

New York City: A Social Profile and Alternative Economic Futures

HOOSHANG AMIRAHMADI • TATIANA WAH

Reprinted with permission from the Journal of Urban Technology.

Introduction

As the pre-eminent global city, New York City is the center of transnational corporate headquarters, needed business services, international finance, transnational institutions, top-level managers, and communications and information processing. Authors such as Knox (1995), Friedman (1992, 1995), Sassen (1991, 1997) have shown that this pre-eminent center, with the most vigorous economic sector, serves as the basing point of global command and control networks and functions, and is the undisputed core of generating new tastes, material culture and commercial innovation. However, concerns are being raised about various security threats that globalization and the growth of immigrants pose, spanning social, cultural and political realms. In particular, economic development questions are being asked as to how such events as September 11 and the continuing growth of immigrants can be absorbed and how New York City remain a global city.

An overriding consensus amongst those concerned with the rebuilding of New York City is that the city's major challenge is to find a balance between the diverse needs of the different groups and the global city's

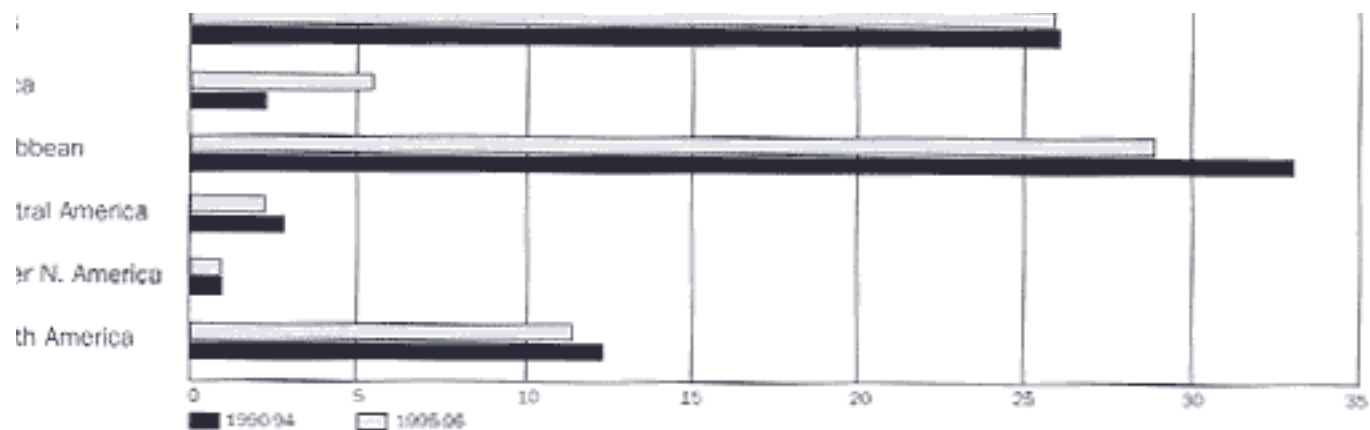
expand its infrastructural networks including public transportation, telecommunication systems information technology so that the other boroughs and their businesses and jobs can be effectively efficiently integrated into the global economy. Such a dispersal calls for large investments in urban technology across most spheres, but investments must come only after decisions are made as to the type of businesses and jobs that will locate in the outer boroughs. New York City will thus have to first decide which leading industrial sectors bode well for its economic future, and then proceed to locate them in the outer boroughs. For sure, the economic activities that are going to be truly important to New York City and its boroughs, the surrounding region and the world are those in advanced high-technology segments which themselves require an advanced urban infrastructure and high technology. Thus, the dispersal strategy itself adds to the need for the infrastructural and technological networks.

This article presents a profile of New York City's population, including age and educational characteristics, as well as its occupational, industrial and religious profiles. It documents the changes in population composition of the city from 1980 to 2000, focusing on its growing diversification. A central proposition of the analysis is that in order to embark on restructuring the global city—economically and technically, one must first understand who its people are and how they are connected to the city. An examination of the population and their activities also helps shed light on urban security and potential threats.

