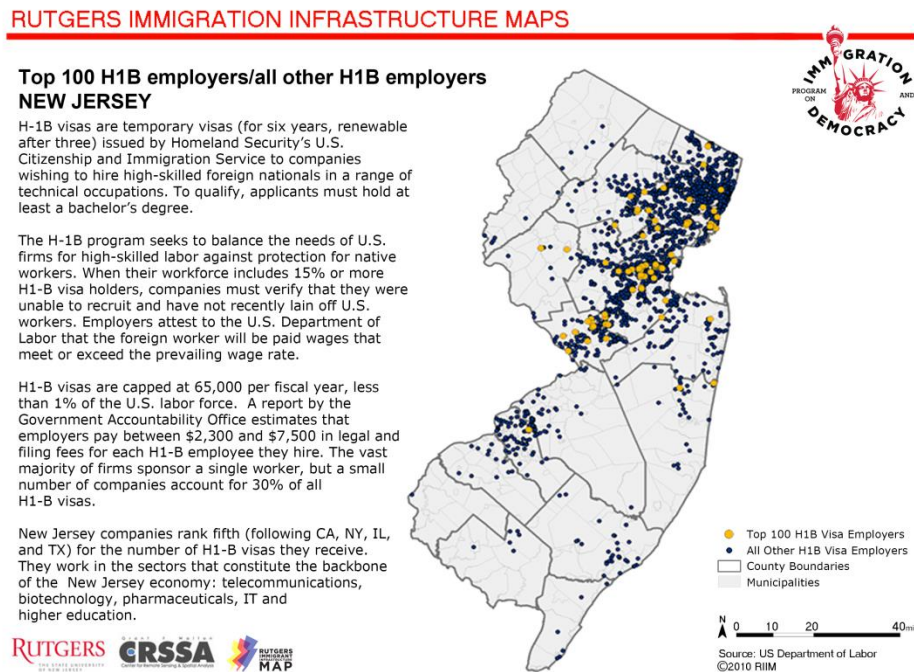
The maps of ITIN use across several years illustrate clearly the growth that New Jersey has seen in nearly all parts of the state. The relatively high rate of increase may reflect not just a growth in the immigrant population, but also an increase in undocumented immigrants' willingness to participate in this formal system. In New Jersey's southern farming counties, the zip codes around Bridgeton, Vineland and Hammonton stand out as concentrated areas of workers using ITINs. A very interesting pattern emerges in Central New Jersey, with only limited areas of the highest levels of ITIN use, but even fewer areas of the lowest levels of ITIN filers. The patterns in Northern New Jersey are generally the densest in the state, but also show how localized the variation can be, as the density changes frequently from one zip code to the next.

Figure 9. Latino Employees are a Mainstay of Temporary Agencies in Paterson, New Jersey.



Foreign-born Latino immigrants have become the backbone of New Jersey's logistics industry. Every day, a network of inland warehouses and distribution centers receives goods from the Port of Newark/Elizabeth (the nation's third largest container port), where containers are unloaded from containers by hand, put onto pallets, sometimes processed and then formed into orders and shipped to major retail outlets or directly to consumers. These workers are hired by storefront industrial sector temporary agencies that have mushroomed in gateway immigrant communities throughout the state. Each day, thousands of temporary laborers are recruited at scores of temp agency offices spread from Paterson and Union City in the northeast to New Brunswick and Bound Brook in Central New Jersey. The labor market is characterized by erratic work schedules, poverty wages, hazardous treatment and limited job control for workers.²⁹ A recent survey of 291 New Jersey warehouse workers found that 36% had experienced total nonpayment for work performed, underpayment of the total hours worked, or unpaid overtime for work in excess of forty hours a week. The majority of those surveyed also earned less than 150% of the federal poverty level. New Labor, the immigrant worker center, has begun efforts to organize this workforce to improve conditions.

Figure 10. Location of Top H1-B employers operating in New Jersey, 2011



Prominent among New Jersey's foreign-born workers are those who hold H-1B visas. These are 3-year "nonimmigrant" or temporary visas that are issued to professional workers in "specialty occupations" including architecture, engineering, mathematics, physical sciences, medicine and health, and biotechnology, i.e. fields where a bachelor's degree or the equivalent is required. An employer wishing to sponsor an H-1B worker must attest in an application to the US Department of Labor that they will pay the foreign worker higher actual wages than other employees in the same job or the prevailing wages for that occupation and that they will provide working conditions for the foreign worker that do not adversely affect the working conditions of other employees. H-1B dependent firms (defined as those with H-1B workforces of 15% or higher) must also attest that they have attempted to recruit US workers and that they have not laid off any native workers 90 days prior to or after hiring any H-1B workers. However, the visa does not require a labor market test, and some scholars have found enforcement of the rules and oversight of the program to be lacking. They contend that while the visa was intended to complement the US workforce, employers sometimes bypass American workers when recruiting for open positions and also replace existing native workers.

The policy context for the H1-B visas is contentious: Many in the business community are lobbying to raise the limits. They point to evidence that high-skilled foreign-born workers spur innovation that strengthens the economy generally. However professional workers' unions and other interest groups have called for the curtailment of this visa,

arguing that foreign-born workers edge out native-born workers. During periods of strong economic expansion in the past, Congress has voted to increase the levels of employment-based immigration in specialty occupations (to 115,000 in the late 1990s). While the current number is 65,000 per annum, in reality many more visas have been issued due to exemptions.

To grasp how the high-skilled immigrant workforce is distributed around the state, and where infrastructure is most necessary, we map the employers hiring H1-B workers, particularly the 100 companies with the most H1-B holders. Spatial patterns seen here convey a slightly different picture than other immigration data. Paralleling most New Jersey employment data, the map shows the significance of the Northeast Corridor as a major white-collar employment axis. An additional cluster outside of Philadelphia mirrors other employment patterns visible in New Jersey. It is notable how dense this pattern of concentration is. Nearly every map in this report (Foreign born, Asian-Indian, Hispanic, ITINs, Limited English Proficient) reveals a concentration of activity along Route 1 and the Northeast Corridor, among other clusters or patterns. The H1-B map shows how employment centers, particularly the white-collar opportunities, are arranged in a relatively tight pattern around which the residential settlement patterns unfurl. This has implications across New Jersey for the salaries and mobility of workers as well as the strength of the immigrant infrastructure.

Table 4. Top 10 H-1B employers in New Jersey

2011	2012	2013
Larsen Toubro InfoTech Ltd	Tata Consultancy Services	Compunnel Software Group Inc.
Wipro Ltd	Larsen Toubro InfoTech Ltd	Oracle Financial Services Software Inc.
Rutgers University	International Business Machines (IBM)	Merrill Lynch
Cognizant Technology	HCL Technologies America	Everest Consulting Group Inc.
Infosys Technologies Ltd	Cognizant Technology	Orion Systems Integrators Inc.
VSG Acquisition Corp.	Zylog Systems	Birlasoft Inc.
Compunnel Software Group, Inc.	Wipro Ltd	Intone Networks Inc.
Zylog Systems	Kpit Info systems	Cloudeeva Inc.
Barclay's Capital Services, Inc.	Oracle Financial Services Software	Collabera (GCI)
Polaris Software Lab, Ltd	Merrill Lynch	Techdemocracy LLC

Source: <http://h1b-visas.findthecompany.com/>

A glance at the New Jersey companies employing the most skilled workers on H1-B visas reveals a mix weighted toward information technology, engineering, software development, biotechnology and consulting, along with a smattering of financial services, hospitals and universities. Research shows that as much as 90 percent of applications filed are to fill jobs requiring advanced science, technology, engineering and mathematics, sometimes known as STEM occupations.³⁰ Some employers are also foreign companies. Tata Consultancy (which has operated offices in Edison, Matawan, Mount Laurel, Rockaway and East Hanover) is a subsidiary of the Tata Group, one of India's largest industrial conglomerates.

According to researchers at the Brookings Institute, the top hundred employers with the most H-1B requests, nationwide, account for 20% of all applications submitted. Among these, more than three quarters are Fortune 500 companies. Further, as Brookings researchers note, a majority of all H1-B visa recipients come from India. Together with China, these two Asian nations account for roughly two-thirds of visa recipients. Canada, the United Kingdom, South Korea, and the Philippines are also significant sources of high-skilled workers who contribute to the US economy.³¹

H4 VISAS: TIES THAT BIND

By Maneesha Kelkar

The H1-B visa is a temporary professional visa issued to high-skilled foreigners working in certain technical occupations. The dependents of H1-B visa holders (spouse and children) are issued the H4 visa, which is a derivative visa, making its holder dependent on the primary visa holder.

Although more and more women are now working in the US on H1-B visas, the vast majority of H1-B visa holders are still men whose families are placed on H4 status. The H4 visa is extremely restrictive. It does not permit the holder to work; nor does it assign a Social Security number to the individual. Thus an individual on this visa is prohibited from having a bank account or even getting a driver's license without additional paperwork filed by the primary visa holder.

Consequently, this visa places enormous restrictions on spouses (largely women). Not only is a woman on an H4 visa unable to contribute to the financial wellbeing of her family, but she is also placed in a vulnerable situation. In addition to language and cultural differences, the added barriers faced by immigrant women on H4 visas restrict their mobility and place undue burdens on them. In fact, "the dependency on men created by the visa structure often reduces women to being

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little more than prisoners in their own homes.”³²

In the most extreme situation, if women on H4 visas find themselves in violent relationships, they have very few options. Accessing assistance from law enforcement is difficult, since abusive spouses often use immigration as a tool of control, possibly threatening their wives with potential deportation if they do not accede to their husbands’ wishes. The situation can be overwhelming for women with this dependent status.

Community-based organizations provide services to women in such situations. The pioneering organization, Manavi (meaning ‘primal woman’ in Sanskrit), was founded in 1985 by a group of South Asian women³³ who came together to study the issue of violence against women in the South Asian community in the US. They realized that immigration compounds the barriers that prevent battered women from leaving abusive situations: lack of language skills, inability to understand the legal system in the new country, distance from natal families, and a cultural unwillingness to seek help from service providers. Meanwhile, mainstream organizations may find it difficult to reach out to immigrant communities because they lack knowledge about their cultures. Manavi was established to fill this gap.

VI. EYE ON INFRASTRUCTURE: IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS NEW JERSEY

Organizational roots run deep in New Jersey. As far back as the turn of the 19th century, a handful of organizations such as Catholic Charities and Jewish Family and Vocational Services began providing support to European immigrant populations with the goal of helping them integrate. These organizations and others established in the decades since have adapted to demographic changes over the past nearly half century. Below we examine the communities they work in, the functions they serve, and the challenges they face.

For more than a century, organizations have played an essential role in supporting newcomers as they become socially, economically, and politically rooted in their communities. Using data from survey respondents, Figure 12 highlights the growth of immigrant organizations over the past century (from 1900 to 2011). As we see here, the number of organizations whose work is largely or primarily with immigrants began to increase in the 1960s. That number rose modestly in the 1970s and 1980s, expanded again in the 1990s, and then increased quite dramatically in the 2000s. In other words, the development of the organizational infrastructure roughly parallels changes in the foreign-born population.