Expatriate Formation in New York City

New York City has traditionally been a preferred settlement for many different immigrants. With more than 8 million inhabitants in 2000, New York City is an expansive global city with the most diverse foreign-born population in the world. Its population growth from 7,322,564 in 1990 to 8,008,278 in 2000, a 9.4% increase, was largely due to immigration. The global city received more than 1.5 million immigrants during that decade, and by the decade's end, 55% of its residents was either foreign born or of foreign-born parentage (NY City Department of Planning, 2001; Cordero-Guzman et al, 2001).

In 1995-96, 29% came from the Caribbean, 26% from Asia and 25% from Europe (NY City Department of Planning, 2001). Figure 1 shows the growth in share of immigrants admitted to the city by world region from 1990-94 to 1995-96 and Table 1 lists the top 20 source countries. Europe had the largest increase, from a little over 20% in the early 1990s to 25.2% in 1995-6. This increase was largely due to the growth in immigration from the former Soviet Union (53%) and the former Yugoslavia (154%). These two countries along with Poland were the only three European countries among the top 20 source countries of immigration in 1995-96, with the former Soviet Union as the top source of immigrants accounting for 18%.



Source: NY City Department of City Planning, The Newest New Yorkers 1995-1996, Sept. 1999, pp.4&6.

e 1. Top 20 Source Countries of Immigration to New York City

	Annual Average 1995-96	Annual Average 1990-94	Percent Change
Former Soviet Union	20,327	13,260	53.3
Dominican Republic	19,587	22,028	11.1
Cuba, Total	11,871	11,960	.07
Guatemala	5,951	6,584	9.6
Honduras	5,570	6,153	-9.5
Bangladesh	3,674	1,911	92.3
India	3,174	2,897	9.5
China	3,048	2,991	1.9
Indonesia	2,983	2,796	6.7
Jamaica and Tobago	2,774	3,176	-12.7
Philippines	2,673	3,476	-23.1
India	2,669	3,907	-31.7
Pakistan	2,337	1,493	56.5
Ethiopia	2,275	2,262	0.6
Laos	1,633	339	381.7
Malaysia	1,574	1,725	-8.8
Vietnam	1,374	430	219.5
Former Yugoslavia	1,219	478	154.9
Other	1,113	1,255	-11.4
Total	1,071	578	85.2
Immigrants	115,687	112,598	2.7

Source: NY City Department of City Planning, The Newest New Yorkers 1995-1996, Sept. 1999, pp.4&6.

Hispanic population made up 35% of the total population in the city in 2000, showing a decline of from 1990 when it made up 43.2% of the population. The Hispanic population grew by 21% to be the largest minority group in the city, accounting for 27% of the total population. Blacks continue to constitute about one quarter of New York City's population. The Asian population showed the largest increase at 59.9% from 1990 to 2000 and constituted 10% of the city's population in 2000. Of the total population, the most dominant group is the Chinese (46%), Asian Indians (22%) and Koreans (11%)

Table 3. New York City Population by Race

	1990		2000		% Change
	Number	%	Number	%	'90-'00
White Non-Hispanic	3,163,125	43.2	2,801,267	35.0	-11.4
Black/African American	1,847,049	25.2	1,962,154	24.5	6.2
Asian or Pacific Islander	489,851	6.7	783,058	9.8	59.9
American Indian and Alaskan Native	17,871	0.2	17,321	0.2	-3.1
Some other race, Non-Hispanic	21,157	0.3	58,775	0.7	177.8
Non-Hispanic of two or more races	-	-	225,149	2.8	-
Hispanic Origin	1,783,511	24.4	2,160,554	27.0	21.1

Source: NY City Department of Planning, 2001, www.ci.nyc.ny.us, from the 2000 Census.

Cordero-Guzman, Smith and Grosfoguel (2001), drawing from Mollenkopf's study (1999), noted that in 1997, the foreign-born constituted a large share of the population in all these groups in the city: 55% of the Black population, 59% of the Hispanic (excluding Puerto Ricans), 98% of Asians, and 52% of Whites.

Sex, Age and Social Structure

The increasing share of immigrants, who are younger than the native born population, is largely responsible for the high level of natural increase in the 2000 population. Natural increase totaled more than a million (584,000), with close to 1.3 million births and 682,000 deaths in the 1990s (NY City Department of City Planning, 2001). Between 1990-96, of the total births of 908,839, over 45% were from foreign-born mothers (NY City Department of Planning, 1996).

In 1980, the median age for the city was 32.7 and grew to 34.2 by 2000, showing an aging population. A little over 29% of the population was under 19 years old in 1980, but this age group decreased to

2000 Population Survey reveals that 63% of the foreign-born population is between the ages of 25 and 64, while 51% of the native born are between this same age group. The retiring age groups of over 65 increased from 14% in 1980 to 10% in 2000, but the share of 75 year-old and over age groups has grown from 1.4% in 1980 to 6.2% in 2000.

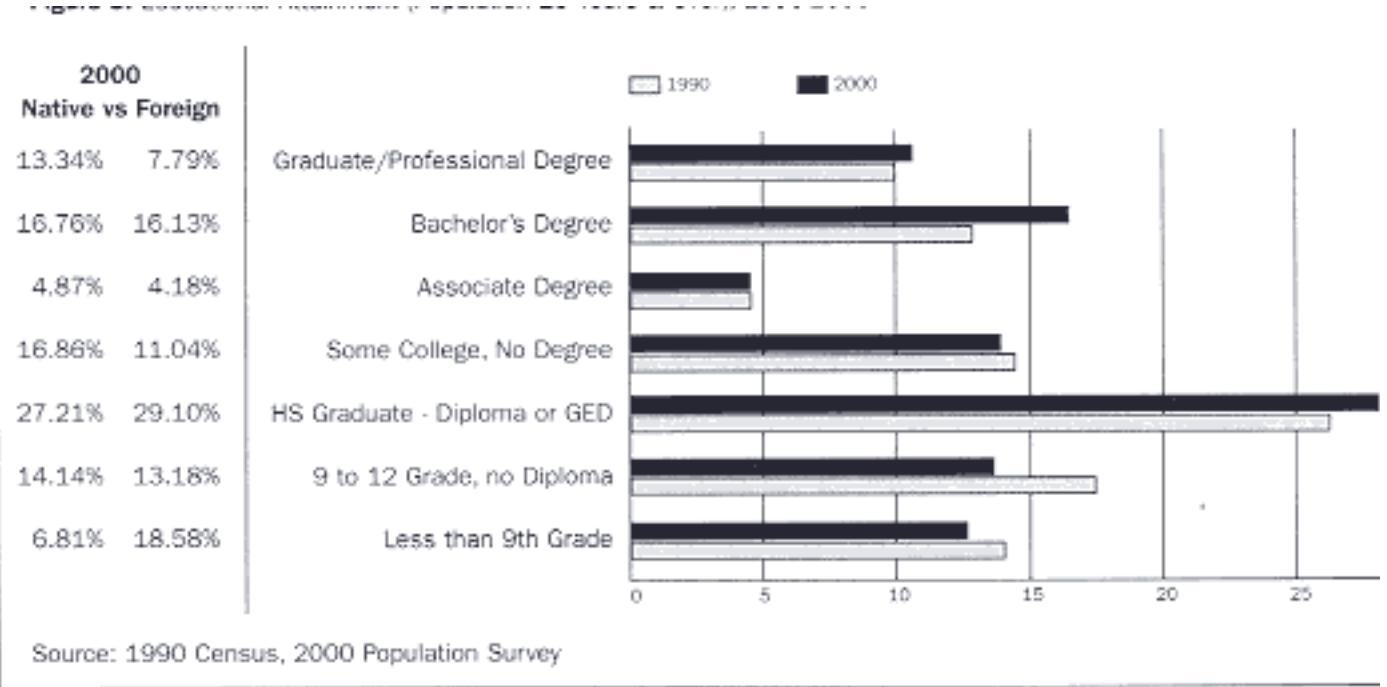
Of the males 15 years and over, 44% were single and never married while 37% of the females were in the single and never married category. By 2000, within this age group and marital status categories, 42% of the population were single and never married, of which 59% are native born and 41% are foreign born, and females constituted 56% of the population, of which 65% are native born and 35% are foreign born. Close to 30% of New York households have children under 18 years of age and about 10% of households are female-headed with children under 18 years.