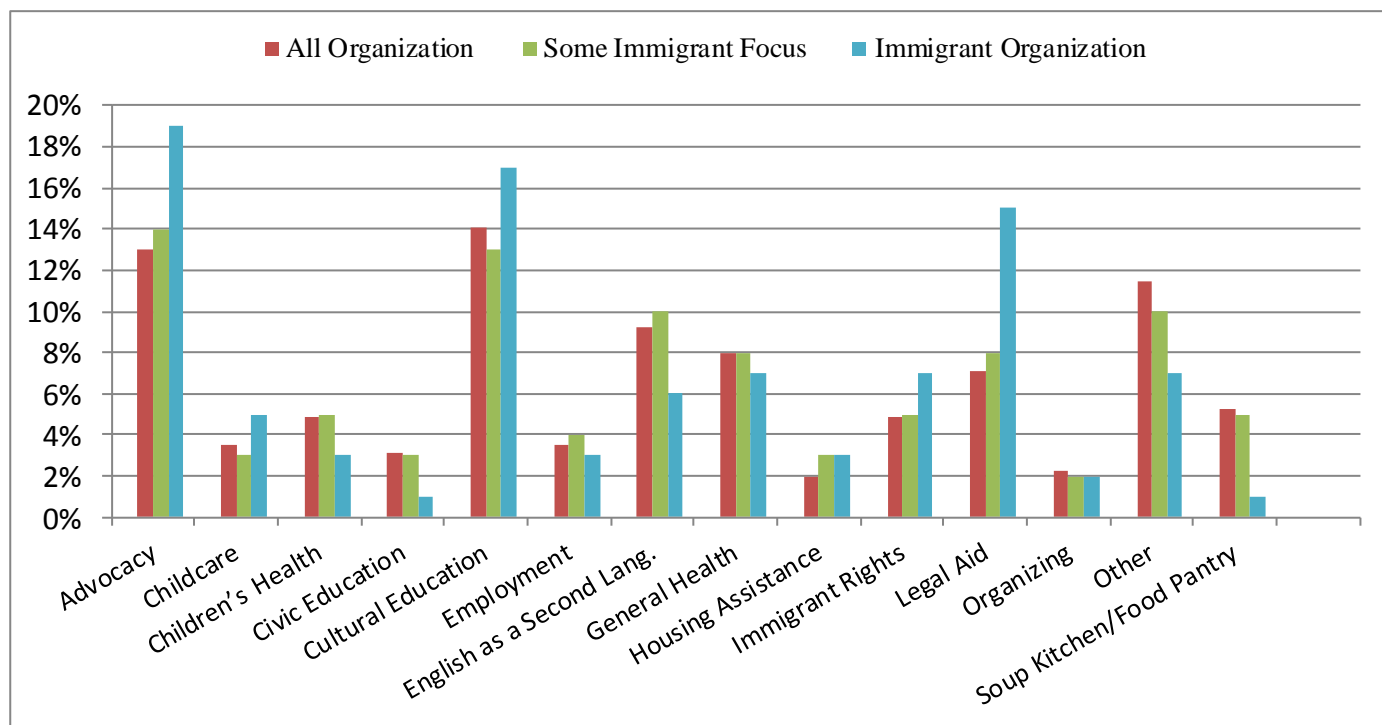
Among the range of functions such organizations fulfill, three stand out: (i) advocacy, (ii) cultural education, and (iii) legal aid. On balance, immigrant organizations allocate the lion's share of their resources to these three kinds of activities.

15% of immigrant organizations are primarily engaged in providing **legal aid**

14% of the organizations are primarily engaged in **cultural education**

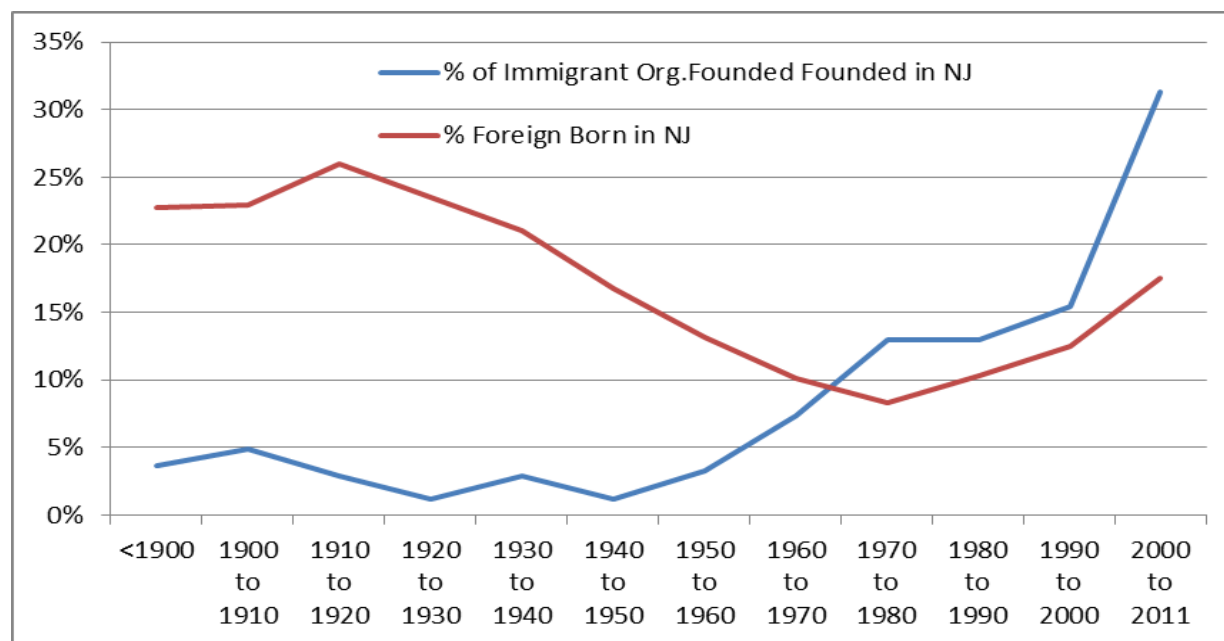
13% of the organizations are primarily engaged in **advocacy**

Figure 11. Distribution of activities at organizations identified as "immigrant" or having "some immigrant focus".



A similar pattern is evident at the county level.

Figure 12. Share of immigrant organizations [Founded] as compared to the share of immigrants in the general population



RECESSION'S HEAVY TOLL ON LEGAL SERVICES FOR IMMIGRANTS AND LOW-INCOME INDIVIDUALS STATEWIDE

When low-income residents of the Garden State need legal representation, many turn to a nonprofit organization called Legal Services of New Jersey (LSNJ). Farmworkers have been among those who have sought assistance at LSNJ. A decade ago, as the problems faced by agricultural workers in the southern regions of the state (Millville/Bridgeton/Vineland region) mounted, LSNJ established a Workers' Legal Rights Project. Based in Southern New Jersey, the goal was to provide assistance to farmworkers living in labor camps and as well as others facing job-related legal problems.

Once an important center for glass and textile production, Bridgeton suffered a significant economic downturn with the decline of manufacturing through the 1980s. By the 1990s, however, the region had once again become an employment hub for the state's growing immigrant population. Immigrants found work opportunities in the area's agricultural and service sectors. As the immigrant population grew, LSNJ confronted an epidemic of 'wage theft': Workers employed in farms, nurseries, restaurants and other low-wage sectors were not being paid or were being underpaid. In response, the organization expanded its work to meet the workers' need for legal representation.

In its infancy LSNJ employed a single attorney supported by one paralegal to manage employment issues. By 2005 the Workers' Legal Rights Project had gone statewide with

a staff of twelve bilingual attorneys (most of them bilingual). Thanks to a Workers' Legal Rights Project hotline, workers could get answers to their queries regarding their rights and responsibilities on the job. For a time, LSNJ had one of the most extensive employment projects in the nation, providing hundreds of workers with legal representation, education, and advocacy. The need was acute. Agricultural workers suffered a scourge of legal violations, foremost among them in the areas of wages and hours, safety and health, harassment, discrimination, retaliation (for labor organizing) and human trafficking.

Working in partnership with El Comité de Apoyo a los Trabajadores Agrícolas (CATA), the regional farmworker support committee, LSNJ's Workers' Legal Rights Project achieved dramatic results. They won class action suits on behalf of workers in the agricultural processing sector and a landmark case holding an employer liable for health problems suffered by workers exposed to pesticides in his fields. Between 2006 and 2011, the Project assisted close to a thousand workers, recovering more than \$1 million in back wages.

Beyond individual cases, LSNJ's success extended to administrative and policy changes. As the agency became aware of the complex strategies some contractors employed in order to avoid paying their employees, staff attorneys worked with the New Jersey Department of Labor to update the state's approach to enforcement. One concrete result was that the agency changed its record-keeping policy by shifting the burden of proof from workers to employers in unpaid wage cases.

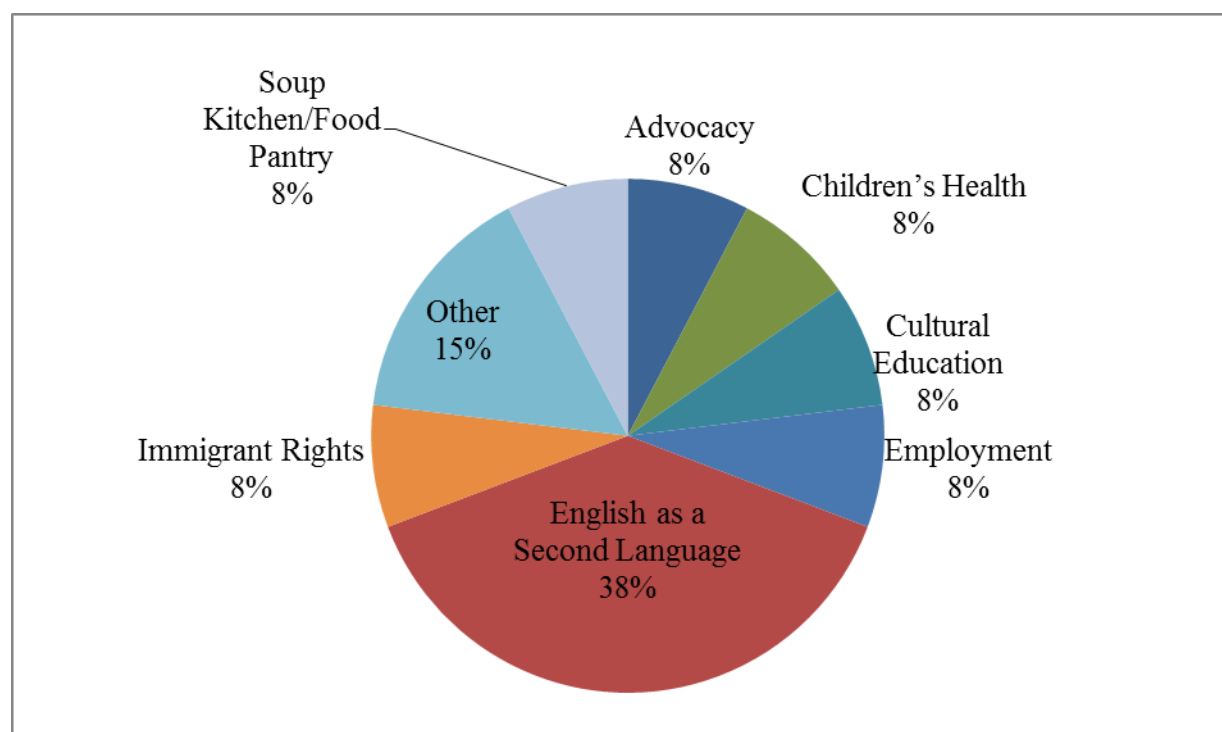
A few years later, as the recession took its toll, the Project also began representing the growing number of workers who felt they had been unfairly denied unemployment benefits. Despite this remarkable record, because funding for the employment project was made possible largely through the growth of IOLTA (Interest on Lawyer Trust Accounts), as the recession deepened, funding for the work in New Jersey dried up dramatically. By 2012, despite the continuing need, LSNJ closed its Bridgeton office and pared the Workers Legal Rights Project down to two attorneys. Likewise, staffing of the hotline has been reduced. Today workers who call the hotline often must wait an hour or more before being able to begin initiating a claim. Because many lack access to a private line and utilize telephone cards that charge by the minute this lag poses a real impediment.

While accelerating the process of immigrant integration, the Workers' Rights Project and others like it indirectly protect the labor standards of native workers by reinforcing the floor below which wages, rights and safety cannot drop. Conversely, when a community (or an industry) based organization loses capacity, both native and foreign-born workers suffer -- and, prospects for exploitation and alienation grow.

For a closer look at local dynamics, the following section presents an overview of the four New Jersey counties – Essex, Bergen, Hudson and Middlesex – where the largest number of CBOs responded to our survey. The concentration of responses is logical: These counties are home to the state’s largest and most established immigrant populations. An overview of the demographics and workforce development data may be used to speculate about the direction counties are headed, as well as to anticipate some of the challenges and opportunities that nonprofits based there currently face, as well as needs that are likely to grow in significance based on current demographic and labor force projections.

BERGEN

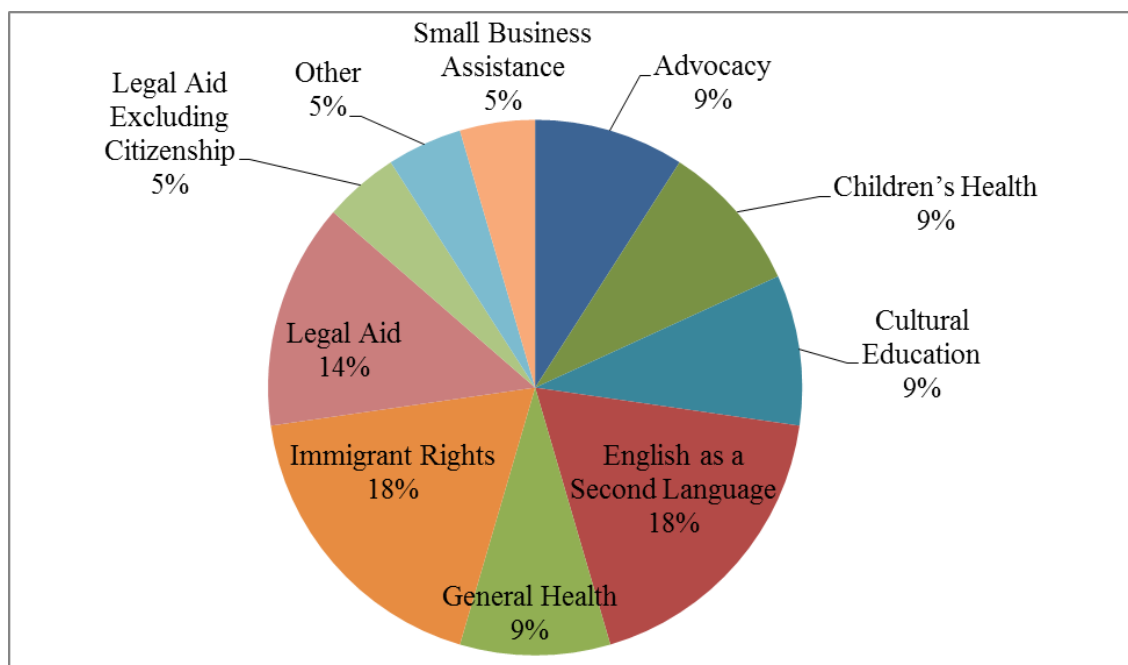
Figure 13. ESL is the Most Prevalent Activity among CBOs in Bergen County, New Jersey



With just over 900,000 residents, Bergen is the state’s most populous county. This includes many foreign-born residents. Bergen is second only to Middlesex County in the total number of foreign-born Asians in its population. Bergen County’s Hispanic labor force of 96,100 is the second largest in the state. From 2008-2018, the Hispanic labor force is expected to grow by 29.5%, while the non-Hispanic labor force is expected to decline by 4.4%. Many of the occupations projected to experience most of the growth between 2008 and 2018 are in sectors with high concentrations of immigrant workers, including home health aides, laborers, freight workers, and food preparation (including fast food and stock clerks). Between 2007 and 2010, unemployment in Bergen rose almost 5% (to 8%), with Hispanics comprising almost 19% of the total and Asians nearly 6%. All of these trends point toward a growing need for organizational assistance in the

areas of employment, ESL, education and other social services, as well as immigrant rights and cultural education.³⁴

Figure 14. Immigrants' Rights, ESL and Legal Assistance Dominate among Activities of CBOs in Essex County, New Jersey

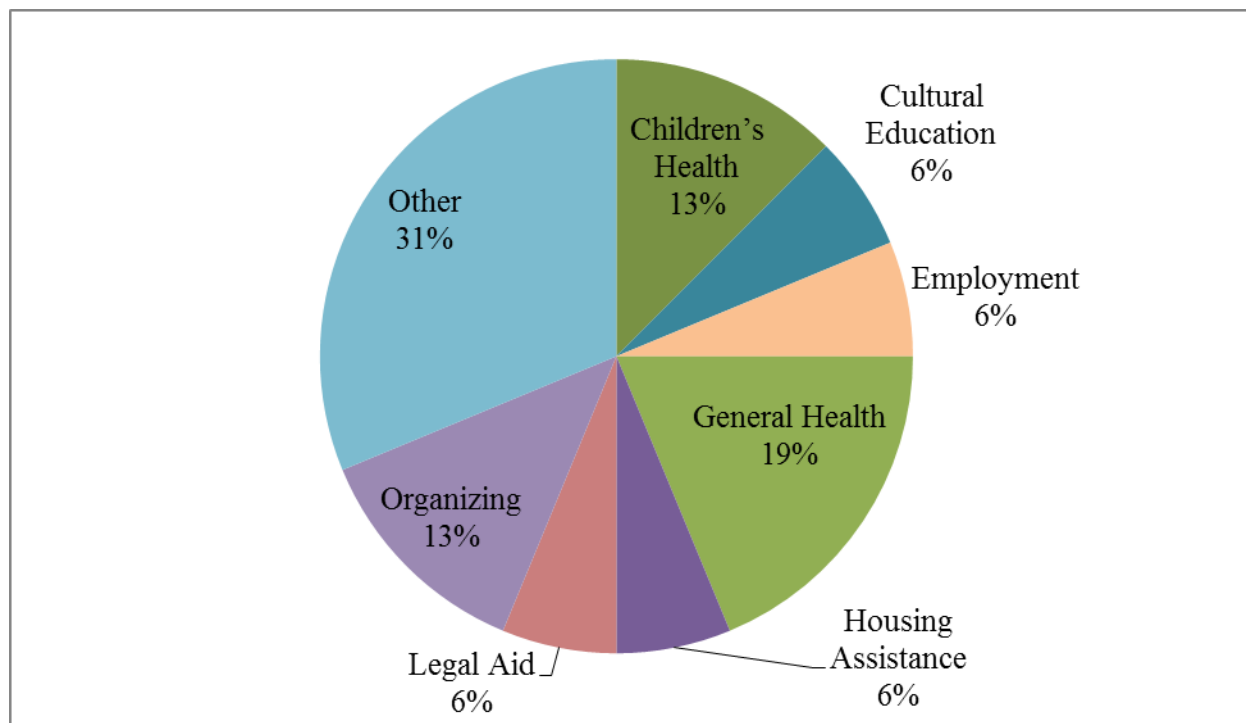


ESSEX

Despite losing 17% of its population between 1970 and 2009, Essex remains the third most populous county in the state. Nearly one-third (32.9%) of all foreign-born blacks in the state reside in Essex County as do 9.8% of all foreign-born whites statewide. Of the total Essex population, 19.4% is Hispanic, meaning the county has among the largest Hispanic labor forces in the state. Immigrants to Essex tend to be older than those living elsewhere. The median age of the immigrant population is just under 42 years. Between 2008-2018, multi-racial labor force participants are expected to be the fastest growing group with an increase of 21%, and the Hispanic labor force is projected to increase by 12%. Health care and social assistance are the industries projected to experience the greatest increase in employment. Many of the occupations projected to see the most growth between 2008-2018 are in sectors with high concentrations of the foreign-born, including: cashiers, retail, registered nurses, customer service representatives, counter attendants, cafeteria, food concession and coffee shop workers, janitors and cleaners, security guards, retail salespersons, laborers and freight workers. Between 2007 and 2009, the county unemployment rate increased from just over 5% to 10.5%, with African Americans comprising just under half of the unemployed, Hispanics making up 21% and Asians 2%. All of these trends point toward a growing need for organizational

assistance in the areas of employment, ESL, education and other social services, as well as immigrant rights and cultural education.