Rivera-Guzman, Smith and Grosfoguel (2001), drawing from Rivera-Batiz's 1996 work, note that the NY City Emergency Immigrant Education Census of 1996 indicates that there were children from 100 different countries in its schools, and 23 different countries had more than 7,000 new immigrant children enter the city in the previous 3 years.... Students in the NY City public school system speak a broader diversity of languages (over 120) than any other school system in the country." Schwartz and Gershberg (2001) show that 7% of the city's school children are designated as having limited English proficiency.

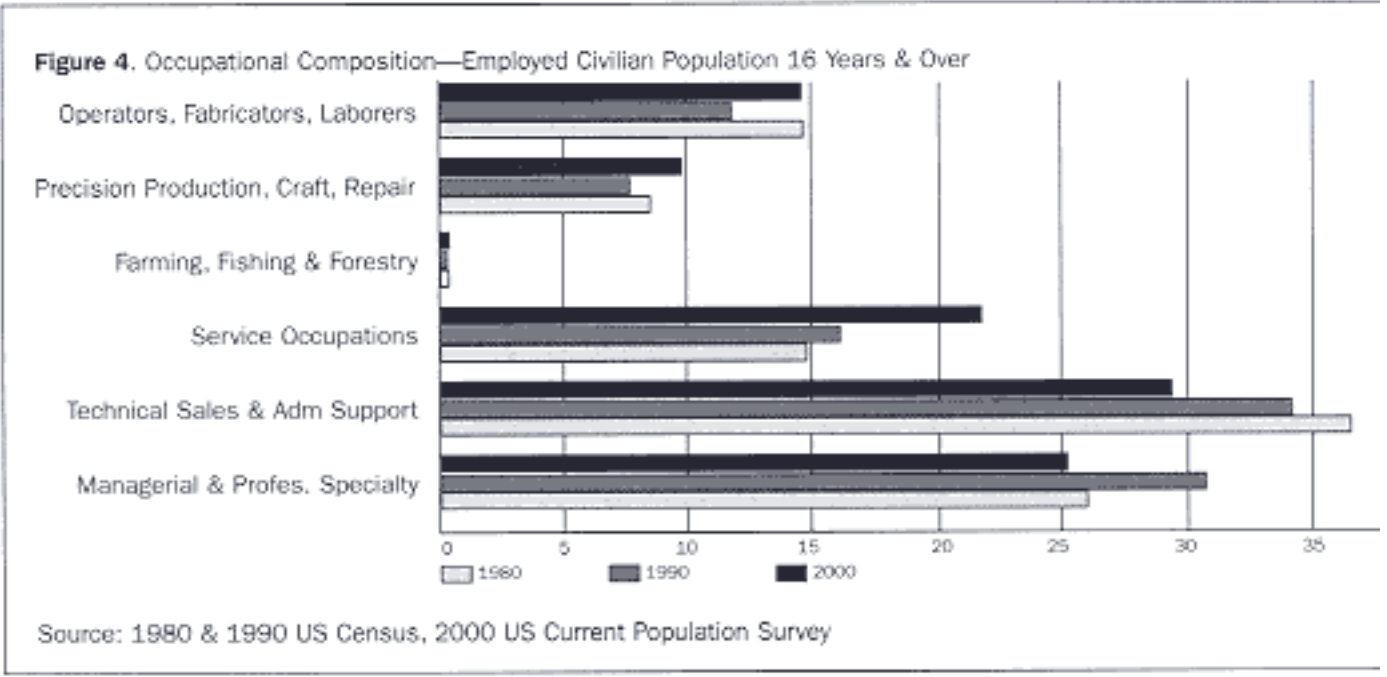
Educational and Occupational Structure

New York City is lagging behind New York State in educational attainment. In 2000, while only 18.9% of the state's population had no high school diploma, the city had a little more than 26% of its population without a high school diploma. Close to 21% of the city's native-born population has no high school diploma, compared to 32% of its foreign-born population. Moreover, the state has over 24% of its population with some college and at least associate degrees and close to 12% with graduate or professional degrees while the city has 18.5% and 10.6%, respectively. The share of residents with bachelor's degrees are however comparable—the state with 16.3% and the city with 16.5%. The city has experienced a substantial increase in residents with bachelors' degrees from 1990, which was at 12.9%. The native-born and foreign-born share of bachelors' degree attainment are comparable, at 16.8% and 16.1%, respectively. However, while over 13% of native-born population has a graduate or professional degree, only 8% of the foreign-born has attained such degrees. As Figure 3 shows, a little more than 28% of the city's population of over 25 years had a high school diploma in 2000, an increase from 1990s figure of 23.3%.

One striking feature is New York metropolitan region's educational attainment for the population between 20 to 64 years of age, i.e., prime working ages. Howell and Gester (2001) show that, of this population in 2000, 66% have a high school degree or less, with 36% of the native-born population and 55.2% of the for-



As for specialized skills, while New York City higher-education institutions (of the nation's 3 large specialized labor sources) award a higher percentage of degrees in computer science and electrical engineering (44%) than both Boston (29%) and San Francisco (27%) areas, it does not retain them (NYC, Office of the Comptroller, 1999). The Comptroller's report also highlighted the weaknesses in specialized skill programs of the City and State. It showed that the pace of graduation in computer-related fields fell between 1992 and 1997 in the State schools, while marginally rose in the City's schools, despite the large industry demand for these specialized skills during the same period. The report suggested that they import the needed trained specialists, from both within the nation and internationally.



ially occupations had experienced growth from 1980 to 1990, in 2000 the figures dropped below e of 1980. Most marked is in the technical and support occupations; whereas over 36% of the city's lents were in technical occupations in 1980, only 29% were in such occupations by 2000. This signi- that the city is losing a tremendous number of those who hold top and middle layer occupations. re has been a growth in lesser-skilled occupations such as transport and material moving occupations handlers, helpers and laborers as well as in blue-collar skilled occupations such as in precision pro- ion, craft and repair.

vell and Gester's study (2001) reveals that in 1980, 50.7% of the foreign born in the metropolitan area ied bottom tier jobs (in job quality terms) and 28.1% occupied the middle tier jobs but that by 7/8, 53.2% occupied bottom tier jobs and only 20.5% occupied middle tier jobs. Close to 35% of the re born on the other hand occupied top tier jobs in 1980 and increased its share of the top tier jobs 6.2% in 1997/8. Despite the city's strong economy, the authors note that there has been a substantial rioration in the real and relative earnings of immigrants in the metropolitan area, particularly those oyed in the middle and bottom layer occupations.

Industry Concentration and Employment

le 6 shows the industry composition of New York City employment for 1990, 1995 and 2000. It vs that the private sector employed 85% of the workforce in 2000 and increased its share by 9% from 0 to 2000. Within the private sector, manufacturing employment constitutes only 6% of total employ- it, while the FIRE sector makes up 13%, Business Services about 10% and retail and wholesale trades e up 17% of total employment. The largest increases in employment from 1990 to 2000 are found curities (39.6%), Eat & Drink services (27.6%), Picture & Amusement services (42.9%), Health serv- (23.4%), Social services (42.2%), Business services (46.9%) and Engineering and Management serv- (28.3%). The largest drop in employment from 1990 to 2000 has been in the wholesale trade (- 9%), banking (-36.8%), insurance (-23.9), and in federal government jobs (-15.8%). Manufacturing loyment continues to decline in the city, dropping by 27% from 1990 to 2000. Government sector loyment across all levels (which accounted for 15% of all employment in 2000) has declined by a total % from 1990 to 2000.

ware industry employment accounted for only one percent of all private-sector jobs in New York City 997—a notable increase compared to 0.4% in 1980. Between 1980 and 1997, the number of work- n the computer software industry increased from 10,781 in 1980 to 14,370 in 1992 to 29,550 work- in 1997, an average annual change of 15.5% between 1992 and 1997 (NYC, Office of the nptroller, 1999). The city also saw a growth in the total number of firms in the software industry dur- this same period, from 563 firms in 1980 to 3013 in 1997. The largest increases were in 3 types of