Figure 15. CBOs in Hudson County Marked by Health Focus and Miscellaneous Activities

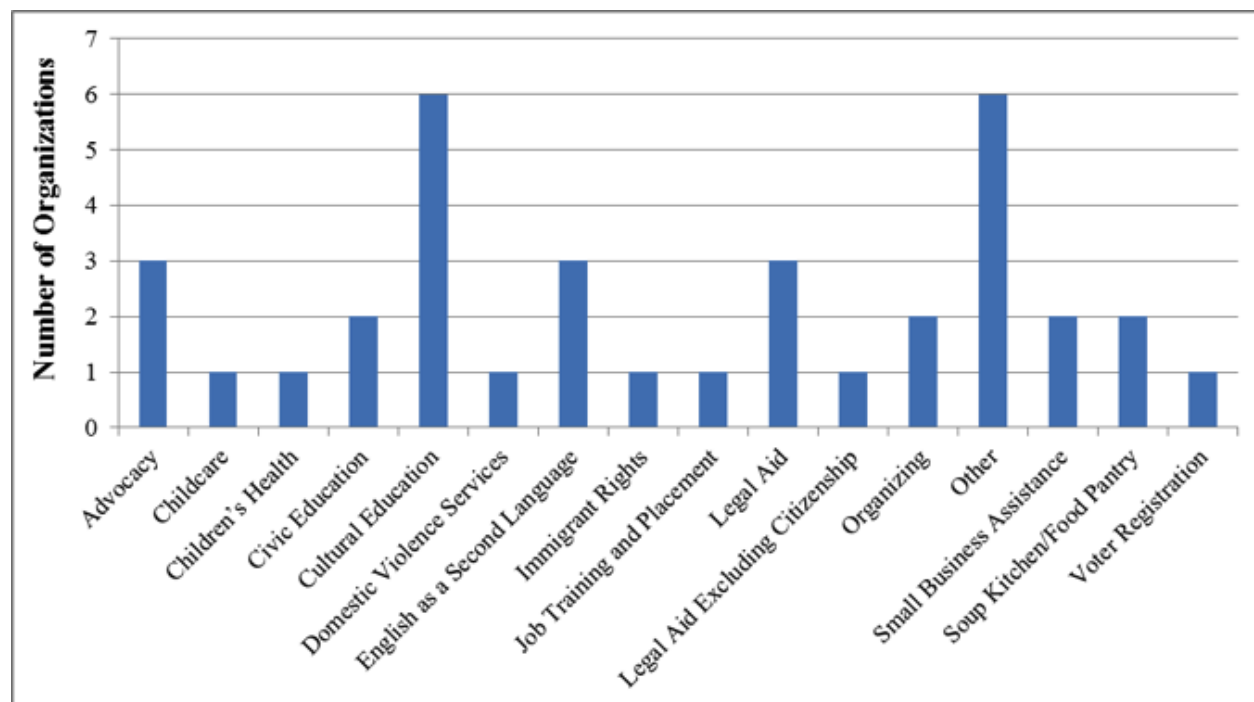


HUDSON

Notwithstanding population declines seen in three of its 12 municipalities (Jersey City, Bayonne and Weehawken), between 1970 and 2010, the overall population of Hudson, the state's fourth most populous county, rose 4% (to 634,266). Hudson has the highest percentage (20%) of foreign-born Hispanics in the state. The County's long established immigrant population is older than those to the south, with a median age of 41 years. Between 2000 and 2010 the Asian population in Hudson grew at the fastest rate of any group; Jersey City has the second highest Asian Indian population in the state. Labor force projections suggest that over the 2008-2018 period, Hudson County will be the only county to see its Hispanic labor force shrink (by almost 5%). Meanwhile, finance, insurance and the health care and social assistance industries are projected to create the most jobs. Yet many of the occupations projected to experience the most growth between 2008 and 2018 are in sectors with high concentrations of the foreign-born including: laborers and freight, cashiers, retail salespersons, waiters and waitresses, customer service representatives, computer software engineers, truck drivers and registered nurses. The recession has hit Hudson County hard. Since 2007, its unemployment rate has more than doubled, to nearly 11% in 2010. Some have been affected more than others. Fewer than 5% of the county's unemployed were Asian, 49%

were ethnically Hispanic. Almost half (46%) were white and 17.6% were black. All of these trends point towards a growing need for organizational assistance in the areas of employment, ESL, education and other social services, immigrant rights, and cultural education.

Figure 16. Activities of organizations surveyed in Middlesex County, New Jersey



MIDDLESEX

Between 1970 and 2009, the population of New Jersey's second most populous county grew by 35.4% to 790,738. During the same time period, the Asian population increased by 45%. Middlesex is home to the largest proportion of foreign-born Asians in the state, at 22.4%. Middlesex also has the second highest percentage of foreign-born whites (9.9%) and third largest percentage of foreign-born blacks in the state (7.8%). As elsewhere, the health care and social services sectors are projected to add the most new jobs over the period from 2008 to 2018. However, due to the large number of warehouses and distribution centers located in Middlesex and the low wages characteristic of this sector, laborers and freight, stock and material movers are the occupations projected to have the most job openings (due to turnover) per year. These occupations are filled by large percentages of foreign-born workers. Between 2007 and 2009, Middlesex County's unemployment rate increased from 4.8% to 8.7%. In 2008 - 2009, the number filing for unemployment compensation in the county increased by 53.8%. In 2009, the Asian unemployment rate in the county was 10.3%, and the Hispanic unemployment rate was 21.9%. The Middlesex industries with the highest

unemployment rates were trade, transportation and utilities and professional and business services.

'HUB CITY' ONCE MORE: NEW BRUNSWICK

The county seat of Middlesex County, New Brunswick is a mid-sized city of roughly 50,000 people. Dubbed "Hub City" for its function as a thriving social, industrial and transportation nexus in the early 20th Century, today the City of New Brunswick once again functions as an organizational focal point for a diverse population of immigrants and natives, unskilled workers and professionals. Capital investment appears to be on the rise drawing workers and their families and their respective cultural capital, while still facing daunting challenges.

For a minor city, New Brunswick is home to some major employers: the flagship campuses of Rutgers University and pharmaceutical giants Johnson & Johnson and Bristol Myers Squibb, as well as a pair of teaching hospitals. These businesses and institutions as well as a raft of nonprofits and small businesses mean that the city's population triples by day.

Like most contemporary US cities, New Brunswick runs on a mix of skilled and unskilled labor. Streets bustle with hospital staff, from surgeons and professors to secretaries, orderlies and janitors. Officially about one in three city residents is an immigrant. High by national and even state standards, this estimate still likely undercounts the undocumented population of mostly service workers who live with their families within the city limits.

New Brunswick's current immigrant population settled in the US seeking greater economic opportunity as well as, in some cases, an escape from famine or terror. In this respect, they join an historic tradition: African Americans who migrated from the South to escape the brutality of Jim Crow and join the ranks of the manufacturing workforce were among the pioneers of urban New Brunswick, settling here on the eve of the First World War and again during World War II. Hungarians on the run from the crush of totalitarianism arrived in large numbers as late as the 1950s. Since the early 1980s, the city has registered the presence of increasing numbers of Indian nationals, mainly from the states of Gujarat, Murat and Punjab. They pump gas, serve fast food, read x-rays, teach chemistry and approve bank loans – among thousands of other jobs. Mexican immigrants, formerly of the states of Oaxaca and Pueblo, staff the city's hospitals, hotels and restaurants. Others mow and weed lawns, shovel snow, care for children and load and unload crates in the warehouses that line Jersey Avenue. In some of these industries they work shoulder-to-shoulder with Asian, Middle Eastern and African immigrants. From points of origin both foreign and domestic, these transplants have worked, invested, established businesses, built schools, founded nonprofits and raised their children.

The history of the people of New Brunswick is reflected in the city's immigrant infrastructure. The current era dates mainly to the late 1960s and early 1970s, when immigration to the US reached its all-time low. As many white ethnics left the city, crime and unemployment ravaged the population.

In response, local civil rights leaders teamed up to improve the quality of life for the economically vulnerable residents left behind. The Greater New Brunswick Day Care Center (GNBDCC) opened in 1972 in a church basement on Livingston Avenue. The goal? To provide quality care for the city's low-income children. At that time, the pupils -- aged six months to six years -- were almost exclusively African American. They lived with their families in the nearby public housing projects. GNBDCC offered daycare and preschool. In a neighborhood vexed by poverty and other threats, GNBDCC students ate healthy meals, made friends, and gained what have since come to be known as "school readiness" skills.

Some forty years later, whole neighborhoods have come of age at GNBDCC. The pair of pioneers who set out to build a sanctuary for New Brunswick's youngest residents remains in charge. Along with the organization's governing board, composed of corporate and government representatives, neighbors and parishioners, the two have guided GNBDCC over the years, overseeing renovation of the buildings, acquisition of new gardens, and upgrading of playgrounds. Former students of GNBDCC attend college, work for corporations, teach, serve in the military, and run neighborhood social service organizations.

Changes can be seen in this local preschool, starting with its roster. Of the 140 students enrolled today, all but four are Latino. Almost all are US citizens, but most come from families where at least one parent was born in Mexico. African Americans continue to leave the city, down from 23% in 2000 to 16% in 2010. New regulations from the Federal Department of Agriculture have seen red meat replaced by soy burgers, fish and turkey patties. Skim milk fills the tiny cups. Children can take free swim lessons at a YMCA in nearby Milltown. And, while English remains the language of instruction, in each classroom at GNBDCC at least one teacher speaks Spanish.

In another imposing brick building further along Livingston Avenue, Anshe Emeth Memorial Temple straddles a block and a half. The mostly middle-class congregants of this Reform Jewish synagogue have been meeting there for worship and social events since 1859. Many are descended from the original congregants, Golden Age immigrants who made their way to New Jersey working as tailors and shop workers, cooks and factory workers.

Why a congregation of largely Caucasian middle class Jews should exist in a majority Christian urban community of color may seem like an anomaly on the CBO landscape. Despite the apparent incongruity, the choice is deliberate. During the 1970s, when

federal policies such as the GI Bill and the Federal Housing Act were helping white natives to flee the city in droves, worshippers at Anshe Emeth voted to keep their congregation in New Brunswick. Today, though most members live in leafier towns nearby, Anshe Emeth has stayed put. During storms, the congregation hosts spillover from the city's homeless shelter in its annex. Its so-called "ABC program" makes medical equipment and baby necessities such as playpens and car seats available to low-income neighbors. An annual "Call to Conscience" program brings local leaders to talk about their work. In the last few years, members of Anshe Emeth formed an official Community Development Corporation to signal their commitment to the New Brunswick Community.

Nearby, Unity Square Partnership has been organizing at the grassroots of the Oaxacan community of Mexican immigrants and their children since 2004. Under the aegis of Catholic Charities, Diocese of Metuchen and the Sacred Heart Church (whose rectory serves as its center of operations), Unity Square works in partnership with local nonprofits, businesses and government.

Unity Square operates as a Housing Resource Center where staff members consult with renters and owners on issues ranging from tenants' rights to government loans for repairs and improvements. Low-income residents looking to build skills and secure work can find out about opportunities and scholarships for training. In collaboration with area nonprofits, Unity Square offers assistance with bank accounts and financial education. The organization also serves as a neutral party when neighbors want to meet with representatives of the New Brunswick Police Department to air their concerns about neighborhood safety.

Since 2004, Unity Square has spearheaded a community planning process to bring needed services and refurbishment to buildings in the vicinity. Priorities -- including new low-cost housing, better access to health care for the uninsured, enhanced recreational activities, reduced crime, a community center, and economic development initiatives were generated at community meetings,. A neighborhood development plan won approval from the New Jersey Department of Community Affairs and was deemed eligible for tax credit funding.

With oversight and grants management from Unity Square, led until recently by a second-generation Latina activist and social worker raised in the neighborhood, government and private funds were secured to implement the plan. So far, ten residences (five affordable housing apartments and five single family homes) have been made possible by these funds. The plans have spurred the creation of a "Soup to Jobs" project. Neighbors who tend the community gardens cultivate small business ventures. Other awards are being used to increase the capacity of the health clinic operated by Catholic Charities. With a recent tax-based grant from Johnson & Johnson (a significant

employer of H1-B visa holders), Unity Square hopes to add a museum and a community meeting space, in keeping with the wishes of community members.