Manufacturing	327	271	238	-27.2
Construction	111	90	124	11.7
Transport & Utilities	229	204	212	-7.4
Trade	596	557	637	6.9
Whole	215	189	193	-10.2
Retail	380	367	444	16.8
FIRE	511	471	492	-3.7
Real Estate	114	117	127	11.4
Banking	171	131	108	-36.8
Insurance	92	78	70	-23.9
Securities	134	145	187	39.6
Services	1134	1199	1476	30.2
Eat & Drink	127	130	162	27.6
Picture & Amusement	70	79	100	42.9
Health Services	261	306	322	23.4
Business Services	241	233	354	46.9
Social Services	128	149	182	42.2
Legal	76	68	80	5.3
Engineering & Management	99	95	127	28.3
Government Sector Employment	606	553	566	-6.6
Federal	76	67	64	-15.8
State	57	52	50	-12.3
Local	473	433	452	-4.4
Total Employment	3512	3344	3745	6.6

Source: New York City Comptroller's Office, 9/01 Report, unpublished. Data is for fourth quarter of years 1990, 1995 & 2000.

firms: computer-related services firms, data-processing and preparation firms, and in information-re services firms.

Challenges Facing NY City's Global Future

The analysis shows that New York City has become the harbor of many different expatriate commu of which a considerable proportion are from the poorest developing countries. Over three quarters immigrants who settled in New York City during the past two decades are from less-developed cou such as Haiti, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Pakistan, Ecuador, Colombi Egypt. The remaining quarter of the immigrant residents who are of European descent mostly come

globalization of the city. This also implies greater social costs to New York City as it needs to create elaborate social and intercultural infrastructure to deal with needy immigrants.

Demographic composition, the profile shows that New York City is largely comprised of minority groups. The 2000 Census reveals that 65% of the resident population is non-white, of which 27% are Hispanic, 18% are black and 10% are Asian. How the city deals with this vast majority of minority population is of great significance to its social cohesion and socio-economic welfare. This latter concern also relates to gender: females outnumber males in New York City and the number of women of child-bearing age is growing. More than a quarter of the population is children under 19 years of age—many with language deficiencies, requiring the city to provide more educational and recreational facilities. The share of prime working age groups (20 to 54 year-olds) is also growing, with the foreign born comprising a larger share of the group, requiring innovative employment-generation policies that not only utilize but simultaneously upgrade skill levels. Though the larger share of the elderly population (65 and over) is decreasing, the number of those over 75 years has increased over the last decade—one third of which are foreign born—requiring long-term, culturally and linguistically sensitive, elderly-care facilities.

Efforts to upgrade skill and educational levels and to grow quality jobs in the global city is of utmost importance to its economic restructuring. The question remains unanswered as to what types of industries would best suit the city's population and would simultaneously maintain its global advantage. Although there has been an increase in holders of bachelor degrees over the past decade, in 2000, less than 17% of New Yorkers had a bachelor degree. About 54% of New Yorkers over 25 years of age have a high school or less education, only 28% are actual holders of high school diplomas and 23% have less than an eighth grade education. New York City will need to undertake the long and expensive process of generating a highly educated residents if it is to retain and grow its global competitive advantage.

When speaking, the issues around which proposals are made regarding the city's global future may be divided into five categories. One is economic diversification versus market-share deepening. Second is the changing shape of the city's socio-economic structure. Third is the need for inclusion of all citizens, including non-citizens. Fourth is the role of federal, regional and state authorities in helping the city steer its restructuring. Fifth is the need for spatial deconcentration of the economy, away from Manhattan. Each of these issues and together raise particular types of security concerns: respectively, economic security, social-security, cultural-value security, political security and spatial-physical security. Key across all such issues is the need to remain socio-economically sound and globally competitive.

In addressing the first issue, debates focus on whether New York City's economic specialization in international finance, capital and in sectors that are the most volatile—global communications, advertising, accounting, insurance, legal services, news media and entertainment—should be changed or reinforced and deepened.

However, the author, along with many others, suggest that the city's future lies in gaining the nine industries that are forecasted to grow: bio-technology, computer software, high-end apparel and jewelry, and television production, recycling, health care, non-profits and retail. Those who argue for a focus on the production of information technology and computer software also caution that given the city's cost of living, this sector also offers wages too low to become sustainably viable (see The Center for Urban Research, 2001). Overall, the debates call for the effective use of New York City's strengths and need for highly specialized pools of skills and advanced urban technological infrastructure, while the city diversifies or further develops its economic concentration by deepening its global and national market share.

On the issue of the hourglass shape of the city's socio-economic structure, two major concerns arise. One is the impediment to middle class aspirations in the city. The other is the negative effect that the mix of high-and-low-paying occupations has on the city's overall wage growth. Both concerns point to the potential for tensions between social classes and disadvantaged (but educated) groups. Authors note that middle classes no longer mold the city (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991; Sassen, 1991; Friedman, 1997 and others). Instead, the city is socio-economically shaped by a dominant upper class of professional and corporate services who earn more than half of the total income, and by a substantial and diverse low-paying working class. Howell and Gester (2001) refer to this trend as the 'hollowing out' of the middle-class. Friedman (1997) and Abu-Lughod (1997), among others, maintain that the decline of middle-class occupations effectively blocks upward mobility of immigrant labor.

The third issue—the need for the inclusion of diverse groups—presents a more serious challenge. In addition to the built-in dangers arising from class and income polarization, tensions can also rise because of the growing number of immigrants from differing ethnic backgrounds. This problem requires a new type of public policy, one that focuses on the special and differing needs of deprived groups, citizens and non-citizens alike. A further challenge lies in the fact that immigrants continue to have strong attachments to their national origins and religious beliefs and retain psycho-social feelings of minority-group identity (Cohen, 1997; Westwood and Phizacklea, 2000; Basch et al, 1994; Portes, 1996). Davies (2000) points to how the activities of immigrants have implications for the security of their homelands and host countries, as well as the third parties who become entangled in their transnational diasporic networks. The future debate is the type of structural changes necessary to promote economic, social, political and cultural participation of the 55% of New Yorkers who are first and second generation immigrants.

The fourth issue relates to the pressing need for cooperation and coordination of higher-level government with city government on strategic planning for restructuring. Moreover, in the face of the impact of globalization on New York City, the high social costs of global city growth, and the needs of transnational capital for economic infrastructure, the local government lacks adequate fiscal capacity and thus needs a

at span a vast metropolitan region—from Boston to Philadelphia to Washington—and those cities share the responsibilities of managing this vast region.

On the fifth issue, it is argued that agglomeration of the city's jobs in Manhattan is not desirable as spatial dispersion of business centers throughout the five boroughs is warranted. Though spatial dispersion of business centers and jobs away from Manhattan may be desirable, without first understanding types of businesses and jobs that would best make use of the large shares of immigrant and minority residents in boroughs such as Brooklyn, Bronx and Queens, the debates are premature. Such understanding is particularly critical because the businesses and jobs that are to be dispersed into the other boroughs must be the types that can help the city pay for the infrastructural work the dispersion will require, including transportation expansion and telecommunication/media wiring needs. Certainly, locating dispersed industry segments—like biotechnology, genetic engineering, information technology—in the other boroughs will require training and retraining facilities for the first generation of immigrants and their families and increased opportunities for high-end occupations for the second generation. As for local economic growth, which immigrants continue to help boost (see Kotkin, 2002), an improved economic, institutional, and technological infrastructure is warranted for the expansion of self-employment opportunities and small business development in sectors such as construction, retail, food and drink, business services and real estate. This would require improvements in wireless communication systems to speed transactions, water transportation (ferry systems) and light rail networks across the five boroughs and the surrounding area.

One profile highlight is that New York City does not yet possess the needed highly specialized pools of human capital and talent to either diversify or deepen into strong and technologically advanced industry sectors. If the city is to utilize its resident resources, it must find more creative ways to bring out current talents and upgrade occupational composition and educational attainment. It is clear that presently, the city's bases of employment are generating rather low-quality-type jobs. The upgrading of occupational composition and educational attainment, along with the provision of social service and infrastructural improvements will require state and federal assistance especially if it is to be done rapidly.

It is clear that debates about inclusion must move toward decisive strategies for social, economic, cultural and political inclusion given the ethnic and racial composition of the city. This will necessitate a better understanding of the immigrants' homelands, values, and cultures, and the ways in which immigrant needs, occupational preferences and core competencies are articulated in the global city's socio-economic structure. Overall, implementing the rebuilding and restructuring of New York City will necessitate a clear and deliberate policy agenda and statements regarding the chosen leading industrial sectors and their preferred location within the city, presented to its population with determination and purpose. The future of urban technology in the city thus also awaits this decision.