Each in its own way, Anshe Emeth, Greater New Brunswick Day Care Council and Unity Square are all crucial nodes in the city's immigrant infrastructure. Their different stories showcase the ways that migration and integration form a cycle across generations. With assistance from second, third and fourth generation immigrants, as well as their own families, the tiny students on the playground of GNBDC and neighbors active in Unity Square projects may one day welcome the next generation of newcomers.

Figure 17. Languages spoken at community based organizations surveyed in Union County, New Jersey

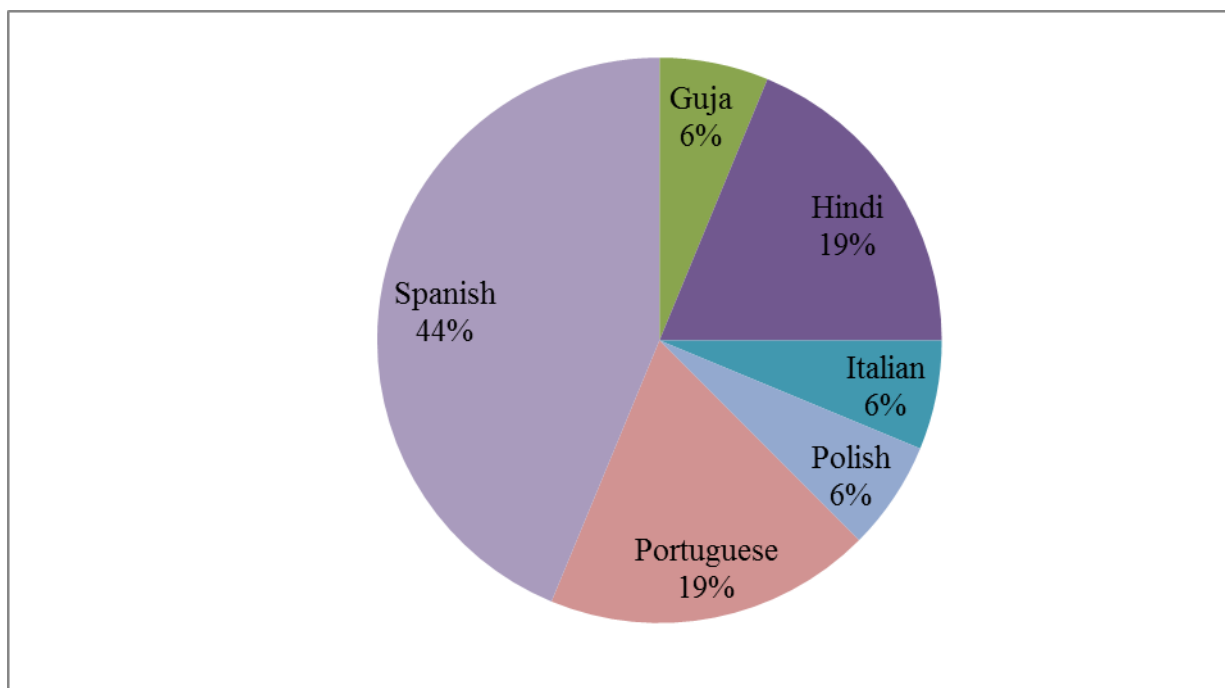


Figure 18. Languages Spoken at community based organizations surveyed in Middlesex County, New Jersey

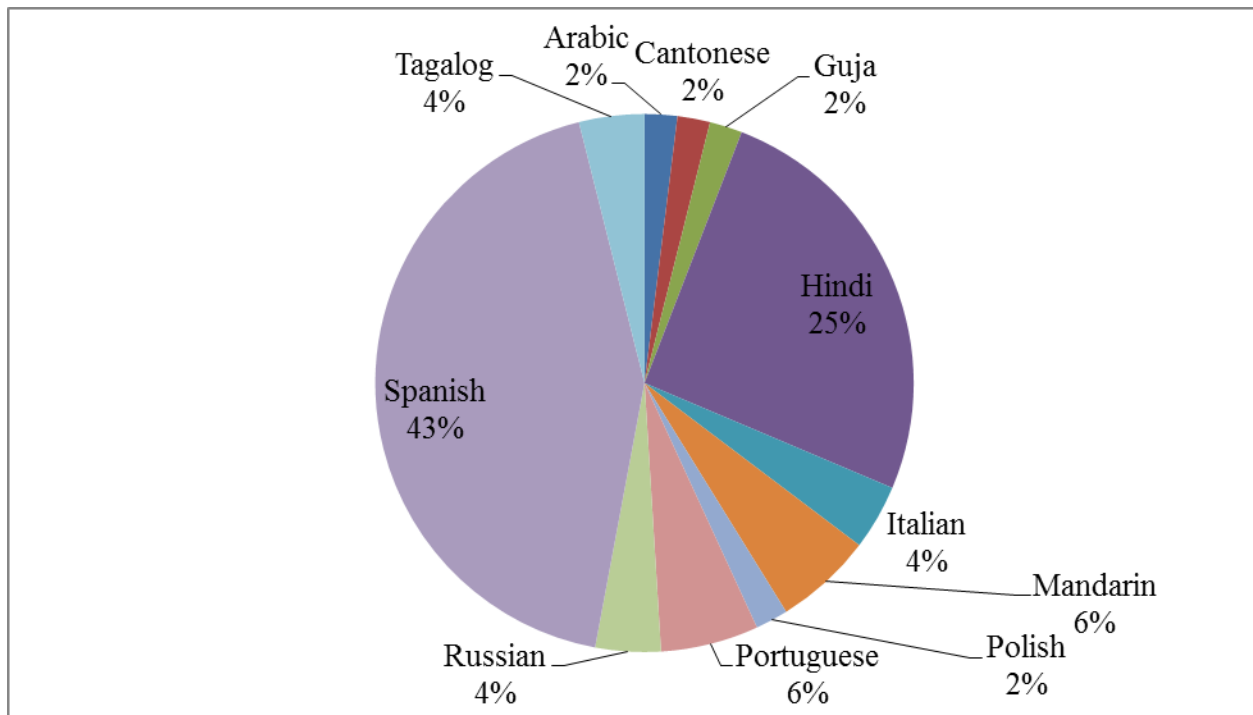


Figure 19. Languages spoken at community based organizations surveyed in Hudson County, New Jersey

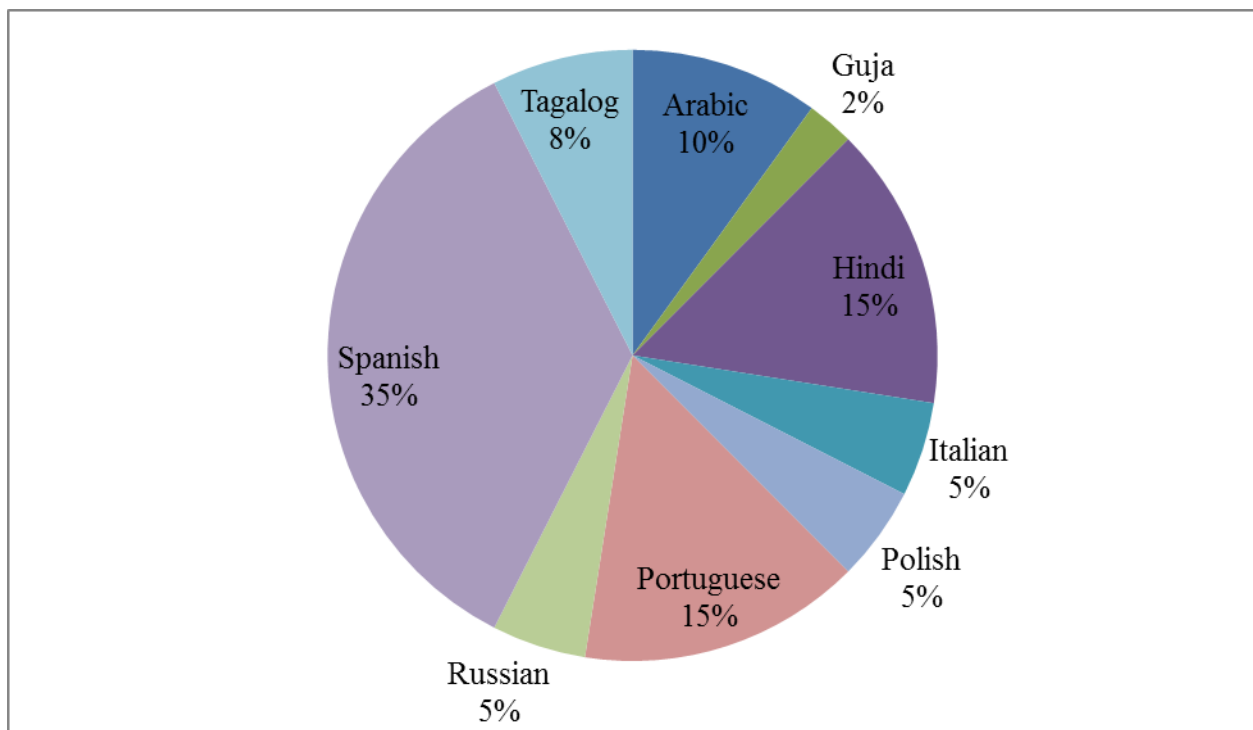


Figure 20. Languages spoken at community based organizations surveyed in Essex County, New Jersey