- Basch, L., Glick-Schiller, N. and Szanton Blanc, C., 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation States*. Langhorne, PA: Gordon and Breach.
- Bowles, Jonathan, 2001. "A diverse economy will get city moving," *Newsday*: New York City, October 4.
- Nussbaum, Bruce, 2001. "Special Report: The Future of New York," *Business Week*, October 22.
- Center for an Urban Future, 2001. "The Urban Future of Technology Industries: How New York and Other Cities Can Continue to Grow into High-Tech Hubs." New York: Center for an Urban Future, October.
- Cohen, Robin, 1997. *Global Diasporas: An introduction*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Cordero-Guzman, H., Smith, R. and Grosfoguel, R. (eds.), 2001. *Migration, Transnationalization and Race: Changing New York*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Crahan, Margaret E. and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush (eds.), 1997. *The city and the world: New York's global future*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Davies, Richard, 2000. "Neither here nor there: The implications of global diasporas for (inter) national security," in G. Graham and Poku (eds), *Migration, Globalization and Human Security*. New York: Routledge.
- Eisenberg, Carol, 2001. "CUNY Study: 1.8 Muslims in US," *Newsday*, October 27.
- Fainstein, S., Gordon, I., and Harloe, M. (eds.). 1992. *Divided Cities: New York and London in the Contemporary World*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Friedman, John, 1995. "Where we stand: a decade of world city research," in Knox and Taylor (eds.), *World cities as a world-system*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Friedman, J. and Wolff, G. 1982. "World city formation: An agenda for research and action." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 6 (3): 309-44.
- Gershberg, Alec I., 2001. "New Immigrants and the New School Governance in New York: Defining the Issues." Forthcoming publication. Study supported by the International Center for Migration, Ethnicity and Citizenship at the New School University and the Henry Luce Foundation.
- Hill, A. and Yeager, H., 2001. "A new New York," *Financial Times*, November 1.
- Howell, D. and Gester, K., 2001. "Increasing Opportunities, Declining Pay: Immigrants in the New Metropolitan Labor Market, 1979-98," Forthcoming publication. Study supported by the International Center for Migration, Ethnicity and Citizenship at the New School University and the Henry Luce Foundation.
- Kosmin, B. and Lachman, S. 1993. *One Nation under God: Religion in Contemporary American Society*. New York: Harmony Books.
- Kotkin, Joel, 2002. "Immigrants Cushion the Economic Fall," *Wall Street Journal*, January 17: A14.

ork City Department of City Planning, 1999. The Newest New Yorkers 1995-1996: An update of immigration to NYC in the mid '90s.DCP #99-08, September.

ork City Department of Planning, 2001. www.ci.nyc.ny.us. 2000 US Census Data on New York City.

ireacain, Carol, 1997. "The Private Economy and the Public Budget of New York City," in Crahan and ourvoulias-Bush (eds.), The city and the world: New York's global future. New York: Council on Foreign elations.

: of the Comptroller, City of New York, 2001. New York City Employment by Quarter from 1988 to 2001. ublished Report, NY: Comptroller of the City of New York, September.

: of the Comptroller, City of New York, 1999. The NYC Software/IT Industry: How NYC Can Compete More ectively in Information Technology. NY: Comptroller of the City of New York, April.

, Alejandro, 1996. "Global Villagers: The Rise of Transnational Communities," American Prospect, No. 25 (arch-April).

, 1991. The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

: 1997. "Cities, Foreign Policy, and the Global Economy," in Crahan and Vourvoulias-Bush (eds.), The city and e world: New York's global future. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

, Robert, 1997. "Transnational Migration, Assimilation, and Political Community," in Crahan, Margaret E. and erto Vourvoulias-Bush (eds.), 1997. The city and the world: New York's global future. New York: Council on reign Relations.

is-Arroyo, Anthony, 1997 "Building a New Public Realm: Moral Responsibilities and Religious Commitment he City," in Crahan and Vourvoulias-Bush, (eds.), The City and the World: New York's Global Future. New rk: Council on Foreign Relations.

ood, S. and Phizacklea, A., 2000. Trans-nationalism and the Politics of Belonging. New York: Routledge.

ensus, 1980, 1990, 2000.

urrent Population Survey, 2000.