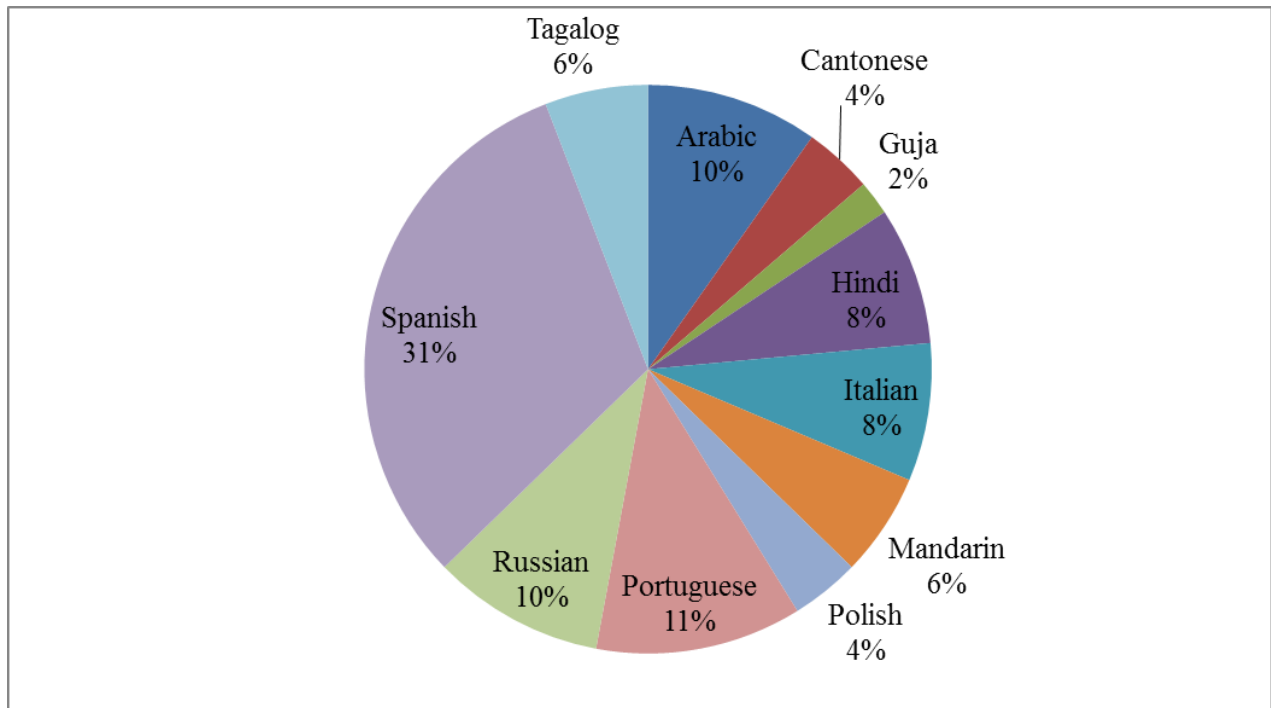
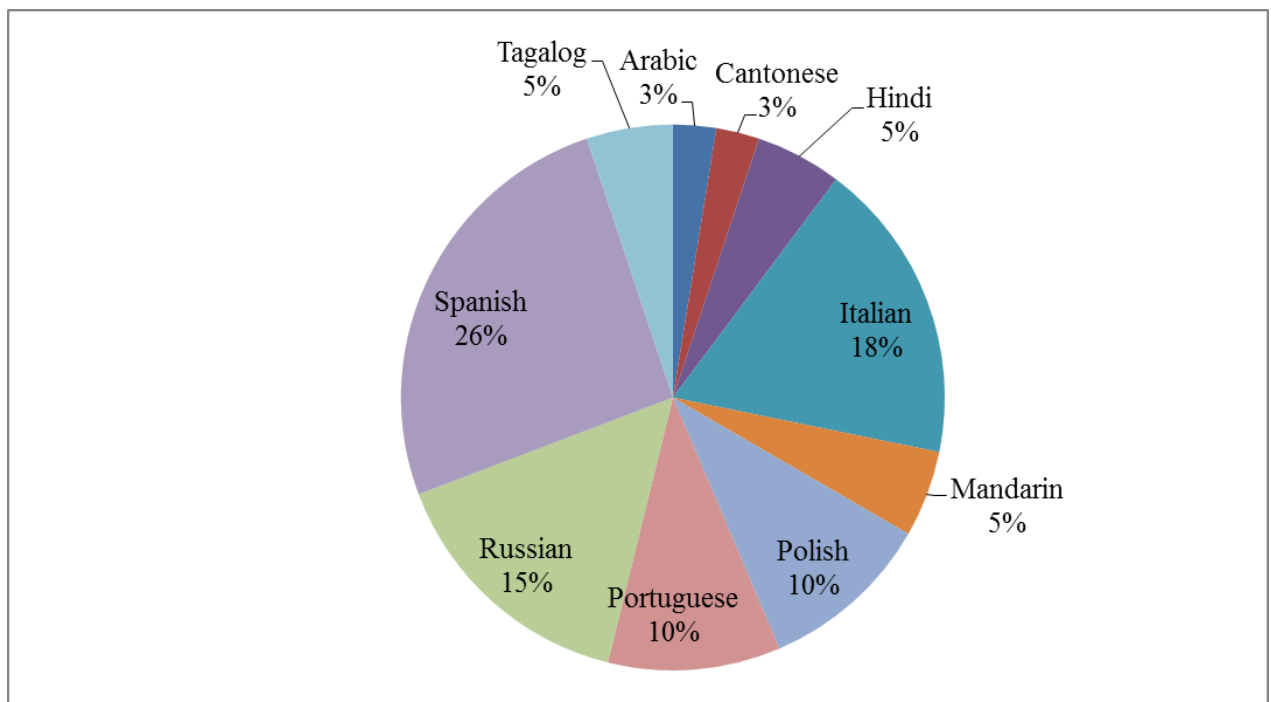
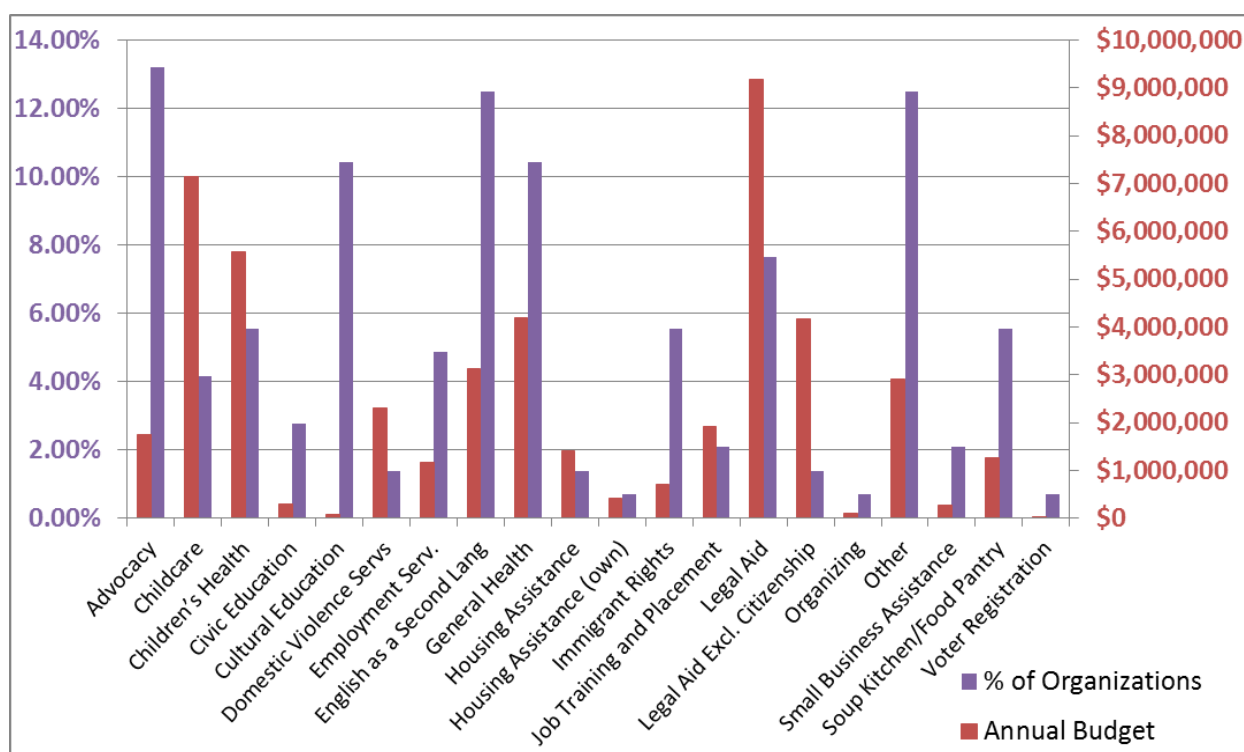


Figure 21. Languages Spoken at Community Based Organizations Surveyed in Bergen County, New Jersey



To ascertain the priorities at community-level organizations, organizations were asked to identify the portions of their budgets directed toward various immigrant support activities (Figure 22). Responses suggest that a large number of modestly funded organizations are engaged in advocacy and cultural education while, a small number of relatively well-funded organizations provide legal aid, childcare and children’s health services. Organizations focused on the provision of services generally have larger budgets than organizations engaged in advocacy or cultural education as primary activities. Nevertheless, the numbers of organizations that provide legal service are woefully inadequate when compared to the increasing demand.

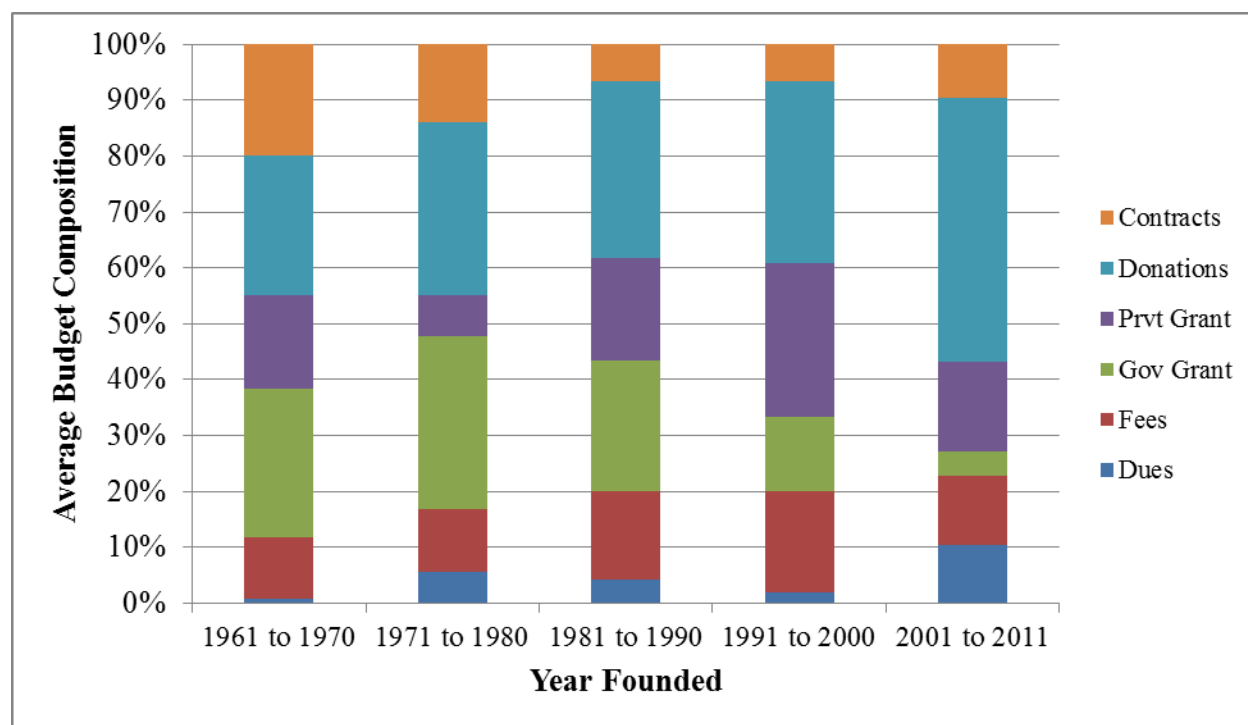
Figure 22. Advocacy and ESL are Most Frequently Offered Services; Childcare and Legal Aid are Budget Priorities



What factors predict an organization’s funding mix and priorities? One clear answer is age. The majority of recently founded organizations have had to rely more on donations and private grants and less on government funding than those founded in previous decades. Conversely, the newest organizations, those formed between 2001 and 2011, are least likely to receive government support (grants or contracts) (Figure 23). On balance, new organizations have more precarious finances. As a result, they may lack the capacity to meet the demand for their services and expertise. Shrinking federal, state and local subsidies in recent years have led to a considerable downsizing. Shuttered doors are a real possibility, not merely a threat.

A recent development in a Jersey City organization illustrates the reality of the budgetary threat. The International Institute of New Jersey (IINJ) was founded in 1918 to integrate the city's then-booming European population. In recent years, IINJ has provided integration services to approximately 5,000 Hudson County immigrants annually. Having once boasted an annual budget of \$1.8 million, an \$800,000 cut in federal and state aid in 2012 forced IINJ to downsize staff and space. Even though the need for the organization's services – from ESL to civics education – is as great as ever, staff has had no choice but to think strategically about what services to continue to provide, and to whom, as well as how to raise more private funds.

Figure 23. Newer Organizations Rely Less on Government Grants, More on Donations and Membership Fees



Consistent with their budgetary capacity, most immigrant organizations are quite modestly staffed. In fact 63% of the organizations have ten or fewer employees (Figure 24). Faced with increasing demand for services, organizations must efficiently allocate their budgets in order to provide services with fewer paid staff members.

Figure 24. More Than 60% of Organizations Employ Fewer Than 10 Paid Staff Members.

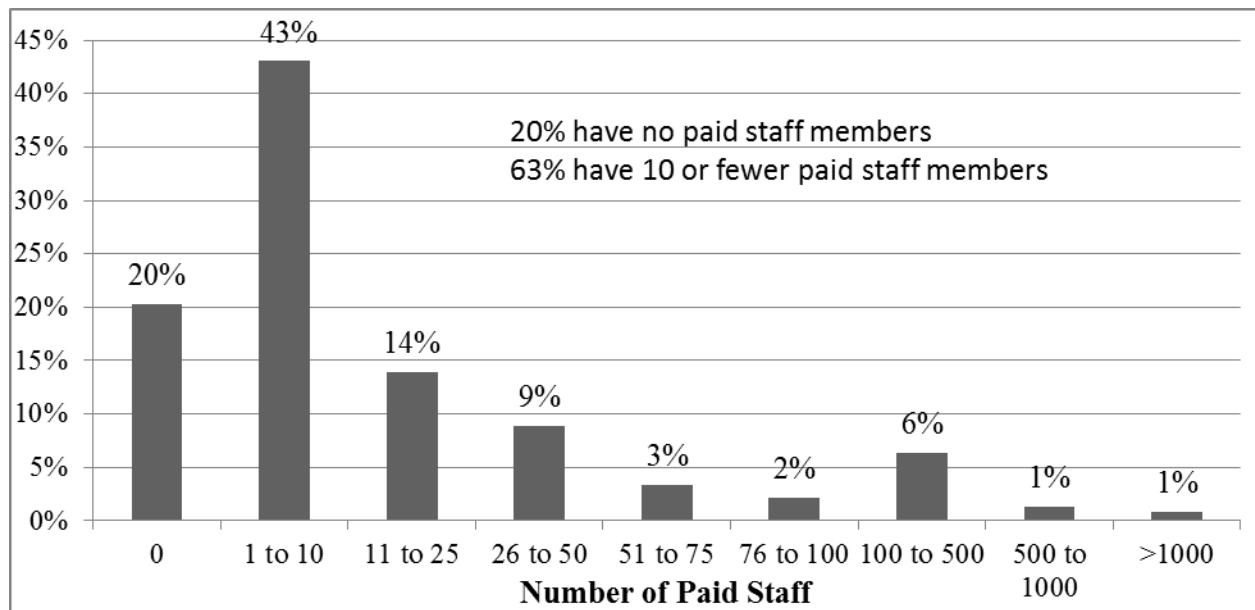
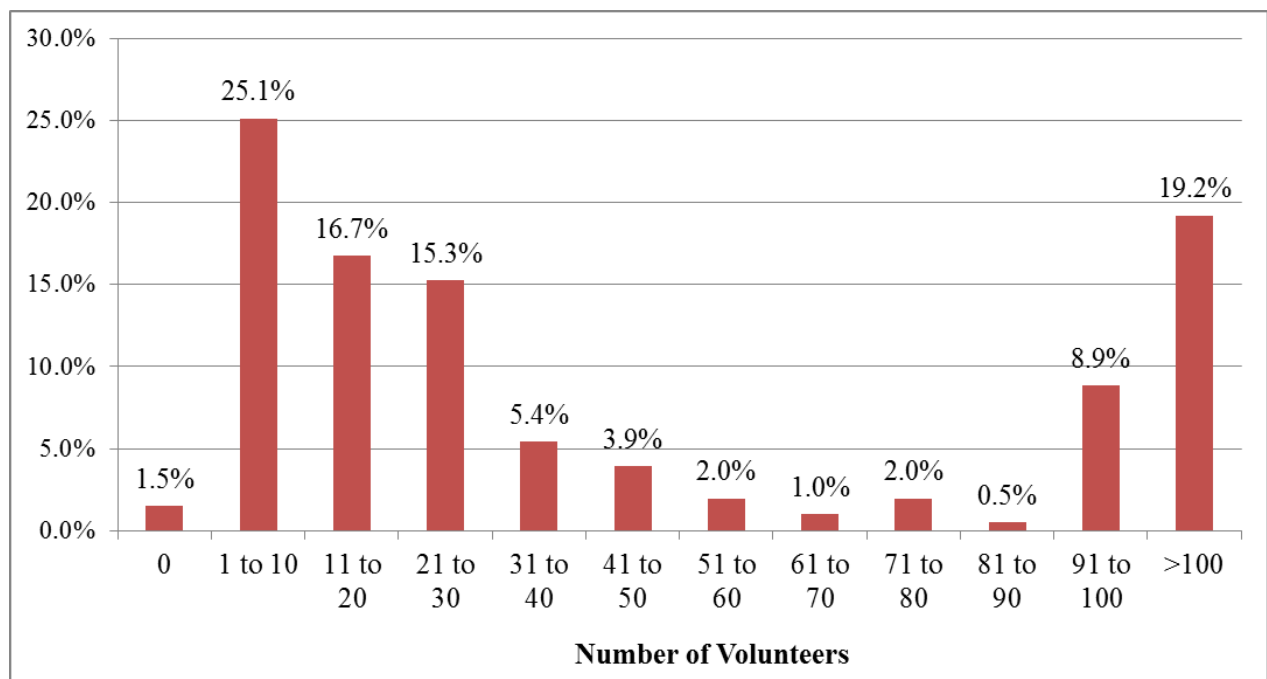


Figure 25. Immigrant Organizations Depend on Volunteers

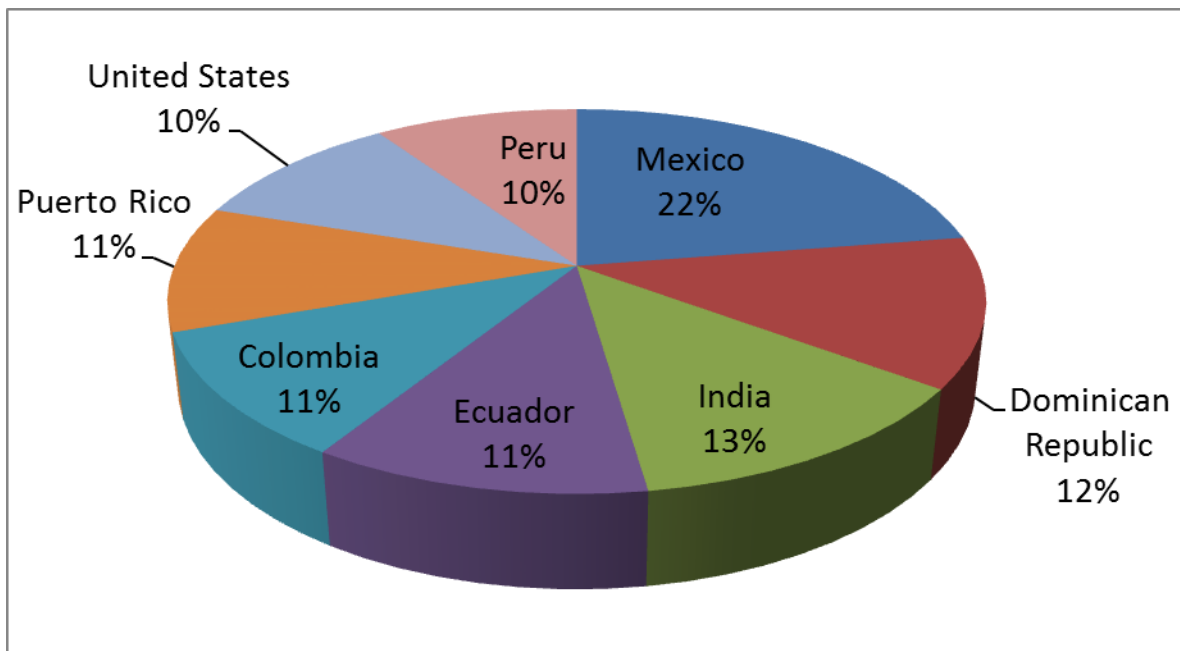


Volunteerism has long been a fixture in community-based organizations, and immigrant organizations appear to be no exception. Survey responses reveal a bimodal distribution of volunteers (Figure 25). Notably, 27% of the organizations have ten or fewer volunteers, while a similar proportion (28%) benefit from more than 90 volunteers. More than a supplementary workforce, volunteer workers are crucial

players in many immigrant organizations. Obviously this arrangement is economical in the short term, and may extend an organization's capacity, but the reliance on volunteers also leaves organizations vulnerable in ways that a paid staff does not.

As might be expected, given the composition of the immigrant population, management at immigrant organizations report that most of their membership or clientele comes from Latin America or Asia.

Figure 26. Latinos and Asians Account for Most Members/Clients of Immigrant Organizations



VII. CONCLUSION

Immigrants and their families bring real and present value to the US. As large shares of the baby-boomer population exit the workforce, immigrants take up some slack as workers, wage earners and taxpayers. Studies show that, as with the generations that preceded them, the value of today's immigrant workers' contributions compounds over time. The more attached newcomers become to local institutions – schools, labor markets, neighborhoods, and communities – the greater the boon to the US economy.

Even as New Jersey's newest immigrants have breathed new life into older cities and increased ethnic diversity in the state's small cities and suburbs, these new populations create a need for various programs and services. For almost as long as the US has attracted immigrants, organizations at the community level have helped the newcomers find their way. Since the late 1990s, however, government expenditures on programs such as ESL, preschool, labor education and enforcement, and cultural competency have not kept pace with the growth in New Jersey's immigrant population. Cuts to federal, state and local support for community-based organizations mean that these hubs increasingly rely on private philanthropy. The decline of government funding, combined with a limited ability within the statewide private philanthropic community to support immigrant services, advocacy or organizing, is likely to have slowed the process of integration.

Local immigrant organizations enhance the cultural vitality of the communities they serve through art, music, theatre, food and worship. With their assistance, workers keep roofs over their heads, lights on, and food on their tables. During an economic downturn and in an inhospitable political climate, these basic priorities have taken precedence over advocacy aimed at the policy landscape for their clients and members. Despite the commitment of talented individuals to develop and maintain immigrant assets across New Jersey, the absence of a formal network to support policy advocacy – like those found in other high immigration states such as Massachusetts, Illinois and California – has arguably limited the sector's influence.

Data offered here hint at where the state's existing immigrant infrastructure is strongest and where it needs shoring up. Urban enclaves are no longer the dominant model. With more newcomers to New Jersey now living in suburbs than cities, the geography of immigrant integration has grown considerably more complex. Storefront nonprofits bundle activities and services. Distances are larger. And while some historically immigrant cities continue to be settled by immigrants from many different nations, other, newer destinations have become hubs for just one or two specific groups.

Future studies will need to pay heed to regional variation across the state. New Jersey's southern agricultural counties, with their less robust history of community organizing, advocacy and service provision, represent important nodes of the state's economy where the stakes of integration are high. Due to their agricultural character, they may

have more in common with the experience of rural Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina — which are now experiencing large immigrant inflows -- than with the post-manufacturing urban economies of Camden, Trenton or Newark.

Integration of immigrant workers has implications for all workers, not just immigrants. As long as immigrant workers are isolated, all workers are vulnerable. Pioneering work, such as that of the Workers' Rights Project at Legal Services of New Jersey, safeguards the American economy's newest recruits, defending their right to work safely and for a fair wage.

Likewise, there is work to be done focusing on how concentrated nation of origin populations – e.g., Vietnamese in Camden, Liberians in Trenton, Koreans in Fort Lee or Egyptians in East Brunswick -- are making their way. To what degree do smaller cohorts of co-nationals create their own informal and formal groups? In cases where they collaborate with existing communities, to what extent is this based on language or labor force experience? What can we learn from elected officials, major employers, CBOs or schools that have successfully spurred integration at the local level? What barriers face CBOs located in pockets of deep need, such as Camden, recently deemed the poorest city in the nation? The Obama Administration's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals policy (which granted two years of provisional legal status to qualified individuals who entered the country without authorization before 16 years of age) offers an invitation to understand the role that community-based organizations play in implementing federal policy. Where federal and state support are weak, success depends on local funding, politics and personalities.

When the federal government does enact immigration reform, state, counties and localities will very likely be the key nodes of implementation. How available resources are distributed — the inclusion of local institutions (schools, churches and libraries); engagement of existing organizations, and the inclusion of new ones — will largely determine the success of legislative reform. Over the long term, support for integration from the federal down to the local level, will influence the character and vitality of the America we inhabit going forward.

APPENDIX

Method: RIIM Survey Analysis

The Rutgers Immigrant Infrastructure Map (RIIM) is part of the Eagleton Institute of Politics' Program on Immigration and Democracy. A survey was created to collect data on immigrant-serving organizations operating throughout New Jersey. The survey was administered and collected through phone, fax, and email.

The survey first asks respondents to provide general information about the organization (i.e., name, address, contact information, name and role of survey respondent). The general information section is followed by 28 questions seeking specific information (i.e., objectives, programs, volunteer base, staff, funding, budget allocation, members, and languages). When necessary, organizations were given the opportunity to resubmit their surveys with more complete information at a later date.

Data collected by the survey was compiled monthly into a databank. From the 1,805 organizations on our master list, 303 (16.7%) surveys were submitted. For the 303 surveys submitted, a data screening process was applied to assess: (i) accuracy of the data, (ii) missing data, (iii) outlier detection, and (iv) multiple survey submissions.

The accuracy of responses was gauged by whether a respondent answered a question within the range specified in the survey. Responses found to be outside of the accepted ranges were treated as "invalid non-responses". An example of a response outside of the accepted range would be if a respondent reported the founding year of the organization as "yes" or "no". Another example would be if an organization reported a budget allocation that totaled more than 100%. Responses considered to be outside of the accepted range would be coded as "invalid non-responses". If an organization was found to have a significant portion of its responses coded as "invalid non-response," it was removed from the dataset.

Missing values due to non-responses were treated as "non-responses" rather than "invalid non-responses." Non-responses were then analyzed to determine whether the values were missing randomly or non-randomly. Further investigation was required if it was determined that the "non-responses" were not random (e.g. due to poor survey methodology). We concluded that the "non-responses" found in the BT0613 Master Dataset were random and therefore required no additional attention.

The data compiled in the BT0613 Master Dataset were analyzed for outliers in the responses provided by respondents. If survey responses were found to be outliers, the values were not removed from the dataset, as they could also reflect valid information on the organization. These values were taken note of and data was analyzed with and without the inclusion of outliers. Outliers were removed from analyses if it was

determined that responses were representative of parent organizations, rather than the individual organizations being surveyed.

The last portion of data screening consisted of multiple survey responses by a single organizations. If an organization was found to have submitted multiple surveys, the data collected were analyzed to assess any variance in responses. For the data collected in the BT0613 Master Dataset, organizations with multiple survey submissions were found to have zero variance in their responses. To remove redundancies in the dataset, all multiple submissions were removed from the dataset.

Of the 1,805 community-based organizations we identified, 303 (16.7%) submitted surveys, of which 289 (16%) were included in the final dataset to be analyzed. Following the data screening process, a data coding process was applied to provide uniformity in the dataset. Once the responses were properly coded, each item from the survey was assessed for inclusion in the final dataset to be analyzed. If a significant portion of an individual item was found to include either “non-responses” or “invalid non-responses”, the item was removed from the final dataset. Each item reported on by an organization underwent both data screening and coding processes. These processes were performed twice to ensure consistency in the approach detailed above.

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¹ Source: Historical Censuses (1790-1960) and Core Summary Files (1970-2010) Minnesota Population Center. *National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota 2011. For table with five top countries per decade dating to 1870, see our full report.

² Migration Policy Institute, "Data Hub." Available at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/state2.cfm?ID=NJ> Accessed September 9, 2012. FY 2011 Consolidated Adult Basic Skills (ABS) and Integrated English Literacy and Civics Education (IELCE) Grant Program Level of Service, New Jersey Labor and Workforce Development. This discussion relies heavily on the Governor's Blue Ribbon Advisory Panel on Immigrant Policy Education Subcommittee, Draft Priorities and Recommendations, December 11, 2008.

³ Soyer, Daniel, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press) 1997.

⁴ Hernandez, Jose Amaro, *Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican American*, (Malabar Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company) 1983.

⁵ Beito, David, *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967*, (Chapel Hill and London: UNC Press) 2000, 3.

⁶ MPI study on unprecedented extent of enforcement under Obama.

⁷ Cite increase in # of NJ's detention beds and reports of 287g under Quadagno.

⁸ Douglas S. Massey, "The New Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States." (1995) 21:3 *Population and Development Review* 631.

Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004) at 19-33.

⁹ Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn & Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, *Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero-and Perhaps Less* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2012).

Migrant numbers from Mexico have decreased since 2007. Explanations for this range from the efficacy of government enforcement, such as increased deportations and heightened border control, to social and economic factors like lower birthrates and greater opportunities in Mexico combined with the lasting downturn in the U.S.

¹⁰ Muzaffar Chishti, "Employer Sanctions against Immigrant Workers" (2000) 3:6 *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, pp. 71-76.

¹¹ US, Census Bureau, *Profile of the Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2000* (Series P23-206) (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2001).

¹² Rakesh Kochhar, C. Soledad Espinoza & Rebecca Hinze-Pifer. *After the Great Recession: Foreign Born Gain Jobs; Native Born Lose Jobs* (Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center Report 2010).

¹³ Suro, Robert and Audrey Singer, *Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations*, Pew Hispanic Center and Brookings Institution July 2002.

¹⁴ Audrey Singer et al., "Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrants in Suburban America," Migration Policy Institute (April 2008). Available at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=680>

¹⁵ Nancy Rytina, "Estimates of the Legal Permanent Resident Population in 2011," Department of Homeland Security. Office of Immigration Statistics, June 2012. The report notes that the largest

populations of Legal Permanent Residents in the US come from Mexico, China, the Philippines, India, and the Dominican Republic.

¹⁶ See, for example, Min Zhou, "Growing Up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants," *Annual Review of Sociology* 1997. p66.

¹⁷ Espenshade, T. (1997) *Keys to Successful Immigration: Implications of the New Jersey Experience*: The Urban Institute.

¹⁸ McHugh, M., Gelatt, J., and Fix, M. (2007). *Adult English Language Instruction in the United States: Determining Need and Investing Wisely*, Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.

¹⁹ Migration Policy Institute, "Data Hub." Available at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/state2.cfm?ID=NJ> Accessed September 9, 2012. FY 2011 Consolidated Adult Basic Skills (ABS) and Integrated English Literacy and Civics Education (IELCE) Grant Program Level of Service, New Jersey Labor and Workforce Development. This discussion relies heavily on the Governor's Blue Ribbon Advisory Panel on Immigrant Policy Education Subcommittee, Draft Priorities and Recommendations, December 11, 2008.

²⁰ Migration Policy Institute, Data Hub. Ibid.

²¹ [Jeffrey Passel](#) and [D'Vera Cohn](#), "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States," Pew Hispanic Center, April 2009. <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/04/14/a-portrait-of-unauthorized-immigrants-in-the-united-states/>

²² See, for example, [Jeffrey T. Kullgren](#), "Restrictions on Undocumented Immigrants' Access to Health Services: The Public Health Implications of Welfare Reform," *Am J Public Health*. 2003 October; 93(10): 1630–1633.

²⁵ *Destination, New Jersey: How Immigrants Benefit the State Economy*, by Ira Gang and Anne Morrison Piehl, Program on Immigration and Democracy, Eagleton Institute of Politics, December 2008.

²⁶ "Destination New Jersey: How Immigrants Benefit the New Jersey Economy", Eagleton Program on Immigration and Democracy, 2009.

²⁷ American Immigration Council, "Unauthorized Immigrants Pay Taxes Too," http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/unauthorized-immigrants-pay-taxes-tooaccessed_5/14/12.

²⁸ Paul N. Van de Water, "Immigration and Social Security," Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, <http://www.cbpp.org/cms/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1272>. November 20, 2008. accessed 5/14/12; Melissa M. Favreault and Austin Nichols, "Immigrant Diversity and Social Security: Recent Patterns and Future Prospects," April 30, 2011 accessed 5/14/12.

²⁹ George Gonos and Carmen Martino, "Temp Agency Workers in New Jersey's Logistics Hub: the Case for a Union Hiring Hall" *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, Volume 14, December 2011, pp 499-525.

³⁰ Jonathan Rothwell and Neil G. Ruiz, *H1-B Visas and the STEM Shortage*, Brookings, May 10, 2013. Available at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2013/05/10-h1b-visas-stem-rothwell-ruiz>

³¹ *The Search for Skills: Demand for H-1B Immigrant Workers in U.S. Metropolitan Areas* Brookings, July 2012. Available at <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2012/07/18-h1b-visas-labor-immigration#demand>

³² Maneesha Kelkar, "South Asian Immigration in the United States: A Gendered Perspective", *Asian American Policy Review*, Harvard Kennedy School (2012): 55-60

³³ Shamita Das Dasgupta, Radha Sarma Hegde, Shashi Jain, Rashmi Jaipal, Vibha Jha, and Kavery Dutta

³⁴ *Northern Regional Community Fact Book: Essex County Edition*, NJ Department of Labor and Workforce Development, Division of Labor Market and Demographic Research, April 2011.